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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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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 Studion-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.

NINTH CENTURY

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]

NINTH CENTURY

[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.

NINTH CENTURY

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].