

This is an extract from:

*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:*

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

*edited by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero*

*with the assistance of Giles Constable*

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## 7. *Latros*: Testament of Paul the Younger for the Monastery of the Mother of God *tou Stylou* on Mount Latros

*Date*: 955

*Translator*: Gianfranco Fiaccadori

*Edition employed*: Hippolyte Delehay, *Monumenta Latrensia hagiographica*, in Theodor Wiegand, *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Der Latmos* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 105–53. The *Testament* is encapsulated in the *Laudatio S. Pauli junioris*, pp. 136–57, at 152–53.<sup>1</sup>

*Manuscript*: Codex Vaticanus graecus 704 (14th c.)

*Other translations*: None, but there is a Latin translation of the *Vita* by Hippolyte Delehay, “*Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in monte Latro*,” *AB* 11 (1892), 5–74, 136–182.

### *Institutional History*

#### *A. Foundation of the Monastery*

The founder Paul was born at Elaia near Pergamon, probably towards the end of the ninth century (*Vita*, chap. 2, p. 21). Orphaned at an early age, he was brought by his brother Basil to Peter, founder and superior of the monastery of Karya on Mount Latros northwest of Miletos, who provided him with his introduction to the ascetic life (*Testamentum*, p. 200). After Peter’s death, his successor gave Paul permission to adopt a solitary life. Athanasios, superior of the neighboring patriarchal monastery of Christ the Savior (*Christos Soter*, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 240), suggested a rock formation as the site where Paul could live as a kind of stylite (*Vita*, chap. 13, p. 44). As Papachryssanthou (“*Vie monastique*,” p. 173) notes, this is one of the rare occasions on which we can follow the development of a major monastery from its origins. After attracting a number of disciples, Paul had an oratory dedicated to the archangel Michael built on the site (*Vita*, chap. 17, p. 51). Eventually a church dedicated to the Mother of God *tou Stylou* was erected as well, the patronal attribute being either an allusion to Paul’s rock formation (so Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 233) or to St. Paul as the “pillar” of the church (Talbot and Wharton, “*Latros*,” p. 1189). Most of his disciples adopted a cenobitic lifestyle, sharing meals in a refectory and sleeping together in a dormitory, but others lived as solitaries (*Vita*, chap. 17, pp. 51–53). The beginning of the monastery is dated to 920–930 (Bokotopoulos, “*Latros*,” p. 77). Except for a brief absence on Samos, Paul spent the rest of his life there. A few days before his death on December 15, 955 (*Vita*, chap. 45, p. 164), he dictated a series of rules to his successor Symeon (*Vita*, chap. 43, pp. 159–61). Paul was originally buried in the narthex of the *Stylos* church, but his remains were disinterred by Symeon and reburied in a chapel specially built for this purpose (*Vita*, chap. 46, p. 167).

### *B. Sources for the Subsequent History of the Foundation*

A list of Paul's successors as superiors of this foundation, starting with Symeon, has survived in a copy of a manuscript drawn up in 1049.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript, possibly prepared for the purpose of carrying out liturgical commemorations of departed superiors (so Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 236), was evidently one of those that Christodoulos brought from Latros to his new Patmos monastery (see (24) *Christodoulos* [C6]) in the late eleventh century, though it was later returned to its place of origin by one of his successors. Additional names were added to the list after 1049, down to 1222.

Another important source of information on the later history of the foundation is the partially preserved cartulary of which some 16 documents survive that, supplemented by other sources, allow the reconstruction of a dossier of 40 pieces of official correspondence down to the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Included in the dossier are a small donation of Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (919–944) to the monastery in 941, and requests for the prayers of the monks for military expeditions being undertaken by emperors Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos (913–959) in 945/55 and by Nikephoros Phokas (963–969).<sup>4</sup> The superior Gabriel who, according to the above-mentioned list of superiors, was Paul's fourth successor and bore the title of "founder" (*ktetor*), appears in four of the documents in the cartulary dated to 985–987, defending the foundation's property rights in disputes with a neighboring monastery.<sup>5</sup>

### *C. Reorganization as an Independent Monastery*

Eventually the foundation acquired a formal written *typikon* (now lost) which asserted the independence of the monastery.<sup>6</sup> Janin (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 237), speculates that Gabriel, in his capacity as (new) "founder," was responsible for drawing up this document towards the end of the tenth century. This is technically possible, but it is more likely that the monastery claimed an independent charter for itself in the late eleventh century when many other foundations, inspired by the monastic reform movement, did the same (see below, Chapter Four).

### *D. Superiorship of Christodoulos*

In 1076, Patriarch Kosmas I Hierosolymites (1075–81) appointed Christodoulos as superior of this monastery as well as *protos* of the confederation of neighboring monasteries at Latros.<sup>7</sup> According to (24) *Christodoulos* [A4], the *Stylos* monastery was still functioning somewhat as in Paul's day, with some monks practicing the cenobitic life and others a hybrid form of monasticism in which they lived apart during most of the week but came together on Sundays for liturgical services and fellowship. Especially in view of the circumstances of his own appointment, Christodoulos had to struggle to establish his foundation's right to independence from patriarchal control.<sup>8</sup> Also, contrary to his fond recollections of this time years later, Christodoulos' tenure of office was troubled by repeated disputes of obscure origin and appeals over his head to the patriarchs of Constantinople, culminating in his resignation in 1087 (Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 219).

### *E. Fate of the Foundation*

Despite the Turkish threat to the security of the monastic communities on Latros that Christodoulos

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later preferred to cite as the reason for his departure, it seems that at least the principal monasteries, including this one, survived for another two hundred years. In the Nicaean Empire during the thirteenth century, the foundation was able to have its standing as the ranking monastery of Latros recognized by Patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1215–22) in 1222 and its exemption from visitations by patriarchal functionaries confirmed by Patriarchs Germanos II (1222–40) in 1225 and Manuel II (1244–55) in 1246.<sup>9</sup> The last official mention of the monastery occurs in a patriarchal act of 1360, but the neighboring metropolitan see of Miletos was abandoned in 1369, which suggests that monastic life there did not survive much longer.<sup>10</sup>

### *F. Archaeological Excavation of the Site*

A German archaeological expedition explored the sites of the monastic settlements at Latros in 1905, including that of this foundation.<sup>11</sup> An enclosure wall surrounds Paul's natural column, the *stylos*, and grotto as well as the foundations of the monastery church, an auxiliary chapel, some other buildings, and a cistern.<sup>12</sup> Frescoes on the walls of Paul's grotto, probably of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, depict the founder as well as his successor Gabriel.<sup>13</sup>

### *Analysis*

The *Testament* translated here is encapsulated in the anonymous *Eulogy* (*Laudatio*, chaps. 46–49, ed. Delehay, pp. 152–53) of the founder. The *Eulogy's Testament* is an expansion of parallel remarks by Paul to his disciple Symeon found in the earlier *Life* (*Vita*, chap. 43, pp. 159–61), and so a certain amount of subsequent editing of Paul's precepts as found in the *Eulogy* cannot be ruled out. To complicate matters, there is also another text bearing the title of *Testament* that was copied at the end of the *Vita* in a 16th-century manuscript (ed. Lampros, "Diatheke," pp. 199–202), but on linguistic evidence this appears to be a later composition.<sup>14</sup>

### *A. Typology and Sources*

Although professedly a testament, this document actually assumes the form of a miniature *typikon*. Also, unlike the authors of other testaments, Paul does not use his *Testament* to transmit his foundation to his successor. The document begins with a confession of faith [1], [2] which cites Basil of Caesarea and Maximos the Confessor, and an affirmation of the seven ecumenical councils [3]. These introductory materials parallel the format of (3) *Theodore Studites*. Paul is fairly unusual in his straightforward denial of originality in his *Testament*. Paul claims to be relying upon "the precepts of the fathers" and those of his own ascetic master Peter, i.e., the superior of the monastery of Karya, under whom he began his career. Yet the document also draws on other traditions as well, most notably the "Rule of Jerusalem," presumably some early version of the liturgical *typikon* of the monastery of St. Sabas, which was to regulate [8] fasting. Paul was also acquainted with the Basilian tradition, citing [10] a scriptural quotation which appears in the *Sermo de renunciacione saeculi*. The standards for personal decorum [11] also appear to have Basilian roots.

### *B. Lives of the Monks*

In terms of practices prescribed, the document fits fairly well into the context of Byzantine monasticism in the mid-tenth century. The regular weekday practice of manual labor is implied by [4]

its prohibition on Sundays. Like (3) *Theodore Studites* [16], [18], Paul bans [9] women and beardless youths from the monastery. The warning against hoarding material goods [12] likewise follows (3) *Theodore Studites* [21], as does his disapproval [12] of unnecessary travel (cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [10]). Paul goes further by requiring the monks to stay enclosed [6] during Lent until the Easter feast. There is a hint [7] of the firm superior's discipline characteristic of some other documents of the eighth through ninth centuries,<sup>15</sup> but no particulars. Fasting, while generally following [8] the above-mentioned "Rule of Jerusalem," appears [5] to have been stricter for Lent, basically allowing only bread and water. This is considerably more austere than the equivalent provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [30], [31].

### Notes on the Introduction

1. See discussion in "Analysis."
2. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 234–36, for a full discussion.
3. Ed. MM 4.290–329, with detailed analysis by Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 441–54.
4. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 442, "Les actes du Latros," nos. 3, 4, 7.
5. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 443–44, "Actes," nos. 8, ed. MM 4.307–08, 9, ed. MM 4.310, 10, ed. MM 4.308–13, and 11, ed. MM 4.312–15.
6. The monks were able to demonstrate their claim to institutional independence successfully in 1196 by reference to a provision to this effect in their *typikon*, for which see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 448–49, "Actes," no. 28, ed. MM 4.305–7; "Actes," no. 15, ed. MM 6.17–19, suggests that such a provision was already to be found among the monastery's rules circa 1078–79.
7. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 445, "Actes," no. 14.
8. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 218, n. 7, and p. 445, "Actes," no. 15, ed. MM 6.17–19.
9. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 450–52, "Actes," no. 31, ed. MM 4.295–98, no. 32, ed. MM 4.298–300, and no. 37, ed. MM 4.300–301.
10. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 453–54, "Actes," no. 40, ed. MM 1.391–97.
11. Discoveries summarized in Guyer, "Klöster," pp. 134–37.
12. See Wiegand, *Milet*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Der Latros*, pp. 68–72, with plan of the site; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 220, 238.
13. Schiemenz, "Paulos-Höhle," pp. 46–53; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 238–39.
14. See Mercati, "Minuzie," pp. 335–36, and Halkin, *BHG* 1474h.
15. See especially (2) *Pantelleria*, (4) *Stoudios* [25], and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19].

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### *Translation*

#### *Eulogy of Saint Paul the Younger*<sup>1</sup>

##### *Chapter 46*

Yet, being a man, he [Paul], too, was fated to pay the debt of destiny or better to be released and discharged from his long sufferings, and be with Christ according to the saying of the Apostle (Phil. 1:23). As he had, of course, foreseen this, he composed for his disciples the following rule of monastic life:

Know, my dearly beloved brethren, that monastic life is the more lofty and angelic as it is without any sin and full of every virtue. Whence our forerunners in this way of life, in order to strengthen their instruction, left us their spiritual struggles like a rule and standard in keeping with [their] behavior. Now, although we have their precepts along with their deeds, we do give but little thought to putting this into practice, and I am by far the worst offender. May no one, however, by looking at me, spend his lifetime at ease, or come to me and say: “Physician, heal yourself” (Luke 4:23). For, if I spent my life thoughtlessly, I want you instead to take care of your own salvation. Accordingly, so that those who will come after you may have no excuse to say: “Had we ever lighted upon standards and rules, we would have observed them,” for this very reason, in legislating, I introduce the present [rule] not by devising it myself, but by applying the precepts of the Fathers as well as those which I received from our God-bearing Father Peter.<sup>2</sup>

[1.] First, it is necessary to **believe in one God, the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth, without beginning, ungenerated, formless, incorporeal; in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father timelessly before all ages, of one substance with the Father; and in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father, who together with the Father and the Son is worshiped and glorified.**<sup>3</sup> The Holy Trinity is uncreated, undivided, unconfused, and distinguished in persons by individual properties. According to Basil the Great, its operation,

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being the common operation of the three Persons, is also uncreated and undivided.<sup>4</sup> Those whose essence is uncreated, their operation is also uncreated, [as stated by] Maximos [the Confessor], who was full of divine wisdom.<sup>5</sup>

[2.] Next, [it is necessary] to acknowledge that one [Person] of the Trinity, the Son and Word of God, **was incarnated from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became man for the sake of our salvation**; that he was at the same time perfect God and perfect man in one person and in two natures and operations, in the manner appropriate to each of the natures and operations; that **he was crucified for us** in actual fact, not by means of illusion, as it has been insanely said by some who were raving;<sup>6</sup> and **that he rose again on the third day, ascended to Heaven, and will come again with glory to judge the living and dead**, and pay each one according to his actions.

[3.] Then, [it is necessary] to accept the Seven Ecumenical Councils, and refuse all the heretical blasphemies which have rightly been banished from the Church; and to receive the Holy Sacraments as truly partaking of the body and blood of Our Savior Jesus Christ; and also to prostrate oneself before and kiss the venerable and holy images of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, and all the saints, since, according to theology, “the cult of the images passes on to the prototype.”<sup>7</sup>

### *Chapter 47*

[4.] Moreover, [it is necessary] to keep the feasts of the Lord as well as every single Sunday, and to rest from every labor except in praise of God unceasingly according to the rule and order of the Church of Christ.

[5.] [It is necessary] also to observe the fast of the Holy and Great Lent, and to feed as much as possible on bread and water alone, and most moderately even on those, except for refreshing oneself during the feast of the Annunciation by eating olive oil and fish with moderation, and partaking of enough wine mixed with water on Saturday and Sunday because of lack of strength.

[6.] [It is necessary] also to avoid going out until the bright feast of Easter. Instead [you must] stay quiet inside the monastery and conduct the services without fail.

[7.] Whoever shall violate the [aforesaid] regulations, whether from ignorance or pressure of necessity, let him undergo the proper punishments by the superior at the time.<sup>8</sup> Should he act contemptuously and remain incorrigible, let him be expelled absolutely from the monastic community, so that he does not infect the others with his sickness.

[8.] As regards the other fasting transmitted in the canons, [it is necessary] to practice them as the tradition harking back to the Rule [p. 153] of Jerusalem established from the beginning.<sup>9</sup> [p. 153] Also, let fasting be observed in proportion to the strength of each one and as approved by the superior: Wednesday and Friday on bread and water alone, except in the case of physical infirmity or a feast of the Lord. However, [it is necessary] to keep without fail the remaining [fast days],

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knowing that no one is losing the reward of his labors, but “each shall receive his [wages] according to his labor” (I Cor. 3:8).

### *Chapter 48*

[9.] This also is what I order: that never any smooth-looking beardless fellow under twenty years of age be admitted into the community of Lavra, nor that women enter [it], according to the traditions of the Holy Fathers. Whoever shall act otherwise, let him be under curse and anathema, as overstepping the limits established by the Fathers.

[10.] Know then that “the road leading to life is narrow and hard” (Matt. 7:14), and “the Kingdom of Heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force” (Matt. 11:12).<sup>10</sup> Therefore, it is necessary that you have death before your eyes, since you are destined to account for your deeds; that you resist intemperate impulses; that you keep most carefully free from evil thoughts; that you be humble-minded and not overbold about the works of virtue. Virtue must always be zealously pursued by works, but through Christ’s love of man for “all our justice with its pride and arrogance is an abomination in the eyes of God” (Luke 16:16).

### *Chapter 49*

[11.] Have love for, and be at peace with one another, as in peace Christ summoned us, and “we are members one of another” (Eph. 4:25), according to the Apostle. [It is necessary] also to refrain from speaking evil of one another and envying one another’s virtue. Neither should you laugh or chatter idly, especially while attending to the hymns of God, so that we may not arouse the Divinity’s irritation while we intend to propitiate him.<sup>11</sup> Should some of you ever quarrel among themselves, let them put an end to their enmity in brotherly love within the evening (cf. Eph. 4: 26); if not, let them remain without food. Should they persist in their wickedness, let them be expelled from among you. For to such ones the Kingdom of Heaven is walled off. Every bearer of malice breaks the law and, since he breaks the law, he is also unclean.

[12.] Above all, you must not step easily out of the monastery without need, since it is both unsuitable to the [monastic] profession and dangerous. Rather, [you must] give up most corporeal things and the hoarding of material goods. From them comes the ruin of the soul, as the mind is removed from God because of the unsuitable diversion. Only one concern and diversion is commendable: meditation on the eternal blessings, “and all the rest will come to us as well” (Matt. 6:33), as the divine voice says. The writings of the saints alone and the traditions of the Gospels and Apostles shall lead us to the justice of God. “If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them” (John 13:17).

### *Notes on the Translation*

1. Delehaye divided the sections of the *Eulogy* that preserve the *Testament* into chapters 46–49; we have assigned a new continuous numeration to the *Testament*, however, to facilitate cross-referencing from other documents.

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2. For Peter, Paul's spiritual father and superior of the monastery of Karya, see the *Vita*, chap. 6, p. 26.
3. Cf. *Symbolum Nicaenoconstantinopolitanum*; borrowed words in boldface.
4. Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* 4, *PG* 29, col. 676A.
5. Maximos the Confessor, *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, *PG* 91, col. 340A.
6. Interesting allusion to the phantasiast or docetist heresy, following the doctrine formulated by Julian of Halicarnassus. See Barry Baldwin, "Julian of Halikarnassos," *ODB*, p. 1080.
7. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto* 45, *PG* 32, col. 149C.
8. See Kazhdan, "Paul of Latros," *ODB*, p. 1608, for Paul's willingness to resort to physical punishment to discipline his disciples.
9. This is a reference not to the final generation of Sabaitic liturgical *typika* popular in Byzantine monasteries from the thirteenth century onwards (for which see Robert Taft, "Sabaitic Typika," *ODB*, p. 1823), but rather some exemplar of a much earlier generation of these documents, which regulated both liturgical matters and diet, and which, along with Constantinopolitan liturgical usages, contributed to the development of Stoudite *typika* like (4) *Stoudios*. See Taft, "Athos, Mount," *ODB*, p. 182, and "Stoudite Typika," *ODB*, p. 1961.
10. Cf. the Basilian *Sermo de renunciatione saeculi*, *PG* 31, col. 645D.
11. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 17 [LR 17], *PG* 31, col. 957B.