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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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12. *Tzimiskes: Typikon* of Emperor John Tzimiskes

Date: 971–72¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (= Archives de l’Athos 7) (Paris, 1975), pp. 202–15, with text at 209–15.

Manuscript: Original charter preserved in the archives of the Protaton monastery (Karyes)²

Other translations: Russian, by Porfirii Uspensky, *Vostok kristianskii. Athon. Istoriiia Athona*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1877), pp. 81–89.

Analysis

This document, known also as the *Tragos* or “billy goat” in allusion to the parchment on which it was written, is more a juridical document than a traditional *typikon*. A bitter rivalry between Athanasios the Athonite and his fellow monks of Mount Athos led to an appeal by the latter to Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–976), probably soon after the emperor’s accession.³ Surely it was on his own initiative that the emperor sent Euthymios, the superior of the Stoudios monastery, to investigate the problems and restore peace to Mount Athos. The Athanasian hagiographic tradition, however, represents the imperial inquest as having taken place at the request of Athanasios in contradiction to the account in the preface of the present document. Unlikely as this is, there are some grounds for suspecting that Athanasios either influenced the choice of the imperial arbitrator or at any rate had reason to be pleased that Euthymios was selected. The conflict between Lavra’s cenobitic form of monasticism and the alternatives popular elsewhere on Mount Athos was at the root of many of the difficulties, and so it was to Athanasios’ advantage that a superior of one of the empire’s most famous cenobitic monasteries, and one from which his own (11) *Ath. Rule* was derived, had been chosen for this assignment. Moreover, on another occasion Euthymios is reported to have joined with Athanasios and the latter’s collaborator John the Iberian in an unsuccessful appeal to John Tzimiskes to donate the imperial monastery of Kolobou near Hierissos to Lavra.⁴ However, it does not necessarily follow from the likelihood that Euthymios was a mediator friendly to Athanasios that he was sent to impose cenobiticism on Athos. Rather, a close reading of the present document will show, as Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 100) has demonstrated, that Euthymios endeavored to preserve the interests of each of the three important forms of monastic life on Mount Athos, not only the large cenobitic monasteries but also the small independent (kelliotic) groups and the solitary hermits, though without enduring success.

Perhaps the most salient feature of this document is the evidence of widespread commercial activity not only among the various Athonite communities themselves but even with the outside world. The biased Athanasian hagiographic tradition nevertheless acknowledges that Lavra’s aggressive pursuit of agricultural enterprise under Athanasios’ direction was especially offensive to Athos’ other ascetics who were accustomed to a quieter, more traditional way of life. Later,

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Athanasios himself would find it prudent in (13) *Ath. Rule* [10] to denounce outside commercial activity as “dishonorable” and even to censure [11] other Athonites for their purchases and development of fields and vineyards. In this document, commercial activity such as Athanasios himself is said to have practiced, despite his later disavowals, seems to flourish. The attempts [13], [15], [24] to restrict it are tentative and riddled with exceptions, a pattern that would be repeated in the eleventh century with (15) *Constantine IX*. Also, the indulgent standards of traditional private religious foundations prevailed with respect to the bequeathing, donation, transfer and outright sale of monastic cells and associated properties [2], [6], [7], requiring a provision for restricting outright speculative activity [13] and other regulations to discourage monks [8] wandering about without subordination to a superior or unknown priests [11] celebrating the liturgy without written authorization from their bishops. These latter provisions are typical of official attempts (usually futile) to curb abuses endemic in the traditional, free-wheeling private-enterprise approach to the ownership of Byzantine religious foundations.⁵ Indeed the assertion [6] that a superior was free to sell, donate or transfer his land “to any person he wishes” recalls a similar claim made by the author of (1) *Apa Abraham* [4] in seventh-century Byzantine Egypt.

Along with the other superiors of Athos, Athanasios attended the assembly which led to the drafting of this document and placed his signature on it immediately after those of the emperor himself and Athanasios the *protos*, the head of the Athonite community. The impact of this document on Lavriot monasticism and vice-versa is hard to determine. A few years later Athanasios of Lavra would incorporate in his own (13) *Ath. Typikon* some of the customs and usages agreed upon here, including the year’s probation [3] for candidates for tonsure, the requirement [10] that monks seek permission before becoming solitaries, and the bans on spiritual relationships with laymen [14], on tonsuring youths or eunuchs [16], cf. [25], and on importation of livestock [22], cf. [23]. Some of the provisions for observing the Lenten fast [12] seem to be derived from the earlier Studite tradition while others are shared with (13) *Ath. Typikon* [29]. It is taken for granted in (12) *Tzimiskes* that the Athonite superiors (even Athanasios) should have personal servants, despite the explicit condemnation of (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34] and the Studite tradition. Likewise, this document assumes that monks will retain personal financial resources and even draw cash incomes from their monasteries [18], [19], [27] despite the weight of the Athanasian and Studite traditions to the contrary. Athanasios’ disposition to restrict the practice of non-cenobitic monasticism in his community by banning the erection of new *kellia* in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [45], [53], cf. [44] did not sway his colleagues in the assembly that drew up this document, who were more concerned to uphold the property rights [18] of those kelliotic monks who continued to build them. There is also no evidence from this document to suggest that Athanasios’ pioneering attempt to establish institutional autonomy for his own foundation under the patronage of the previous emperor Nikephoros Phokas (for which see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12]) had inspired imitators among the other monasteries on Mount Athos.

Yet as Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 101) has noted, what was left unsaid in this document was perhaps as important as, or more so than, what its terms in fact provide. Most important of all for Athanasios, either before or after Euthymios’ arrival he managed to prevent his opponents the *protos* Athanasios and Paul Xeropotamites from securing his expulsion from Mount Athos. The failure to restrict economic activities such as sale of monasteries and landed properties, even if, as

seems likely, their preservation was desired by the kelliotic and solitary monks, ultimately doomed their way of life on Athos since Lavra and the other large monasteries with vast resources remained free to expand at their neighbors' expense.

Notes on the Introduction

1. The document is undated; the proposed dating here follows Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 207, after Dölger, "Echtheit," p. 346, and Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 22; cf. Anastasiević, "Date," p. 11, who argued for 970.
2. The document is preserved on very thick rolled parchment in a sealed chest in the *Protaton* monastery at Karyes. It is the oldest original charter on Mount Athos and the oldest document bearing an autograph signature of an emperor. See discussion in Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 22, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 202–4, with illustrations in the Album, pls. XI–XIX.
3. For the background to the Tragos affair, see *Vita A*, chaps. 114–23, ed., J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain), 1982), pp. 54–58, and *Vita B*, chap. 36, ed., Noret, pp. 168–69; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 39–41, and "La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite composée au debut du XI^e siècle par Athanase de Lavra," in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 79–80, and by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 95–102.
4. See Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 98, with n. 34.
5. See my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 111–15, 125–27, 133–6.

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Translation

[Preface]

The reverend monks of the renowned Mount Athos, Athanasios the reverend monk and *protos* of the Mountain, and the reverend monk Paul, have presented themselves in the God-guarded city before our benevolent emperor.¹ For some time now, they explained, certain problems and disputes had arisen between them and the reverend monk Athanasios, superior of the imperial lavra called *Ta Melana*. The result was that several monks were injured and unjustly treated by him. They reported that they could find no way of solving the problem and no way of guaranteeing peace among them. Our mighty emperor, crowned by God, living by his laws and guarded by righteousness, places great importance on the monks, more than anyone else, being at peace and leading undisturbed and tranquil lives. He is, moreover, reluctant to have them brought before a secular tribunal, or to have their affairs investigated by civil officials and their charges against one another brought before the general public. Laymen, in addition, have no real understanding of monastic life. As the behavior of monks is different, so the charges are different. The charges which might be brought against them differ from the accusations and the judgments likely to be made against laymen. As a result, the emperor ordered our humble selves to betake ourselves to the place, and bring both sides together, and listen attentively to the charges brought by them. We were then to concentrate on straightening out matters properly according to the dictates of the holy canons.

We did indeed betake ourselves there, and both parties in the dispute also presented themselves. All the superiors of the Mountain sat together with us in council, while the entire assemblage of the brothers was also in attendance.² For an entire week the dispute was aired and very thoroughly investigated. Once we succeeded in acquiring a deeply spiritual understanding of the matter, it was found that both parties were absolutely guiltless, strange as this may sound. The dispute which had arisen between them was recognized as having been caused by the activity of Satan. The result was that, by God's graceful assistance, they merited the reward of a profound and unshakable peace, with all points of controversy resolved.

While engaged in this, we discovered that several other matters stood in need of correction, and we did our best to rectify them carefully in accord with the holy canons. We also found that some other monks were quarreling and making accusations against one another. We arranged to bring them to a settlement and establish peace. Closer study of the situation revealed that it was the assemblies which provided the occasion for some problems, quarrels, and seeds of discord. Now, we knew that those who had conceived of these assemblies had intended them to be beneficial and supportive for the brothers, but it turned out that they were having the opposite effect. We, therefore, all the reverend monks and superiors, whose names and signatures are given at the conclusion of this *typikon*, meeting in council, have by common consent, demand, and will determined and ordained that the two assemblies, the one at Easter and the one at the holy Nativity of Christ, are to be discontinued. Instead, the brothers are to gather and hold their assembly just once a year on the venerable feast of the immaculate Bearer of God and Mother of God.³ [p. 210] The allowance should also be kept until that day.⁴ We also lay down that on the assigned feast, the *protos* should come with only three disciples, the reverend Athanasios, superior of the Great Lavra, with two, and the monk Paul with one. The rest of the superiors, *kelliotai*, and solitaries should all

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come to the assembly without any servants, since we have discovered that it is the servants who generally cause the disorder and strife. As best we could, so we believe, we have devised a remedy which should aid both parties among the monks in being concerned about reverence and devotion. A peaceful situation should prevail in all respects and keep them from splitting into factions or separate groups and from becoming a scandal to laymen in the future, and especially from disturbing the sacred ears of our devout and mighty emperor. Now if, as time goes by, with the graceful assistance of God, the situation improves to such an extent that everyone agrees that they want to hold a second assembly, we rejoice and are very pleased at this. All we request is for them to inform us in writing, so that nothing will slip by which might weaken any prescription of the *typikon*. We, therefore, instruct them to observe these norms which have been approved by the prudent judgment of all the superiors on Mount Athos and which, I am sure, will be acknowledged as pleasing to God and acceptable to our virtuous emperor as befitting the ascetical life.

[1.] We have, in addition, determined that in case anything should occur which needs to be corrected, either in the community or individually regarding one of the brothers, no one of the superiors has permission to make direct inquiries about such a failing, or to correct it, or to censure or condemn the offender without the knowledge of the *protos*. On the other hand, without meeting with the superiors of the Mountain, and without their consent and advice, the *protos* does not have authority to do anything with which they disagree, even if it should seem particularly beneficial to the common good or to some individual person.

[2.] Concerning monks who have been tonsured in other monasteries, then left them and come to this venerable Mountain and been deemed worthy of reception, we order and we desire that they should not have the authority to purchase fields or to take possession of unclaimed places on their own initiative and will. They are not to direct a *kellion* without obtaining the approval and permission of the *protos* and the superiors.

[3.] All who come to you and promise to receive the monastic tonsure ought to be received by each one of the superiors. By no means should they be permitted outside the spiritual enclosure. They should not be tonsured right away, but should observe the ecclesiastical canon⁵ by devoting one year to being trained in the monastic way of life. They should give evidence that their resolve is firm and unshakable. When they show that such is the case, then, the superior may judge that they be clothed in the monastic habit. But if someone comes out of urgency or for some other reason, for whom it is not possible to wait out the year, and he requests to be enrolled immediately, we should leave this to the judgment of the superior. We suggest that the same consideration be granted to someone who is anxious to be tonsured and be garbed with the monastic habit because of some infirmity, fearful that death may intervene, and he may depart this life before he completes the assigned time we have stipulated.

[4.] A layman who has come to one of the superiors and stays with him for six months or an entire year, but who becomes dissatisfied with the superior's direction for certain causes and has good reason to claim that he has not been helped by him, may give himself to another spiritual director,

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whomsoever he might select, provided that other persons testify that this new director is irreproachable and capable of helping souls. [p. 211] He should not be allowed to go off to him without the consent, knowledge, and blessing of the first director, but he must present himself to whomever he has chosen with the advice and knowledge of the former.

[5.] If a monk has cause to be dissatisfied by his association with his superior for certain reasons which could be harmful to his soul, even though he may have received the monastic habit from him, he can nonetheless find another superior and with the knowledge, advice and permission of his previous father present himself to him. We recommend that it should not be permitted for any superior to receive the disciple of another superior without that person's knowledge. But if anyone is detected making a captive of such a disciple, he should not be entrusted with the disciple.

[6.] If one of the superiors should choose to sell, donate, or otherwise transmit his own plot of land to any person he wishes, either while he is still alive or to have such disposition of his possessions made after he has departed this life, we consent that he be permitted to exercise his ownership and authority with full freedom, and he is not to be restricted. If he should wish to transmit the ownership and possession of such a plot of land to his disciple, he is allowed to do this also, and he should not be hindered by anyone.

[7.] If, when he is close to death, one of the superiors on the Mountain shall leave his land to one of the administrators, so it will be well and properly managed and administered, no one of them may be allowed to have the authority to annex the dead man's land either to the Great Lavra, or to any other, or to someone else's land or to his own. He may, however, sell or donate it to a worthy and devout person if it turns out that that person has no other land. In like manner, from the present time on, these same regulations should be observed in the case of lands given to someone by *charistike*.

[8.] All those who withdraw from their own superiors and who do not choose to settle under the obedience of a father in accord with the *typikon* published by us, but who prefer to wander in a bold and undisciplined way around the whole Mountain, and to offer their services for hire, these should be warned once, twice, and more often. If they refuse to obey the men giving them such salutary advice, they should, even though unwilling, be handed over to spiritual fathers.

[9.] In accord with the ancient decrees of the holy fathers, we insist and we sternly declare that no one is to be allowed to ridicule or publicly expose the thoughts and confessions of anyone. If a person should be caught doing this, no matter who he may be, let him be subject to the canonical punishments.

[10.] Those subjects who have sufficiently advanced in spirituality and asceticism by the practice of virtue, and whose superiors deem capable of stripping to enter the stadium of solitude, we too permit and agree that they may dwell apart by themselves to practice asceticism according to the pleasure and judgment of their superiors.

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[11.] Regarding unknown priests coming here, we must insist that they do not have authority, either privately or publicly, to presume to celebrate the divine liturgy, unless they have an official letter from their bishops or some solid testimony in their favor.

[12.] We also make this recommendation. During the period of Holy Lent, all the solitary ascetics and those living in community should spend the time in silence, and they should not visit one another except for a good reason, an emergency, or to seek treatment for evil and shameful thoughts. None of the superiors, moreover, should busy himself with any work during these holy days, except on Saturday, or anything else unless it is related to spiritual matters. In addition, you may not partake of fish at all on these holy days, [p. 212] except on the revered feast of the Annunciation⁶ of the very holy Mother of God and in case of some infirmity.

[13.] Concerning monks who possess fields and sell them, then purchase others in turn, and sell them again for the sake of profit and shameful gain, and who do not cease engaging in mercenary pursuits, we command that they be made to refrain completely from any such business so harmful to their souls or that they be simply expelled from the Mountain, that is, if after one or two admonitions they have not reformed or turned from their wicked ways.

[14.] No one of the brothers is to be allowed to leave the mountain to form a bond of spiritual relationship or adoptive brotherhood with laymen. If some of them have already concluded a bond of this sort for themselves, they must still not go off to their houses or have lunch or dinner with them or join them at all in drinking.

[15.] Since you clearly wanted instructions on what you have to do in this matter, by common consent we lay down this regulation concerning wine. We do not permit anyone to dare to sell wine to laymen from the Zygos river in towards the Mountain. This allows outsiders to spend too much time with the monks and fill them with worldly corruption. If, however, anyone has more of a vintage than he needs, let him sell it to monks, and from the buyers let him receive what he does not have in return. For some of the monks on the Mountain lack necessities. Everyone does not have everything. If some laymen should happen to frequent the Mountain with some supplies which are lacking there, then in that case, because of the unavoidable shortage, it is allowed to give them wine in exchange.

[16.] We must strictly enjoin that boys, beardless youths, and eunuchs who journey to the Mountain to be tonsured should not be received at all. But in case it cannot be avoided, and the situation becomes urgent, we order that nothing should be done, and nobody should be admitted or tonsured unless the *protos* and all the superiors of the Mountain have investigated the case and freely consent. But if one of the superiors or *kelliotai* out of contempt for these stipulations should introduce into his field or cell a eunuch or a child, and after being denounced for this once and then twice, and should give no evidence of changing his ways, then we consider it best simply to drive him away from the Mountain.

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[17.] Any brothers who happen to lack an education but who are proficient in spirituality and who have become superiors should have permission to tonsure candidates who come to them just as the rest of the superiors, and they should not be hindered. Nonetheless, we order that those who are superiors because they seized this office first, but who are not really capable of directing themselves, should be assigned to spiritual fathers and reap some benefit from them by confessing their thoughts.

[18.] If anyone enters upon obedience to one of the superiors or comes to him from another, and should construct a cell with his consent and approval, but then instead of remaining there wants to get up and leave without his superior causing him any trouble, let him take half of what he spent for the cell. But if he wants to move away because the superior has been harassing him, we enjoin that he should take the entire amount of his expenses and so leave. We decree the same regarding fields and vineyards.

[19.] If a monk comes and agrees to work for one of the superiors for a year, but before the designated time is up neglects his duty and departs, let him be allowed to take the payment for his work with him. But if the superior acts wickedly and, after the monk had served him [p. 213] for a period of four or six months, he should try to harm the brother by chasing him away without pay, we order that he should receive the entire amount of his salary. But if the one who is wickedly depriving him should become obstinate and not pay the salary to the worker, he should be accused before the elders. Without delay let them demand the full amount of the salary from him, and let it be given to his accuser. In like manner, if a person entering upon a period of obedience and service without a contract, but who is chased away by the superior or harassed by him, gets up and leaves, we order that he should receive the full amount of his allowance from the superior.

[20.] We think it fitting to put an end to the so called “forced labor” imposed upon the *kelliotai* by the superiors. For these are indications of worldly, not monastic, life. But if someone, without being forced, freely chooses to come and help another, this lies in his power.

[21.] We order that the steward⁷ entrusted with the supervision of the Mese⁸ should have the authority to expel from the Mese those whom he might discover stirring up scandals or contention. If they happen to sow discord, and the steward does not take the proper steps to correct it, then the fault is his. If some compelling business causes him to be absent from the Mountain, he should leave in his place a competent man, superior to the others, who can guide the monks along the path of peace. But if some scandal occurs outside the Mese on the Mountain, then we order that the steward should take along with him three or four superiors from the vicinity of the place in which the scandal occurred and after careful examination apply a fitting solution to the problem.

[22.] Some years ago because of the incursion by foreign peoples the animals of the great monastery found their way to the Mountain with the knowledge of the monks of the Great Lavra. While that may be true, we order that it should not happen again, apart from necessity or another foreign

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incursion. This same rule must also be observed by the rest of the superiors, so that no individual may bring them in on his own authority. Regarding those animals which habitually come onto the Mountain, we leave any decision about them up to the council of the elders who may choose to prohibit them from being led here or not.

[23.] We decree that none of the superiors should have yokes of animals. The only exception is the Great Lavra, which may have one yoke because it is needed, and because of the large number of monks there, and because without such a yoke it would be impossible for the Lavra to function.

[24.] Regarding firewood which has been cut on the Mountain by the monks, we desire that it not be transported and sold outside, but that it be sold on the Mountain. In an emergency, though, let it be sold to laymen.

[25.] Concerning construction workers who come here, it is our view that they should not bring boys along to work with them as assistants or apprentices.

[26.] Regarding the appointment of the steward, we order that during the assembly on the revered feast of the Dormition of the very holy Mother of God he should give an account of the stewardship entrusted to him. If it is found that he has carried it out well, and if the *protos* and all the superiors are pleased with him, let him continue undisturbed in his service. But if they are not pleased, then we allow them to take that responsibility away from him and pass it on to another.

[27.] With the suppression of the two assemblies there is bound to be a surplus of the funds which were supposed to be paid out for the comfort of the elders. These should be added to the allowance and distributed to the monks. [p. 214]

[28.] Regarding the appointment of the *protos* we prefer that the ancient rule which has been followed from the beginning be maintained firmly and without change.

We are convinced that it is to the advantage of all the superiors and monks of the Mountain to adhere to all the regulations laid down here and that nobody should dare attempt to overturn any of the chapters in this *typikon*. But, if anyone should be detected holding these matters in contempt which were regulated and decreed not merely by our own initiative and authority, but by the common intent of all, let him be subject to the penalties of the holy canons, inasmuch as he has trampled on his own conscience and become a source of scandal and very great harm to everyone. These matters have been decreed and stipulated with the common intent and accord of all the reverend superiors of Athos by Euthymios, monk of the most holy monastery of Stoudios. Moreover, so they might be more perfect, secure, firm, solid, and lasting, they were referred to the judgment and review of our virtuous, mighty peace-making emperor John. For we had been ordered by the living voice of his unconquered, mighty majesty and, according to the esteemed, holy command of the sacred imperial letters which we received, we were assigned the mission of conducting a detailed investigation, of resolving all disagreement, of establishing peace, and of issu-

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ing regulations on all these matters. These have been accepted as canonically valid and confirmed by the imperial seal.

- + John in Christ our God faithful emperor of the Romans
- + Athanasios, monk and *protos*
- + Athanasios, monk and superior of the Great Lavra
- + Christodoulos, monk and superior of the *Protaton*
- + Iakobos, monk, priest, and superior
- + Thomas, monk, priest, and superior
- + John, monk and priest
- + Kallinikos, monk, priest, and superior
- + Anthimos, monk and superior
- + Elias, monk, priest, and superior
- + Arsenios, monk and superior
- + Daniel, monk and superior
- + John, monk and superior
- + Antony, monk and superior
- + Theodosios, monk and superior
- + Andrew, monk and superior
- + Dionysios, monk, priest, and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and superior
- + Thomas, monk and superior
- + Hilarion, monk and superior
- + George, the painter
- + Methodios, monk and superior
- + Nikephoros, monk and superior
- + Theodoulos, blind monk and superior [p. 215]
- + Euthymios, monk and superior
- + Zacharias, monk and superior
- + Michael, monk and superior
- + George, monk and superior
- + Michael, priest and superior
- + Luke, monk and steward
- + Nikodemos, monk and superior
- + John, monk and superior
- + Luke, monk +
Ignatios, monk
- + Stephen, monk +
Paul, monk and priest +
Andrew, monk and superior
- + Arsenios, monk and superior
- + Gabriel, monk and superior

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- + Damian, monk and superior +
- + Nikephoros, monk and superior
- + Basil, monk and superior
- + Basil, monk and superior + Symeon, monk and superior
- + Mark, monk, priest, and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and ecclesiarch
- + Theophilos, monk and superior
- + Nicholas, monk and superior, the calligrapher
- + Sergios, monk and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and superior of Theoktistos
- + Demetrios, monk and superior
- + Lazarus, monk and superior
- + Symeon, monk and superior
- + Antony, monk and superior
- + Theodoulos, monk and superior
- + Nikephoros, monk and priest
- + Sabas, monk and superior and *koubouklesios*⁹ +

Notes on the Translation

1. For the *protos* Athanasios, the third known incumbent of this office, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 130; for his office, see pp. 123–29; for Paul Xeropotamites, see pp. 66–68.
2. For the Athonite council and assembly, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 115–21.
3. This is the feast of the Dormition, August 15 (see [26] below).
4. The *roga*, the annual pension from the emperor first granted by Romanos I Lekapenos; see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 54, 122.
5. Cf. *NJ* 5.2, which provides for a three-year novitiate.
6. March 25.
7. For the office of the steward, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 151–55; the incumbent was the monk Luke, who signs this document.
8. Mese is used here as a synonym for Karyes, i.e. the Protaton monastery; see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 152.
9. Title born by patriarchal chamberlains; cf. Darrouzès, *Ορφικια*, pp. 39–44. As Papachryssanthou notes (*Prôtaton*, 207–8), it is not clear whether Sabas held this title before arriving at Mt. Athos or this office existed at the *Prôtaton* in the 10th c.

Document Notes

- [1] Rights of the *protos* and the superiors. There was to be a more extensive development of this topic in (15) *Constantine IX* [14].
- [2] Permission of the *protos* and a superior needed for non-Athonite monks to direct a *kellion*. See also [18] below and the discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101. In (15) *Constantine IX* [11], the *protos* was forbidden to make grants of common land.
- [3] Novitiate of one year. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [50] provides similarly, but like later documents, e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [37], makes an exception for those who are “pious and well known.”

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- [4] Postulants may change spiritual directors. See also below [5], [8], and [18].
- [5] Previous superior's permission required to transfer to another monastery. See also above [4], and below [8], [18]; reaffirmed by (15) *Constantine IX* [7].
- [6] Superiors allowed to sell, donate or bequeath personal property freely. Cf. (1) *Apa Abraham* [4] and (41) *Docheiariou* [5]. These rights were later restricted in (15) *Constantine IX* [9].
- [7] Regulation of personal property of superiors held in trust by administrators. The intent is to prevent Lavra from annexing other monastic foundations upon the deaths of their owners. The mention of the *charistike* could be 1) a generic "act of donation," as in an act of Emperor Leo VI dated to 908, ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, doc. 2, pp. 181–85, at 184, line 12, 2) an early example of the infamous public management program of that name for ecclesiastical foundations developed later in the tenth century, or 3) a synonym for *epidosis*, a similar but older public management program for transferring control of a religious foundation from one ecclesiastical authority to another, under which Lavra received the monastery of St. Andrew of Peristerai from Nikephoros Phokas in 964 (see the Athanasian *Vita A*, chap. 103, ed., Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 50, and *Vita B*, chap. 34, ed. Noret, p. 166).
- [8] Monks not to allowed to wander without supervision. The cross-reference is to the regulations in [3] ff.
- [10] Solitaries permitted. See also [18], [20] below. A system like that in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [40], cf. [42] is envisioned, in which the superior advances to solitary status a select number of cenobitic monks; see the discussion of the status of solitaries in Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101.
- [11] Unknown priests not to celebrate liturgy without written authorization from a bishop. For the problem of migratory clerics, see *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 111–15.
- [12] Lenten observances. Cf. similar provisions for seclusion in (7) *Latros* [6] and (13) *Ath. Rule* [29]; the exception for the feast of the Annunciation is found in (4) *Stoudios* [AB31] but not in (13) *Ath. Rule*.
- [13] Monks not to engage in real estate speculation or other mercenary pursuits. Cf. the critical comments of Athanasios in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [10], [11] as well as the Athonite critique of Athanasios himself in *Vita A*, chap. 114, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 54–55 and *Vita B*, chap. 36, pp. 168–69.
- [14] No spiritual relationships or adoptive brotherhoods with laymen. Utilized later by (59) *Manuel II* [10]. These are also forbidden by (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], which is in turn quoted without attribution in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32].
- [15] No sales of wine to laymen. Note Athanasios' attempt to limit Lavra to a single vineyard in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [53], and his condemnation of commerce in wine [10] and extensive plantings [11] by others.
- [16] Youths and eunuchs banned. See also [25] below. Utilized later by (59) *Manuel II* [13]. (3) *Theodore Studites* [18], quoted without attribution by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], bans adolescent disciples in the superior's cell; a ban on eunuchs is also found in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48]. The bans are repeated in (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [15].
- [18] Compensation due monks who leave behind the cells they have built when they change superiors. These *kellia*, designed for kelliotic monks and their small bands of followers, are discussed in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [44], [45], and [47].
- [19] Payment of contract workers engaged by superiors. This is part of the legislation intended to prevent the exploitation and expropriation of solitary and kelliotic monks; see also [18] above and [20] below.
- [20] Superiors not to impose forced labor on kelliotic monks. See also [10], [18], and [19] above, with discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101, and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [41].
- [21] Steward of the Mese responsible for its good order. For this official's subordination to the *protos* and his council of superiors, see [26] below. The reference to scandals at Karyes (Mese) is obscure, but cf. (15) *Constantine IX* [12] for evidence of persistent problems relating to unspecified commercial activities.
- [22] Ban on the importation of animals. This provision will be repeated later in (15) *Constantine IX* [3]; note exception in [23] below. In (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], Athanasios, quoting (3) *Theodore Studites* [4] without attribution, bans the use of female animals for any kind of work.
- [23] Only Lavra permitted to have a yoke of animals. (15) *Constantine IX* [4] cross-references this chapter,

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and extends the privilege of having a yoke of cattle for kneading bread to the Vatopedi monastery. In (13) *Ath. Typikon* [53], however, Athanasios rejects the prospect of Lavra's ownership of sheep and goats.

- [24] Restriction on the sale of firewood to laymen. In (15) *Constantine IX* [6], the sale of lumber and other shipbuilding supplies to laymen is banned also, while [10] issues regulations for the monks' cutting wood for fuel and construction.
- [25] Construction workers not to bring boys with them. That is, in violation of the principle behind [16] above, which see. Utilized later by (59) *Manuel II* [15].
- [26] Steward's rendering of accounts on the feast of the Dormition. See also [21] above and discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 121–22, 152.
- [27] Surplus funds formerly used to pay for two of the assemblies to be given to the monks as part of their allowances. See discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 54–55.
- [28] Retention of the traditional procedure for the selection of the *protos*. The “ancient rule” is no longer preserved, but later it is probable that the *protos* was chosen by the Athonite assembly, most likely at the initiative of the “notable monks”; see discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 124.

Subscriptions. For the prosopography of the known individuals, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 207–8.