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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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14. *Ath. Testament: Testament of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*

Date: after 993¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 123–30.

Manuscript: Lavra, unnumbered ms. (1814 A.D.); Codex Iveron 754 (16th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

For the institutional history of the Lavra Monastery, see (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History.

Analysis

A. Purpose of the Document

Athanasios used his *Testament (diatyposis)*, the third document under his authorship in our collection, to set up a protectorate for his foundation. The last half of the tenth century was an especially unsettled period for Byzantine religious foundations, yet here, as in (13) *Ath. Typikon*, Athanasios demonstrates his keen ability to assess the dangers to his foundation's autonomy and devise appropriate safeguards utilizing the most current administrative stratagems known to his era. The vehicle for the protectorate chosen here, the *ephoreia*, would become more common in the eleventh century and provides the unifying theme for the documents assembled below in Chapter Three of our collection.

Not trusting solely in his foundation's status as one of the first independent and autonomous monasteries, Athanasios here designates two administrators (*epitropoi*) with specific rights of oversight. The local administrator was to be [4] his long-time associate John the Iberian,³ to be succeeded by the latter's son Euthymios, who would in turn designate his successor. Athanasios considered but then rejected [5] naming Emperor Basil II (976–1025) as a second (lay) administrator for the foundation; instead he chose [6] the *patrikios* Nikephoros,⁴ who held a high position at court as *epi tou kanikleiou*, an authenticator of documents. Like John, Nikephoros was to choose [7] the first of his successors, with the result that there would be two self-perpetuating lines of protectors for the foundation. In fact, we know that both lines became extinct well before the second half of the eleventh century, and only the lay protectorate was revived in 1052.⁵

B. Rights and Duties of the Local Administrator

Athanasios authorizes the local administrator, John the Iberian, and, by extension, his successors,

to take up [4] residence in the monastery, appoint [12] a new superior in consultation with [13] no more than 15 of the “more prudent and spiritual brothers,” participate [14] in the installation ceremony for the superior, act [15] as overseer and corrector for the foundation, remove [16] an unfit superior, and provide [17], [18] for various individual ascetics (some possibly solitaries) who had been associated with the monastery over the years.

C. Duties of the Lay Administrator

The lay administrator Nikephoros was to collaborate [6] with John the Iberian and to assist the community “in obtaining the temporary and perishable things of this life.” He and his successors were also to serve [7] as “protectors and advocates” for the monks “for all situations which may arise there,” surely including using their influence (cf. [8]) to assure [5], cf. [3] that the monastery’s independence as guaranteed by several imperial chrysobulls would be preserved.

D. Other Administrative Provisions

The very considerable responsibilities with which the two administrators are entrusted, especially those of the local administrator on Mount Athos, probably derive from the rights of traditional private patrons. Athanasios’ reaffirmation [16] that the monastery’s superior was to have “absolute authority and dominion” over the foundation in both spiritual and material matters, which is consonant with his claim to this authority for himself in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16], is uneasily balanced by his willingness to see an unfit superior deposed. Also, though Lavra’s monks are enjoined [10] to show “love, peace, humility and proper respect” to the Athonite *protos*, he is given no specific rights over Athanasios’ foundation.

Other noteworthy administrative provisions include the first provisions in the documents in our collection for an electoral college [13] for the selection of the superior, for a ceremony [14] for that official’s installation, and for his removal [16] if he should prove unfit for office. In another new administrative development, the officials chosen to direct the foundation’s dependencies are granted [11] lifetime tenure until “advanced old age.” Provisions similar to all these regulations will figure prominently in documents of the monastic reform era. Also, for the first time we are provided [1] with some information on how written documents like this were preserved: the ecclesiarch was to place this testament in the *katechoumeneion* where its contents would remain secret until after Athanasios’ death.⁶

The relationship of this document to (13) *Ath. Typikon*, if not to (11) *Ath. Rule* (which seems to be explicitly acknowledged in [3]), is problematic. Despite the fact that (14) *Ath. Testament* has been preserved alongside (13) *Ath. Typikon* in at least one early manuscript,⁷ Lemerle’s assertion (*Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 20) that Athanasios did not intend for the former document to supersede the latter is open to question. Leaving aside the novel institution of the protectorate itself, the authority granted here to the local administrator to select and, should circumstances require, depose the superior, surely represents a considerable change from the arrangements for the succession to Lavra’s leadership envisioned by Athanasios in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [15], [17] or by the founder Nikephoros Phokas in his chrysobull. The authority of the “preeminent monks” has also been more sharply delineated, though in the most important matters it was to be shared with the local administrator. Moreover, the anti-expansionist economic prescriptions of (13) *Ath. Typikon* were completely

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outdated by the end of the tenth century, and there is no trace of them in the present document. Therefore, (14) *Ath. Testament* should indeed be considered as a new *typikon* for Lavra, effectively superseding (13) *Ath. Typikon* with a new administrative structure that Athanasios thought appropriate for changed times.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 20, dates this document to “after December 984,” on the very weak argument, pp. 44–45, that it is “inconceivable” that there would be no allusion to its designation [4] of John the Iberian as Lavra’s administrator in the act of donation that Athanasios issued at that time in John’s favor, ed. J. Lefort et al., *Actes d’Ivion* (Paris, 1985), pt. 1, doc. 6 [= old Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 108]; but as Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. cxxii, n. 55, rightly reminds us, Athanasios provides [1] that the present document (and presumably its contents also) was to remain secret until his death. Noret proposes that the document be dated after September 993, the date of Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 10, pp. 122–35, through which Lavra acquired the island of Gymnopelagesion, perhaps the monastery’s second insular possession, thus justifying the reference to the administrators of the “islands” (plural) in [11]; this dating is adopted here.
2. See Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 270–71, with comments by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 18. Meyer’s edition is based on the same late manuscripts as its counterpart for (13) *Ath. Typikon*; a new critical edition is needed.
3. For John the Iberian, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, with n. 151, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 83–85.
4. For Nikephoros, see the chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos (1052), ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 31, pp. 189–92, at 191, line 15, with Lemerle’s comments, 20. The individual here mentioned may well have been the military commander and writer Nikephoros Ouranos, who seems to have held the office in 982. He was formerly Domestic of the Schools of the West, in which office Lemerle supposes he must have been an influential official in the general vicinity of Athos.
5. See above, (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History, B 1–2.
6. For other examples of secret testaments, see (28) *Pantokrator* [68], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [116], and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
7. A Lavriote Ms., reputedly of the 10th–11th century, Panteleemon, “Katalogos,” no. 2059, that he claimed, p. 115, was likely an autograph of Athanasios himself; see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 14.

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See also the bibliography for (11) *Ath. Rule*.

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Translation

Testamentary Disposition of our holy and blessed father Athanasios

[1.] My beloved and venerable fathers and brothers, my dear spiritual children, since I the lowly monk Athanasios, guilty of every sin, by God's permission superior of our Lavra established here on the mountain and which is called *Melana*,¹ fear the uncertain moment of death every day and every hour, and am on the lookout for it in every place, especially while voyaging at sea because of the frequent shipwrecks which occur by God's unsearchable judgment, I deemed it right to leave behind in the Lavra the present memorial, written in the form of a testament or, one could say, a secret, written testamentary disposition, executed and signed. I leave it with the monk Michael, the ecclesiarch, to be kept safely in the *katechoumeneion*. After my death its contents should be made public. As though it were my living voice I want my thoughts made known to everyone and my concerns to be kept in mind forever by means of the present document.

[2.] I have passed all the days of my life in extreme sorrow. I am acutely conscious of the utter inability of my weak soul to assume charge over others, since I can never show proper concern even for my own soul. So I have been praying to God without ceasing to make known to me a man capable, in accord with his divine will, of being put in charge and well able to direct and shepherd the rational sheep of his flock. It was my prayer that this would happen while I was still alive so that I could withdraw by myself and take serious thought for my many sins. But I did not attain this goal either because of my overwhelming stupidity or lack of understanding, seeing that [p. 124] I judged others in the light of my own lowly self, or because God had so disposed matters, rather, permitted them owing to the great abundance of my wickedness.

[3.] For these reasons, then, I wish and I desire to leave behind after my death a superior taken from among those who make up our fellowship in Christ and our community who should be distinguished among the others for his intellect, his way of life, and his deeds. For this is what the chrysobull of the most blessed and revered emperor lord Nikephoros [II Phokas (963–969)] declares. "The superior of the Lavra must not be appointed from anywhere else except from among the brothers persevering in it, and he must be distinguished in intelligence and in virtue." For these reasons I adjure all my fathers, brothers, and my spiritual children and by the love of Christ I exhort all of you and I place you under oath before God and his all-holy Mother² to yield and subject yourself to my successor as superior just as you did to my lowly self. Live together with love for one another, united in spirit. Let the stronger bear the burdens of the weaker brothers. Contending with all their might and purpose, let each one of those who has received grace from God, whether to provide direction for souls by word and deed or to support the brothers with advice, admonition, and teaching, carefully observe the prescriptions, both those recorded in writing as well as those unwritten ones handed down, in the holy church of God, in the refectory, and in all other services. For they are the prescriptions laid down by our holy, God-bearing fathers, and which my unworthy self has received from their writing and in part from tradition. I now hand these on as a canonical rule and standard for our Lavra.

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[4.] As administrator for these matters I leave lord John, who has toiled for a long time and served with great gentleness and humility. He is genuinely spiritual, prudent, and full of love and faith toward my unworthy self and toward the entire community. He has dwelt here on the mountain, persevered, and grown old in his way of life together with me. After I leave this life I want him to come into the Lavra and, if possible, to take up residence there with the brothers, to direct them and prepare them for recognizing and submitting to their superior. But if this is not feasible [p. 125], at least he should visit the community on a more regular basis and get them organized. When he comes to die let him leave behind in his stead as administrator the lord Euthymios, my spiritual son, and his own son according to the flesh and the spirit. When his turn comes to die, let him leave behind to succeed him as administrator a wise and spiritual man, whether he be found in this Lavra or elsewhere on the mountain. Let those who come after him do likewise.

[5.] It had been my desire, nonetheless, to designate the holy emperor [Basil II (976–1025)] himself as administrator of our revered Lavra, but awe restrained me, and I realized that this was rather bold. He is, after all, the emperor, the ruler and lord, the father and provider not only of myself, who am least of all, and of my fathers and brothers, but of all Christians. In a special manner, though, more than to any other persons, secular or monks, he has displayed his good will to our unworthy, lowly selves and to our Lavra. He has taken steps to increase our resources by means of his revered chrysobulls, in which he also confirmed the chrysobulls of the other emperors, lord Nikephoros [II Phokas (963–969)] and lord John [I Tzimiskes (969–976)]. In addition to these he himself issued others in our favor.

[6.] Since, for the reasons already given, I was not bold enough to designate the good emperor for the position of administrator, I do leave my most devout lord, the true lover of Christ and of monks, Nikephoros, the most glorious *patrikos* and *epi tou kanikleiou*, as administrator, protector, and advocate of our assemblage in Christ and our Lavra. In expectation of being rewarded by God and for the sanctification of his own soul, he should associate himself and work together with my lord John the Iberian, my spiritual brother and father, and the entire community in Christ in all the distressing circumstances of their way of life. Let him struggle to assist them in obtaining the temporary and perishable things of this life. But let lord John the Iberian and all the brothers earnestly carry on their struggle to attain the imperishable and eternal goods in the life to come with all eagerness and love, and pray without ceasing on [p. 126] his behalf.

[7.] When his turn comes to depart this life, he should leave behind in his stead an administrator for this revered Lavra, and let each subsequent administrator before his death do the same. In this way, hoping to be rewarded by God and for the sake of their precious souls, there will be protectors and advocates there in the God-guarded city for all situations which may arise there and for the service of the Lavra. But those who are in the ranks of the monks, inasmuch as they are on the mountain and are neighbors, or rather, dwell together with my fathers and brothers, should strive with all their might, because of the reverence and virtue which belongs to them, to take care of our community as if they were different members of one body in every spiritual and corporal respect. May they receive their reward from the great giver, God, in the day of judgment for having main-

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tained faith and love for my lowly, unworthy self, guilty of every sin, not only during my life but also after my death. This is enough concerning the administrators.

[8.] You, my fathers, brothers, and spiritual children, with complete enthusiasm and with a good disposition strive to maintain peace and unshakable unity of mind with each other. May there not be schisms among you, nor factions or quarrels or divisive friendships or groups of companions. But let there be faith and love, a loving disposition toward one another and toward your superior, and an exact observance of my commandments, even the least, and of the prescriptions and rule which have been handed down to you. I believe that God in his goodness will open up the hearts, not only of the administrators, but also of every other person of high rank so they may show compassion for you, support you, and cooperate with you for the benefit of your souls.

[9.] Pay close attention, my brothers, that if anyone should be found among you, which I pray will not be the case, attempting to divide the body of the community by specious arguments, deceit, or wickedness, none of you should have anything at all to do with such a person. You should, rather, quickly expel him and drive him out of your company as a corrupt influence and as yeast which has gone flat. It is he who ought to be divided from the portion of the saved. For it is appropriate to bring imprecations upon a person who attempts such things [p. 127] so that his memory may be utterly removed from the earth, his name be blotted out of the book of the living and not be recorded among the just (cf. Gen. 17:14; Exod. 32:32). But if anyone be found taking his side, let him also share his portion and his lot. I enjoin upon my administrator lord John and the entire community that they immediately drive such people out of the Lavra.

[10.] I command that the same disposition and spiritual love be observed by you toward the Lavra of lord John and the brothers with him which you saw my lowly and sinful self have and observe, and which I frequently taught to you in common during the instructions and individually to each one. You should act in this way not only to lord John and those with him but also to everyone else, not just to those who love and honor you, but at times to those who hate you, harass you, and confront you with trials and injuries. Rather indeed, it is necessary to love and to show mercy according to God's command (Luke 6: 27, 35) to those who assault and attempt to injure you. Actually those men are only harming themselves and are conferring the greatest benefits on you. I know that you have learnt by experience from the events themselves and that you have been convinced by the many things which have happened to us that those trying to injure us have been of the greatest help to us, both for body and soul. Moreover, toward the *protos*, the superiors, and the brothers of our holy mountain observe love, peace, humility, and proper respect just as you used to see my lowly self observing.

[11.] Those who serve well, devoutly, and in a spiritual manner for the benefit of their own souls, whether in the Lavra, in the external or internal dependencies, and on the islands, should be without successors until advanced old age, especially those who strive with divine zeal to maintain unswerving obedience to the superior who succeeds my lowly self, and who have a very strong motivation and desire to gather provisions for the ordinary needs of their spiritual brothers at the

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Lavra and who look upon this sort of service as a means of working out the salvation of their own souls. Let them serve in this capacity for their entire life according to the will of the superior and the administrator, but not on their own authority. [p. 128]

[12.] To my administrator the monk John the Iberian I give this order and command from the Lord God and his all-holy Mother that after my death he conduct himself toward our assemblage in Christ, the Lavra, and to all connected with it both on the mountain and off it, in accordance with the command of God and the teaching of our holy fathers. Let him remain with the brothers in the Lavra for several days and speak with them both in a group and individually. Let them offer prayers and *ekteneis* without any respect of persons, dispassionately, and in complete freedom, for God sees and knows the hidden thoughts in the hearts of each. He should deliberate together with the prominent more educated and spiritual brothers. They should make a long and careful investigation, laying bare their own thoughts and judgments as well as those of the rest. In this way let them proceed to appoint a superior, one who would be approved by God and with whom the administrator and the preeminent brothers are fully satisfied.

[13.] The brothers whose advice the administrator shall seek for the election of a superior should not exceed fifteen, but should more or less make up that number. We are not excluding the others from this council because they are not spiritual or educated, for by the grace of God all of them are spiritual, competent, and prudent, but because in a large number there are many different particular propensities, and each has a different opinion. Some prefer this man, others that one. For this reason I have determined that it is just and reasonable to have a select group rather than a large one, as explained above, take part, with the advice of the administrator, in voting for the superior.

[14.] The installation of the superior should take place as follows. In the evening let the night office service be held in the main church of the most holy Mother of God. After matins the divine liturgy should be celebrated. Following the distribution of the divine consecrated gifts, the prayer behind the ambo should be recited. The *ektenes* should begin, and the “*Kyrie eleison*” should be repeated fifty times. The newly elected superior should make a prostration before the altar. He should then turn to face the assembled monks. The administrator should make a prostration to him first, and then all the others. As mentioned earlier, the administrator should support him and cooperate with him to the best of his ability, and the brothers should [p. 129] offer him pure and genuine submission.

[15.] As time goes on, lord John the Iberian should continue to oversee and to observe the manner in which the superior and the brothers conduct themselves. He shall be sure to note the serious concern, the strong love, and the friendly disposition of soul on the part of the superior toward the brothers, and, on the other hand, the obedience, trust, and love which they shall strive to possess in their souls toward the superior, or even anything contrary to these virtues. Let him strengthen what is conducive to their spiritual condition and let him correct what is not conducive and lead them to the right path. May he receive the reward for his efforts on their behalf from God, the lover of mankind, in the kingdom of heaven.

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[16.] After the superior's promotion and installation I firmly desire that he should have absolute authority and dominion in every respect in both spiritual and corporal matters. He must not be disturbed or impeded by anyone at all, especially as he is carrying out his duties well, in a manner pleasing to God, and in the spirit of God and is shepherding the company in Christ. But if, owing to my sins, the passage of time should make it clear that he is acting in such a way as to bring injury and perversion and utter destruction upon the souls of the community, which we pray may not be the case with the superior, not even in a dream, but if he is found to be such and does not correct himself, then the administrator should consult with the preeminent brothers, relying also on his own judgment and wisdom, and make careful provision for the community by appointing a man capable of bringing stability to the Lavra and all the brothers, and he should be able to do so until the end of his life.

[17.] I also desire and I order the superior and the administrator and all my spiritual brothers that they provide a resting place for my lord Antony until the end of his life and honor him appropriately and look upon him as a spiritual father. In like manner, they shall treat those brothers with him as their own members, likewise the monk John the calligrapher, according to the prescribed order and custom which I established and which those serving him have been observing. After my death the superior, the officials and all the brothers shall continue to observe it, as they did during the lifetime of my lowly self. Rather, let [p. 130] them give evidence by their deeds of even greater honor and love to him.

[18.] In like manner they should deal with the monk George the Iberian, the monk Gregory the *magistros*, the monk Dorotheos, the monk Antony from Mount Kyminas, and *abba* Sergios. Honor the priest lord Theophanes, minister to him, and serve him even more kindly than my lowly self did. For he is getting old and has very little strength left in his body. At the same time make a real effort to provide for the regular needs of the other old monks, the lord Sophronios and the rest of them. Do this without grumbling, but eagerly with a spiritual disposition, so that you may receive an abundant reward for your service to them from God in the day of judgment.

[19.] Be extremely attentive to hospitality and do not neglect the rule I gave to you regarding travelers and visitors who come to you either by sea or by land.

[20.] All of you together, young and old, first and last, must strive to observe genuine submission to your superior, yielding to his word in everything, for whoever resists his orders takes a stand against the command of God.

[21.] Finally, remember me, a poor sinner, in all your prayers, so I may obtain mercy and forgiveness for my many sins in the day of judgment.

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Notes on the Translation

1. An attribute of Lavra recalling Athanasios' original settlement at the future site of the monastery in 960, for which see *Vita A*, chap. 57, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 28, and *Vita B*, chap. 21, ed. Noret, p. 146.
2. The dedicatee and patroness of Lavra's *katholikon*.

Document Notes

- [1] Safekeeping and storage of the document. Cf. later security provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [40] and (32) *Mamas*, Addition, Second *Semeioma*.
- [2] Athanasios' failure to decide on his successor. His fear that he might die without naming one may account for the regulation in [12], [13] below.
- [3] Citation of Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull on the succession; admonition of obedience to the next superior; canon and rule for Lavra. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 18, n. 27, considered the citation to be an inexact quotation of the same passage from this source found in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [18]; he also identifies, p. 19, n. 28, the reference to the canon and rule as an allusion to (11) *Ath. Rule*. The admonition to obedience is quoted in *Vita A*, chap. 214, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 105, and in *Vita B*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, p. 159.
- [4] Designation of John the Iberian as the local administrator. According to the Georgian *Life* of John and his son Euthymios, John continued to govern his own monastery of Iveron until illness forced him to hand its administration over to Euthymios, who ruled for 14 years until his own accidental death in 1028; see summary in Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 42, n. 151.
- [5] Intent to designate Basil II as lay administrator. For Athanasios' relations with this emperor, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 46–48. Basil II's confirmation is Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 758, speculatively dated to 976; only one of the other chrysobulls alluded to here is preserved, Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 760, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 7, pp. 111–14, dated to July 978, which increased Lavra's imperial subsidy to ten talents of silver. According to his Georgian *Life*, John the Iberian actually did designate Basil II and his brother Constantine VIII as the administrators of his Iveron monastery; see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 42, n. 151.
- [6] Designation of Nikephoros *epi tou kanikleiou* as lay administrator. Athanasios here bestows on Nikephoros the titles of administrator (*epitropos*), protector (*prostates*), and advocate (*antileptor*).
- [7] Nikephoros to choose his own successor. We learn from the chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos (1052), ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 31, p. 191, line 22 ff., that this did not happen, and that the lay protectorate expired at his death, to Lavra's considerable detriment.
- [8] Injunction to avoid dissension. The Lavriote monks seem to have ignored Athanasios' advice, quarreling subsequently with the local administrator and, according to the aforementioned chrysobull of Constantine IX (p. 191, lines 26–27) holding their superiors in contempt and behaving in disorderly fashion; see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 49–50.
- [9] Expulsion prescribed for troublemakers. So also (2) *Pantelleria* [20], (22) *Evergetis* [9], and (23) *Pakourianos* [13].
- [10] Maintenance of good relations with the Iveron monastery. See Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 45, for a discussion of these relations.
- [11] Tenure of office for officials. This chapter testifies to Lavra's territorial expansion in spite of the earlier provisions to the contrary found in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [45], [53]. Noret, *Duae vitae*, p. cxxii, n. 55 identifies Lavra's island possessions as Neoi and Gymnopelagesion. Later, the monastic reform document (22) *Evergetis* [32] will adopt the principle of indefinite tenure of office for officials unless they should be guilty of neglect or dishonesty.
- [12] Rights and duties of John the Iberian. See also [15] below. The latter's role in the election of Lavra's superior constitutes an important amendment to the procedures laid down earlier in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [17]; cf. (17) *Nikon Metanoete* [13] and the much more circumscribed roles allowed to later admin-

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- istrators with various titles in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [13] Consultation with a small group of brothers for the election. Cf. the electoral role of the “more prominent brothers” in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16], [17]; the 15 “notables” are among the signatories of Athanasios’ act of donation to John the Iberian in 984, ed. Lefort et al., *Iviron*, pt. 1, doc. 6 [= old Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 108], for which see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 44.
- [14] Installation service for the superior. This, the first prescription for this service in our collection of documents, should be compared to those in such later documents of the monastic reform such as (22) *Evergetis* [13], (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [15] Other responsibilities of the local administrator. Supplements [12] above. Here John the Iberian effectively substitutes for the local bishop for the provision of “spiritual correction.”
- [16] Superior’s absolute authority and lordship; procedure for his removal from office. Cf. Athanasios’ view of his own authority in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16]. The procedure for the removal of the superior, another novel but influential usage in our collection of documents, employs here the administrator and “prominent monks,” presumably those who play a role above in [12], [13] in choosing the superior with him. Later, the reform tradition would resolve the paradox of the superior’s absolute authority coexisting with his removability by de-emphasizing the former and preserving the latter, either through the agency of the “prominent monks” alone, as in (22) *Evergetis* [14], the administrators, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [13], cf. (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3], or both, as in (32) *Mamas* [2].
- [17] Maintenance for Antony and the calligrapher John. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 48, identifies the former as Athanasios’ successor; in 984 he signed Athanasios’ act of donation to John the Iberian at the head of the list of 15 “leading monks.”
- [18] Maintenance for certain other monks. These monks, the first five of whom may have been the solitaries assigned to the *kellia* discussed in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], are not otherwise known. Antony, a *xenokouros* from the Kyminas monastery, may well have been one of those Athanasios had in mind in when he vigorously defended *xenokouroi* from discrimination in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [24].
- [19] Provision for hospitality. See (13) *Ath. Typikon* [35] and discussion of Athanasios’ provisions for pilgrims in *Vita A*, chaps. 106–8, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 50–51, and *Vita B*, chap. 35, ed. Noret, pp. 166–67.
- [20] Necessity of obedience of all to the superior. Cf. Studite-derived parallel treatment in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [56].
- [21] Founder’s request for prayers. For earlier examples, see (1) *Apa Abraham* [7], (5) *Euthymios* [2], and (6) *Rila* [20]; subject of much more extensive and elaborate provisions in twelfth-century documents such as (27) *Kecharitomene* [71], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [89], etc.