

This is an extract from:

Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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17. *Nikon Metanoeite: Testament of Nikon the Metanoeite
for the Church and Monastery of the Savior, the Mother of God,
and St. Kyriake in Lakedaimon*

Date: after 997¹

Translator: Anastasius Bandy

Edition employed: Od. Lampsidis, *Ho ek Pontou hosios Nikon ho Metanoeite* (Athens, 1982) (= *Archeion Pontou*, Supplement 13), pp. 252–56, with commentary, 452–65.

Manuscript: Lost ms. of uncertain date, once at the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs in Lakedaimon.²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A *Life* of Nikon the Metanoeite, “You Should Repent,” is preserved in two somewhat different manuscripts.³ Sullivan (*Life*, p. 7) concludes that the anonymous author, who claims to have been a later superior of the monastery of Nikon, wrote the *Life* from which both of these versions are descended in the middle of the eleventh century, possibly in the year 1042, and that he may have known the founder personally. The *Life* notes Nikon’s place of birth as Pontian Polemoniake, i.e., in the Armeniakon theme; Sullivan (*Life*, p. 18) reckons that he was born circa 930–935. While still a boy, he became a monk at the monastery of Chryse Petra (between the ancient provinces of Pontus and Paphlagonia), where he lived for twelve years. After Nikephoros Phokas’ reconquest of Crete in 961, he went to that island to assist in the reconversion of its population,⁴ spending seven years there. He arrived in Greece circa 968 (so Sullivan, *Life*, p. 19). After visiting several cities, including Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and Naupaktos, he arrived in Lakedaimon (Sparta), “probably about 970,” according to Sullivan.

The account of the construction of Nikon’s foundation at Sparta in the hagiographic *Life* is somewhat different from that found in (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* below. The presumed dependency of the former on the latter remains to be demonstrated. The *Life* mentions one of the anonymous author’s predecessors as superior, a certain Gregory, who is said to have obtained chrysobulls and other documents from an unnamed emperor guaranteeing Nikon’s foundation “total security” and freedom from “evil designs.”⁵ The vague wording nevertheless suggests Gregory obtained an independent and self-governing charter for the foundation along with immunity from taxation. Using money donated by a repentant imperial tax collector who earlier had abused the foundation’s monks, Gregory also purchased sacred vessels for the church and undertook interior and exterior renovations. Later, the imperial official Antiochos is said to have attempted to secularize a dependency of the monastery, converting it into an inn, for which outrage he paid with his life.⁶ Perhaps the official actually wished to put the dependency under the *charistike*. Finally, the *Life* records how Nikon posthumously avenged the assault of the local landowner Michael Choirosphaktes on

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the monastery's embattled dependency, then under the supervision of a certain Zosimos.⁷ These episodes are all thought to have occurred in the first half of the eleventh century during the lifetime of Nikon's anonymous hagiographer.

The holy man became the object of a healing cult at this time too, and there are numerous representations of him in Greek churches, including at Hosios Loukas.⁸ The subsequent history of the foundation is unknown, however. Some seventy years ago, the British School at Athens discovered the ruins of a large church dated to the end of the tenth century and various other structures from the eleventh century on the Spartan acropolis within the Romano-Byzantine retaining wall, but their identification with Nikon's foundation has been contested.⁹

Analysis

This document was composed at a crucial turning point in the history of Byzantine monasticism just as the use of the *charistike* by the public authorities was becoming widespread. It shows that the founder Nikon had an awareness of potential patronal abuses and that he also showed sympathy with what one might term "pre-reform" sentiments, e.g., his condemnation of resident lay appointees (*esomonitai*) [5] and gratuities (*kaniskia*) [9] for clerical appointments. Nevertheless, Nikon was essentially complacent about entrusting his foundation's welfare to public officials in a protectorate.

A. Foundation History

Nikon's *Testament* begins with an extended foundation history full of hagiographic elements and folklore (cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [75]). This section provides some valuable insights into how a holy man, local benefactors, and imperial officials negotiated their interests in the erection and governance of a private religious foundation towards the end of the tenth century. Here, Nikon, actively solicited by the "leading men" (*archontes*) of Lakedaimon for his presumed powers of soliciting divine intervention to end a devastating plague, drove a bargain with them that required the expulsion of the local Jewish community and the demolition of slaughterhouses in the vicinity of a local church.¹⁰ After the plague passed, Nikon announced plans to build a church in honor of the Savior, the Mother of God and St. Kyriake in thanksgiving for the divine deliverance. In this *Testament*, Nikon appears to usurp the role long reserved by both canon and imperial law for the local bishop by leading a procession from the cathedral church (*katholikon*) to the site of the church where a cross stood.¹¹ In the *Life*, however, the participation of the local bishop Theopemptos in the inaugural procession and the church's consecration is acknowledged.¹² The erection of the church is presented in both sources as a collaborative enterprise to which villagers, soldiers, local aristocrats and imperial officials contributed. There was also opposition, both serious and trivial.¹³ Spolia were utilized for building materials for the church as well as for other secular dwellings.

B. Lives of the Monks

A short list of regulatory provisions follows the foundation history. Given the need to reward the diverse patronage of this foundation, it is not surprising that the performance of memorial services for all associated in the building of the church assumes [1] first place among Nikon's regulations. Later, Nikon specifically mentions [4] the emperor, the local military governor (*strategos*) and

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judge (*krites*), and lord Basil Apokaukos—perhaps the most important individual benefactor—as deserving liturgical commemoration. The foundation’s superior was responsible [13] for celebrating the dominical feast days and for providing illumination of the church. Nikon limits [13] the number of resident monks to five, of which two [6] were priests, though there were evidently other personnel [11] stationed at the foundation’s dependencies.

C. Administrative Matters

After Nikon’s death, a protectorate (*ephoreia*) was to be instituted [2] for the governance of the foundation. The governor and the judge would serve in the capacity of protectors although the term *ephoros* itself is not used here. This service entitled them to nominal honorary gifts of wine and fruit. Nikon concedes [8] lifetime tenure specifically to two of his colleagues as well as to the resident monks [6] generally; after their deaths, however, the protectors along with unspecified local magistrates were to appoint [6] the resident priests and monks who would likewise serve for life unless they proved [9] to be of bad character. The protectors would also appoint the superior [13]. There is no mention of a role for the local ecclesiastical hierarchy in these matters.

The protectors were responsible [12] for preserving Nikon’s arrangements and for upholding the moral character of the foundation’s residents, a matter of special concern since it was located in the midst of a marketplace. The protectors were also not to make [9] appointments to the foundation for the sake of gratuities (*kaniskia* and *parakaleseis*), and outsiders (*esomonitai* are meant here) were not to be imposed [5] upon the foundation as unwanted lodgers. These provisions demonstrate that Nikon already had some awareness of abuses that would become more troublesome and commonplace during the next century.

Nikon chose to subordinate [10] two earlier churches he had founded along with their revenues to this new foundation, making them dependencies (*metochia*). The five resident priests and monks were to be responsible [11] for governing and caring for the staff of these dependent institutions.

D. Financial Matters

This was a somewhat atypical foundation, at least within the context of those described in the documents in our collection, in that no one great patron was responsible for its erection and financing its endowment. Future donations [3] were also welcomed. One of the foundation’s protectors, the governor, had probably earned his position by donating [13] the village of Perissos, along with its inhabitants, to the foundation. Despite his generally trusting attitude towards the imperial authorities, Nikon was careful to note [3] that any future bequests should go directly to the resident priests and monks, not through the protectors or other public officials. The implication is that the foundation’s officials are to handle their own financial affairs (cf. [10], [11]).

E. External Relations

Nikon urges [14] that the foundation’s peasant dependents be left “undisturbed.” He entrusts [Conclusion] some local noblemen rather than the protectors with the safekeeping of his *Testament*. In keeping with contemporary usage, there is a curse [5] on transgressors.

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Notes on the Introduction

1. The document is presumed to date from shortly before Nikon's death, which is itself reckoned to have taken place towards the end of the tenth century (see *Vita S. Niconis*, chap. 44, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 150) a "sufficient time" after events that can be dated to 996 and 997; see Sullivan, *Life*, p. 19.
2. See the discussion in Lampsides, *Nikon ho Metanoëite*, pp. 246–49.
3. These are Halkin, *BHG* 1366, based on codex Koutloumousiacus 210 (1630 A.D.) (= K), ed. Lampsides, *Nikon ho Metanoëite*, pp. 161–240, and *BHG* 1367, based on Vaticanus Barberini graecus 583 (15th c.) (= B), ed. Lampsides, pp. 14–159, with a reprint of the sixteenth-century Latin translation by J. Sirmond. Summary of *Vita B* in Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce," pp. 350–65. Sullivan, *Life*, has produced a text based on a collation of K and B along with an English translation. For the interrelationships of K and B and their use of the *Vita Lucae Junioris* (Halkin, *BHG* 994), see Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 1–23, and "Versions," pp. 161–73.
4. See Voulgarakis, "Rechristianisierung," pp. 192–98.
5. *Vita*, chap. 58, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 184–90.
6. *Vita*, chap. 59, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 190–94.
7. *Vita*, chaps. 60–61, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 194–202.
8. See Drandakes, "Eikonographika," pp. 306–19, and Maguire, "Healing," pp. 8–9.
9. See Bon, *Péloponnèse byzantin*, p. 70, with references in n. 1, cf. 140.
10. See also *Vita*, chaps. 33–34, 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 110–14, 118–24; for the local Jewish community, see Bowman, "Jewish Settlement," pp. 131–46, and Starr, *Jews*, pp. 167–68.
11. For *stauropēgia*, see G. Oesterle, "De monasterio stauropēgiaco," *Il diritto ecclesiastico* 64 (1953), 450–60.
12. *Vita*, chaps. 35, 38, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 116, 132.
13. See also *Vita*, chap. 39, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 134–40.

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Translation

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

[Foundation History]

As God and the all-holy Mother of God wished, they did bring me to Peloponnesos, where I taught for two years,¹ during the time of lord Nicholas the Judge. When I came to Amykleion, I proclaimed the divine words.² At that time the leading men of Lakedaimon assembled in the church of St. Barbara and told me that such a plague had fallen upon Lakedaimon that “we are unable to bury the dead. Therefore, make every effort to come yourself, [and be] with us, otherwise even we ourselves are going to depart from there.” I answered them that, “since, in fact, the anger is from God, you cannot escape because God, who dwells in the heavens, holds sway over both the East and the West and to whatever place you wish to go he will find you. However, on your part, make an agreement with me written by your own hand to the effect that you will obey me in those things that I am about to do, which is this: I [will] expel the Jews from the area³ so that they [will] depart and tear down the slaughter houses which are in the vicinity of St. Epiphanius and that they slaughter on Saturday and observe the feast of Sunday. Then I, too, will make an agreement with you written by my own hand to the effect that no one will die.”

The people heeded me and loved me as incense and I remained at the church of St. Barbara along with the sacristan and the rest of the people for fifteen days and nights. God covered my sins and all were set free from the plague. After this we made a religious procession to the marketplace,⁴ there where the cross was standing. And I set up a small seat on which I ascended and proclaimed the divine words and not my own. I preached words like these: “Since God heeded me and all of you have been set free from the plague, you should know that here a church is going to be built in the name of the Savior, of the Mother of God, and of St. Kyriake.” Again on another day we held a religious procession from the cathedral church, and as I was going out, I took a rock on my back which [p. 252] I carried and placed on the cross.⁵ At that time I preached to all the people who were present at the religious procession to the effect that “let everyone who loves the Savior, the Mother of God, and St. Kyriake do whatever I do in order that this church may be built.” God then rendered his assistance and all, young and old, heeded me and all brought rocks so that I buried the cross up to the middle with light rock. All the able women filled it up to the top.

One man,⁶ however, was found at that time who wanted to hinder the church from being built at that place which I had indicated. God knows that I neither cursed that man nor held anything against him, yet he happened to die. The leading men, however, in order that they might play *tzounganion*, did not let me build the church.⁷ I implored them, saying to them that “I do not want anything else from you but merely five beams in order that I may build arches and that you may go under [the arches] without being impeded from playing *tzounganion* and that the church stand above.” These leading men gave me five beams. Just as soon as I went from the cathedral church to the designated place where the church was going to be built, I found twenty-five beams and rocks that were large and suitable.⁸ Some of the leading men, however, attempted to take the stone for their own use and they were unable. It was God’s will and all [stones] found their way into the church, and through a dream almighty God, whenever a stone pleased him, disclosed it to the men and they brought it.

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At the base of the cross there were demons, as many as a bushel, resembling wasps.⁹ These demons struck two men and threw them to the ground, but by God's help they were healed and the demons fled. By the time that the church was built up to the ground floor, the feast day of St. Kyriake had arrived. Then I implored the senior priest to perform the liturgy. He came and performed the liturgy. While he was performing the liturgy, the wasps came and fell in front of the senior priest and me. When, however, the time came for the senior priest to read the gospel, all the wasps fled [p. 253] and went to the bank of the river.

When the builders were ready to build, it was necessary for me to remain close to the building, who, sinner though I am, nevertheless knew beforehand up to where the church was going to extend and thus, taking bricks, I began to build. Some people from the villages were telling me that a star had descended from the sky and was standing over the church, which I did not believe. Consequently, I went to the venerable cross and stopped there and saw the star just as the villagers had been telling me and I became fully convinced. The church was built, and when we had set up the dome, I went to the cathedral church where I stayed for two evenings. It was so dark that no one could see anyone. I saw three stars which came and fell upon the church. From their falling there appeared such a great light that even the villages became visible from the light of the stars. I summoned also the sacristan and he saw the light which had appeared. I too saw the signs which God was making, and I marveled and worked hard with my whole soul for the church.

At Sampson there were two columns, one of which lord Malakenos¹⁰ took so that he might take it to his house. I implored him and he gave it to me. Lord Rhontakios also attempted [to take] the other column with the aid of a hundred men and he was unable, but I took fifteen [men] and went and brought it there where the other one was. All marveled that, whereas one hundred [men] were unable to bring it, fifteen [men] with the help of the Savior were able to take it. Even I often used one beam for construction and the next day I would find two. Again I used two and I would find four.

Lime ran short and a man from Sthlavochorion¹¹ came and promised me four bushels. That night the Savior came down to him who had the lime and said to him, "This night I am taking your soul." The man who had the lime said to the Savior, "Sir, who are you?" He answered and said to him, "I am the Savior, [p. 254] whose divine structure [Nikon, surnamed] 'Repent' is building in the marketplace of Lakedaimon. You promised him only four bushels of lime, but you promised a small amount since you have a house full. If, however, you do what is good for you, bring as much lime as you have and fire up still two more [lime] kilns." That man, just as soon as he woke up, said, "Pity me, Master, and I shall give as much lime as I have and fire up two more kilns." The Savior again came to me and says to me, "Arise, start building because I have taken care of your concern for lime and do not grieve. Arise then and see at daybreak how much lime is coming and clear out a house so that you may put it [there]." I put it in the house and I built. I fired up fifty more kilns.

Believe me that God did not let me procure wood in order to fire up the [lime] kiln, for a man was found and he gave me wood. Then I got workmen and began building with what God had sent and what was given to the church, which I was eager to turn over to the Savior so that I might not have him as an opponent on the Day of Judgment.

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[Testamentary Provisions]

[1.] May God remember all those who associated together with me for the building of the church, and let the priest who performs liturgy in this church, should this priest perhaps not commemorate them, give an account on the Day of Judgment before the fearful Judge.

[2.] Further, it is my wish that after my death the *strategos*¹² and the judge who are going to be appointed exercise authority over this church, getting from it five measures of wine and one basket of apples, because I built this church with the help of the *strategoï*, the soldiers, and the judges.

[3.] If, however, anyone should perhaps wish to make a bequest to the church or to its houses, let neither the *protonotarios* nor the tax collector nor any public official nor *strategos* nor the judge accept this, but let this [bequest] be accepted by those who are in the church, that is, the fathers and priests, in order that they may remain undisturbed and may live in peace and love.

[4.] Let them also commemorate the [p. 255] emperor and the *strategos* and the judge who have dealings with the church, and much more, lord Basil Apokaukos.

[5.] Whoever should violate this word of mine or this injunction of mine, the sinner, and should lodge at the church or at its houses and should bother the monks who inhabit this church or the priests, let him be anathematized by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

[6.] Further, it is my wish that there be in the church two priests and that the resident monks and the priests in this church not be bothered but be allowed to bear fruit for their souls just as they were doing during my lifetime.

[7.] Whenever, however, either a monk or a priest should be gone from the church, let them not appoint to it a man who is useless, but let them install one who has moral excellence and piety.

[8.] Further, it is my wish and my order that the priest Gabriel and the monk Hilarion, who are together with me and served me, remain in the church undisturbed and unimpeded by anyone throughout their lifetimes. After their deaths, however, let the *strategos* and the judge together with the local magistrates appoint any able men, priests and monks they may find.

[9.] Let the aforesaid not install in the church, through gifts and requests, either priests or monks. But should perhaps even those who have been appointed prove to be bad, let others who are good be appointed.

[10.] Let all the revenues of the churches of Sthlavochorion and Parorion, which I built, that is, the dependencies along with their incomes, be stored up and collected in the church of the Savior, not only the yield of the vineyards and small farms and olive trees, but also the yield of fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees.

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[11.] Let the monks and the priests who are at the Savior do the governing and have the care of those who are settled in the dependencies.

[12.] Let the *strategos* and the judge at the time be bound by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by me, the sinner, to keep all those things such as I have defined and preserve them accurately. I mean that they see to it that the monks and priests be men who are able and unimpeachable, attested by good men, since my church is located [p. 256] in the middle of the market-place.

[13.] Further, I order that the superior who would be appointed by the *strategos* and judge celebrate all the feast days of the Savior and do the illumination [of the church]. From the surplus, however, of the revenue let only five brothers be nourished, Father Theodore Xylanthropos and four others.

[14.] Those who work in the church, that is, the [inhabitants] of the village of Perissos, which the saintly *strategos* gave me, I wish to be untouched and undisturbed by anyone.

[Conclusion]

Whatever, however, the *strategos* and the judge should do after the death of me, the sinner, let God too do to them at the Day of Judgment.

Whoever should ignore these words of mine, the sinner, let the Savior and the all-holy Mother of God repay him for this.

I adjure by God the imperial *protospatharios* and lord Demetrios, the *protospatharios*, that these two keep possession of my testament, which they are to seal with a leaden seal and guard it so that God may guide them in order that all these things which I have sketched in the quire may be preserved.

Notes on the Translation

1. Probably 968–70.
2. Cf. account in the *Vita*, chap. 33, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 110–12.
3. See the discussion in Bowman, “Jewish Settlement,” pp. 132–33, and Starr, “Jews,” pp. 167–68; the *Vita*, chap. 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 118–24, notes the objection of John Aratos, a member of the local nobility, to the expulsion.
4. Cf. the rather different account in the *Vita*, chap. 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 114–18, in which Theopemptos the local bishop takes part.
5. In the parallel account in the *Vita*, chap. 38, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 132, the local bishop once again takes part.
6. Perhaps an allusion to John Aratos and his fate, for which see the *Vita*, chap. 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 122–24.
7. Cf. the more elaborate and confrontational story in the *Vita*, chap. 39, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 134–40.
8. Cf. the account in the *Vita*, chap. 36, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 124.
9. In the *Vita*, chap. 36, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 124–26, the wasps come from underneath a large stone after its removal for use in construction of the church.
10. John Malakenos, said in the *Vita*, chap. 43, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 148–50, to have been denounced for

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disloyalty to Basil II but encouraged by Nikon to go to accept his summons to Constantinople where Nikon predicted his loyalty would be vindicated.

11. Location of one of the foundation's two dependencies; see [10] below.
12. Perhaps the *strategos* Gregory mentioned in the *Vita*, chaps. 39 and 40, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 136, 140, to whom Nikon predicted the fate of Bardas Skleros, probably in 987 (so Sullivan, p. 19).

Document Notes

- [1] Memorial services for builders of church not to be neglected. See also [4] and [7] below. Cf. the modest request in the contemporary (14) *Ath. Testament* [21]; later documents, e.g., (29) *Kosmosoteira* [64], [68], [72], echo the urgency seen here as engagements for memorial services became more important as a founder's right and as a funding device.
- [2] Designation of the protectors; their honoraria. For their commemorations and appointment rights, see [4] and [8] below. Nikodemos, author of (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], likewise names the incumbents of these offices as the protectors of his foundation.
- [3] Entitlement of resident priests and monks to future bequests. That is to say, the protectors are not to handle the foundation's finances or retain any of the income for themselves, both of which the protector was to do in (19) *Attaleiates* [24], [33].
- [4] Commemorations of the emperor, the protectors, and lord Apokauchos. See also [1] above. The emperor is Basil II. The last-named individual is presumably the foundation's primary benefactor, a Byzantine governor at Corinth, mentioned in the *Vita*, chap. 40, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 140–42, to whose side Nikon rushed in 996 when he fell ill at the time of a threatened Bulgarian raid on the Peloponnesos.
- [5] Imposition of residents prohibited. The reference is to *esomonitai*, sometimes also known as *katapemptoi* or "imposed guests," individuals whom a monastery was obliged to support. These were adamantly rejected in most *typika* written for reform monasteries such as (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], (32) *Mamas* [26], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26], and (34) *Machairas* [11]; but see their toleration in (24) *Christodoulos* [B15], (28) *Pantokrator* [28], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [107], [117].
- [6] Number of priests; lifetime tenure for all residents. See also [8] and [13] below. For tenure of office for officials in a contemporary document, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [11].
- [7] Monks and priests to designate replacements during their absences. Perhaps this is intended to keep the performance of commemorative services from lapsing; see [1] above.
- [8] Priest Gabriel and monk Hilarion to have lifetime tenure; protectors' and local magistrates' rights of appointment. See [6] above for general concession of lifetime tenure. Later protectors were disallowed such appointment rights under the influence of the monastic reform: see (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3].
- [9] Protectors and magistrates not to make simoniacal appointments. Priests and monks are not to be installed in exchange for gifts (*kaniskia*) or in response to requests (*parakaleseis*). Later, independent monasteries in the reform tradition would face the difficult question of the acceptability of entrance gifts given directly to the institution: see (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
- [10] Revenues of the dependencies to be stored in the main church. Cf. the discussion of the agricultural enterprise supporting one of these dependencies in the *Vita*, chap. 60, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 194–200. The economic subordination of dependencies to the principal monastery is the usual administrative procedure; see (28) *Pantokrator* [64].
- [11] Officials of the main church to administer the dependencies. That is to say, the administrators should not be laymen; see treatment of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [34] and related documents. The *Vita*, chap. 60, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 198, mentions the old monk Zosimos, the resident administrator of one of these dependencies.
- [12] Protectors obliged to preserve the founder's arrangements, guard the community's morality. Generally protectors were not allowed to change administrative procedures, but see (32) *Mamas* [15], cf. [3]. For

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a similar fear of proximity to a marketplace as is shown here, see (19) *Attaleiates* [30].

[13] Use of the foundation's revenues by the superior. For celebration of feasts, see (22) *Evergetis* [11]; for fixed illumination requirements, see (28) *Pantokrator* [29], [34]. For the maintenance of a fixed number of brothers, see [6], [7], and [8] above and (16) *Mount Tmolos* [2]. Note allusion to the protectors' right to appoint the superior; cf. (13) *Ath. Testament* [12] and (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29].

[14] Villagers working for the church to be undisturbed. The implication is that the peasants should not be treated like chattel or have new burdens placed on them; cf. (9) *Galesios* [246] and, for the most extensive treatment of this issue, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [71], [76], [103]. See also the considerable sympathy for the sufferings of the peasants at one of the monastery's dependencies in the *Vita*, chap. 60, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 194–200.