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*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:*

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

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## 22. *Evergetis: Typikon* of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis*

*Date:* First edition, 1054–70;  
periodically revised later; put in final form, 1098–1118<sup>1</sup>

*Translator:* Robert Jordan

*Edition employed:* Paul Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis,” *REB* 40 (1982), 5–101,  
with text at 15–95.

*Manuscript:* Codex Atheniensis, National Library 788 (12th c.)<sup>2</sup>

*Other translations:* French, by Gautier, *REB* 40 (1982), 14–94.

### *Institutional History*

#### *A. The First Founder, Paul Evergetinos, and His Works*

According to the document translated below, the monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis*, “Benefactress,” was founded [2] by a certain Paul, a wealthy Constantinopolitan, on an estate (*proasteion*) that he had acquired through a family inheritance. The foundation occurred in either 1048 or 1049, on this suburban property outside the walls of Constantinople. According to our document, the foundation was very modest [3] during Paul’s five-year tenure as superior, consisting of some small cells inhabited by a few disciples, including Paul’s eventual successor Timothy, who joined [2] *Evergetis* in 1049.

As it transpired, Paul Evergetinos’ legacy to Byzantine monasticism was primarily literary. He was the author of a massive ascetic florilegium, the *Evergetinon*, which enjoyed a wide circulation in the Byzantine world, surviving in no less than forty manuscripts today.<sup>3</sup> The work is divided into four volumes, each of which is subdivided into fifty hypotheses. The first volume concerns itself with the general principles of monastic asceticism, the second with monastic usages and the requirements of cenobitic life, the third with personal morality, and the fourth with progress in the spiritual life. The author’s emphasis is on the practical aspects of monastic life. He relies on a fairly short list of sources, using the *Apophthegmata Patrum* most of all, for which the *Evergetinon* is one of the most important textual witnesses. There is hardly any use of Basil of Caesarea. According to Richard (“Florilèges,” col. 503), Paul does not hesitate to adapt some of his texts to suit his own purposes, but generally he cites them literally. The *Evergetinon* may have inspired two later ascetic florilegia by Nikon of the Black Mountain, author of (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion*, and by John of Antioch, both of whom were important monastic reformers in their own right.<sup>4</sup> As Solignac notes (“Paul Évergétinos,” col. 563), the work is so large that it is difficult to see how Paul could have completed it during the relatively short term of his superiorship at *Evergetis*, yet he also assembled a collection of monastic *catecheses*, utilizing works of Maximos the Confessor, Pseudo-Makarios, Evagrius Pontikos, Mark the Hermit, and the *Great Catecheses* of Theodore the Studite.<sup>5</sup>

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### *B. The Second Founder, Timothy Evergetinos, and His Works*

Paul Evergetinos died in 1054, having transmitted [3] his foundation by a testament (now lost) to his disciple Timothy. Timothy was eventually recognized as *Evergetis'* second founder (*deuteros ktetor*), a well-deserved honor, for according to our document translated below he was responsible [3] for the erection of the foundation's church, the construction of new cells, the furnishing of the facility with sacred vessels, books, and icons, and the endowment of landed property. He was at least the first author of the present document, *Evergetis'* founder's *typikon*, as well as of the foundation's liturgical *typikon*, to which the former document served as a prologue.<sup>6</sup> In this latter work, not translated here, Timothy utilized (4) *Stoudios*, the liturgical *typikon* of the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia, certain now lost *typika* of monasteries on Mount Olympos, and a tract of Patriarch Antony III the Studite (974–79) on the office of the Annunciation.<sup>7</sup> Timothy mentions another *typikon* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Manuel, but only to reject one of its prescriptions.<sup>8</sup> Both the liturgical *typikon* and the founder's *typikon* translated below are preserved today in a single medieval manuscript, Codex Atheniensis 788. Timothy was also almost certainly responsible for securing some of the imperial chrysobulls mentioned below in [12] that recognized the foundation's independence. According to dated notices preserved in the manuscripts of three works from the scriptorium of *Evergetis*, Timothy was still governing as the foundation's superior in 1064, 1065 and 1067.<sup>9</sup>

### *C. Timothy's Successors as Superiors of Evergetis*

According to the present document, Timothy lived [13] as a recluse in a hermitage associated with the principal monastery. He originally envisioned the choice of a second "unconfined" superior, presumably to handle the ordinary administrative affairs of the foundation, who would then go into confinement on the death of the enclosed superior. Even before he drew up his edition of the founder's *typikon* Timothy had decided to eliminate the requirement of confinement and be content with one superior. Timothy had evidently not determined whom his successor would be when he completed his work on the founder's *typikon*, and his actual successor's identity remains unknown. A very brief collection of poems dedicated to Symeon the (New) Theologian is attributed to a certain Basil, *protasekretis* and founder (*ktetor*) of the monastery of the *Evergetis*.<sup>10</sup> Gautier ("Évergétis," p. 10) identified him as the *protasekretis* and judge of the hippodrome Basil Kekaumenos, who was active circa 1070. His relationship to the foundation for which the document translated below was written, if any, is problematic. It seems unlikely, as Gautier suggested, that he would have been appointed *charistikarios* over *Evergetis* without leaving a trace of this discordant event in the founder's *typikon* which was not put into final form until the end of the eleventh century at the earliest. Only the ordained monk Athanasios can be identified with certainty as one of Timothy's proximate successors, based on a note in an Evergetian manuscript dated to 1103.<sup>11</sup>

### *D. Evergetis in the Era of the Monastic Reform*

The history of the foundation in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries during the height of the monastic reform is unfortunately obscure, but its impact, traceable in the adoption of its founder's *typikon* in the foundation documents of other patrons, is indisputable.<sup>12</sup> In the twelfth century, the

authors of (29) *Kosmosoteira* and (30) *Phoberos* borrow from the Evergetian founder's *typikon* directly, the former with attribution and the latter without, in a recension with different chapter numbers but the same order as found in the model *typikon*. Probably through one or two intermediaries, (27) *Kecharitomene* likewise borrows a substantial amount of Evergetian institutions and usages as well. Towards mid-century, even documents like (28) *Pantokrator* and (31) *Areia* that are not themselves linked textually to the Evergetian founder's *typikon* nevertheless incorporate Evergetian customs. Later still, (32) *Mamas* and (33) *Heliou Bomon* display the unmistakable impact of another generation's recension of the Evergetian customary tradition.

The direct historical record is more meager. *Evergetis* was not among those monasteries specifically recorded as being represented by their superiors at the synod of Blachernai in 1094 that rehabilitated Leo of Chalcedon, that important turning point in the history of the reform movement. After this reconciliation of the Komnenian dynasty with the reformers, it was not at all inappropriate for Alexios Komnenos' brother-in-law John Doukas to enter *Evergetis* as the monk Antony, as is recorded in the Appendix to the founder's *typikon*, either at the very end of the eleventh or at the beginning of the twelfth century. In the final form that it has come down to us, the founder's *typikon* cannot be any earlier than this time. Pargoire ("Évergétis," p. 159) not implausibly suggested that the existing manuscript of this document and its companion liturgical *typikon*, which he believed dated from the mid-twelfth century, is the original copy of the revised edition.

In 1153, at perhaps the height of the monastic reform movement, an eremitic Evergetian monk was elected patriarch of Constantinople as Neophytos I (1153).<sup>13</sup> His election was bitterly opposed, however, and his opponents succeeded in persuading him to give up his office even before his consecration by recalling his temporary abandonment of his appointment as an ecclesiastical lector many years before. Around 1180, a delegation of Evergetian monks appeared before Patriarch Theodosios Boradiotes (1178–83) to resolve how they could obey the command in (22) *Evergetis* [15] that they should make their confessions exclusively to their superior if, as happened at the time to be the case, their spiritual director was not ordained.<sup>14</sup>

Towards the end of the twelfth century, *Evergetis* began a long, fruitful association with St. Sava (Sabbas) the Serbian, author of (44) *Karyes*.<sup>15</sup> This relationship began with Sava's second visit to Constantinople during the reign of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203). According to his biographer Domitien, Sava visited the monastery at this time, where a pious woman predicted that he would be gaining two treasures to assist him in his work. Sometime after Sava's return to his own monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos, the bequests materialized upon the death of his father, the Serbian king Stephen (c. 1166–1196), and he shared a part with *Evergetis*.

#### *E. Evergetis under Latin Rule*

Unlike the *Stoudios* monastery and many other less fortunate foundations, *Evergetis* evidently remained in existence during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61).<sup>16</sup> In 1206 the Cardinal-legate Benedict of Santa Susanna granted *Evergetis* along with its properties and dependencies to Stephen, abbot of the famous Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, on the condition that the Greek monks resident there not be expelled.<sup>17</sup> The document locates the monastery two miles beyond the walls of Constantinople. Later, Pope Honorius III (1212–27) confirmed and

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then reconfirmed this grant in two letters dated to 1217.<sup>18</sup> Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 166) supposes that Monte Cassino may never have been able to establish its control over *Evergetis*, judging from two additional letters Honorius III was obliged to issue restating the Benedictine monastery’s rights in 1222, one addressed to the monks of Monte Cassino and the other to the superior and monks of *Evergetis*, reminding the latter to receive the former with honor and to submit to their orders.<sup>19</sup> These instructions were repeated in another papal letter dispatched at the same time to “the vassals of the church of St. Mary of Virgotis.”<sup>20</sup>

The monks of *Evergetis* remained in contact with Orthodox supporters from outside the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In 1207, they received a letter from Nicholas Mesarites, who had recently assisted at Nicaea in the installation of Michael IV Autoreianos (1206–12), the Orthodox claimant to the patriarchal see of Constantinople.<sup>21</sup> *Evergetis*’ Serbian patron Sava of Hilandar also returned for a visit in 1235 on his way home from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>22</sup> He also visited the monastery’s dependency in the city of Constantinople dedicated to St. Andrew. The first mention of this institution in our sources is due to Antony of Novgorod, who visited the city shortly before the Latin Conquest in 1204; he also makes a note of Sava’s residence there.<sup>23</sup> In 1210 Neilos of Tamasia drew up the final version of (34) *Machairas* for his monastery of the Mother of God on Cyprus; this document is textually linked not only to the more proximate (32) *Mamas* but also an independent recension of *Evergetis*’ founder’s *typikon*, which demonstrates the continued relevance of at least the administrative provisions of the Evergetian document. Not surprisingly, Sava the Serbian’s own early thirteenth-century Slavic *typikon* for the Hilandar monastery demonstrates a much stronger influence of the Evergetian founder’s *typikon*, however.<sup>24</sup> In fact, Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 262) considered the former to be little more than a Slavic translation of the latter.

### F. The Fate of Evergetis

While *Evergetis* cannot unquestionably be shown to have existed past the thirteenth century, it is likely that it remained active down to the end of the fourteenth century, when in 1399 the monks of a monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis* are mentioned in a case heard before the patriarchal synod of Matthew I (1397–1410) as the previous, neglectful owners of a half share in a church on the island of Lemnos that had nearly fallen into ruins sometime before.<sup>25</sup> A Palaiologan nobleman, George Synadenos Astras, is mentioned in the court record as the (honorary) founder (*ktetor*) of *Evergetis*. While Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 166) was right to caution against an automatic identification of this *Evergetis* with the venerable foundation under examination here, suggesting the alternative possibility that there was a monastery of that name on Lemnos itself, the context of the reference fits better with an absentee landlord institution as the *Evergetis* in suburban Constantinople would have been vis-à-vis the church on Lemnos.

As will be seen, the continued influence of Evergetian usages and institutions in the late thirteenth, the fourteenth, and even the early fifteenth century amounts to a virtual neo-Evergetian revival sponsored by patrons of the Palaiologan era eager to bolster cenobitic monasticism.<sup>26</sup> This revival is not conclusive evidence in and of itself of the institutional survival of *Evergetis* during Palaiologan times, for *Evergetis*’ influence could have spread simply on a textual and customary basis, but it is certainly easier to explain by the continued presence of the institution itself. Moreover, judging from Gautier’s proposed dating of the handwriting of the note at the very end of the

document, our manuscript copy of the founder's *typikon* was not turned over to another institution until the sixteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Therefore it seems entirely possible that *Evergetis*, like the revived *Stoudios* monastery, survived down to the fall of the empire in 1453.

No trace of the foundation remains on its presumed site near Tchirpedji-Dere or Hasnadar-Dere in an industrial district outside the old city walls in Istanbul.<sup>28</sup> Majeska (*Russian Travelers*, p. 316) suggests, however, that the existing Greek church of the Mother of God *Gorgoepikoos* may have been built in Ottoman times on the site of *Evergetis*' Constantinopolitan dependency.

### *Analysis*

This monastery was the leader of an enormously influential reform movement in Byzantine monasticism,<sup>29</sup> which, building on both Basilian and Studite precedents, succeeded in revolutionizing contemporary attitudes on such important matters as the institutions of monastic governance, the abolition of privilege, strict financial management, and the desirability of the cenobitic life. The founder's *typikon* is the fundamental text needed for understanding the nature of this reform.

#### *A. Lives of the Monks*

##### 1. Number of Monks

Unlike some earlier and contemporary documents,<sup>30</sup> the author of (22) *Evergetis* [23] declines to set a fixed number of positions for the monks in *Evergetis*, preferring to let the monastery's resources determine the number who could be supported. A smaller number was acceptable too if it was not possible to recruit a full complement of pious monks. This too may have been a reform idea. The old notion of setting a fixed number of positions had the good intent of helping to assure that a foundation's expenses did not exceed its available income (see above, Chapter Three, Concerns of the Authors), but in the era of the *charistike* must inevitably have led to situations like (21) *Roidion* in which unsuitable monks and even laymen were imposed on an institution simply because there were sufficient livings available to support them. To all appearances, however, the author anticipated that *Evergetis* would be a large foundation, judging from the need he saw [7] for the superior to appoint assistants to help him hear daily confessions and his expectation [36] that one day there would be too many deceased monks for them to be commemorated individually (see C.5 below).

The monastic community at *Evergetis* was divided [7] into monks who lived continuously in the monastery (engaged in liturgical and other services) and an apparently larger number, including "the more uneducated majority," who were assigned to various ministries both within and outside of the monastery. This division of the monastic community recalls the arrangements seen in (9) *Galesios* [182], which describes a foundation in which there were both choir monks and other mostly illiterate brothers.

##### 2. Liturgical Duties

As in other documents that are part of the Studite liturgical tradition such as (4) *Stoudios* and (11) *Ath. Rule*, the celebration of the canonical hours [4], [5], [6] was an important part of the lives of the monks. Though the description of the hours is fuller than in the earlier documents, the author

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clearly relied upon the liturgical *typikon* to regulate such matters as the fixed liturgical calendar and the movable feasts.

### 3. Manual Labor

The non-liturgical group of monks included [33] both literate brothers who served as administrators of the monastery's dependencies or other properties and unlettered monks who held various offices as cellarers, bakers, cooks, and muleteers. The role of manual labor for at least some monks is quietly assumed, therefore, as in (4) *Stoudios* [26], [33], rather than defended at length as in the Basilian rules.

### 4. Length of the Novitiate

Except for distinguished, well known individuals, applicants were obliged to serve [37] a six-month novitiate. An applicant who had been tonsured in another monastery (i.e., a *xenokourites*) could also be admitted at the discretion of the superior. Although the reception, not to mention the promotion, of outsider monks was controversial (see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [21] ff.), the Evergetians must have realized that the dismal state of Byzantine monasticism in the eleventh century meant that there were many good reasons why a monk might want to leave his original foundation for a reform monastery like their own.

### 5. Sacramental Life

*Evergetis* placed an increased emphasis on sacramental life, including communion [5] and confession [7]. The liturgy was celebrated daily, but the frequency with which the monks could receive communion [5] would depend on their moral state: the pure could receive three times a week; the weak once a week or not at all. In all cases the superior would decide on the appropriate frequency. No monk was allowed to abstain indefinitely from communion. Great importance was also attached to "life-preserving" confession, justified by reference to patristic authorities and enforced by the threat of expulsion from the community. The superior was to hear the confessions [7] of the literate brothers himself daily after matins and of the others after compline, assisted by designated priests, deacons, and even other monks because of their great numbers. The superior alone was to provide the "Great Confession" offered to monks on the occasion of their tonsure.

### 6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The requirements of the cenobitic lifestyle were given a strict interpretation at *Evergetis*. Monks could not have any personal possessions [22], not even a small coin or piece of fruit, without the permission of the superior. To enforce this regulation, the superior is instructed [27] to visit the monks' cells and confiscate unauthorized possessions. They were not allowed to engage [22] in correspondence with family or friends. Both the prohibition of personal possessions and the ban on correspondence are derived from a Basilian penal code.<sup>31</sup>

Monks were to be placed [24] two to a cell, apparently with some attempt being made to pair older and younger monks, the more educated with the unlearned, etc. Unlike (21) *Roidion* [B5], the monks were to follow the cenobitic practice of taking their meals in common in the refectory. Everyone, including the monastery's officials and other notables, was to receive [26] the same food and drink. The same principle of equality was to apply with respect to clothing, seemingly

wiping out the distinctions of rank observed in (9) *Galesios* [130] and endorsing (3) *Theodore Studites* [12].

#### 7. Servants Not Permitted

In accord with (3) *Theodore Studites* [4] but unlike (19) *Attaleiates* [42], Evergetian monks were not allowed [24] to have servants.

#### 8. Diet

Fasts and vigils were to be regulated [8] principally by the *synaxarion*, that is, the liturgical *typikon*. The second part of that document contains detailed prescriptions for the dietary regime for the Lent and the other fasts of the ecclesiastical year. However, there is a considerable amount of dietary regulation [10] for fasts in the founder's *typikon* as well. Generally, (22) *Evergetis* prescribes more leniently than the somewhat earlier (20) *Black Mountain* and certainly the later (43) *Kasoulon*. Overall, reform monasteries of the twelfth century followed *Evergetis'* example of relative leniency, especially the imperial foundations represented by (27) *Kecharitomene* and (28) *Pantokrator*, though (30) *Phoberos*, usually a close copier of (22) *Evergetis* in most matters, is stricter in many dietary provisions.

#### 9. Bathing

Perhaps as a bow to an increasing concern with providing for the needs of sick and elderly monks, a bath is provided [28] in the monastery. As originally written, the relevant passage of the *typikon* allowed only the sick to use it, but it appears that this was changed later to permit healthy monks to bathe three times a year and at the discretion of the superior. This is the first bathing facility to be attested in the monastic foundation documents.

#### 10. Care of Sick Monks

A cell provided with eight beds and staffed by two orderlies was to be set aside [41] as an infirmary for monks who might fall sick. If a doctor was available, he was to call on the brothers daily.

#### 11. Burial

Unlike some later documents, e.g., (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], there are no elaborate provisions for the burial of the foundation's monks, but a priest is assigned [36] to take care of burials, and the departed were to be commemorated liturgically.

### B. Constitutional Matters

#### 1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The *typikon* revives [12] (without attribution) the concept of the free (*eleuthera*), independent (*autodespotos*), and self-governing (*idiodespotos*) monastery first seen in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12], thereby establishing a model and new standard of institutional autonomy for generations of founders to come.<sup>32</sup> This status is said to have dated from the period of *Evergetis'* foundation, guaranteed by chrysobulls of "emperors of everlasting memory," presumably including Constantine IX Monomachos, otherwise known as a protector of certain monasteries.<sup>33</sup> *Evergetis'* independent status was held to make it exempt from subordination to any individual, public or private, and, by implication, from participation in the *charistike*.

## 2. Leadership

As noted above, in the first version of the *typikon*, the author Timothy had planned [13] that *Evergetis* would be ruled by two superiors, one a recluse and the other “unconfined,” who would presumably handle the day-to-day administration of the foundation. On the death of the former, the latter was to take his place. Later, Timothy thought better of this arrangement and decided to have only one superior, who would not be required to adopt the eremitic lifestyle but would be, as in (3) *Theodore Studites* [10], discouraged from travel outside the monastery and its properties except for the most pressing of reasons. Timothy announces [13] his expectation of designating his successor himself, and after the author’s death this superior would consult with a few preeminent monks to choose a steward. In due course of time, provided he remained virtuous, the steward in turn would become [14] superior himself.

## 3. Role of the Preeminent Monks

Timothy provides a very important role for the above-mentioned preeminent monks. In addition to choosing [13], cf. [17] the steward in consultation with the superior, they could also, upon the sudden death of the superior, block [14] a bad steward’s elevation to the superiorship. Perhaps (3) *Theodore Studites* (22), in which the Studite superior is told to make assignments and assess the performances of the monastery’s officers in consultation with the “foremost brothers,” provided a model. In *Evergetis*, the superior is told [14] to use the preeminent monks as his advisors; they were also required to be present [19] at any emergency alienations of consecrated property. Overall, their role would seem to be a bow to the contemporary dislike of privileged, arbitrary rule visible in (15) *Constantine IX* [13], but far from a concession of consensus rule by the community as a whole.

## 4. Stress on Unanimity

Timothy’s stress on achieving unanimity in the election of the superior [14] probably is attributable once again to fears that malcontents will resort to courts of law to prevail, as apparently in (15) *Constantine IX* [8]. This attitude leads to the author’s extraordinary statement [14] that even a bad steward should be allowed to become superior if the preeminent monks cannot agree on a suitable replacement: “For it is better for you to be exposed to a little danger during the stewardship of this worthless man than to be rendered completely useless by resorting to discord or quarreling or even the remembering of injuries.”<sup>34</sup> In the same spirit, Timothy instructs [14] the superior to choose his own successor arbitrarily if the preeminent monks are unable to make a unanimous choice in consultation with him. Fear of litigation may also explain why the author was willing [14] to allowed a deposed superior to remain in the community and continue to hold an honored rank.

## 5. Reading of the *Typikon*

To remind the monks of their responsibilities, the foundation’s *typikon* was to be read [43] at the beginning of the month during mealtime. This follows a developing trend, seen earlier in (11) *Ath. Rule* [37] and in the contemporary (19) *Attaleiates* [33], [40], to invest constitutive documents with the prestige and authority once accorded only to the personal pronouncements of founders and patrons.

### C. Financial Matters

True to the spirit of the times, this *typikon* exhibits a great deal of concern about financial misconduct. Unlike earlier authors who, if they worried at all about the loss of institutional assets, focused on external threats, Timothy was keenly aware of the peril the monastery's own officials could pose to the foundation's well-being if they were dishonest.

#### 1. Financial Officials

The key official was the steward, who handled the financial affairs of the monastery and in the ordinary course of events at *Evergetis* could look forward [13] to being promoted to the superiorship. However, careless administration, doing favors for relatives, and appropriating or alienating the monastery's property are among the justifications provided [14] for his deposition.

There were also three treasurers [30] among the monastery's financial officials: a sacristan (*skeuophylax*) charged with caring for the sacred vessels and altar cloths; a treasurer for linen (*docheiarios ton panion*) responsible for storing clothing and footwear; and a treasurer for money (*docheiarios ton nomismaton*) in the monastery whose responsibility it was to keep [20] detailed records of the monastery's income (when and where it came from) and expenditure (the reason for it and on what project). Property managers were to be selected [34] from among the monastery's pious monks, preferably old enough to resist the devil's temptations. High standards of rectitude were expected of all these officials; the sanction [22] for thieves who did not make amends was expulsion from the community.

#### 2. Endowment of the Foundation

*Evergetis* evidently had a conventional endowment of landed property, though it is said [34] to have amounted to only "some small piece of immovable property." Perhaps these were donated by the benefactors Promotenos and Kataphloron whose commemoration through charitable donations at the gate is enjoined in [36]. The foundation also possessed [33] some ecclesiastical dependencies at an early date, though none is known specifically until the thirteenth century (see above, Institutional History, 5).

#### 3. Inalienability of the Foundation's Properties

The *typikon* assumes that the immovable properties that made up the foundation's base of financial support were untouchable. It also declares [19] that movable consecrated property (sacred vessels, cloths, icons, and books) were likewise to be regarded as inalienable. The assertion that transgressors would be liable to a charge of sacrilege (*hierosylia*) recalls the language of the chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1079) attached to (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11]. There is, however, a short list of emergency situations in which alienations might take place, but even in these cases the monastery's officials were to follow very specific procedures, including making a record of the transactions in the monastery's inventory.

#### 4. Provisions against Misconduct

To maximize the impact of the expected heavenly sanctions, the *typikon* incorporates [29] patronal icons of Christ and the Mother of God and the keys of the various offices into the installation ceremonies of the monastery's officials. Officials were to conclude that they had received their offices (symbolized by the keys) directly from these heavenly patrons. Subsequent dishonesty

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would make them accountable [32] to Christ and his Mother as well. The *typikon* was to substitute for the icons and keys in a similar installation ceremony [13] for the superior.

Monks are also warned [42] to avoid the temptation to pilfer possessions of the monastery or claim them as personal property, since “We did not abandon the world for luxury and indulgence.” In this case, even small violations of the cenobitic regime are associated with to more serious theft by officials.

Despite his hostility towards the use of consecrated property by officials for private gain (i.e., for the benefit of their friends and relatives), the author faced a difficult problem in dealing with possible misconduct by the superior. In [18] he refuses to allow the monks to hold their superior accountable for “the things for which they take in and pay out money” because he thought that that would breed mistrust and produce discord.

Essentially, the author faced a dilemma: the monks, who had the most to lose from such speculations, were the most obvious group to rely upon to denounce a bad superior for uncanonical alienations. However, Timothy was probably aware of how internal disputes could easily get the foundation bogged down in litigation in secular courts (cf. (15) *Constantine IX* [8]). So Timothy limits himself to declaring [18] that “they [the bad superiors] will not escape the fearful judgment of God.” The frequency of such appeals and the accompanying curses [32] in the troubled eleventh century should be seen as an indication of the increasing desperation of founders, who were no longer confident in relying on the good will of local governors (as the authors of (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* and (18) *Nea Gephyra* did) or even that of the emperor himself, who was not exempt from mistrust (see [12]).

### 5. No Mandatory Entrance Gifts

In what would become a classic formulation for reform monasteries, the *typikon* forswears [37] mandatory entrance gifts from those who wished to become monks at *Evergetis*. Formally, the traditional renunciation (*apotage*) or the entrance offering (*prosenexis*) are rejected because “one must not traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money.” Free-will gifts on entrance were welcomed, however, provided that they were unconditional, with no expectation of special privileges to follow.<sup>35</sup> In (9) *Galesios* [192], the stylite superior Lazarus also made entrance donations strictly voluntary, but was unsuccessful in persuading all his monks to give up their money and rely upon the foundation for support. At *Evergetis*, entrance donations, once made, could not be withdrawn [37] by their donors—again on pain of sacrilege—even if they should later choose to leave the monastery. The justification offered here, “For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away,” became the ideological credo of a generation of ecclesiastical reformers. Incidentally, the willingness of the foundation to forego entrance gifts must have strengthened the hand of its officials in determining whom to admit to the monastery (see above, A.4).

### 6. Commemorative Observances

The increased attention paid [36] to commemorative observances in reform monasteries like *Evergetis* may have been one way that founders compensated themselves and others for their financial sacrifices. In view of the new standards of financial probity, it would have been hypocritical for a founder like Timothy to reserve for his own use the bulk of the surplus from the foundation’s revenues as Attaleiates did for his son Theodore in (19) *Attaleiates* [24]. A posthu-

mous appendix to the *typikon* sets the memorial observance for Timothy, honored as the “second founder,” on the same day as the “first founder” Paul. Deceased superiors and monks were also entitled [36] to commemorations, with observances for the latter to be consolidated when it became necessary, while a priest charged with burials made charitable distributions at the gate in commemoration of the monastery’s benefactors. This may indicate an important source of income for the monastery considerably less problematic than the sale of lifetime annuities permitted in (19) *Attaleiates* [30].

#### D. General Philosophy

##### 1. Hostility to Privileges

Although the institution’s founder Paul Evergetinos had been [1] a wealthy man, the predominant ethos of his monastery was hostile to privileges. His successor Timothy, in a section of the *typikon* that proved to be unappealing to successor institutions in the Evergetian tradition, condemns [17] a possibly traditional style of authoritarian leadership in which an “unworthy” man might usurp the office of superior or steward by “making a display perhaps of his seniority or his achievements or his noble birth or reputation or his offering of property or money.” Timothy orders that the choice of the preeminent monks is to prevail over “those who glory in their own wisdom and power and glory and nobility,” even if the candidate chosen is “recently tonsured or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things.”

##### 2. Egalitarian Aspects

Egalitarian sentiments certainly influenced [37] the author’s wary attitude towards traditional entrance gifts, as discussed above. Timothy’s unwillingness to exempt [26] officials from the requirement of uniformity in food, drink and dress is another manifestation of his hostility to privilege. The truly violent language condemning [9] petty disputes over precedence in seating at meals, backed up by the threat of expulsion, is another, even though it appears [14] that certain seats were in fact assigned to officials on the basis of their rank in the monastery. *Evergetis’* hostility to privilege was rooted in Timothy’s identification of it as the source of insubordination and discord.

##### 3. Not Anti-Aristocratic

Though the assertion of privilege condemned in this document came most naturally to aristocrats, the foundation itself was not anti-aristocratic. “Distinguished people” were to be tonsured [37] after an unspecified shorter novitiate. The author also thought [39] that he could not ban noble women from visiting the monastery, perhaps out of fear of alienating potential benefactors (compare to (3) *Theodore Studites* [16]). Also, as we have seen, though *Evergetis* may have been governed more consultatively than other foundations, the *typikon* makes [14] no endorsement of radical egalitarianism in either elections or its structure of governance.

This shows that *Evergetis* (and the reform in general) was not hostile to the upper classes, but its leaders insisted that aristocrats’ expectations of privileges be left at the gate. As a result, it proved somewhat easier for the aristocracy and even the imperial family to embrace the overall objectives of the reform while toning down its attack on privileges in their own foundations (see

below, Chapter Five). Indeed, the admission of John Doukas, Alexios Komnenos' brother-in-law, as a monk here, is noted in an appendix to the *typikon*, and he induced the community to grant the concession of drinking wine during the Lenten fast by donating a vineyard to the foundation.

### E. External Relations

#### 1. Institutional Philanthropy

The Evergetian reform endorsed philanthropy, providing for daily distributions [38] at the gate of the monastery as well as for the care [41] of the sick in an infirmary. Those who died there were to be interred [38] in a special burial place (*xenotaphion*). Thus *Evergetis* claims its place in a general trend in Byzantine monasticism since at least the last quarter of the tenth century, starting with (16) *Mount Tmolos*, to erect philanthropic institutions in conjunction with monasteries (see above, Chapter Three, D.5). Women are specifically excluded [38] from the daily distributions at the gate, apparently because of the sexual temptation they might pose, though they remained eligible for general distributions. Strict sexual segregation, which was generally not a compelling concern for certain pre-reform monasteries (see (9) *Galesios* [129]), was taken up again by *Evergetis* in accord with the Studite tradition;<sup>36</sup> (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34] may also have been influential. In any event, this is the beginning of a noticeable misogynist tendency in the Evergetian reform movement.

### F. Composition of the Typikon

Since (22) *Evergetis* is the key document of the Byzantine monastic reform movement, close attention to its composition promises valuable insights into both the ideological development of the reform and the administrative innovations devised to institutionalize it during the latter half of the eleventh century.

#### 1. Internal Evidence for Incremental Composition

Internal evidence strongly suggests that the *typikon* was repeatedly reworked until it reached the essential form in which the manuscript is found today sometime in the twelfth century. Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 158) considered the headings to chapters [1], [3], [14], [32], [40], and [42] to be evidence of a re-edition, indisputably in those cases where the primary author Timothy is spoken of in the third person. Their placement is frequently awkward or simply wrong, sometimes dividing up coherent topical subjects between two new chapters in a way that the original author himself is most unlikely to have done.<sup>37</sup> That twelfth-century founders using (22) *Evergetis* as late as 11 appear to have “undone” some of these awkward divisions in their own reutilizations of this *typikon* may actually indicate that they were using an earlier version of this text before the chapter headings were introduced.<sup>38</sup>

The idea of dividing a founder's *typikon* into numerated chapters was becoming increasingly popular in the later eleventh century—see (20) *Black Mountain* and especially the contemporary (23) *Pakourianos*. This convention, with its quasi-judicial overtones, probably appealed to contemporaries such as the author of (19) *Attaleiates*, himself a jurist, who was, however, incapable of utilizing it consistently in his *Rule*. In the twelfth century, all of (22) *Evergetis*'s later users systematically divided their own works into topically consistent chapters. Earlier, in (4) *Stoudios*

[B] we can see how a scheme of chapter division and numeration was imposed on a prior version [A] of the same document without these features. The same thing is likely to have happened here.

During his lifetime, which extended to at least until 1067, Timothy also introduced some changes of his own into the *typikon*. As noted above, he changed his mind on the mandatory seclusion of the foundation's superior [13] and the prohibition on bathing [28], leading him to revise or rewrite the relevant chapters. As in other documents such as (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (20) *Black Mountain*, and the later (29) *Kosmosoteira*, repetitive treatments of certain topics are helpful indicators of the stages of their composition.<sup>39</sup> The interpretation of this evidence is complicated here, however, since we cannot be sure that the repetitions are the responsibility of a single author. In any event, certain of these repetitive treatments lend further support to the premise that administrative structures and disciplinary procedures continued to develop while the *typikon* was being composed. For instance, a single treasurer envisioned in [20] is joined by two colleagues later in [30]. Also, the ban on personal possessions announced in [22] is backed up by a provision for the superior's inspection of cells in [27], while the exhortation to preserve the *typikon* in [40] is strengthened by the provision for a monthly reading of the document in [43].

## 2. External Evidence for Incremental Composition

External evidence also lends support to the idea of a gradual development of the *typikon* throughout the last half of the eleventh century. Gautier ("Évergétis," p. 70, n. 53) proposed that the failure to provide a description of the duties of the librarian, an office known from a note in another manuscript to have been occupied by the monk George in 1064, indicated that the portion of the *typikon* around [31] must have dated from before that year. Although this is an argument *ex silentio*, it gains support from [39], which anticipates but does not actually institute the creation of other monastic offices.

The hypersensitivity to "theft" of movable (as opposed to immovable) property seen in various parts of the *typikon*<sup>40</sup> really fits in, historically speaking, no sooner than the confiscations of Isaac I Komnenos (1057–59) but more likely after those of Alexios Komnenos' government in 1081 (for which see above, Chapter Three, E. Historical Context, 6). The key, ideologically charged word "sacrilege" in *Evergetis*' discussion [19] of the inalienability of consecrated immovable property fails to appear in (30) *Phoberos* [38], an early twelfth-century document that is generally a close copy of (22) *Evergetis*, though again perhaps of an earlier version. Therefore this may be another place where the *typikon* was brought up to date in a re-edition, for the charge of sacrilege is backed up by reference to penalties established by a law which may be a chrysobull of Alexios Komnenos dated to 1082.<sup>41</sup> Likewise, the list of exceptions to the general rule against alienations, including destruction of the facility thanks to an enemy raid or an earthquake, accords well with the tumultuous early years of the reign of Alexios Komnenos, including a major earthquake, perhaps in the year 1090.<sup>42</sup>

## 3. Proposed Reconstruction of Compositional History

At this early point in the examination of the document, any reconstruction of its compositional history must necessarily be speculative, but the following general outline is offered for consideration. The original document as composed by Timothy may have consisted only of: the introduc-

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tion [1]; the foundation history [2], [3]; the liturgical, sacramental, and dietary regulations [4] through [10]; and the provision [11] for the patronal feast. There were probably no chapter headings at this time, and both [8] and the other cross-references to the *synaxarion* now found in this first section of the document may be later interpolations.

Judging from the author's transitional statement, there seems to have been a compositional break just before the present heading to [12]. The declaration of the monastery's independence, at least in its present form, must date from after the "chrysobulls of the emperors now dead" mentioned in it, minimally to the 1060s but perhaps much later still. Subsequent chapters, all landmarks of reform legislation, may have been added as the institutions and customs on which they were based were developed. As noted above, [13], which starts out with a cancellation of the requirement of seclusion for the superior, is self-consciously a revision of an earlier arrangement for the succession. Another compositional break is posited just before [18], again on the evidence of the author's transitional statement. Chapter [18] which follows appears to be a self-contained addition to the *typikon*. The statement of the inalienability of the monastery's immovable property [19] is later still; it may have been re-edited, moreover, late in the century. An author's transition occurs before [20]; the contents of that chapter and of [22] and [23] may have been written in one sitting. A new compositional section begins with [23] and continues down for quite some time, perhaps as far as the end of [33]. That there was a re-edition of [28], however, is self-evident from its internal inconsistency (cf. the shorter version in (30) *Phoberos* [46], likely based on the Evergetian original).

The transitional statement just before [34] indicates another place where work was resumed on the document, perhaps down to the end of [37]. Chapters [38] through [41], the latter chapter incorrectly announced in [40] as being the document's last, form the next section. Chapter [42] is self-professedly an addition, which summarizes much earlier disciplinary regulation. Chapter [43] is yet another addition, the last that Timothy can conceivably have made to the *typikon*, though it (like some other late chapters) may in fact be by another hand.

Timothy himself was dead by the time the appendix was added to the document which provides for his joint commemoration with the first founder Paul Evergetinos. But Alexios Komnenos' brother-in-law John Doukas, then known as the Evergetian monk Antony, is also mentioned in this appendix as still being alive. Since Doukas was still actively engaged in his military career in 1097, he could not have entered the monastery until near the end of the century at the earliest.<sup>43</sup> He is also mentioned as being alive in (23) *Kecharitomene* [71], a document which copies (22) *Evergetis* or—more likely—another document related to it, and can be dated to 1110–16.<sup>44</sup> Since Gautier ("Évergétis," p. 90, n. 68) noted that the appendix is in the same hand as that of the rest of the *typikon*, we are forced to the conclusion that it in its final version (22) *Evergetis* must date from no earlier than the first decades of the twelfth century.<sup>45</sup>

### 4. Summary of Conclusions

Timothy's contribution to this manuscript tradition of (22) *Evergetis* could have occurred at any time during his superiorship, which began at the founder Paul's death in 1054 and continued up through 1067 and possibly beyond. An incrementally progressive first edition of the *typikon* under Timothy's authorship is proposed for the period 1054–70 (roughly the presumed term of his

superiorship). Thereafter, other authors must have introduced the present division of the work into 43 chapters, re-edited certain ideologically and politically sensitive chapters like [12] and [19], and perhaps added a few final chapters of their own. The exact balance between the contributions of Timothy and his successors may not be determinable, unless some of the innovations contained in chapters [12] through the end of the document can be precisely dated from external evidence. The completion of the *typikon* as we have it is proposed for 1098–1118, an approximation of John Doukas' tenure as an Evergetian monk.

#### *G. Subsequent Utilization by Later Authors*

(22) *Evergetis* was undoubtedly the most influential Byzantine founder's *typikon* ever written. As noted above in *Evergetis'* Institutional History, many subsequent founders utilized it either directly or indirectly, down to the middle of the fourteenth century. Later authors utilized the whole or significant parts of all of the components of (22) *Evergetis* except for these obviously particular sections: the introduction [1], the foundation history [2], the founder's commemoration [35], and the appendix. Our own Appendix C: Topical Interrelationships of the Evergetian Family of Monastic *Typika* provides an overview of this usage.

It was through the borrowing of its *typikon* rather than through the development of any kind of monastic order that *Evergetis* saw its institutions and customs introduced into many of the most influential monasteries of later Byzantium. Detailed discussions of the impact of Evergetian institutions and customs on the successor institutions for which these founders wrote their own *typika* will be found below under the respective textually linked foundation documents in our collection.<sup>46</sup> To provide even a brief summary here would be tantamount to writing a concise history of Byzantine monasticism over the next two hundred years. Some general observations about the nature of subsequent utilization are in order, however.

First, the seamless way later authors integrated large portions of (22) *Evergetis* into their own works, admitting hardly any incongruities or internal inconsistencies, speaks to their superior editorial skills. Second, many later authors were so respectful of the text of (22) *Evergetis* that they utilized even its most disorganized chapters, like [13] and [14], to fashion new, better organized regulations of their own, and on occasion even used parts of (22) *Evergetis* to shape regulations opposed to the model's own provisions. Third, even foundation documents textually independent of (22) *Evergetis* nevertheless are indebted to many of its institutions and customs. This is true even in the twelfth century, but the phenomenon becomes more noticeable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at the very time that direct borrowing from (22) *Evergetis* becomes less common.<sup>47</sup> Fourth, the massive indebtedness of successor institutions to *Evergetis* is rarely acknowledged. Only Isaac Komnenos, author of (29) *Kosmosoteira* [8] in 1152, comes close to admitting the essentially derivative character of much of his own work. Finally, the borrowing from (22) *Evergetis* soon became dependent on intermediary *typika*, some, like (32) *Mamas* that are fortunately still preserved, and others that can be only conjecturally reconstructed. This was because the dynamic of the ongoing monastic reform, particularly in the twelfth century, tended to make (22) *Evergetis* seem outdated in the version in which we have it. Even (22) *Evergetis'* close copiers, the authors of (30) *Phoberos*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, and to a lesser extent also (34) *Machairas*, seem to have used a different version, a vulgate, as it were, of the Evergetian *typikon*.

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### *Notes on the Introduction*

1. See the discussion below in Analysis, F. Composition of the *Typikon*.
2. See discussion and description of the manuscript in Gautier, “Évergétis,” pp. 11–13.
3. Paul Evergetinos, *Evergetinos etoi Synagoge ton theophthongon rhematon kai didaskalion ton theophoron kai hagion pateron*, ed. Makarios of Corinth and Nikodemos Hagiorites (Venice, 1783), 7th ed. in 4 vols. (Athens, 1983); see analyses by Richard, “Florilèges,” cols. 502–3 (with lists of works utilized and surviving manuscripts); Sauget, “Paul Évergétinos,” pp. 227–35, and Solignac, “Paul Évergétinos,” cols. 563–64. An English translation is being prepared by the *Evergetis* project at Queens College, Belfast.
4. See descriptions in Richard, “Florilèges,” cols. 503–5, and (for Nikon) the discussion above in (20) *Black Mountain*, Biography of the Author, B. His Works.
5. See Leroy, “Nouveau témoin,” pp. 76–88; Solignac, “Paul Évergétinos,” col. 564. An edition and English translation is being prepared by the *Evergetis* project at Queens College, Belfast.
6. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 256–614; see discussion by Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 158–59; an English translation of the *Synaxarion* has been prepared by Robert Jordan as part of the *Evergetis* project at Queens College, Belfast.
7. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 8.
8. Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 158; for this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 322.
9. Gautier, “Évergétis,” pp. 8–9, with nn. 16–18.
10. Ed. A. Kambylis, *Symeon Neos Theologos, Hymnen* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 29–30; for discussion of this individual’s relationship to *Evergetis*, see Gautier, “Évergétis,” pp. 9–10, and Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 369–70.
11. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 9, with note 19.
12. For the impact of (22) *Evergetis* on *typika* of the twelfth-century monastic reform, see the discussions under the individual documents in Chapters Five and Six below.
13. See the notices in Ch. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Venice, 1729), no. 18, p. 59, and in A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, pt. 3 (Venice, 1729), pp. 176–89; with Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 161–62.
14. Theodore Balsamon, *Comm. ad C. Carth.* (419), c. 6 (R&P 3.311–12).
15. Domitien’s Slavic *Life of Sabbas the Serbian*, with French trans. and ed., A. Chodzko, *Légendes slaves du moyen âge* (Paris, 1858), pp. 36, 38; see discussion in Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 162–63, 372.
16. See Janin, “Sanctuaires,” pp. 177–78.
17. Ed. A. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris, 1894), pp. 60–61.
18. A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1874), nos. 5541 and 5552; the first letter ed. Belin, *Histoire*, pp. 61–62.
19. Potthast, *Regesta*, nos. 6887 and 6892.
20. Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 6893.
21. See Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 162.
22. See Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 163.
23. See G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 315–16.
24. Jordan, “Theotokos Evergetis,” pp. 243–44, commenting on Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 262.
25. MM 2.322–23; see the full discussion of this document below in Chapter Nine, Historical Context.
26. See the analyses below of (37) *Auxentios*, (39) *Lips*, (40) *Philanthropos*, (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, (58) *Menoikeion*, and (60) *Charsianeites* along with the discussion in Chapter Nine.
27. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 94, n. 77.
28. For the siting, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 182, and Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 372–73, with cautions by Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 7.

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29. See my “Documentary Evidence” and “*Evergetis Monastery*.”
30. For limits on numbers elsewhere in earlier and contemporary documents, see (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1], [2], (17) *Nikon Metanoete* [5], and (19) *Attaleiates* [27].
31. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae* 13, 59, PG 31, cols. 1308C, 1313C.
32. See below, Chapters Five and Six.
33. See (9) *Galesios* [223] and (15) *Constantine IX*.
34. Not surprisingly, this radical idea is not picked up by any of the successor institutions in the Evergetian tradition except for (30) *Phoberos* [35].
35. For examples, see (35) *Skoteine* [33], [38], [39].
36. See (4) *Theodore Studites* [9], [15], [16], [17].
37. Note, for example, the placement of the heading to [4], which consigns the author’s introduction to the discussion of the hours to [3], a discussion of his role in the development of the foundation; the heading to [18], which isolates the author’s own introduction to [18] with [17]; the heading to [35], which likewise isolates the author’s own transition to the subject of discussion in [35] in [34]; the especially awkward placement of the heading for [39], which divides the author’s discussion of the exclusion of women into two chapters; and the heading to [39], which fails to describe both of the two very different topics included in this chapter.
38. E.g., (32) *Mamas* [47] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], which both appear to “remedy” the awkward division between (22) *Evergetis* [3] and [4]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [13], which “ignores” the division between (22) *Evergetis* [13] and [14]; (30) *Phoberos* [36], which does the same for the divisions among (22) *Evergetis* [15], [16], and [17]; (30) *Phoberos* [48], which appears to “consolidate” (22) *Evergetis* [31], [32], and [33], or (30) *Phoberos* [55], which “remedies” the awkward division between (22) *Evergetis* [38] and [39]. There are many other possible illustrations of this editorial phenomenon.
39. Note repetitive treatments of: [7] confession to the superior, cf. [15]; [9] no secret eating, cf. [22]; [9] duties of the refectorian and disciplinary official, cf. [31]; [9] condemnation of quarrels over precedence, cf. [42]; [13] investiture ceremony for officials, cf. [29]; [20] duties of the treasurer, cf. [30]; [22] no personal possessions, cf. [27], [42]; and [32] warning against careless administration of the monastery’s property, cf. [42].
40. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [18], [19], [20], [32], [42].
41. Alexios Komnenos, *Novella de sacris vasibus in publicum usum non convertendis* (1082) (*JGR* 3.355–58) = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1085.
42. See John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, chap. 18, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 33 (1975), 129, cf. 80–86, with V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 480.
43. Basile Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l’Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), p. 148.
44. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 149.
45. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 11.
46. In Chapter Five, (27) *Kecharitomene*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, cf. (28) *Pantokrator*; in Chapter Six, (30) *Phoberos*, (32) *Mamas*, and (33) *Heliou Bomon*, cf. (31) *Areia*; in Chapter Seven, (34) *Machairas* and (47) *Philanthropos*, cf. (37) *Auxentios* and (39) *Lips*; in Chapter Nine, (58) *Menoikeion*, cf. (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites*.
47. See (28) *Pantokrator*, (31) *Areia*, (37) *Auxentios*, (39) *Lips*, (53) *Meteora*, (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites*.

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## ELEVENTH CENTURY

### *Translation*

Explanation and rule for the life of the monks in the monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Evergetis* handed down by Timothy the monk and priest who became superior after the founder of the same monastery.

#### 1. The introduction to the rule.

It is very good because it is both pleasing to God and contributes in no small way to your benefit, my brothers in the Lord and spiritual children, to set down in writing the nature and extent of all your holy liturgical procedure, and when and how you must carry it out, and to leave behind as it were a rule and model not only for you but also those coming after you, and not just that but to describe all the rest of your way of life—that is, that which concerns both the soul itself and the body—so that by referring to this you may be able with God’s help to guide and live your lives without error, not missing the true object by straying this way and that, but remain immovable in goodness, not being carried to and fro as Solomon says “Either to the right or to the left” (Prov. 4:27). You yourselves are well aware of the reason for which I have made this decision. It is also necessary to say these things for the sake of our successors.

#### 2. Concerning the site of this holy monastery, that is the estate of our holy father and first founder lord Paul, the one that was set aside by him for a monastery.

This most holy monastery of ours, as everyone knows, was once an estate of our late thrice-blessed father and founder, I mean the monk lord Paul. It had come to him by family inheritance and had been preferred by him to simply every other piece of property he had in the world clearly because of his desire for virtue and the contemplative life which he sought after most earnestly and preferred to everything else. Pierced by a burning love for this and moved by the Spirit of God, he immediately left this imperial capital, his own birthplace, also his parents and the rest of his relations, his friends and associates and his wealth, and all the other things in the world that enslave a soul that loves this world [p. 17] and he reached this estate in the month of June of the second indiction and the six thousand five hundred and fifty-sixth year.<sup>1</sup> After him and as it were following him I also came at the beginning of September of the third indiction and the six thousand five hundred and fifty-seventh year [1049 A.D.]

#### 3. Concerning the date of the death of our holy father the first founder, and that in his will he left the monastery in a meager form to our holy father lord Timothy its second founder, and that he established it in its present magnificent form; also concerning his acquisitions.

So then, as we have said, the blessed man came here and set aside the place for a monastery, building small cells and tonsuring a few men including me. After he had completed those great and marvelous struggles, he lived for only five years, and was taken away to everlasting bliss on the 16th of April in the year six thousand five hundred and sixty-two [1054 A.D.], leaving to me in his will the monastery in that small and simple form in which he had established it. You yourselves know and the truth demonstrates how it changed after it was left to me in such a small and very insignificant form through the intercessions of My Lady the *Evergetis* and his holy prayers, how it grew from being unimportant and incomplete into this imposing and most magnificent

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form, furthermore how a church was built from the very foundations to the Mother of God Our Lady the *Evergetis*, and how cells were constructed much better than the previous ones, the number and kinds of books that were acquired, similarly the sacred vessels and holy icons, also the holy veils and liturgical cloths, in short all the remaining adornment of the most holy church, and in addition the landed property acquired to support and maintain the monastery. It is not necessary for us to talk of these matters and anyone wishing to find out can be instructed more clearly by studying the inventory.<sup>2</sup> [p. 19] But keeping to our purpose we must turn in our discourse to the canonical procedure.

But O God and Lord of all, O ever-praised Mother of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, I pray these instructions may be effective and productive for both us and those after us until the end of the present age through the valuable prayers of your servant, our father and founder.

So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse and since we wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us the light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.

4. Concerning the psalm singing of the first hour and concerning the prayers and that after the worship of matins and the first hour have been completed the brothers should go away to their cells and sing the obligatory office.

So after the worship of matins, the office of the first hour should be sung by you following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the following prayer should next be recited, "Thou who at all times and all hours" and what follows. After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed, by the able-bodied on the bare floor but the weak should have some low supports. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner inasmuch as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out "God, be merciful to me the sinner" (Luke 18:13), then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say three times in the same way "I have sinned against Thee, Lord, forgive me." But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch or the priest on duty that day as he stands near the holy screen and indicates the successive movements.

That should take place when "God is the Lord" (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is not sung during matins;<sup>3</sup> but if it is, the performing of these genuflections in the church should be omitted but three deep bows should be performed while at each of them, as has been mentioned, the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to yourselves three times. Then after these genuflections or bows all should repeat the following prayer aloud with hands raised, "O [p. 21] eternal God, everlasting Light without beginning, the Maker of all creation." Immediately after the prayer the short *catechesis* from the words of the Fathers<sup>4</sup> should take place, read by the superior, just as we received it from our most blessed father, and this should never be omitted unless set aside by the *synaxarion*. At this point after the reading, the *trisagion* which is prescribed for us should take place and to it the following prayer should be joined, "Thou who sendest out the light and it proceeds."<sup>5</sup> That is to

take place when the *catechesis* is read as has been made clear; otherwise the *trisagion* should be omitted and the prayer should be recited to follow the other prayer before the *catechesis*.

All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following, “Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord” (Ps. 133 [134]:2), and “The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice” (Ps. 140 [141]:2), and “In every place lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling” (I Tim. 2:8). When the aforementioned prayer has been said and the priest has spoken his customary one also, all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the superior asking for your prayers like this, “Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,” you should answer, “May God save you, honored father, and you, pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.” Then again the superior praying should say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.”

Then you should stand up and depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because your mind is relaxed by this and you forget what is really good, and reaching your cells in a dilatory and lazy frame of mind you sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, “To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.”<sup>6</sup>

May this not be the case with my fathers and brothers, but let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind most vigilant, always doing what is pleasing to God. But if perhaps some are discovered to be at fault in this matter, whether they are young or old, advanced in the monastic life or novices, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the disciplinary official, [p. 23] and if they do not mend their ways they are to be punished. For it is not fitting that novices who behave carelessly should be punished, but rather those who have spent many years in the monastic way of life but are careless and lazy, as [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says somewhere concerning this.<sup>7</sup> Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole obligatory canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections in the manner mentioned above, I mean the six psalms, the third hour and the sixth according to custom when the *semantra* are struck. For genuflections should not be carried out in the church only when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung, as we have said. So when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down, but we will avoid<sup>8</sup> this also in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas, during Easter week, and further, during the nine days after the feast for the Dormition of our most holy Lady, the Mother of God *Evergetis*.<sup>9</sup> So the ritual of the third, sixth, and first hours should be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.

5. Concerning the holy liturgy, and that no one is to receive communion without an instruction from the superior, nor should anyone think himself unworthy of communion without informing him.

It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be cel-

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ibrated in the church each day, but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is impure, sown by the devil, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed by the superior to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day. This we would indeed wish, [p. 25] for to partake often of the divine elements is often to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (John 6:56), and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says “He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit” (I Cor. 6:17), and as the most gentle David says conversely “They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]:27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of his body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and leader of the apostles. This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore and more especially the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion three times a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters. But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion sing the office laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness and thus gratefully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.

6. A regulation concerning the ninth hour, vespers, and the night office, then next concerning the midnight office and matins.

The ninth hour should be sung in the same way as the preceding hours, with the striking of the semantron calling you to it as is usual. The regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers should be carried out, with the night office immediately next, as well as [p. 27] compline after the supper.<sup>10</sup> During these you should genuflect whenever you are not to celebrate a feast, and by feast we mean a day that includes “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) at matins. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the first hour and incline your ear well to the superior

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as he says, "Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in word, deed, and in thought," and you should grant him forgiveness saying, "May God forgive you, father." But you also should immediately beg this from him by adding, "Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in deed, word, and in thought," then again he should pray for you and say, "May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all."

Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock<sup>11</sup> learns from it the appropriate hour and goes to the superior, and receiving from him the required blessing then shouts out with a loud voice in a rhythmic fashion, "Bless, O saints." Then when he has struck the semantron in the customary way and distributed lights to all, he will rouse you for the celebration of the midnight office which he himself will also sing all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church, and then when he has sounded the great semantron and the bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship, the preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows.

For after the striking of the bronze semantron praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and as he praises God he should at once with the censer make the sign of the venerable cross<sup>12</sup> in front of the holy table; and you replying "Amen," should immediately sing a *trisagion* together with the nineteenth and twentieth psalms and the usual *troparia* and the *Kyrie eleison*, taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being sung.

The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity, speaking audibly as follows, "Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever, amen." After replying "Amen" the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins [p. 29] should next be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes.<sup>13</sup> That constitutes the pattern of your daily office.

### 7. Concerning life-preserving confession.

We must also speak about life-preserving confession and the discourse about the table must wait for a while. Well then, the superior must sit in a private place twice a day, and leaving aside all other work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each one the appropriate healing. We specify that after the reciting of the psalms at matins has begun there should be one time when he will bring healing to those who live continuously in the monastery and are not employed in any ministries; and after compline he will bring healing to those ministering inside or outside who are present. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he cannot act in person since the brotherhood is numerous, to authorize whichever priests and deacons he wishes, and even some of the more reverent brothers, to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated

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trouble, and to remit them and grant forgiveness. But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the superior by those who hear them, and he is to bring about the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing, though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor; also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them.

So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says "Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood" (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all impurity, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope, namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without [p. 31] accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them, but this is a time for making confession and obtaining healing for spiritual passions. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, "Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart" (Matt. 11:29). What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.

Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God Ruler of All until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful thoughts. Thus it would be necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he may come to his senses held us back from this purpose. However, for him to be liable to the penalty of excommunication is very useful since it is very effective. Indeed, what benefit does he obtain from remaining at the monastery? What benefit comes from not making confession, or rather does not harm and ruin follow and a continued practice of evil and everything whatsoever that brings destruction to the soul? So then, as it is difficult for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul. The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows: "If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the command of the Lord, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his superior all the secrets of his heart stripped bare."<sup>14</sup> So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will

possess later on something that is more sure; for [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says “Stripes that are exposed will not become worse,” [p. 33] and again, “A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.”<sup>15</sup> So the revelation of one’s own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it.

Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the superior himself clearly and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts; but the first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the superior alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one. These things should be so.

8. Concerning vigils and when they must take place.

Concerning the procedure for the holy fasts the *synaxarion* will inform you most precisely, and you should carry them out always in accordance with it.<sup>16</sup> Vigils should also take place following the prescribed rule every Sunday, at a feast of the Lord, and at commemorations of other saints which we will find out from the *synaxarion*.

9. Concerning the table and diet.

It should be the right time now to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For as we are made up of two parts, I mean soul and body, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its body. So then, since with God’s help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its body, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as it is necessary for the one who wishes to increase his monastery to be no less concerned about these things. So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my dear fathers and brothers.

After the customary collation has taken place in the narthex, when the divine liturgy has already been completed, all the monks should gather and sit there waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the refectory semantron. When the semantron has been struck, going out at once with the priest who officiated at the liturgy, you should make obeisance to the superior and then beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm<sup>17</sup> walk to the refectory, [p. 35] that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the aforementioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, you should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before you. Then anyone who was late for the psalm and the thanksgiving should be reported by the refectorian to the superior, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the superior wishes.

Moreover, the traditional reading<sup>18</sup> must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly if he

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wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the refectorian. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the refectory even if he is unwilling and subjected to the penalty of going without his food or made to learn self-control in another way as the superior wishes.

So we completely refuse to speak about seating. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God's will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For "Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord" (Prov. 16:5), says Holy Scripture, "The Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble" (Prov. 3:34). So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right minds, you would never choose to be an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favor from him and have him near you, as those who are of a contrite heart (Ps. 33 [34]:18), or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. But if any of you is found, alas, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees [p. 37] and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being totally incorrigible and completely incurable, he is to be driven out of the monastery, and like some cancer be thrown out somewhere far away from you, so that he may not also infect the rest of you with his filth. For, as some wise man said, "taking part in evil is much easier than in virtue."<sup>19</sup>

When you are eating a meal you must not share with each other any food or drink, even as much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water], but the person who at the time is in need of any of these things should raise himself a little very respectfully and ask the superior reverently, speaking as follows, "Bless me, father, I need this." So if the superior gives permission, he is to receive what he needs, but if not, he is to restrain himself and sit down again thankfully in silence.

We do this not through any meanness and stinginess, as some people think—for we will not be so wrapped up in things that are transient as to prefer them to the comfort of our brothers. For why should we, my brothers, be keen to possess these things if they do not contribute to your service, as has been said? But we do this securing for you reverence and orderliness in this also, that the laxity of the majority may not find an opportunity from this to ruin the whole orderliness of the table, and we become no better than those who are undisciplined and irreligious, who are indulgent and entertain each other by drinking toasts and replying to toasts. Not only are we curbing the inclination of the will, but furthermore we are rooting out the lack of self-control of the majority and teaching them to be satisfied with a few necessities and thereby at the same time plaiting for you crowns for self-restraint. Also we are keeping you away from committing unintentionally a secret deed of darkness, not to say one of stealth.

Well then, is not something done in secret a deed of darkness? This is of course very obvious and the divine gospel of John makes it clear as follows, "Everyone who does evil does not come to the light, lest his evil deeds should be exposed by the light" (John 3:20). The apostle also says,

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“Anything that is exposed is light” (Eph. 5:13), the statement showing that what is not exposed is complete darkness. So for what purpose do you reject the deed of light and do the deed of darkness, my brother? “I am ashamed to ask,” he says. So while you do the opposite and something which God hates you are not ashamed and you hesitate about what is good. Do not, I beg you. However I know that many do this trampling their consciences underfoot, and think that they are not noticed, which touches me to the depths of my heart, and I do not cease from weeping over them because they neither realize that they are in that evil plight, alas, nor [p. 39] acknowledge their passion. May the Lord have pity on them and guide them for their good as he manages all things for our good. We must now return to the point from which we digressed.

So after you have eaten and said the customary grace and risen, you should sing the specified office with the prayer and then go away to your own cells. At supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty as he who was late at the midday meal, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. The one, however, who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame. Then when you are at supper, only bread will be set before you and that in small quantities; but if some small fruits are set out by the decision of the superior, you should gratefully partake of these also. Drink will be distributed to you with the larger wine measure as is prescribed. But if in fact a feast happens to be celebrated by one of the brothers with the knowledge of the superior, this regulation should not be observed at supper but you should act in whatever way the one celebrating the feast wishes.

The disciplinary official should go in during the second sitting and, if there are some who should have eaten at the first but missed it, he should enquire the reason for their absence. If their excuse is reasonable, they are excused, but if it is unreasonable, we instruct him not to allow them to eat. For to be late for meals for no reasonable cause is not something to be approved of, and this practice must always be punished and discouraged as much as possible. So this is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year.

### 10. Concerning the holy fasts.

But that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water flavored with cumin. That is apart from Friday. On this day you should eat two dishes of food cooked without olive oil, and drink a better wine distributed in the larger measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore,<sup>20</sup> which the superior must celebrate as a duty and give you a refreshment. But if someone else of you wishes to celebrate this feast, we give him permission to feed the brotherhood with some shellfish on the Saturday, but we will not eat fish. [p. 41] You should carry out the first week of the great and holy Lent in that way.

On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on the

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Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, but only one, not both, of them will have olive oil; and wine will be measured out with the smaller measure, that is half of the larger one. Then on the rest of the days, I mean Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and hot water flavored with cumin. But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints should happen to fall on one of these days,<sup>21</sup> then the fast should be broken and you should eat two dishes with olive oil and take wine measured out with the larger measure.

Concerning the eating of fish during the great Lent and the feast of the Annunciation.

You are to eat fish if some are sent by devout people as a refreshment, however it is not to be procured by the monastery deliberately, and you should take care to celebrate one of these afore-said feasts when it falls on one of the days of the first week, and you should have as refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the larger measure and gruel.<sup>22</sup> But then, on all the other days of this holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, not even if perhaps some refreshment is sent you by someone. If however the person who is providing you with the refreshment should come himself to eat with you, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat lest we be seen by men to fast (Matt. 6:16).

Concerning the Annunciation and its feast.

When the feast of the Annunciation falls,<sup>23</sup> you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. Furthermore on the next day you should eat anything left from the table of the previous day, and in the same way drink the wine. If no fish has been left, then you will have two dishes with olive oil. The [p. 43] procedure of the feast should be carried out as for days free from fasting. We will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time we will use only shellfish, rather, we will receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—as on the days of the first week, it is right that we should live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavored with cumin. If the aforementioned holy feast should fall on those days, we shall not partake of fish but of shell-fish, as we said, and we shall drink wine of the larger measure, and we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday, or even Holy Saturday itself.

On Holy Thursday your eating will be as on the days of Lent that are free from fasting in the matter of both dishes and wine; but on Holy Friday no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger measure because of your weariness from the vigil. On Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided and there should only be a collation, as is customary. In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior.

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Concerning the two short fasts, that of the Holy Apostles and that of Christmas.<sup>24</sup>

The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles will be laid down immediately next. After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail,<sup>25</sup> you should be summoned to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, and there you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil and drink wine of the larger measure. Also supper should be set out for you consisting of a small piece of bread and the same amount of wine, namely a larger measure, because of the heat and dryness of the season. However we will not eat fish provided by the monastery; but if some were to come as a refreshment, then we should partake of it gratefully, for it is not right to forbid this during these two lesser fasts.

The fast of the Holy Nativity will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion [p. 45] of course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*.<sup>26</sup> It will differ from it in these two points only—in not performing the divine liturgy each day during the period of the fast, for the day being short does not provide enough time, and in eating once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is not sung at matins but “Alleluia.” So these rules should be kept in this way.

11. Concerning the way that the feasts of Our Lord and those of the most holy Mother of God must be celebrated.

All the divine feasts of Our Lord and those of our Lady and benefactress, the most holy Mother of God, should be celebrated by you differently from the rest, in the singing of psalms I mean, in the lighting of lamps, and in your own meals. The feast of her holy *Metastasis*, which we in fact call her Dormition, should be celebrated by you in a splendid and sumptuous manner, for it will be the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals. During this feast we order a distribution to be made at the gate of as much as we are able, and may your hand be generous. Now that we have discussed these matters sufficiently, we will, as is necessary, mention the others.

12. Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be independent and under its own control.

We instruct all in the name of our Lord God the Ruler of All that this holy monastery is to be independent, free of everyone’s control, and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person, but it should be watched over, steered, governed, and directed only by the Mother of God *Evergetis* who is worthy of all praise, by the prayer of our most blessed and holy father, and by the one acting as superior in it, and furthermore in accordance with the chrysobulls of the emperors now dead,<sup>27</sup> by which its independence and freedom from all control is most strongly confirmed for you, and through which you will have an independence undisturbed, completely steadfast, and unshaken.

If anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over this monastery or put it in subjection or place it under someone’s power, whether he be an emperor or a patriarch or some other member of the clergy or of the senate or even the superior of this monastery himself or its steward or simply one of its brothers prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and to the

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Mother of God [p. 47] our Lady *Evergetis*, but also “Let him be accursed” (Gal. 1:8), as the holy apostle says, and let him inherit the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers and become joint-heir with the traitor Judas and be counted with those who shouted “away with him, away with him, crucify him” (John 19:15), and “his blood be on us and on our children” (Matt. 27:25), because this wretched person has treated wretchedly something which was once a farm and was turned into a monastery with much sweat and toil and set up to be free by those very people who established it, placing it with malicious and deceitful intent, perhaps under the power of corrupt and wicked men who look to nothing else but pernicious gain.

Not only this but that thrice-wretched, thrice-accursed one, whoever he might be, has trampled underfoot and counted as nothing the crosses of the emperors of everlasting memory which they with pious intent inscribed upon their chrysobulls when granting independence to the monastery. Will he not be called to account, no matter what his subsequent conduct may be? So then those should be the principles established in this way.

13. Concerning the installation of the superior and the steward, and the fact that the superior is not allowed to go to the city or anywhere else far away so as to sleep outside the monastery except for the three reasons listed here.

It will be useful now to mention the installation of officials, of which the most important will always be the most important, I mean that of the superior, but on this matter I must make a small plea for your charity. In the name of My Lord, brothers, I decided previously that there should be two superiors, one a recluse, the other unconfined, and that when the recluse one dies, the unconfined one should enter the hermitage and another person should be appointed by you as the unconfined one in place of him who is now the recluse one, and in order to bring this about I myself made a start as indeed you yourselves also know. But knowing that good depends on the choice made by each one, I thought that force should not be brought to bear on my successors, for it is an obvious use of force that the unconfined superior should go by command into the hermitage against his will after the death of the recluse one, and it is a very harsh yoke to bear. Furthermore, when the matter is considered, it has been found that it is not beneficial to the community in general. For these reasons, therefore, though envisaging something better, as I think, I have decided that there should be one superior after my death.

So there should be one superior, a recluse, if he wishes to be so, for that should not be totally set aside, but if he does not wish it, unconfined, [p. 49] living the whole time with you without any separation. For he will not be allowed to go to the city or a great distance anywhere else, neither to visit a relative, nor a friend, nor any of his relations, nor an official, nor any other person whatsoever whether sick or dying or for any other reason, whether reasonable, unreasonable or even the most pressing, but his excursions will be both in the area surrounding the monastery and in our estates close to it, returning from these quickly lest he should be caught sleeping somewhere outside the monastery. He will leave it if an emperor or patriarch happens to summon him or if some enemies make a raid, when all of us are forced to leave. For these reasons only will he be free to go to the city, since visits to the aforementioned estates act as a relief from *akedia*. For our instruction to him in the name of the Lord God Ruler of All will be laid upon him as an indissoluble bond and be thought of as an unscalable wall (cf. Ps. 18:29), as the divine David says, and

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as a door that will be barred against him to prevent him going from here to the city and sleeping anywhere else. If he should ever transgress this instruction, treating it as of no account, he will be excommunicated. These provisions are so that the superior should never go out of the monastery, and now I must set down in writing how he should be appointed.

After I have completed this mortal life, the one who is left by me as superior should consult with a few of you, those, that is, who always surpass the others in their conduct, manners, intellect, character, discipline, and their spiritual state and way of life, and he should choose the one who surpasses everyone in all these points and install him as steward; and he should install him in the following way.

After the dismissal from matins and the customary prayer said by the priest, a *trisagion* should be said by all and the one chosen should make three full genuflections in front of and near the holy sanctuary; then he should reverently kiss the holy, divine, and revered icons of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the most holy Mother of God and universal Benefactress. After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the superior and then offer him his head bowed and uncovered and he, making over it the sign of the venerable cross, should reverently say as follows: “The intercession of my most holy Mother of God through the prayers of the Holy Fathers is installing you steward of the monastery.” Then when he has given him the kiss in the name of the Lord, he is to set him in his appropriate place. Next all without exception are to kiss him, and after the kiss glory should be given to God and the dismissal should follow the usual prayer of the priest. [p. 51]

If this steward carries out his office faultlessly, proving to be reliable in the sight of God and you, and being judged by you as fitting for the office of superior, should the superior know in advance of his own departure from here to the Lord, he should appoint him to leadership over you, since his faultless actions as steward have already been enough to act as a test and selection and, as has been mentioned before, his mode of life has been spiritual in every way. But if the superior should die without knowing in advance, then you, that is those who are preeminent and the most devout, should place this *typikon* on the holy table and rest also the staff against it and when the one selected has entered the holy sanctuary, after the prescribed *trisagion* and these *troparia*: “Have mercy on us, have mercy, O Lord,” “Lord, Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold and visit” (Ps. 79 [80]:14), “Glory both,” “Thou, the only begotten Son, of the same substance with Thy Father and the Spirit,” and thirty repetitions of “*Kyrie eleison*” and, after he has made three full genuflections before the holy table, you should invite him to take from it the *typikon* and the staff while all repeat “He is worthy.” You should invite him to go out and stand in his appropriate place and be kissed by everyone and become your next superior appointed by God. Then again he and you should select the one who surpasses you all in virtue, and install him as steward in accordance with the regulation stated above. So much for those matters.

What follows I did not wish to commit to writing. For it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it. This would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact we remained unchanged and completely unmoved in our adherence to what is good, but that is impossible, for we often change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whereas they ought to

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demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence, or because we feign virtue at the start through the desire for authority and the success it brings, and then when we have gained it we are immediately found to be still exactly what we were, like octopuses which when pursued by bigger fish take a tight hold of the rocks nearby and simply pretend that they are a rock, but whenever they escape the danger, they are recognizable as octopuses again, which in fact they were. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible. [p. 53]

14. Concerning the reasons laid down by the founder for the steward to be removed and another worthy person installed.

So if the steward should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his office but remain firm. Furthermore he will rise to the office of superior since he is worthy of it. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his office in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favors for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery's property or has shown himself to be a troublemaker and a dissident contradicting the reasonable regulations of the superior, or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control, or has been totally disregarding any of the [instructions] in the rule and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions or has become unreasonably attached to someone in preference to the rest of the community and therefore has been proved as unsuitable for the guiding of souls, then another person should be found, someone who abounds in all goodness and is superior to him in virtue and is unimpeachable. He will be preferred to the other in every way and will be promoted to the office of steward and even that of superior. The other will be removed and made subordinate again.

That applies then while the superior is alive and is peacefully guiding your devotion. But should the superior suddenly die and has not removed this bad steward, if there is someone who surpasses him in good qualities and is pleasing to you preeminent ones, whom we have told the superior to use as advisers, and if you agree on him and are all unanimous, then he should be selected by you and immediately raised to the office of superior, and with him you should take thought about another, better steward.

But if, something I pray God does not allow, you yourselves resort to strife and discord, the bad steward himself will become your superior to avoid uproar and dissension. For when two evils lie before us then the less bad one is preferable, and it is better for you to be exposed to a little danger during the leadership of this worthless man, than to be rendered completely useless by resorting to discord and quarreling or even the remembering of injuries. For if you are living in peace and preserving good order, it is impossible that even a little harm should come to you from the leadership of this worthless man. But if you indulge in discord and quarreling, every evil will follow.

But so that he too, when he has satisfied his wish by seizing authority, may not become careless and remain completely incorrigible and totally incurable, we must not overlook the following either. If he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways that were clear to all, [p. 55] and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him stay and be your superior even if he is not completely satisfactory. But should this same man still not give up

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his evil ways but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed on one man, someone clearly better, then we instruct you to remove that worthless man from leadership over you and raise the one you have selected to the position of superior.

The one removed from office may, if he wishes, reside in a cell of the monastery and be accorded the rank and seat of second to the superior, in the refectory I mean, and at the other gatherings, being content with the food and drink and all the rest of the community's way of life. However we do not allow him to leave the monastery and following his own inclinations go where he wishes, but this matter will be for the superior to consider.

Well then, I entreat you, my beloved children in the Lord, I entreat you or rather I instruct you and I call on God as witness of my instruction and overseer of its carrying out, that when you are examining and selecting the superiors and stewards, for my instruction again is addressed to you who are chosen for this task, there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favoritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim, and the strict yardstick of justice and truth should come together as if he was observing you, he the eye "that beholdeth all things" (Sir. 15:19) and "searcheth hearts and reins" (Ps. 7:9). Your selecting and examining should take place in that way. For if suffering from some human failing you were to produce a faulty judgment, consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow; and if "the righteous" (II Tim. 4:8) and unerring judge were to require from you a just account for them, I do not know what defense you would make to secure your escape from condemnation, you who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy person and brought such great harm not only on him but also on yourselves and all the others who are with you, seeing that you have secured perdition for him, yourselves, and the others. So then you will not resort to quarreling and dissension in your selection, but you should choose the selected person with unanimity and agreement. Of course if you intend to select the chosen person while the superior is still alive and you come to a single agreed wish, the superior will not oppose you, but rather will follow your agreed decision and joint wish and appoint the man selected by you. But if, something I pray does not happen, on the contrary your opinions are split and [p. 57] you are divided, he will propose whichever person he chooses taking no account of you.

15. Concerning the brothers making their confession to the superior and that none of them should have another spiritual father, and that they should confide their own thoughts to him.

I plainly instruct you all, my brothers, that as soon as your superior has been appointed you hurry to confide to him all the stirrings of your souls and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that have been confessed to preceding superiors but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible that you being human should not think something wicked at some time. Do not put off something that is good, a thing you should not do, but run to it with all eagerness and speed, so that you all may be "one" (John 17:21), "being of the same mind" (Phil. 2:2), thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and "fitted together into one body" (Eph. 4:16) under one head, as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder.

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But if there should be someone who is obdurate and implacable, stubborn and obstinate, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his superior but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father and would endeavor to confide his thoughts to him, he should be put out far away from our flock. He should be chased out at once, receiving neither mercy nor pity but as someone who removes himself by his own evil—O eyes of “God that behold all things” (Sir. 15:19)—evil and very dangerous decisions, he should be utterly rejected from the monastery and removed and counted a stranger to our group and community, our way of life and fellowship, as being the cause of dissension and discord and all other kinds of instability, disorder, and serious harm. That man should be treated thus.

16. An exhortation to the brothers concerning honor, reverence, and obedience for the superior.

You, that I may turn my attention on you again, should reserve, I beg you, for your superior all honor, all affection, all reverence, all [p. 59] unwavering submission, and all obedience as has been said by one of the Divine Fathers. For he says, “For if those caring for you are going to render account on your behalf, how will we not be submissive to them in everything, obey them, and serve them as the other parts of the body do the head.”<sup>28</sup> The divine and great apostle Paul speaks as follows in his letter to the Hebrews: “Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account” (Heb. 13:17).

Also for my sake maintain love, peace, and harmony in your dealings with one another, burn with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, “instructing, comforting, and forbearing one another, stirring up one another to love and good works”<sup>29</sup> and, to put it simply, exerting yourselves strongly to achieve whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation. For Our Lord Jesus Christ says, “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you” (John 15:12), and again, “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35). Do you see whose disciples we will be by keeping these words? Do you see what glory and blessedness and exultation we are going to get by being disciples of the Master who loves mankind? So then, let us take his commands to heart with all zeal and power and enthusiasm.

17. An exhortation to the superior.

You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. Yes, I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them, instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving “seventy times seven” (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers. Also, to omit the rest, St. Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether [p. 61] spiritually or physically.”<sup>30</sup>

If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp unworthily the office of superior or steward, making a display perhaps of his seniority or his sphere of work or his noble

birth or rank or his offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in these offices who has been selected by all of you who have been chosen to consider and advise the superior, and by the superior himself, even if he has been recently tonsured, or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things. For not one bit of harm will come to the monastery through this. For “God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham” (Matt. 3:9) and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power and wealth and nobility. As a witness of this the truly divine and great apostle St. Paul clearly expresses it in the following words, “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are” (I Cor. 1:27–28).

Those are the instructions concerning the appointment of superiors and stewards, but I will add to what has been said another small bit which is both very useful and very necessary.

18. Concerning the fact that the brothers will not question their superiors for what purposes they receive and pay out money, but the superiors themselves will not spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for their relations and friends.

The brothers will not question their superiors, nor yet will they ever demand from them an account of the things for which they take in and pay out money. For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability, and every other cause for sin. But neither will the superiors themselves spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for their own relations and friends. For by acting in that way they will not be taking part in the divine mysteries “in the Holy Spirit” (Rom. 9:1). For if we have judged that they should not be subject to the brothers in an examination of their actions, yet they will not really escape the unerring judge and the reproof of their conscience. Therefore they should take care not “to fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31). For even though we are not capable of imposing on them a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and [p. 63] unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet they will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon them in writing this. But if they are seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that they do not even fear the condemnation of God, but spend the wealth of the monastery improperly, they will be excommunicated until they refrain from such action. It is most necessary that these things be added to what has already been said.

19. Concerning the inalienability of the sacred objects, holy icons, and immovable property, except for the reasons listed here.

We wish the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, the holy icons and books acquired by us to be inalienable—for it is unnecessary to speak about the immovable property—and not only inalienable but also completely safe from removal and theft by anyone at all, because they were acquired with much toil and labor and were dedicated as offerings to our Lady and Mistress the most holy Mother of God *Evergetis*, and the man who hands over any of these or removes them for any reason whatsoever will be liable to the charge of sacrilege and will be subject to the penalties laid down by law for this. For neither we nor any other sensible person could define any reasonable excuse for removing these objects or handing them over, except a calamity resulting from a chance

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occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire or a raid by some enemies who have perhaps burnt down the monastery or destroyed it to the foundations or even a destruction caused by an earthquake, and then because a great deal of expense is needed to save it or even to rebuild it. For then they will be removed or handed over with good reason. They will be removed if perhaps there is not sufficient money to save what should be saved. This is not all, but it should not be done secretly or by one man and without reference to anyone, but openly and publicly when the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the other preeminent officials have gathered together for this purpose, and the removal of what is necessary should be done in the presence of all these people, with the inventory set in the middle of them and each of the removals signed by the superior. Furthermore we instruct that there should be a detailed list to indicate the things that have been removed, signed by all those who gathered together and clearly setting out both the types of things removed and the reason for which they were removed; this should be deposited in the sacristy to inform posterity. What more?

20. Concerning the need for the treasurer to record accurately the income and expenditure of *nomismata* for the information of all.

We instruct the person who looks after the income and expenditure of the monastery [p. 65] to record everything in detail, in the case of the income from where it came and when, and in the case of the expenditure the reason for it and on what project, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone. This matter has been mentioned in as fitting a manner as was possible; now our document should move on to other matters and we should speak about them also as well as we can.

21. Concerning those who chatter and talk idly that they be admonished by the superior.

If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse themselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to vain chattering—for “by a multitude of words,” he says, “thou shalt not escape sin” (Prov. 10:19)—they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul or be silent. “For,” the author of the Book of Proverbs says, “if thou refrain thy lips, thou wilt be prudent” (Prov. 10:19) and discreet.

Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured by the same method; for these people especially must take care to guard their mind at that time, knowing how easy it is of course for the adversary [the devil] to attack them and make them fall, which I pray may not happen, seeing that they are separated from their sheepfold, flock, and shepherd. Furthermore they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 [51]:17) he will be punished—for we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of something that provokes quarrels, learn to say “Bless and forgive me, brother”—and those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, when they are admonished and do not desist from their evil behavior, they will be punished.

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22. Concerning the fact that they should not have any possessions in contravention of the rule of the monastery, and should not eat or drink in secret, etc.

Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an obol or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. Similar to them is the person who eats and drinks in secret, unless he confesses, and the person who receives messages from friends and relatives, and [p. 67] replies to them. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not make amends will be expelled completely.

23. Concerning the fact that there should not be a fixed number of brothers but a sufficient number for the food, and that those in the monastery should be reverent and not undisciplined and disobedient.

This also should be added to what has been said. We do not wish there to be a fixed number of you, but you will be as many as will have enough food, and as many as surpass all the rest in reverence, love, and concord, and obey their superiors “in all patience” (II Cor. 12:12) and lowliness of heart, and are keen to carry out their instructions devoutly are to be preferred. The rest should be sent away even if you have to be reduced to small numbers. For “one person doing the will of the Lord is better than ten thousand transgressors” (cf. Sir. 16:3).

24. Concerning the fact that the brothers are not allowed to have servants.

It will not be possible for you to have servants, but it is very good that there should be two of you in your cells united by the law of spiritual love, being of the same mind and really living together as brothers in harmony, bearing the same yoke of Our Lord wholeheartedly, being subservient to one another in peace, proper care and reverence so that you will have the opportunity to fulfill the word of David, “See now! what is so good, or what so pleasant, as for brethren to dwell together?” (Ps. 132 [133]:1). But in this matter also, it is necessary to make specific distinctions, namely, that the novice should defer to the one who is more advanced, the more unlearned to the more educated, the more uncouth to the more sophisticated, and the younger to the older. But if the superior should decide that some should be alone in their cells, he himself may sanction the arrangement.

25. Concerning the fact that garments should be bought in advance and deposited in the storehouse.

We prescribe that garments be bought and deposited in the storehouse so that when you need them you may receive them; and it is good to take care of your old garments as much as you can and use them. For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and [p. 69] vests and shoes, and in short, all necessities. So whenever anyone has a pressing need to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the superior. For otherwise, if you do not bring the old garments, we order that you be not given any.

26. Concerning the fact that everyone should have the same food and drink and clothing, apart from those who are clearly ill.

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In addition to these we give you this instruction before God and our Lady herself Mother of God *Evergetis*, that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same—I mean the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, those who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life, and those who are inferior to them in these matters. For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.

27. Concerning the fact that the superior should visit the cells of the brothers each month, and if he finds anything more than is necessary for them, he is to take it.

The superior must do this also, that is he should enter your cells once a month whenever he wishes, and if any have extra items, he should take them away and deposit them in the storehouse or give them to those in need.

28. Concerning the fact that there should be a bath for the sick and it should be heated, but it should only be heated three times a year for the brothers who are healthy.

You should live completely without bathing. For although we have built a bath in the monastery, yet it was not that you should live in an effeminate way, bathing and being in good physical condition, but that the sick could be comforted, if necessary. However we give permission for those who are healthy to have a bath three times during the year, at the feast of the Holy Nativity, at Holy Easter, and thirdly at the feast of the bodily *Metastasis* from this world of our most holy Lady Mother of God; but extra bathing, if necessary, should be permitted at the discretion of the superior. [p. 71] So these instructions are enough for your virtue, but lest you wrangle about the other matters, I must deal with them also.

29. Concerning the installation of officials, that it should take place in the manner of the steward's installation.<sup>31</sup>

The installation of officials must take place in the manner of the steward's installation,<sup>32</sup> that is, the keys should be placed before Christ or the Mother of God, and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands, then bow his head to the superior, and receive from him the blessing mentioned above. However for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon and the *sphragis* of the superior will be sufficient for the installation.

30. Concerning the fact that there should be a sacristan in the monastery and a treasurer for money and a treasurer for linen.

It is fitting therefore that there should be three treasurers, of whom one should look after the sacred vessels and cloths and in short anything that is important, and he should be called the sacristan, the second should keep the money of the monastery, and the other one should distribute to the brothers necessities from the storehouse, I mean clothing and footwear and so forth, and see to the comfort of visiting brothers in their bedrooms as far as he is able. The common table of course will minister to their need for food to meet the occasion and the person.

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31. Concerning the fact that there should be a disciplinary official and a refectorian.

It is necessary that there should be a disciplinary official observing the brothers both as they enter the church for the singing of psalms and as they gather for meals, and in the same way at every hour advising and correcting in a brotherly way any who sit down together without good reason or chatter idly or do nothing or do something improper and foolish, persuading them to go to their cells and devote themselves to prayer and handiwork.

Furthermore there should also be a refectorian, attending to whatever the cellarer supplies him with, and going round the refectory at meal times reminding those brothers who are noisy perhaps or are whispering of the need for silence and that each of them should be reciting the fiftieth psalm in his mind. Also he should question visitors and sit them down at the table in a fitting position, and he should observe the entry of the brothers into the refectory and note which of them [p. 73] was absent during grace and which during the meal and report these to the superior. For if he does not do this, he will be punished as one who is not carrying out his office wholeheartedly.

32. Concerning the fact that those who carry out their offices devoutly and with care should be left unchanged, but those who perform them in a deceitful and careless manner should be removed and others appointed, and the founder's curse rests on those who appropriate anything as a result of their offices.

Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to our Lord Jesus Christ and his all-pure Mother, everyone's benefactress, from whom in fact he received his keys, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.

33. An exhortation to all those with offices both inside and outside the monastery.

So I entreat the cellarers, the bakers, the cooks, those who look after the mules, those responsible for the dependencies, those acting as stewards in the monastery's properties, those sent to the City [of Constantinople], those going away elsewhere on the instruction of the superiors, and in short all those carrying out offices, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who says, "I came not to be served but to serve and to give my life as a ransom for many" (Matt. 20:28).

You see, my brothers, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Why then [p. 75] do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the service? Do you not think that "you are laying down your lives" for

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many (cf. John 10:11; 15), like my Master, Christ, so that of course you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like “the Heavenly Father” (Matt. 5:48).

So why do you give up the treasure-house and culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing, when thus having reached the summit easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? “We are afraid,” they say, “because of our failure to carry out the rule”; but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to you failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you, attending to your offices eagerly. Those with offices who have been sufficiently advised by this will be devoted to their office and will carry it out well. But I will add to my discourse that matter which has almost slipped by me.

34. Concerning the sort of people that should be sent out as superintendents in the properties.

Since then as a consequence of our weakness we have gained possession of some small pieces of immovable property, the superior must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them, that is, they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions because of the attacks of Belial (II Cor. 6:15). Since we have now dealt in a fitting manner and at sufficient length about matters that concern the monastery, we will discuss therefore our fathers and brothers who have died. [p. 77]

35. Concerning the holy remembrance of our holy father lord Paul, the first founder.

It is fitting that you should celebrate with a feast the remembrance of our thrice-blessed and glorious father and founder lord Paul in a splendid manner and with the chanting of psalms all night; this falls on the sixteenth of April. When, as often, it occurs within Holy Week and on the days of Easter Week, the celebration will always take place on a non-feast day during the week after Easter Week. But if it should fall on an ordinary day outside these days, then it will of course be celebrated without delay on that very day on which it falls, unless it is a Sunday.

36. Concerning the commemorations for the fathers and brothers who have died and for those who have done something worthy of remembrance for the monastery, and concerning the distribution on their behalf at the gate.

Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance and have specified that they should

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be remembered by us, and equally for those brothers whose names were and will be inscribed on the diptychs. In addition, whenever someone has recently died, he should be remembered every day during each service, and I mean during matins and the liturgy and vespers, in *ekteneis* until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day an offering will be made on his behalf. In addition to this the ecclesiarch must note down the commemorations of each of those who die so that you may not forget them and may perform them without fail.

Yet on this matter I must prescribe something more practical: for as the numbers of brothers dying increases, it is possible that sometimes the commemorations for three or four or even more will fall in the same week and those who are going to carry out the commemoration for each brother during the night office are forced always to leave out the canons prescribed for the night offices which are an obligatory duty for you each day, and chant the canon for the deceased. So that this may not happen, we command that, if some of the brothers should prefer to go away and chant the funeral canon, while the rest carry out that laid down for the night office of intercession, that should be carried out and is acceptable to us and, I think, to God. But if perhaps because of winter or even illness, that I may not mention laziness, you would not want to do this, then you must observe all the commemorations that you know occur together in one and the same week, and carry them all out for [p. 79] all of the people at the same time during one night office, unless there is a commemoration for one of your former superiors. For his commemoration must be carried out on its own, since he will be rendering account on behalf of you all. In that way you are satisfying your obligation to commemorate your brothers and you are not failing in the canon. So in both the night offices and in the liturgies on their behalf it is fine that commemorations should take place for them all at the same time during one service as long as offerings are made for each one.

Since a priest specifically to look after burials has been established, let him act as he wishes or rather as he is able. As regards the distributions at the gate on behalf of certain people, for example let me say Promotenos, Kataphloron,<sup>33</sup> and in short everyone at all who has left or will leave something worthy of remembrance to the monastery, and people who have agreed or will agree that something be distributed for their commemoration, as has been said, we urge that these be carried out generously.

However, as regards the diptychs we command in the Lord both the priests themselves and the deacons to consult them at every liturgy in order to commemorate those who are listed on them, so that they themselves may not bear the accusation of having forgotten and neglected them. Enough has now been said also about these matters.

37. Concerning those who are tonsured.

I must speak also about those who are tonsured. If they are distinguished people or of people known to you for a long time and have a close knowledge of our way of life, they should be tonsured within the customary period of time, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted. But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival here they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for six whole months, then they should

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be enrolled among the brothers by being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the superior whether they should be accepted or not. Furthermore he should consider carefully the monks who come from a different monastery.

Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. For one must not traffic in the grace of God [p. 81] or sell it for money, lest anyone causes shame thereby and inflicts a reproach on those among us who have been tonsured without payment, and lest that evil and accursed expression is introduced, that is, “mine and yours” and greater and smaller, and that the one who has made an offering is thought to be more important than the one who has not.<sup>34</sup> May it not happen, may that not happen among us ever. But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something, it should be accepted. For that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God’s recompense is to atone for his sins, and moreover that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and his all-pure Mother the *Evergetis*. For a renunciation and an entrance offering are one thing and a gift another, whether an act of almsgiving or an offering; for the former has within it the repayment of expectation and, like some necessity that has to be bought, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses.

Therefore the person who offers must not suppose that he has any preference over the rest of the brothers because of this, but should be treated in the same way as everyone and according to the rule of the monastery then in force. If someone who has made an offering is ever tempted by demons—there are many such examples of fickleness—and tries to leave the monastery and would like to take his offering away with him, that should not be given him, whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away, and he who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege brings, even if we do not say it. That deals with that matter.

38. Concerning the daily distribution at the gate and the reception of strangers and sick people in the hospice.

You must observe closely what we will say since it will bestow on you much benefit and salvation. What is this? It is the distribution at the gate and the comforting and visiting of strangers and the sick for whom we built the hospice, begging the site from some devout Christian on the understanding that we would guarantee to comfort stranger brothers and provide whatever care we could to those among them that are sick and confined to bed, to clothe and give footwear to those who are naked and unshod using your old tunics and footwear, distributed not by you yourselves—for we do not permit that—but by the superior, to feed the hungry and refresh them, as we said, with the bread and wine already specified and some legumes, those that [p. 83] are excess to your needs—for these should have come from your lack, but since this is not possible, let them come from your excess, for what a person can do is dear to God—and to bury those who die in the strangers’ burial-place built for them, lest gaining the less important things from you they should unwittingly be neglected in something greater and more important, and not to bury them simply

nor in any haphazard fashion, but first the burial chants are to be sung by you and they should receive the other care, to put it simply, to show our stranger brothers complete joyfulness so that we may receive from God joyful and abundant mercy on their behalf.

For we do not wish anyone to return from our gate empty-handed, except a woman. For they should not receive a share, “not that we hate our fellow human beings, certainly not,”<sup>35</sup> but we fear harm from that quarter, in case if a habit was generally accepted they would visit the gate more frequently and would be found to be the cause of evil rather than good to those ministering. If however there is a general distribution, as at the feast of the Dormition of our most-holy Lady the Mother of God and at different commemorations of the dead, giving also to women should not be prevented. For this occurs rarely and does not cause us any harm.

39. Concerning the fact that the monastery is not to be entered by women except eminent and noble ones.

We wished and desired the monastery not to be entered and to be completely impassable to women, but the nobility of many and the fact that it was not possible to send them away easily prevented us giving this order. Therefore, as many as are well-known for their way of life and virtue, their nobility and eminence, may come in but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly, so that in that way we may be able to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves.

Regarding other offices, which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands and if there is urgent need; for then they [the offices] will be beneficial and be connected to the maintenance of the monastery.<sup>36</sup>

40. An exhortation from the founder to everyone, namely the superior, the steward and the brothers, to keep unbroken all the regulations in this his *typikon*.

I beseech you all, my brothers and beloved children in the Lord, [p. 85] to keep unbroken and unchanged my wishes couched in all the regulations set down for you above by me your sinful father, and my desire, advice, and instruction which is for your benefit, the salvation of your souls, the safety and comfort of all, and, to mention it, an adornment and cause for boasting (cf. Phil. 2:16) for my soul in the presence of the Lord. For it is for this reason that we set out clearly and openly and were careful in this *typikon* to remove also every source of scandal as far as is possible for us, lest after our death Satan, the enemy of our souls, might find a chance, which I pray does not happen, O my Mistress and Lady *Evergetis* worthy of all praise, to dislodge you from the correct attitude and set up his own siege engine and overthrow what has been well established with much sweat and toil and with God’s help and built up into this beauty which is now visible.

For, after so much steadfastness and as close a conformity as is possible on our part, I know that one day a source of evil will arise to bring evil and pretexts and suggestions for crooked and perverse dealings on the part of the wicked and perverse wild beast, but you, almost all of you, being illuminated by the grace of Christ and from your constant reading of the divine scriptures and instruction being well aware of his craftiness and how you ought to repel it, as a result of experience itself and the things by which you yourselves have been tested and proved, resist evil firmly, having the great and unbreakable assistance of God through the fervent intercessions of

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our most pure and holy Mistress and Lady the Mother of God and through the prayers of our holy father of blessed memory and, I will add, the prayer of my sinful self.

The one who does not know his obligations should be taught and instructed in a brotherly way by the one who has a good knowledge of this, and again he who is uneducated and lacking in understanding should be rebuked by the person with more understanding, and thus you, being supported the one by the other in the Holy Spirit and love (cf. Rom. 9:1; Eph. 4:16), united as if in a military company and taught what is good and spiritual and brings salvation, as has been explained, I know well and have confidence in Christ our “true God” (I John 5:20) and his most holy mother the Mother of God, our protectress and defender, that you will always be kept free from harm. The enemy thus finding you armed and fortified will be put to shame and convicted of gaping in vain and to no purpose, and unsuccessful will be cast away far from you. But you will be kept safe, and be glorified, and will live in peace, and for your beneficence and devout way of life you will become the envy of all throughout all [p. 87] the days of your life. When I have mentioned one more matter, I will finish my discourse.

### 41. Concerning the infirmary and the sick.

Seeing that I have already spoken a few things before about our sick brothers, assigning all their care to the discretion of the superior, I must discuss them at greater length. Therefore we order that a cell be set aside for the sick as an infirmary, and eight beds for their rest and comfort, and two orderlies to minister to them in every way, and a large stove on which their food should be cooked and the other things for their comfort should be heated, and their care should not be carried out in a perfunctory manner but as well as possible with regard to food and drink and other necessities.

The doctor, if there is one, should call at the infirmary neither rarely nor as an extra, but should visit the brothers every day and in a wholehearted manner and bring the things that each one needs. But our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of, much less seen and eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources of the monastery provide for them. For if we command that they be cared for because of the [divine] commandment, yet we do not allow them to give themselves airs, but live in a more restrained manner, and as monks ought, so that they may receive from God the reward of their endurance, which the deprivation of their desires and the unpleasantness of their sickness is going to secure for them.

### 42. A further exhortation from the founder.

So then these are our wishes and are acceptable to God and the *Evergetis*, and they are greatly beneficial for your help; in the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you, to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labor with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, [p. 89] to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only,

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that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul, furthermore to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money and the love of power, and the filching and secret acquisition of the monastery's possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever which the superior has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.

So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, perhaps by some of those who are weaker, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said; "for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force" (Matt. 11:12).<sup>37</sup> No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labors of battles. "Through many tribulations," the Lord says, "we must enter the kingdom of heaven" (Acts 14:22). So then I beseech you all to "lead a life worthy of your calling" (Eph. 4:1), "present your bodies holy to the Lord" (cf. Rom. 12:1), "love one another" (John 15:12), "run well the race that is set before you" (cf. Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (cf. Phil. 4:8). Do not fail to do the things "you have heard and learned" (Phil. 4:9). My brothers, "the appointed time has grown very short" (I Cor. 7:29). Remember your souls and our insignificance, do not forget us in your prayers. [p. 91]

43. Concerning the reading of the *typikon* at the beginning of each month.

I instruct you to read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your meal-times, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from your fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction. "The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory" (Heb. 13:20–21), through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, and majesty now and always and for ever and ever, Amen. Glory to Thee, our God, glory to Thee.

[Appendix]

Since then the Lord, who always “fulfills the desire of those who fear him” (Ps. 144 [145]:19) by his ineffable decrees, brought it about that the commemoration for our most holy father and first founder lord Paul should coincide with the death of our sanctified father and second founder lord Timothy, who passed away on that very same day that the former went to the Lord, we thought that the commemorations for both of them ought to be carried out jointly on one and the same day, as indeed the latter of them told and commanded us while he was still alive, and that is the sixteenth of April. The *synaxarion* makes clear how it must be celebrated.<sup>38</sup> Therefore we instruct in the Holy Spirit (cf. Rom. 9:1) all who come after us never to separate their annual commemoration for any reason or circumstance whatever, but always to celebrate it jointly in the way that has been prescribed and handed down by us, for as long as this world exists.

In connection with this you must know and observe this also, that our holy father of blessed memory, the monk lord Timothy, with the other things which he compiled in the present *typikon* also gave this instruction,<sup>39</sup> that we are not to use wine at all during the first week of the great and holy fast until the vigil of the holy and great martyr Theodore and to do the same on all the remaining Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of the same holy fast. But since the sick were suffering from the [p. 93] hot drink flavored with cumin, or to put it more clearly, even those who were well were falling sick from it, when the *pansebastos sebastos* and *mezas doux*, the monk lord Antony,<sup>40</sup> noticed this, feeling pity for the brothers because of the standing throughout the night and the prolonged chanting and sleeplessness and furthermore the harm that came to them from the cumin-flavored drink, he begged us most fervently “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 [51]:17) that the brothers should receive some wine from the Wednesday of the first week and thereafter, I mean on all the remaining Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

Therefore not wishing to grieve the aforementioned man beloved of God, we have yielded to his entreaty both out of reverence for his virtue and out of pious regard for his action, and on account of the fact that this man has made many other contributions to the monastery and built a vineyard at his own expense outside and yet near to the monastery for this purpose that the brothers could drink wine during the holy great fast, furthermore because he granted us an exemption for twelve of our dependent peasants<sup>41</sup> on our property situated in Boleron and called the property of Theophanes, and similarly for sixteen other dependent peasants also of the class of *zeugaratoi* on our property situated in Chortokopion and called the property of Epiphanius. For this reason we instruct you to partake of the wine gratefully and to pray unceasingly for the aforementioned man beloved of God, and [not] to consider yourselves guilty<sup>42</sup> since most people, showing extreme asceticism, abstain even from water; and we order that none of those after us henceforth has the power for whatever reason to curtail this benefit which takes place in memory of the aforementioned person and for the comfort of the whole brotherhood.

“The God of peace who has called us to his eternal glory” (Heb. 13:20–21; I Pet. 5:10) through his great and ineffable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son, Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy and life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, and majesty both now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

## ELEVENTH CENTURY

Pleasant is the harbor to those who sail  
and the end of the book again to those who write;  
for both bring [them] rest from [their] labors.

This book of the *typikon* was dedicated to the divine and imperial church honored with the name of my all-holy Lady *Petriziotissa* by the lord [p. 95] Nikephoros in memory of his parents, and of Constantine, Helen, and Nikephoros; and anyone who removes this from the monastery will be liable to the anathema of the three hundred and eighteen inspired fathers who gathered at Nicaea.<sup>43</sup>

### *Notes on the Translation*

1. The indiction and the year do not agree; Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 6, suggested that either the second indiction be corrected here to the first, or the date of 6556 be corrected to 6557; at p. 16, 4, he indicated his preference for the latter, yielding 1049 as the year of *Evergetis*’ foundation.
2. The inventory has been lost; see Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 12, for its possible former location in our manuscript.
3. See [10] below.
4. According to the *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 512, 516–17, the *Catecheses* of Theodore the Studite were read during Lent on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, while on the other days of the week there were readings from John Klimakos and Ephraem Syrus; see Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 20, n. 12. Outside Lent, however, the *catechesis* read by the superior must have come from the *Catecheticon* of Paul Evergetinos. See *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 602 where the *catechesis* is supposed to be from the *paterikon* (i.e., Paul’s *Catecheticon*). We are indebted to our translator for this information. A critical edition and translation of Paul’s *Catecheticon* is currently being prepared by Barbara Crostini of Oxford University for the Belfast Texts and Translations Series.
5. Prayer attributed to Basil of Caesarea; cf. *Horologion to Mega*, ed. M. Saliveros (Athens, n.d.), p. 118.
6. Cf. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae* 12, PG 31, col. 1376AB.
7. Unidentified quotation.
8. For this meaning of *phylattomai* (“to refrain from”/“to avoid”) cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, “Lexicographical Notes,” *Byzantion* 55 (1985), p. 591.
9. August 15.
10. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 314, 458, 609.
11. The water clock is also mentioned in the *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 441, 556; cf. (4) *Stoudios* [2] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [1].
12. *Ton typon tou timiou staurou . . . meta tou thymiateriou episphragizontos*; on *typos* (“sign”), cf. Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *typos*, C. 1. On *episphragizo* (“to make the sign of the cross in an act of consecration”), see *ibid.*, s.v. *episphragizo*, 3, and especially s.v. *sphragizo*, B. On the censuring of the sanctuary, see (28) *Pantokrator* [2].
13. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 271–72, 344–45, 356–57, 364–65, 406–7, 430–31, 480–81.
14. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 26 ([LR 26]), PG 31, col. 985CD.
15. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, PG 88, cols. 681B, 705C.
16. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 499–601, 601–7.
17. Ps. 144 [145]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (28) *Pantokrator* [9].
18. See *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 517, with Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 34, n. 28
19. Unidentified quotation.
20. Saturday of the first week in Lent.

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21. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
22. *groute*: gruel consisting of plain or roasted flour mixed with hot water. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 5, p. 38.
23. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
24. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28; Christmas fast (= fast of St. Philip), from November 15 until Christmas.
25. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 601–7.
26. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 314.
27. Probably including Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1054) and perhaps also Michael VI (1056–1057) and Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067).
28. Unidentified quotation.
29. Rom. 15:14; I Thess. 4:18; Eph. 4:2; Heb. 10:24.
30. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, *PG* 31, col. 1417C.
31. *Peri tou tous diakonetas cheirotonein kata ten tou oikonomou procheirisin*. The terms *cheirotonia* (“ordination”) and *cheirotonein* (“to ordain”) are used in the sense of *procheirisis* (“installation”/“appointment”) and *procheirizein* (“to install”/“to appoint”) throughout the *Typika*. On the Byzantines’ ambiguous usage of *cheirotonia*, see Darrouzès, *Οφφίκια*, 147–57.
32. That is, as in [13] above.
33. According to Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 78, n. 60, these benefactors are not otherwise known.
34. Cf. the discussion in *Vita S. Athanasii Athonitae Vita Prima (Vita A)*, chap. 88, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. 41, and *Vita Secunda (Vita B)*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, p. 158: see (11) *Ath. Rule*, introduction, n. 3. On the phrase “mine and yours” as the source of all evils, see John Chrysostom, *De sancto Philogonio*, *PG* 48, col. 749.
35. See Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae*, 3, *PG* 31, col. 1345C.
36. Presumably in view of this passage, Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 70, n. 53, viewed the omission in [31] of the office of librarian, which the monk George is known from a note in a manuscript to have held in 1064, to be an indication of the prior date of this section of the *typikon*.
37. Quoted from the Basilian *Sermo de renunciatione saeculi*, *PG* 31, col. 645D.
38. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 446–48.
39. In [10] above.
40. For this individual, see Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 148.
41. *Paroikoi*.
42. Reading *me katakrinein* for *katakrinein*.
43. According to Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 94, n. 77, this note is in a hand of the 16th century; the donor and beneficiary institution are otherwise unattested unless the latter is a reference to the monastery of *Petritzonitissa* for which (23) *Pakourianos* was written.

### Document Notes

- [1] Introduction to the rule. Note the emergence of a distinction between the the disciplinary regulation of the present founder’s *typikon* and the liturgical *typikon* that was originally to be found at the end of our manuscript; see Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 12.
- [2] Biographical excursus on the first founder. For Paul Evergetinos, see Solignac, “Paul Évergétinos,” cols. 562–64.
- [3] Succession of Timothy, the second founder; his contributions. The chapter heading was added in the re-edition after Timothy’s death. The list of benefactors appears also in (30) *Phoberos* [8]; the introduction to the discussion of the canonical hours found here also appears in (34) *Machairas* [30].
- [4] Offices of the first, third and sixth hours. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27)

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- Kecharitomene* [32], [33]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], [14]; (30) *Phoberos* [9], [10], [11]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [31], [32], [33], [34], [36]. See also other treatments of these offices in (4) *Stoudios* [A10], [33], [A36]; (10) *Eleousa* [7]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [7], [8], [9]; and (20) *Black Mountain* [10], cf. [25], [26].
- [5] Guidelines for reception of communion. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14]; (30) *Phoberos* [11]; (32) *Mamas* [32]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32]; (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [6] Prescriptions for the ninth hour, vespers, compline, night office, midnight office and matins. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], [36], [37], [38], [39]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12], [13]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [48]. See also other treatments of these offices in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [A3], [4], [10], [11], [12], [13], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], [26], [27], [29], [30], [31], [32], [31], [33], [A36], [A37], [B38]; (10) *Eleousa* [7]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [2], [3], [4], [7], [8], [9], [26], [27], [29]; and (20) *Black Mountain* [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [19].
- [7] Confession. *Exagoreusis* was not always sacramental in nature; it was offered twice daily after matins and compline. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], [17], [18]; (30) *Phoberos* [14], [15]; (32) *Mamas* [30]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30]; and (34) *Machairas* [50], [51], [52], [53]. See also the contemporary treatment in (23) *Pakourianos* [13], which also provides for daily confession, exclusively to the superior. The requirement of exclusive confession is repeated in [15] below.
- [8] Use of the *synaxarion* for fasts and vigils. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [19] and (30) *Phoberos* [16]. Cf. the contrary provision of (20) *Black Mountain* [20].
- [9] Refectory procedures. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [41], [42], [43]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [20], [21], [22], [23], [24]; (30) *Phoberos* [20], [21], [22], [23], [24], [26]; (32) *Mamas* [17], [36]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], [35]; (34) *Machairas* [61], [62], [63], [64], [66]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. As can be seen, later authors preferred to subdivide this long chapter in their own works. See also other discussions in (4) *Stoudios* [28], [29]; (10) *Eleousa* [4]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [21]; (20) *Black Mountain* [33]; (23) *Pakourianos* [8]; and (31) *Areia* [T3]. The injunction against secret eating is repeated below again in [22].
- [10] Dietary regulations for fasts. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], [48]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], [27], [28]; (30) *Phoberos* [27], [28], [29], [30]; (32) *Mamas* [18]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]; and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73], [76]. As with [9] above, later authors preferred to subdivide this long chapter in their own works. See also earlier regulations for fasts in (4) *Stoudios* [30], [31]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [23], [24], [25], [26]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [38R], [53], [54], [56], [57], [58], [59], [60], [61], [62], [63], [64], [65], [66], [67]; as well as the contemporary treatment in (23) *Pakourianos* [10].
- [11] Celebration of the feasts of the Lord and feasts of the Mother of God. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [29] and (30) *Phoberos* [32]. See also the earlier treatment in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [8], the contemporary treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [13], (23) *Pakourianos* [11], and the critical discussion in (20) *Black Mountain* [48], [52], [53].
- [12] Free and self-governing status. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31]; (30) *Phoberos* [33]; (32) *Mamas* [4]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4]; and (34) *Machairas* [21]. See also the earlier provisions in (9) *Galesios* [247] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [18] ff.; as well as the contemporary provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [18]; (19) *Attaleiates* [14]; (23) *Pakourianos* [18]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A16]. The curse is similar to that in (8) *John Xenos* [2].
- [13] Choice of the superior and the steward. This, along with [14] below, was one of *Evergetis'* more problematic chapters for later users of this document; the provision for the routine elevation of the steward to the superiorship did not find favor among them, but they were anxious to utilize parts of this chapter nevertheless; see later copyings, in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [11],

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- [13]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], [33], [34]; (30) *Phoberos* [33], [34], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [1], [2], [7]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], [2], [7]; and (34) *Machairas* [80], [81], [88]. See also other treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [15], [16]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [15], [16], [17], [19]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [13], [14]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [13]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29]; (23) *Pakourianos* [5]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A18].
- [14] Justifications for removal of the steward. Another problematic chapter; the provision for retaining a bad steward was particularly distasteful to most of *Evergetis*' later users. Obviously the chapter heading here must postdate Timothy's editorship of the document. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], [13]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], [42]; (30) *Phoberos* [35]; (32) *Mamas* [2], [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2], [45]; (34) *Machairas* [89], [90]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [18]. See also other treatments of the deposition of a foundation's leaders in (10) *Eleousa* [16]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [16]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [9]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26]; (21) *Roidion* [A1], [A3], [A4], [B20]; (23) *Pakourianos* [19]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A20].
- [15] Exclusive confession to the superior. This is a reiteration of [7] above. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (30) *Phoberos* [35] and (34) *Machairas* [141], but rejected by (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29]. See also the provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [22]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [33]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [13].
- [16] Monks to show obedience to the superior, affection for one another. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [43]; (30) *Phoberos* [36]; and (34) *Machairas* [142], [143]. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [25]; (7) *Latros* [11]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [56]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [20]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A28].
- [17] Exhortation to the superior. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [42], [44]; (30) *Phoberos* [36]; (32) *Mamas* [42], [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], [44]; (34) *Machairas* [144], [148]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [18], [19]. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning the Superior; (10) *Eleousa* [12]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [55]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A19]. Many later users thought the statement here rejecting claims of entitlement to the superiority based on rank or privilege ought better to be included with a discussion of qualifications for the office; therefore this statement is frequently joined to quotations from [14] above in later treatments of this subject.
- [18] Superior not accountable to the monks; not to do favors for friends and relatives. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (30) *Phoberos* [36], [37]; (32) *Mamas* [44]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43]; and (34) *Machairas* [145], [146], but cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [81]. See also other treatments of corruption in favor of relatives in (3) *Theodore Studites* [3]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; (15) *Constantine IX* [15]; (21) *Roidion* [B20]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [5].
- [19] Inalienability of sacred objects; exception for fiscal emergencies. For a similar assertion that a violation of this rule is sacrilegious, see (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11]. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [10]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [45]; and (30) *Phoberos* [38]. (32) *Mamas* [37], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37], and (34) *Machairas* [94] endorse the principle of inalienability, but do not make provision for emergency alienations. See also the earlier discussion in (15) *Constantine IX* [9] and the contemporary treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [18]; (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [22]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [19], [32].
- [20] Bookkeeping requirements. See also the discussion of the second treasurer in [30] below. Copied only by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [46].
- [21] Discipline of idle talkers. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47]; (30) *Phoberos* [39], [40]; (32) *Mamas* [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34]; (34) *Machairas* [113]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [17]. See also other treatments in (4) *Stoudios* [18]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [17]; (19) *Attaleiates* [29]; and (20) *Black Mountain* [80].
- [22] No secret eating or private possessions. The prohibition on secret eating is a reiteration of a provision in [9] above; it was copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47] and

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- (30) *Phoberos* [41]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20] endorse the principle with their own provisions. See also the extensive treatment in (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [72] and the restrictions in (23) *Pakourianos* [4] and (28) *Pantokrator* [9]. The ban on personal possessions, for which an enforcement is provided in [27] below, was copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47]; (30) *Phoberos* [41]; (32) *Mamas* [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34]; and (34) *Machairas* [87]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [50] endorses the principle with its own provision. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [2]; (6) *Rila* [6]; (9) *Galesios* [138], [191], [192]; (10) *Eleousa* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [34]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; (23) *Pakourianos* [4]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A22].
- [23] No fixed number of monks. No later author endorses this Evergetian position, but (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48] and (30) *Phoberos* [42] nevertheless utilize the text here to make a contrary provision. The parallel provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (32) *Mamas* [5], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5] are textually independent of this Evergetian chapter.
- [24] Servants not permitted. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51]; (30) *Phoberos* [43]; (32) *Mamas* [34]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; and (34) *Machairas* [87]. See also the discussions of servants in (3) *Theodore Studites* [4]; (12) *Tzimiskes*, Introduction; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31]; (15) *Constantine IX* [13]; (19) *Attaleiates* [42]; (23) *Pakourianos* [4]; and (27) *Kecharitomene* [4].
- [25] Communal wardrobe. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], (30) *Phoberos* [44], and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103]. (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (58) *Menoikeion* [12] make contrary provisions. See also the provisions made in (3) *Theodore Studites* [19]; (4) *Stoudios* [A37], [B38]; (10) *Eleousa* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [35]; (20) *Black Mountain* [75]; (23) *Pakourianos* [9]; (28) *Pantokrator* [22]; and (31) *Areia* [T4].
- [26] Equality of food, drink, and clothing; additional food allowed for sick monks. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [56]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53]; (30) *Phoberos* [45]; (32) *Mamas* [34]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; and (34) *Machairas* [106], [107]. See also the treatments in (9) *Galesios* [187]; (10) *Eleousa* [4], [13]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [31]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [4].
- [27] Monthly visitation of cells by the superior. This provision enforces the ban on personal possessions in [22] above. Copied later in whole or part by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53] and (30) *Phoberos* [45]. See also treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [50], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20].
- [28] Bathing allowed three times a year. (30) *Phoberos* [46] rejects the concession, but makes use of this chapter's text in so doing. (27) *Kecharitomene* [58]; (28) *Pantokrator* [15]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], [113]; (31) *Areia* [T3]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [15] all permit bathing, but are textually independent of (22) *Evergetis*.
- [29] Installation of officials. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [18]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35]; (30) *Phoberos* [47]; (32) *Mamas* [6]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6]; and (34) *Machairas* [92].
- [30] Duties of the three treasurers. See also [20] above. Copied later by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36] and (30) *Phoberos* [47]. (24) *Christodoulos* [A21]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]; (32) *Mamas* [10]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10]; (34) *Machairas* [100]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [6] all make different provisions.
- [31] Duties of the refectorian and disciplinary official. Copied later by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37] and (30) *Phoberos* [48]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [25] makes use only of the duties of the refectorian, then provides [26] its own description of duties for its disciplinary official. (34) *Machairas* [114] has a textually independent description for the disciplinary official, while (58) *Menoikeion* [6] has one for the refectorian. See also the discussion of comparable officials in (4) *Stoudios* [18], [28]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [17], [21]; (21) *Roidion* [B4], [B8]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A21].
- [32] Tenure of office for officials. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [38]; (30) *Phoberos* [48]; and (34) *Machairas* [92]. See also earlier treatments in (14) *Ath. Testament* [11] and (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [6], [8]. The warning against careless administration is repeated in [42] below.

## 22. EVERGETIS

- [33] Exhortation of all officials. This chapter testifies to the prestige of the choral monks in reform monasteries; evidently even officials outside of the liturgical group needed the encouragement provided here. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [39]; (30) *Phoberos* [48]; (32) *Mamas* [23]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [34] Qualifications of property administrators. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40]; (30) *Phoberos* [49]; and (34) *Machairas* [109]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [31] has its own textually independent provision. See also the mention of these officials in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244].
- [35] Founder's commemoration. Cf. textually independent parallel provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [50]; and (34) *Machairas* [154]. See also the earlier treatment in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [1] and the contemporary treatments in (23) *Pakourianos* [21] and (24) *Christodoulos* [B5]. There is an additional note on this commemoration in the [Appendix] below.
- [36] Commemoration of departed brothers and benefactors. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39]; and (34) *Machairas* [156], [157]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54] makes a textually independent provision for commemoration of departed monks only. See also the earlier treatment in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [1], [4] and the contemporary treatments in (19) *Attaleiates* [31]; (21) *Roidion* [B12]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [20], [22].
- [37] Conditions for tonsure; treatment of entrance gifts; acceptability of monks tonsured elsewhere. This was an enormously influential chapter, a classic statement of the positions of the reform movement on these issues. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55]; (30) *Phoberos* [51], [52], [53A]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [22]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [22]; and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56], [57], [58], [59], [60]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [30] legislates independently for the length of the novitiate. Later authors invariably rearranged the provisions in this chapter in their own treatments. See also the treatments of the novitiate in (4) *Stoudios* [24], (10) *Tzimiskes* [3], (11) *Ath. Rule* [18], (23) *Pakourianos* [25], (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], and (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8]. See treatment of entrance gifts in (9) *Galesios* [192], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [49], (15) *Constantine IX* [9]; (19) *Attaleiates* [28], and (28) *Pantokrator* [17]; cf. (21) *Roidion* [B17]. Finally, see treatment of monks tonsured elsewhere in (10) *Tzimiskes* [4], [5], [8], [18]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [20] ff.; (15) *Constantine IX* [7]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [30]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [25].
- [38] Daily charitable distributions; hospitality in the hospice; exclusion of women. The charitable provision is copied later by (27) *Kecharitomene* [64] and (30) *Phoberos* [54]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6]; (32) *Mamas* [13]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13]; (34) *Machairas* [118]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [22] all make their own textually independent provisions. See also contemporary provisions for charity and hospitality in (19) *Attaleiates* [18], [19], [20]; (21) *Roidion* [B2], [B3], [B4], [B7], [B8], [B13], [B14], [B15]; (23) *Pakourianos* [10], [21], [29]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A25]. The exclusion of women and the accompanying rationale is copied later, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56]; (30) *Phoberos* [55]; and (34) *Machairas* [118], [119].
- [39] Entry to most women prohibited; provision for creation of additional offices. Only (30) *Phoberos* [55] copies the text of this chapter's ban on the opposite sex, but (27) *Kecharitomene* [17]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84]; (32) *Mamas* [27]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]; (34) *Machairas* [115]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [14] all have analogous textually independent provisions to the same effect. See also similar prescriptions in (23) *Pakourianos* [23], (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], and (28) *Pantokrator* [18]. Only (32) *Mamas* [14] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [14] utilize the provision here for creation of additional offices.
- [40] Exhortation to preserve the *typikon*. Backed up by provision in [43] below for monthly reading of the *typikon*. Not copied by any later authors, but (32) *Mamas* [15], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [15], and (34) *Machairas* [158] have analogous provisions. See also earlier treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [24]; (5) *Euthymios* [2]; (8) *John Xenos* [3]; and (9) *Galesios* [246]; as well as contemporary treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [22]; (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [8], [9]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A27].

## ELEVENTH CENTURY

- [41] Care of sick monks. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [57]; (30) *Phoberos* [55], [56]; (32) *Mamas* [34]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; and (34) *Machairas* [108]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61] makes its own provision. See also the contemporary treatment in (23) *Pakourianos* [28].
- [42] Founder's additional exhortation. This is both an appendix to and a recapitulation of earlier legislation. In the later category are the admonitions not to quarrel over precedence, cf. [9] above, the warning against careless administration of the monastery's property, cf. [32] above, and the reminder not to acquire personal possessions, cf. [22], [27] above. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57]; (30) *Phoberos* [59]; (32) *Mamas* [46]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45]; (34) *Machairas* [163], [166]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [20].
- [43] Reading of the *typikon*. Supports provision in [40] above for maintenance of the *typikon*. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [65]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59]; (30) *Phoberos* [59]; and (34) *Machairas* [167]. (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16] have analogous provisions. See also the earlier provision in (11) *Ath. Rule* [37] for a reading in assembly. There is a concluding scriptural blessing that is recopied at the end of the [Appendix]; it was also copied later, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; (30) *Phoberos* [59]; (32) *Mamas* [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [168], but frequently separated from the other materials in this chapter.
- [Appendix] Joint commemoration of the founders Paul and Timothy; provision for the consumption of wine on Lenten fast days. Cf. [35] above, which makes the original provision for Paul's commemoration, and [10] which makes the original provision for drinking hot water seasoned with cumin. The result of the amended Evergetian Lenten provision is that its monks could consume wine on every day of the week. The contemporary (23) *Pakourianos* [10] matches the earlier Evergetian observance, permitting the use of wine on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays. Earlier documents are even stricter, with (11) *Black Mountain* [26] permitting wine only on Saturdays and Sundays, (4) *Stoudios* [30] only on Saturdays, and (20) *Black Mountain* [56] only on Sundays. The alteration of the *typikon* at the request of an influential benefactor recalls Leo VI's grant of a vineyard to the monks of the monastery of Euthymios so that they could improve the quality of wine served, for which see (5) *Euthymios*, Institutional History, above.