

This is an extract from:

*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:*

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

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Published by

*Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*

*Washington, D.C.*

in five volumes as number 35 in the series **Dumbarton Oaks Studies**

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Trustees for Harvard University

Washington, D.C.

Printed in the United States of America

[www.doaks.org/etexts.html](http://www.doaks.org/etexts.html)

## 28. *Pantokrator*: *Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* in Constantinople

*Date*: October 1136

*Translator*: Robert Jordan

*Edition employed*: Paul Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 (1974), 1–145, with text at 27–131.

*Manuscripts*: Parisinus graecus 389, fols. 1–61 (before 1740); Codex 85, nunc 79, Theological School, Halki, now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul, fols. 69–122v (1749).<sup>1</sup>

*Other translation*: French, by Gautier, “Pantocrator,” pp. 26–130.

### *Institutional History*

#### *A. Description of the Foundation*

The monastery of Christ *tou Pantokratoros* “The Ruler of All” was built by Emperor John II Komnenos (1118–43) on a hill in the north central part of Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> In some sources the work is attributed to his spouse Irene, daughter of King Ladislav of Hungary.<sup>3</sup> The construction is attributed to an architect named Nikephoros. The foundation included a triple church, with discrete but physically joined facilities dedicated to Christ *Pantokrator* (south church), the Archangel Michael (central church), and the Mother of God *Eleousa* (north church). This structure survives as the mosque Zeyrek Kilise Camii in modern Istanbul. Archaeological evidence suggests that the *Pantokrator* was built first, followed by the *Eleousa*, and lastly by the Archangel Michael, which was designed to serve as an imperial mortuary chapel for the Komnenian dynasty.<sup>4</sup> There was also a famous hospital attached to the foundation as well as an old age home. A lepers’ sanatorium associated with the foundation was in a separate location. All of these structural components of the foundation are mentioned in the *typikon* translated below.

#### *B. Pantokrator under the Komnenian Dynasty*

Though it was technically an independent monastery (see [69] below), the Komnenian emperors employed *Pantokrator* for many of the usual purposes of more traditional imperial monasteries. Upon his sudden accession to the throne upon John II’s accidental death in 1143, Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) ordered the *meGas domestikos* John Axouch to confine his older brother Isaac Komnenos there until he himself was able to reach Constantinople. Both John II and his wife Irene were buried there, in 1143 and 1134 respectively. In 1158, Manuel buried his wife Bertha (Irene) of Sulzbach in the mortuary chapel, and in 1180 he himself was buried there too.<sup>5</sup>

The monastery also began its famous collection of icons and relics at this time, including an icon of St. Demetrios brought by Manuel I from Thessalonike in 1149, and the marble slab on

which Jesus Christ was thought to have been laid out for burial, brought by the same emperor from Ephesos in 1169/70.<sup>6</sup>

The first known superior of the foundation was Joseph Hagioglykerites, who is mentioned in a source in 1149 in connection with *Pantokrator's* acquisition of the icon of St. Demetrios and also as the donor of an undated manuscript to the monastery of the Mother of God *Pantanassa* on the tiny island of Hagia Glykeria south of Cape Akritas where he himself had once been a monk.<sup>7</sup> Since (28) *Pantokrator* [24] limits the pool for the selection of a superior to monks already at the head monastery or its dependencies, Gautier ("Pantocrator," p. 22) supposed that Joseph was either John II's own first appointee as superior or else *Pantanassa* must have become a dependency before his elevation to the office. He apparently served until his death, circa 1154–55.

*C. Pantokrator during the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–61)*<sup>8</sup>

The foundation was located in the quarter of the city conceded to the Venetians, who used it as a repository for valuable relics and the famous icon of the Mother of God *Hodegetria* that they had forcibly removed from Hagia Sophia in 1206. Other famous relics of the monastery, including a head of St. Blasios sent by the Latin emperor Baldwin II (1240–61) to St. Louis IX (1226–70) of France, were dispersed to various locations in western Europe. It is not known whether the monastery continued to be inhabited by Greek monks during the era of Latin rule, or whether they were replaced by monks from western Europe.

*D. Pantokrator under the Palaiologan Dynasty (1261–1453)*

Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) is reported in a traveler's account to have sought out the icon of the *Hodegetria* at the *Pantokrator* immediately upon the Greek reconquest of Constantinople so it could be paraded on August 15, 1261, as he made his re-entry to the city.<sup>9</sup> A report that Michael VIII's Genoese allies set fire to *Pantokrator* to avenge the Venetian destruction of one of their churches in Acre probably refers to some dependency rather than the principal foundation.<sup>10</sup> Michael VIII chose Theodosios of Villehardouin, then superior of another monastery, to serve as the *Pantokrator's* spiritual director, circa 1261–62.<sup>11</sup> In 1265, the emperor entrusted Theodosios with the care of his illegitimate daughter Mary while she was traveling to the Mongol khan Hülegü to consummate a marriage alliance. On his return, Theodosios retired to the monastery of the Mother of God *ton Hodegon* rather than to *Pantokrator*, which suggests that he must have resigned the office of superior of the latter institution. Considered as a candidate for the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1275, Theodosios was actually named patriarch of Antioch in 1277 or 1278, serving until 1283 or 1284.

Early in his reign, Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1325) used the monastery as a place of imprisonment for opponents of his anti-unionist policy vis-à-vis the Roman church.<sup>12</sup> The son of the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), Stefan Dečanski, was imprisoned here too in 1313–20, along with his own two sons.<sup>13</sup> Alexios Philanthropenos may also have been imprisoned here after being blinded at the order of the emperor.<sup>14</sup> Andronikos II also resumed use of the monastery as an imperial burial site, interring his second wife Irene here in 1317.<sup>15</sup> Eight members of the ruling dynasty were buried at *Pantokrator* in the fifteenth century, including the emperors Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) and John VIII Palaiologos (1425–48).<sup>16</sup>

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, several Russian pilgrims, attracted by *Pantokrator*'s famous icons and relics, visited the foundation and left brief accounts, including Stephen of Novgorod (ca. 1349), Alexander the Clerk (1394–95), Zosima the Deacon (1419–22), and the Russian Anonymous (1424–34).<sup>17</sup>

Sometime between 1422 and 1425, the courtier and historian George Sphrantzes got Manuel II to choose his friend Makarios Makres as superior of *Pantokrator*.<sup>18</sup> *Pantokrator* had fallen on hard times, its buildings in bad shape and its community down to only six monks. Sphrantzes and Makres collaborated in restoring and improving the monastery. They also managed to double the number of resident monks. At about this same time, Manuel II's son Andronikos, once despot of Thessalonike, retired to *Pantokrator* as a monk and died there in 1426. Later in 1429–30, Makarios served as John VIII's envoy to Pope Martin V (1417–31) for negotiations on the reunification of the Greek and Latin churches.<sup>19</sup> After the conclusion of his mission, Makarios returned to *Pantokrator*, where he died in 1431.

Makarios' immediate successor may have been Gerontios, perhaps *Pantokrator*'s last superior.<sup>20</sup> Though Gerontios took part at the reunification council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) and signed the decree of union in 1439, he became an ardent anti-unionist on his return to Constantinople in 1440.

### *E. Conversion into a Mosque under the Ottoman Empire*

The monastery apparently ceased operation upon the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Zeyrek Mehmet Efendi converted the triple church into a mosque towards the end of the fifteenth century under its present name, Zeyrek Kilise Camii.<sup>21</sup>

### *F. Fate of the Typikon*

The original *typikon* came into the manuscript and book collection of John Nicolas Mavrocordato, dragoman or “official interpreter” of the Sublime Porte, the court of the Ottoman sultan in Constantinople, who later served as *voivode* or governor of Moldavia (1709) and Wallachia (1716).<sup>22</sup> His library was dispersed after his death in 1730 and the *typikon* came into the possession of the monastery of *Blakserai*, a dependency in Constantinople of the Peloponnesian monastery of *Mega Spelaion*. Copies were made, one before 1740, that is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Parisinus graecus 389), and another in 1749, which also contains a transcription of (19) *Attaleiates*, that was once in the library of the Theological School on the island of Halki and is now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul (Halki 85, nunc 79).<sup>23</sup> By discovering the Halki manuscript and another copy derived from it on a journey to the Ottoman Empire, the Russian scholar P. Bezobrazov was able to publish short excerpts from (28) *Pantokrator* for the first time in 1887.<sup>24</sup> The *editio princeps* by Dmitrievsky in his collection of monastic *typika* followed in 1895, is based on the same Halki manuscript.<sup>25</sup>

In 1902, however, Spyridon Lampros discovered the original *typikon* at the *Mega Spelaion* monastery near Kalavrita, still bearing the autograph signature of John II Komnenos. He published some extended excerpts from the document in 1908, but unfortunately (as fate would have it), neither he nor Nikos Bees, who announced his intention to do so in 1909, prepared an edition.<sup>26</sup> On July 17, 1934, a fire swept the monastery library, destroying the original *typikon* and virtually all of the other manuscripts in its collection.<sup>27</sup>

*G. Archaeological Evidence*<sup>28</sup>

The three parallel churches built by John II Komnenos are still standing and constitute the largest and most important surviving architectural monument of the middle Byzantine period. Only the central church building, the former imperial mausoleum, is now in service as a mosque. Cyril Mango located the site of the tomb of Manuel I, and a Komnenian sarcophagus, perhaps of John II's wife Irene, is now in the museum at Hagia Sophia. The inlaid marble pavement of the south church building was uncovered by the Byzantine Institute in 1953, and structural repairs were carried out by the Turkish authorities in 1966–67.

Outside the mosque to the south are ruins that belong to the monastic complex but they have not yet been studied. At the base of the hill to the southwest, there are also the remains of a large cistern associated with the original foundation.

*Analysis*

This *typikon* is undoubtedly the best known of all the Byzantine monastic foundation documents thanks to the author's establishment and detailed description of a hospital [36]–[55] associated with the foundation.<sup>29</sup> Though justifiably famous, this philanthropic institution was only a part of a large monastic foundation governed to some extent by principles of the monastic reform movement.

*A. Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

The emperor provides [19] for “not less than eighty monks” at this foundation, making it one of the largest of those represented by the monastic foundation documents. Fifty of these were to be responsible for the performance of liturgical services, while thirty were to fill service functions as cooks, bakers, gardeners, kitchen helpers and bath attendants. Another fifty salaried members of the clergy of various ranks are assigned [32] to provide liturgical services at the church dedicated to the Mother of God *Eleousa*. Also reckoned separately are [28] the seventy monks and six servants stationed at the foundation's six dependencies.

2. Liturgical Duties

The emperor provides instructions for the performance of liturgical services in all three of the foundation's churches: the main church of the *Pantokrator* [1], the church of St. Michael [35] where the imperial tombs were to be located, and in the church of the Mother of God *Eleousa* [33]. The large contingent of clergy assigned to the *Eleousa* were divided into two groups which took turns singing the liturgy of St. Andrew that was also celebrated in the Imperial Palace. The emperor also provides prescriptions for the illumination of all three churches.<sup>30</sup>

3. The Novitiate

Applicants seeking admission to the monastery were not to be admitted [16] without a period of testing, the length of which is not specified. Citing canon law, the emperor also provides that monks tonsured elsewhere were not to be admitted without first gaining permission from their current superiors.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

### 4. Sacramental Life

The Holy Eucharist was to be made available [9] to the monks on feast days. Like the author of (22) *Evergetis* [15], the emperor obliges [20] his monks to offer confession to their superior, or else to the superior's designee who should be an old and pious monk. In accordance with canon law, confessors are obliged to obtain permission "through episcopal authorization" to hear confessions.

### 5. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The emperor implicitly endorses [9], cf. [20] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] on sharing common meals and forbidding secret eating. He also envisions [22] a communal provision of clothing to the monks. He evidently held [28] alternatives to cenobiticism, such as the kelliotic lifestyle practiced in several of the dependent institutions of the foundation, in disfavor, but did not attempt their abolition. There is no ringing endorsement of the superiority of the cenobitic lifestyle, however, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [51].

### 6. Diet

There were to be two meals daily on ordinary days. The emperor provides regulations for both dinner [9] and supper [11]. As in (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], there was a second sitting at dinner for the servers, here joined also by those who were legitimately delayed from prompt attendance by their duties. The supper seems to have been more bountiful than usual for many Byzantine monasteries: it consisted of bread, wine, seasonal fruits and vegetables, and "whatever else is suitable for eating at dinner." Fairly detailed prescriptions are found in [12] for both fast days and ordinary days. The emperor permits the superior to make changes from "strict conformity to the canons" in the community's diet during fasts.

### 7. Personal Possessions

There is no outright endorsement of monastic poverty, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [50]. The clergy stationed at the church of the *Eleousa* were to receive [32] both monetary and in-kind remuneration for their services on a graduated pay scale; likewise for the servants in the philanthropic institutions. Those clergy who participated in the weekly vigil service for the forgiveness of the emperor's sins were to receive [31] an additional cash payment, as they would [33] also on the celebration of the patronal feast of the Mother of God. If they missed the feast, however, they were to be subject to a fine payable from their personal resources. Also, the priest stationed at the foundation's mortuary chapel was allowed [56] to keep any donations offered to him, and the kelliotic monks in most of the foundation's dependencies [28] surely also had their private incomes.

### 8. Care of Sick Monks

The presence of a fully staffed hospital on the premises of the foundation facilitated the care of monks who fell sick. The emperor instructs [10] the superior to see to it that appropriate care was provided to an ailing monk in his cell. Alternatively, a six-bed sanatorium (*triklinarion*) could be made available for rest and recuperation.

### 9. Bathing

Following a gradually liberalizing attitude towards the use of baths by monks observable since

the late eleventh century (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [58]), the emperor permits [15] the monks to bathe twice a month except for the Lenten fast, when it was not to be allowed [13] at all, and during other fasts when the frequency was reduced to once a month. Supplies for bathing were to be maintained [10] in the sanatorium for both ailing and healthy monks. Elderly residents of the old age home were also to be bathed [60] twice a month in the separate hospital bath. The sick are allowed to bathe [46] twice a week in this bath, or more frequently if the attending doctor so ordered.

#### 10. Relations with Family

Although the emperor does not address this subject directly, he does forbid [18] women entry to the monastery, “even if they are distinguished ladies and are adorned by a devout life and a noble birth.” In this respect he was even stricter than the author of (22) *Evergetis* [39], who allows women to come in “rarely and carefully and unexpectedly.” At this foundation, however, women were to be allowed entrance only under exceptional circumstances, such as for the burial of kinfolk or for memorial services. The emperor also strictly enjoins [21] the monks not to be absent from the monastery overnight. Barring an exceptional need, even the stewards were to be bound [64] by this requirement.

#### 11. Burial

There was a cemetery at Medikariou, one of the foundation’s dependencies, apparently across the Golden Horn, where the emperor intended [56] for a funerary chapel to be built. A priest from the dependency was to celebrate a weekly liturgy for the departed monks buried there and legitimately receive donations (*paramythiai*) for this service, presumably from relatives of the deceased.

### B. Constitutional Matters

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

Towards the end of the *typikon* and as an apparent afterthought, the emperor provides [69] for the constitutional independence of his foundation. While this provision clearly states that the foundation was to be exempt from imperial, governmental, and ecclesiastical control, the chapter lacks the passion and rigor of its counterparts in earlier documents, e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [12] or (27) *Kecharitomene* [1].

The emperor also subordinates [28] six older monasteries as dependencies of his new foundation. Five of these, Monokastanon, Anthemiou, Medikariou, Galakrenai, and Satyros, were populated by *kelliotai* who were to be allowed to continue with their traditional monastic lifestyle (cf. the less indulgent attitude towards *kelliotai* shown by the author of (21) *Roidion* [A2]). Some of these *kelliotai* were so-called internal monks and others external monks “according to the decision of those supervising them and without due canonical observance or the maintenance of the monastic way of life.” This suggests that these institutions were imperial monasteries (except for Satyros which is said to have been patriarchal) that had until recently been administered under the *charistike*. In any event, the emperor orders that a list (*katastichon*) be drawn up of those monks entitled to support. A sixth dependency, Nossiai, had twelve resident cenobitic monks and six servants, and was to be governed by its own *typikon*. None of these monasteries was to have its

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

own superior, but they were to be governed directly by the superior of the *Pantokrator* monastery instead. Each of them had [64] their own stewards to look after their financial affairs, though these officials were subordinated to one of the stewards of the main monastery. A seventh dependency, Bordai, appears [65] only in the inventory towards the end of the document.

### 2. The Protectorate

As another apparent afterthought, the emperor adds [70] an important constitutional feature by designating his son the *basileus* Lord Alexios as the defender and supporter of the monastery. His untitled position was analogous to that of the protectress in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]. The emperor intends that the office should be inherited by the “leading member of our family.” He cautions that the incumbent had no license to exploit his position to seize any of the assets of the foundation.

### 3. Election of the Superior

Evidently the emperor had already chosen the incumbent superior, and like his mother Irene, the author of (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], he must have considered this to be his lifetime prerogative. As for later, he instructs [24] that the superior will select from among the monks not only of the *Pantokrator* but also of its dependent institutions three candidates worthy to be his successor. After the superior’s death, the community was to discuss the nominations and select the new superior by consensus. If there was no agreement on one of the nominees, the determination was to be made by a random choice of lots by an unlettered member of the community. The emperor also provides for one of his successors to add the name of an especially worthy but hitherto overlooked candidate to the list of those being considered, though this had to be done at the instigation of a member of the community, and even then the emperor’s nomination was still not formally determinative.

### 4. Installation of the Superior

The emperor provides [25] regulations for the installation of the new superior. The patriarch was to issue an ordinance (*pittakion*) instructing one of the bishops resident in the capital to install the nominee “so that strict adherence to the canon may be maintained” and “the independence of the monastery may in no way be disturbed” as a result of this bishop’s *sphragis* of the new superior.

Earlier, especially when relations between founders and the ecclesiastical hierarchy were bad, the canonical prerogatives of the local bishop or (in Constantinople) the patriarch with respect to the superior’s installation were often simply ignored, as in (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Later, when there had been some improvement, some founders like the author of (30) *Phoberos* [35] were willing to recognize the hierarchy’s prerogatives. In (28) *Pantokrator* [25] the emperor chooses a middle course, distancing the patriarch by one remove from the installation ceremonies.

### 5. Role of the Superior

Though the emperor is not anxious to say so forthrightly, by default the superior is [26] the effective master of the foundation here, just as in other reform monasteries. Unlike other cautious founders such as the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [5], [18], however, the emperor was willing to grant [23] a considerable amount of latitude to the superior to make necessary changes in the daily life of the monks or the liturgical rituals in the church on account of an individual’s illness or other good reason. We have already mentioned his concession [12] to the superior allowing him to

make changes in the monks' diet. The emperor also authorizes [34] the superior to appoint the numerous members of the clergy to their posts in the church of the *Eleousa*. When necessary, the superior was to appoint [64] a new steward in consultation with the other stewards. Though there is no direct confirmation, he may have appointed the rest of the monastery's officials as well.

#### 6. Patronal Privileges

As noted, the emperor appears to have exercised [24] his patronal right to appoint the superior. He may have appointed other officials as well, but if so, he was not anxious to assert his right to do so. Although his declaration of the foundation's independence is made [69] without fanfare, the emperor evidently took it very seriously, for he makes it clear [70] that the incumbent of the protectorate should expect no compensation from the monastery for his services.

A note at the end of the document's inventory indicates [65] that, like his mother in (27) *Kecharitomene* [79], the emperor had provided some sort of private residence for himself nearby the monastery. His intentions for this dwelling are lost in a lacuna in the manuscript. In the document as we now have it, the emperor's explicit claims of patronal privileges for himself are limited to the traditional liturgical offerings and posthumous commemorations [8], [44] cf. [72]. In a way the entire foundation was meant to serve as a kind of commemorative offering for the benefit of the souls of the emperor and other members of the imperial family. To this end the hospital staff and even "as many of the sick as are able" were not exempt from obligation, and accordingly are asked [44] to participate in annual commemorative processions to the church of the *Eleousa*.

#### 7. Security for the *Typikon* and Other Documents

The remarkable preservation of the autograph of the *typikon* down to modern times occurred despite the fact that the emperor chose to issue no particular directives for the security of this important document. He was more concerned about a secret testament that he intended to draw up [68] later. This latter document was to be stored in the monastery's sacristy and opened only after the emperor's death and after notification of the patriarch in the presence of five specified witnesses from the monastery and elsewhere.

### C. Financial Matters

#### 1. Financial Administration

The emperor follows contemporary practice in seeking to get the superior more directly involved in the financial administration of the foundation. Yet rather than consolidating the responsibility for the foundation's finances into the hands of a single steward supported by one or more assistant treasurers, as in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [30] or (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], [24], the emperor chose to establish [64] no fewer than four stewards (all resident monks): one for the chief monastery, a second for the six dependencies, a third for the church of the *Eleousa*, and a fourth for the hospital and the old age home. The superior was not to make any important decisions without consulting them "for in the meeting together and advice of a greater number, the management of these matters will be carried out better."

#### 2. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

Following the lead of the Evergetian reformers, the emperor declares [17] that entrance gifts will

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

not be required as a prerequisite for admission to the monastery. The justification offered here, that otherwise “freedom will be given to anyone to be admitted to the monastery,” implies that in pre-reform foundations preference was given to applicants who offered the largest gifts regardless of their personal suitability. Here, the emperor requires that character, training, righteousness, and virtue should rank above (but perhaps not exclude?) consideration of “gold or any gift” offered. The emperor then authorizes the superior to make special accommodations (perhaps disciplinary concessions) for applicants offering valuable professional qualifications or who come from “a preeminent family” or were brought up in a “luxurious way of life.”

### 3. Endowment of the Foundation

An inventory incorporated into the *typikon* illustrates [65] the range of properties and other sources of income required to support a foundation of this size. Among these, the six dependent monasteries mentioned above [27] must themselves have been richly endowed with incomes considerably beyond what was required to sustain the small number of mostly kelliotic monks stationed in them. One of these monasteries, Galakrenai, had been donated to the foundation by the emperor’s late wife Irene along with various other properties.

### 4. Commemorative Observances

As elsewhere, the willingness of the monks to conduct commemorative observances in exchange for donations from outside benefactors was another potentially important source of income for the foundation (in this era, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [71]). The emperor specifically mentions [8] his nephew John Arbantenos who donated a house and estates producing a considerable income, in return for which he was to be buried in the monastery, receive memorial commemorations three times daily, and have charitable distributions carried out in his name equivalent to one-third of the revenue of the property he had consecrated to the monastery. Various other court officials were to receive commemorations three times yearly though their contributions are not specified.

## D. Overall Philosophy

### 1. Acceptance of Privileges

Even more so than his mother did in (27) *Kecharitomene* [4], the emperor was willing to sacrifice reform principles in order to accommodate the maintenance of aristocratic privilege. He forthrightly declares [26] that since the superior has “more cares and toil than the others” he should also have “more privileges in daily routine compared with the rest,” including better bread, wine and fish. His mother’s endorsement of the Evergetian prescription of equality in food, drink and clothing (see (27) *Kecharitomene* [56]) is not repeated here in this document. Indeed, he considers [26] it reasonable for the superior to enjoy a better diet than the other monks “since he necessarily has more cares and toil than the others.” The emperor’s willingness also to allow [23] the superior considerable latitude in determining dietary requirements and liturgical obligations for individual monks is consonant with his desire [17] to offer disciplinary concessions to novices valued for their skills or the benefactions they promised to bring with them upon admission.

On the other hand, the emperor does endorse [9] the Evergetian warning to the monks not to quarrel about precedence in seating at meals in the refectory. Instead, he instructs that “each should defer to each in the matter of a seat; for this is a sign of humility and love.” Like his

mother, however, the emperor declines to adopt the violent language of (22) *Evergetis* [9] in support of this admonition.

## 2. Respect for Canon Law

In one notable respect, this document does show a considerable change from the traditions of essentially arbitrary, idiosyncratic private patronage. This is the emperor's willingness to take into account the requirements of canon law in framing the regulations in his *typikon*. His insistence [20] that the superior or his designee obtain episcopal authorization to hear the monks' confessions and his prohibition [16] of accepting a monk from another monastery without the permission of the candidate's previous superior are examples of provisions for which the emperor accepts canonical precedents on matters about which the early Evergetian monastic reformers were less scrupulous.

Yet in some other cases, the emperor's awareness of the requirements of canon law does not necessarily lead him to offer full compliance. At one point he in fact declares [67] that "permission has been granted to me by the divine fathers, the ordinances of the church, and the requirements of the law to make regulations and act in the case of my own possessions just as I wish." As noted above, he only partly concedes [25] the rights of the patriarch to ratify the election of a new superior and to install him. Moreover, he authorizes [12] the superior to make changes from "strict conformity to the canons" in dietary and other observances during fasts. Still, the significance of the author's acknowledgement of an external body of pertinent legislation cannot be underestimated given the entirely opposite weight of prior patronal tradition.

## E. External Relations

The remarkable hospital (*xenon*) associated with this foundation caps a long tradition of institutional philanthropy observed in these documents since (16) *Mount Tmolos* in the late tenth century. Chapters [36] through [55] regulate this hospital, while [58] through [62] concern the old age home and [63] the lepers' sanatorium.

### 1. The Hospital

The hospital, presided over [41] by an infirmarian (*nosokomos*), was to have sixty beds [36] divided into five wards, one of which was to be reserved for women. Each ward was to be staffed [38] by two non-resident doctors (serving in alternate months [39]) and a complement of assistants and orderlies. The doctors were not to undertake [54] any outside work (during their months of service?), not even "unpaid service by imperial command." The women's ward had an extra female doctor. An outpatient department was to be staffed by four extra doctors including two surgeons. Two of the doctors from this department would take turns providing services to the monks of the monastery in alternate months. There were also to be various service personnel [43], including a chief pharmacist and three druggists as well as two priests stationed in the hospital's chapel. A teacher of medicine was to "teach the principles of medical knowledge" [55] to student doctors, apparently chosen [48] from among the hospital's auxiliaries.

Salaries [52] for the various hospital personnel are detailed, as are the supplies needed by the infirmarian [49] and the superintendent [50], who served as a cellarer. The emperor also does not neglect to provide [51] regulations for liturgical services, burials and commemorations of the deceased.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

### 2. The Old Age Home

The director (*gerokomos*) of the old age home was to be chosen [61] from among the monks of the monastery. With the assistance of six orderlies, he would take care [58] of twenty-four old, infirm men in the home; the healthy are specifically excluded, regardless of social class. As at the hospital, there would be [59] a chapel for the use of the residents, staffed here by a priest and a reader. The emperor provides cash and in-kind allowances for both the staff [62] and the residents [59].

### 3. The Sanatorium

A lepers' sanatorium [63] was to be established at a site away from the monastery. The emperor seeks a "special remembrance" from its residents, but unlike those of the hospital, he does not presume to tell them to come to church to pray for his soul.

### 4. Routine Charitable Donations

Less institutionalized forms of philanthropy were practiced at the foundation as well. A bakery (*mankipeion*) was to provide [45] bread to nourish the residents of both the hospital and the old age home. For non-residents, there were to be [8] charitable distributions at the gate in honor of the foundation's benefactors. Leftovers were to be collected [11] for this purpose after both the mid-day and evening meals.

### *Notes on the Introduction*

1. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 6–7; the autograph manuscript, once in the Peloponnesian monastery of *Mega Spelaion*, was destroyed by fire in 1934; see discussion below in Institutional History, F.
2. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. A. Van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), p. 48, and *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. K. N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1894), p. 216.
3. John Kinnamos, *Historia*, ed. A. Meineke, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1836), p. 10.
4. The order of construction is as proposed by Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute," 333–71.
5. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, p. 222, and *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB*, vol. 7, p. 248.
6. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta hierosolymitikes stachyologias*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 238–42; Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, p. 222, and *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB*, vol. 7, p. 307.
7. See discussion in Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 21–23.
8. See discussion in Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 516–17, and "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine," *REB* 2 (1944), pp. 174–75.
9. Paul Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1877), pp. 105–6.
10. So Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 517.
11. Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 23.
12. Pachymeres, *De Andronico Paleologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1835), p. 402.
13. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 517, with Jelisaveta Allen, "Stefan Uroš III Dečanski," *ODB*, p. 1950.
14. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 518, n. 9.
15. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), p. 273.
16. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 517–18.
17. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 289–95.
18. Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 23–25; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 518; George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus*, ed. V. Grecu, *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477* (Bucharest, 1966), p. 50.
19. Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, *Memorii*, p. 48.

## TWELFTH CENTURY

20. Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 25–26.
21. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 214.
22. Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 6, and "Obituaire," pp. 235–36, with n. 2.
23. Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 6–8, and "Obituaire," pp. 236–37.
24. P. Bezobrazov, "Materiali dlya istorii vizantiiskoi imperii: I. Ne izdannie monastirskie ustav," *ZMNP* 254 (1887), 65–78.
25. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 656–702.
26. Lampros, "Prototypon," pp. 392–93; Bees, "Parasemeioseis," p. 234.
27. Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 236.
28. For the archaeological evidence on the site, see Mango, "Byzantine Monuments"; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 71–101; Megaw, "Recent Work"; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 209–15; and Schweinfurth, "Mosaikfussboden."
29. For the hospital, see especially Hergès, "Pantocrator"; Miller, *Hospital*, pp. 12–21; Schreiber, "Spitalordnung"; and Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, pp. 134–94. Codellas, "Pantocrator," p. 399, has a conjectural plan of the facility.
30. Church of the *Pantokrator*: [6], [7]; church of St. Michael: [34]; church of the *Eleousa*: [29].

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### *Translation*

#### *Typikon* of the Imperial Monastery of the *Pantokrator*<sup>1</sup>

. . . it raised me above all treachery and plotting and at the right time<sup>2</sup> painlessly set me at the position of absolute power in the ancestral empire of the Ausones [Romans], agreeing, as one might say, with the final command and wish of my late father's divine soul. Then after that extraordinary elevation it also destroyed the cunning plots of my visible and invisible enemies and rescued me from every trap subjecting all my enemies under my feet (cf. Ps. 8:6; 24 [25]:16). How will I recount in full the wonders that God's right arm achieved for me against Persians,

## TWELFTH CENTURY

Scythians, Dalmatians, Dacians, and Paeonians,<sup>3</sup> the many unspeakable victories [p. 29] that it often wondrously wrought with me on them all, making me stronger than all the invaders, dispersing and scattering the ambushes of those within and those without, destroying and binding hand and foot those of my friends and relations<sup>4</sup> who stood against me and wickedly distanced themselves from brotherly concord?

So, what might I offer to the All-Merciful One for such great favors? What could I give thee, Master who lovest goodness, for such great debts except that I turn to thee completely and submit whole-heartedly to thy will? Under its guidance I built a new church dedicated to thine almighty wisdom and portrayed in front of the church and in the sanctuary the Indescribable One and I offer thee that which is thine own, for through thy help I found someone to share its planning, construction, and completion, my partner and helper in life, though before the complete establishment of the task she left this world by thy mysterious decision and by her departure cut me apart and left me torn in two.

Yet though I am not able to fathom the depths of thine incomprehensible wisdom which beneficially manages our lives, I give thanks for thy patience and at last according to my capabilities I unveil my enterprise bringing thee a band of ascetics, a precious gathering of monks, whose duty it is to devote themselves to the monastery and propitiate thy goodness for our sins. To these I add another holy group, a chosen band,<sup>5</sup> a precious portion, a very fine company of dedicated men—priests, deacons, and as large a number as is necessary for the church and the sanctuary. For I am building another sacred dwelling also for the most-pure Virgin, thy virgin mother, and I am maintaining its offering of praise in a fitting manner through a holy assembly of clergy. Along with these I bring thee, the Lover of goodness, some fellow-servants, whom thou in thy compassion called brothers (Matt. 25:40), worn out by old age and toil, oppressed by poverty and suffering from diseases of many kinds.<sup>6</sup> Those whose bodies are ravaged by leprosy [p. 31] are all receiving the appropriate care, others are being relieved of their burdens, revived from weakness, and are receiving complete healing of their wounds, and others are being freed from want, finding consolation in a sufficient supply of food and clothing. We bring thee these people as ambassadors to intercede for our sins; by them we attract thy favor and through them we plead for thy compassion. For we have taken due thought for the protection, care, and managing of these animate and inanimate temples, and now we prescribe in detail what will be done in their regard.

So then we wish the sequence of divine praises in this most-holy monastery to proceed according to the ecclesiastical rule set up by us.

### [1. Ceremonial of the Office]

The service of matins on Sundays and the great feast days will begin at the fifth hour of the night, but on all the remaining days it will take place before or after the midnight office according to ecclesiastical procedure. For the superior will take care that those attending the church get a moderate amount of sleep so that they may have the strength to offer up prayer and perform the singing of psalms with an alert mind, when the grosser exhalations caused by food have been dissipated by a moderate amount of sleep so the mind can offer the praise and intercession more attentively.

When the hour of the ecclesiastical office and service arrives, the rites of the church will be

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

performed each day like this. The waker will get up and go to the superior's cell, bow outside it and call out, "Bless me, pray for me, Father." The superior will bless him in an audible manner and the other will go away and immediately sound the semantron. Then as the brothers assemble in the church<sup>7</sup> he will sound the service semantron which is also called the great one. So when the monks have gathered in the narthex, they will perform the midnight office of psalm-singing [p. 33], being obliged in this office to sing the psalm "Blameless" (Ps. 118 [119]) so as to complete it at three stations, and at each of the stations, they should sing a *trisagion* with three *troparia*, two penitential [*kathismata*] and one *theotokion*.

### [2. Incenses]

When the psalm "Blameless" has thus been completed and the monks are now about to process into the church, the priest who has the duty for the day will go in with them and receive the censer from the ecclesiarch. Then he will stand in front of the sanctuary and with the usual prayer bow and when he has performed a censuring in the form of a cross in front of the sanctuary screen he will go next into the sanctuary and will perform a censuring three times in the form of a cross in front of the holy table, then he will do likewise also at each of the other sides of the holy table. When he comes out of the sanctuary one of the readers will receive him and with his head uncovered will precede him with a light. The priest will follow and first of all will go to the chapel of the Incorporaeal<sup>8</sup> where our tombs are situated; then standing before the icon of the Pantokrator itself, he will cense it in the form of a cross, after that all the holy places in the church and the most venerable icons in them, and along with them all the monks who are standing there.

### [3. Chants and Prayers in Honor of the Emperors]

During the course of the censuring the monks will sing at this point a *trisagion* for my majesty and the specified psalms, that is the nineteenth which begins "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee," and the twentieth which begins, "In thy strength the king shall rejoice, O Lord, and in thy salvation he shall greatly exult," and these *troparia*, "Save thy people, Lord," and, "He who was raised on the cross," and a *theotokion*, "Quickly intervene before we are enslaved," and *kyrie eleison* fifteen times. But after the passing of my majesty they will perform the *trisagion* twice on the same occasion instead of once. The first one will be for the emperors who are alive at the time with one psalm which [p. 35] begins "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble," and the aforementioned *troparia* and the *theotokion*, but they will perform the other *trisagion* in our memory when psalm six will be recited which begins, "O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath," and they will sing one *troparion*, "Rest with the saints," and a *theotokion*, "You who are like a wall and harbor." Then they will repeat this prayer—"Remember, Lord, our orthodox rulers and founders who are at rest and pardon for them every voluntary and involuntary sin committed by them in word or deed or thought and make them dwell in the places of light, in green places where all pain, grief, and sorrow have fled away, where the sight of thy face gladdens all thy saints for ever, and grant them thy kingdom and the favor of participating in indescribable and everlasting benefits and thine eternal and blessed life. For thou are the life and repose of those who are at rest and to thee be the glory."

So while this is being carried out, when the priest has carried out the censuring of the whole

## TWELFTH CENTURY

church, he will go again, as has previously been made clear, to the doors of the sanctuary and when he has performed a censuring at them three times in the form of a cross, he will pronounce “Glory be ever to the holy, consubstantial and life-giving Trinity now, always, and for ever and ever.” The monks having said “Amen” will immediately begin the six psalms,<sup>9</sup> not chanting them raucously but quietly to themselves, taking care to harmonize with the ecclesiarch who is standing in the middle of the church and reciting clearly enough to be heard. After the completion of the six psalms sometimes “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) will be sung, that is on festival days and feasts, and sometimes “Alleluia,” but both of them with a bright and triumphant chant.

### [4. Order of Precedence]

The position of the monks will be as follows: the priests will stand in front of the deacons and the deacons behind them and the rest like this in order, in whatever position the ecclesiarch assigns to each one on the instruction of the superior. The deacons however will never stand among the priests even though they have been entrusted with one of the more important offices. The steward however will be exempted from this and will always keep his own position even if he has not been honored with the priestly status.

### [5. Other Instructions]

Whenever the monks are gathering in the church no one is allowed to pray in front of the sanctuary screen or in any other place, but when each one is about to enter the church he will bow in front of the royal doors<sup>10</sup> and then he will enter reverently and stand in his own place not bowing to the monks. When the recitation of the psalms or another chant is beginning, they must all wait for the one who begins and whenever he completes the beginning verse he should prostrate himself on the ground and they should all prostrate themselves in time with him. No one should dare to begin unless instructed by the one who has this office, but each one must wait [p. 37] with patience to be instructed when to begin by the one who will be appointed and will take the lead. Even if someone knows the liturgy accurately, he must keep quiet and everyone must refrain from all conversation during the singing of the psalms having this only in his mouth; but if someone being uncertain wishes to learn something for his own benefit, he should ask about this quietly during the *kathisma*. When the *hypakoe* or another chant of this kind is being sung, the specialist chanters should stand in front of the sanctuary and sing this in a fitting and orderly way.

### [6. Illumination of the Main Church on Ordinary Days]

The church should be lit like this. Some lamps should burn continuously—two in the sanctuary, one standing lamp<sup>11</sup> in the *synthronon* below and another in the triple lamp of the sanctuary, two before the Pantokrator, one before the Resurrection and another before the Crucifixion, one in the triple lamp of the dome, one in the apse on the right of the sanctuary where the Last Supper is, another in the apse on the left where the Washing of the Feet is, and another before the beautiful doors where the Dormition of the Mother of God is.

The following lamps also should burn continuously at night—one in the narthex, another in the exonarthex, and another before the [representation] of the ecumenical councils. But during the services of matins, the liturgy, and vespers all the crater lamps of the *choros*, sixteen in number,

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

should be lit all around as well as lamps of the *templon*, four of the triple lamps, four lamps in the four vaults, three in the narthex in addition to the night-lamp, and two in the exonarthex in addition to the night-lamp there too.

Candles should burn continuously, one in the conch of the apse, two before the Pantokrator, one before the Resurrection, one before the Crucifixion, one before the Washing of the Feet, one before the Last Supper, and another one above the beautiful doors, and the candle in the dome along with the others. During the services three lighted ones should stand on the *templon*, one on the little *templon* and another one at the altar, two others before the Pantokrator and another one before each of the two icons set out for veneration. But on [p. 39] Sundays during matins and the liturgy and furthermore during vespers on Saturdays seven candles should be lit on the middle *templon* and three candles before the *templon* on the right at the small sanctuary. The same things should be done during ordinary feasts.

### [7. Illumination of the Main Church on Feast Days]

During the more important feasts the church will be lit as follows. Firstly, during the feast of the Transfiguration<sup>12</sup> instead of crater lamps, chandeliers should be hung up and all of them should be brightly lit, fitted with all their lamps. Six-ounce candles should be fixed around the *templon* and the icons for veneration. In the candelabras with twelve candleholders which stand in front of the holy icon of the Savior which is on display candles of one *litra* should be put, and in the choirs six large candles weighing eight *litrai*; three more should be put in the narthex and one in the exonarthex. In the candleholders of the triple lamps in the conch of the apse and in the dome candles of eight ounces should be put and the same thing should be done with the rest of the triple lamps on which there are points for candles, and in the sacristies. Two large candles should be put on either side of the holy altar. Rose-essence and bitter aloes will be provided from the storehouse by purchase and a distribution at the gate will take place of twenty-four *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* to the value of two of the gold *nomismata* preferred at the time, and for the provisioning of the table three courses of fresh fish will be supplied. The feast of Easter also will be celebrated similarly in all respects.

During the feast of the Nativity of Christ the chandeliers will be lit in the same way, and four-ounce candles will be put on the *templon* and at the icons for veneration, eight-ounce candles in the candelabra with twelve candleholders, and at the choirs six large candles weighing six *litrai* will be put and two in the narthex. The distribution at the gate will be similar but the provisioning of the table will consist of the supply of two courses. The same things will take place during the feast of the Epiphany and that of the Exaltation of the Cross;<sup>13</sup> but the distribution at the gate will be reduced by a half.

For the feast of the Annunciation<sup>14</sup> the amount of lighting will be half as much and a distribution will take place of eight *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* [p. 41] to the value of one gold *nomisma* and provisions for the monks will be the amount of one course. During the feast of Pentecost the same things will be carried out in the same way, also on Palm Sunday, and during the feasts of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple, of the Birth of the Mother of God, and of her Entry into the Temple.<sup>15</sup>

But during the feasts of St. Basil, of St. Gregory the Theologian, and of St. [John]

## TWELFTH CENTURY

Chrysostom<sup>16</sup> the amount of lighting will be even more reduced so as to add to the illumination of the ordinary feasts only one candelabrum with twelve candleholders, the one that is going to stand in front of the holy icon of the one whose feast is being celebrated. The provisioning will be similar—that of one course.

The feast of the Holy Apostles<sup>17</sup> will have the lighting and the provisioning of the feast of the Annunciation, but the feast of St. Philip<sup>18</sup> only its provisioning. On Holy Thursday there will be a distribution of twenty-four *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* to the value of two similar gold *nomismata*.

The feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God<sup>19</sup> will be celebrated in the monastery in the same way as the feast of the Annunciation, but a more splendid festival will be held in the church of the *Eleousa* as will be made clear later on. However at the gate there will be a distribution of twenty-four *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* to the value of two similar gold *nomismata* and for the provisioning of the table sufficient *nomismata* will be provided for two courses.

### [8. Liturgical Offerings and Commemorations]

It is time to speak also about the offerings of bread for the holy liturgy. For each day there should be four *hexagia* of fine wheat flour and from this offerings of bread should be made, two greater ones—one for Our Lord and the other for the Mother of God—another for the saint of the day, and four others as memorials, for the sovereign and father<sup>20</sup> of my majesty of blessed memory, for my lady grandmother<sup>21</sup> of blessed memory, for the lady and mother<sup>22</sup> of my majesty of blessed memory, and for my lady wife<sup>23</sup> of blessed memory. From these same *hexagia* the superior's daily supply of fine white bread also should be made. The bread offerings should be broken into pieces and distributed to the monks.

Each Saturday other offerings also should be made from flour as follows: for the grandfather<sup>24</sup> of my majesty of blessed memory, the *kouropalates*; [p. 43] for my grandmother<sup>25</sup> of blessed memory, the *protovestiaria*; for her husband;<sup>26</sup> for the uncle<sup>27</sup> of my majesty of blessed memory, the *sebastokrator*; for the daughter-in-law<sup>28</sup> of my majesty of blessed memory, the wife of my most dear son, *Basileus* Lord Alexios; for my brother of blessed memory, *sebastokrator* Lord Andronikos;<sup>29</sup> for my sister, the nun Lady Eudokia;<sup>30</sup> for the brother-in-law of my majesty, Caesar Bryennios;<sup>31</sup> for my other brother-in-law Euphorbenos;<sup>32</sup> for the uncle<sup>33</sup> of my majesty, the *megas domestikos*; for my aunt<sup>34</sup> his wife; for Lord Manuel,<sup>35</sup> the uncle of my majesty; for the Caesar;<sup>36</sup> for the three aunts<sup>37</sup> of my majesty of blessed memory, the *Caesarissa*, the *panhypersebaste*, and the Lady Xene; for my other uncle,<sup>38</sup> the *megas doux*; for *sebastos* Lord George Palaiologos;<sup>39</sup> for my aunt,<sup>40</sup> the most honorable; and for my other aunt,<sup>41</sup> the wife of Palaiologos.

Two offerings should also be made on behalf of my grandchildren who have died, one offering specifically on behalf of my much loved grandson Lord Alexios, the son of my most dear son *sebastokrator* Lord Isaac. Three baskets of *kollyba* should be offered on Saturdays jointly on behalf of them all equally. So the aforementioned names of the dead will be remembered in these ways.

[p. 45] On the Saturdays of Meatfare,<sup>42</sup> Cheesefare,<sup>43</sup> and Pentecost the following people

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

will also be remembered: the late eunuch John the *mystikos*, the other *mystikos* Tzykanisteriotes, *sebastos* lord Constantine Rogeres, *sebastos* Eustathios Kamytzes, Michaelitzes Stypeiotes, the doctor Niketas the *protos*, George Dekanos, and the *vestiarites* of my majesty, Theodore Beroites, one offering being made on behalf of each of these.<sup>44</sup>

After our decease these offerings also will be added to the commemorations of each day, namely, offerings for me and my most dear sons Born-in-the-Purple: *basileus* Lord Alexios,<sup>45</sup> *sebastokrator* Lord Andronikos, *sebastokrator* Lord Isaac, and *sebastokrator* Lord Manuel;<sup>46</sup> for my very dear daughters,<sup>47</sup> the *Caesarissa* Lady Maria, the Lady Anna, the Lady Theodora, and the Lady Eudokia.

Another basket of *kollyba* will also be offered once in the week.

The names of all these people will be written on the diptychs and we will be remembered then during the offering and the divine mysteries but at the moment our names will be written on the diptychs of the living and will be remembered in the same way during the offering and the divine mysteries.

Since the husband of a niece of my majesty, the *pansebastos sebastos* Lord John Arbantenos,<sup>48</sup> wished to be buried in this monastery founded by my majesty, he consecrated to it some of his own landed property—a house and estates producing a considerable income—on condition that a night office should take place every day on his behalf and the *trisagion* be repeated at matins and at vespers by some monks from the monastery, by four at least. In addition to this, the same man wished that [p. 47] at the time of his remembrance distributions should be made for his soul from the revenues of the same landed property amounting to one-third of the revenues from the landed property consecrated by him.

My majesty decrees that these things be carried out in such a way that a *trisagion* be repeated each day by some monks both during matins and after the office of lamplighting, a night office be also sung by them to intercede for him, a candle should burn unceasingly, similarly a lamp should be kept burning continuously on his tomb, and distributions for his soul be carefully carried out before and after his commemoration so that what is distributed on both occasions adds up to a third of the revenues from his landed property. This procedure should continue unchanged for ever because this man consecrated his property in this hope to this monastery of my majesty.

However on our tombs, that is, on that of my most dear wife and on that of my majesty, instead of one candle two must burn continuously on each.

### [9. Regulations for Dinner]

It is time to discuss the common table of the brothers. The monks should have a common table in the monastery of the Savior *Pantokrator*; they should share in common food. No one should eat in secret, since this has been forbidden by the divine fathers and causes very great damage to the soul and brings greater danger. The time of eating is not always the same. For when the psalms are recited during the hours, it being a period of fasting, I mean before the feast of the Holy Apostles, the third hour and the sixth will be recited according to the rule of the church and after the divine liturgy the ninth hour will be celebrated without a recitation of the psalms.

When the blessed bread has already been given to the monks and the semantron has been struck for the third time, they will walk to the refectory with a psalm on their lips, the one which

## TWELFTH CENTURY

begins, "I will exalt thee, my God" (Ps. 144 [145]). But when the days are not fast days but glorious feast days, the holy mystery will be celebrated and the monks will receive the blessed bread as has been stated, and the semantron will be struck three times and they will go off to the refectory with the aforementioned psalm on their lips. This will be the difference in the time of eating except during the fasts of the great Lent and Christmas. [p. 49]

Also their progress to the refectory will be orderly with the priest who officiated at the sacrament leading them all, the superior walking after him, and the rest of the brothers following one after another. When they are approaching the refectory table, the priest, being at the head on the right, turning to the east should say this prayer by himself, "O Lord, my God, the heavenly and life-giving bread, the true food of the whole world, who governs this present life and has promised us enjoyment of the life to come, thyself bless our food and drink and allow us to partake of them without incurring condemnation, glorifying and giving thanks to the One who provides all good gifts."

Next, the superior should stand in his proper position at the head table, and then the priest making the sign of the cross over the table should say aloud after the aforementioned prayer "Because thy most honored and magnificent name has been blessed and glorified." Then when the brothers have responded with "Amen," the superior should sit down and after him the rest without noise and disturbance and each should defer to each in the matter of his seat; for this is a sign of humility and love. When all are seated, the person appointed to read should begin the reading; but the priest who celebrated the sacrament, standing up, should pronounce a blessing, saying "God be blessed" and when the brothers have responded with "Amen," the refectorian should impose silence on all and then the reader should begin the reading.

When the food has been set out, the refectorian should shout in a loud voice "Master, bless, pray," and the priest who celebrated the sacrament should bless the food that has been set out. Then, when the superior has stretched his hand out to the food, the rest also should begin to eat. Brothers also should go round after this to distribute the hot water when wine-cups have already been distributed to all. However the superior should first strike the top of the table three times with a small wooden gavel at each serving. At the first stroke they should all stand upright holding their own wine-cups and the superior likewise, and then when they have all received a common blessing they should sit down again and after this each one should bless his own [p. 51] wine-cup with the sign of the cross.

No one however will ask a blessing from anyone else if the superior is present, but if he is absent, the steward should carry out both the knocking and the blessing of the wine-cups instead of him. But if he is not a priest, he should strike the table himself but should entrust the blessing of the drink to the senior priest or the priest who celebrated the sacrament. But if the steward is not present, the most senior priest himself or the priest who celebrated the sacrament should perform what ought to be done by the superior. No one should sit in the seat of the superior.

When the food has been eaten and silence prevails on the insistence of the refectorian, the second course should be brought in, whatever it is, and the priest should bless this too. This should happen for each dish even if there is a refreshment and more is put out. When there is a refreshment and more food is put out, the wine-cups should also receive an extra amount at the discretion of the superior.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

When the meal has been completed and the reader has stopped, the refectorian at the command of the superior should place a basket to receive the plates and another in which spoons will be put. Then the superior should say grace and likewise all of them in turn, and immediately the basket should be placed to receive the leftovers and first the superior should throw his leftover bread into it, then all the rest while “Blessed is God who nourishes us” is sung; the pieces of bread should be given to the brothers in front of the gate. After “Blessed is God” is finished, the priest who celebrated the sacrament should repeat the following prayer, “Lord, our God, increase the surplus of thy servants and pity us because thou art holy now and always and for ever and ever.” Then after the “Amen” the refectorian after a sign from the superior should make a sign of the cross with the basket and say in a loud voice “Great is the name” and all of them should reply “of the holy consubstantial and life-giving Trinity.” Then the superior should bless them all, and the refectorian should sing loudly “Merciful and pitiful is the Lord” (Ex. 34: 6) and the rest of the brothers should join in the singing with him. Then when the priest who celebrated the sacrament has given thanks to God with them all, he should begin Psalm 121 [122], “I was glad when they said to me,” and Psalm 83 [84], “How lovely is thy dwelling place, O Lord.” After that the priest should pronounce a thanksgiving and then say a prayer and each should go away to his cell.

After the monks have got up from the table, those who have been in attendance should eat; but no one should be allowed to take bread or anything else from what was set out to his cell. If some of those sent away on duties are so delayed that they do not arrive at the time of the meal, then the same food must be placed on the table for these people in the same way [p. 53] to prevent a scandal arising if they took food away to their cells.

### [10. Care of Sick Monks]

If anyone is so sick that he is bed-ridden and cannot walk, the appropriate care should be provided in his cell. Also the superior should with sincerity take care of all those who are ill, securing a doctor to visit the monastery and provide soothing plasters and oils so that they can be stored up in the sick room; and he himself should call, often visiting those who need care, ministering to all their needs with white bread, the best wine, and other things that can comfort those who are ill.

The sanatorium should have six made-up beds for those who wish to lie down and another for the doctor who will stay here too to care for the sick whenever necessity demands. Useful articles for washing oneself should be placed in it in sufficient quantity—I mean basins, ewers, and soap dishes, towels, hair wipers, hand towels, etc.—and enough for six to wash at the same time; and not only will those who are ill use these things but also in fact all the monks. Care must especially be taken that those who look after them should show their care for them in every action and in their concern, believing Christ who said “As you did it to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it for me” (Matt. 25:40). This is what concerns the sick.

### [11. Regulations for Supper]

Rules must be laid down also about supper. For after the office of lamplighting when the semantron is struck three times, the monks will go to the refectory singing the verse which begins “The poor shall eat and be satisfied” as far as “for ever and ever” (Ps. 21 [22]:26–27), and then

## TWELFTH CENTURY

they should sit down and when the priest who celebrated the sacrament has pronounced a blessing they should eat bread and drink wine. As the time of the year allows they will be supplied with vegetables and some fruit according to the season and whatever else is suitable for eating at supper. Concerning the serving of the drink the rule which we also mentioned in connection with the midday meal will be observed.

After the completion of the eating and the drinking, a basket should be set out for the leftovers to be put in and the following should be said, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit." Then the superior should pronounce the blessing after the brothers have previously said "*Kyrie eleison*" three times together and added "Lord, bless," and after that the superior should repeat "Christ our God, increase," and what follows. Next the refectorian should lift the basket, make a sign of the cross with it at the end of the table, and say in a loud voice "All-holy Mother of God, help us." Then when the refectorian has begun the verse which goes "O Lord, thou hast made us glad with thy work, and in the operations of thy hands will we exult" (Ps. 91 [92]:4); "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, has been manifested towards us," (Ps. 4:6) he should keep [p. 55] them all chanting this verse together as far as "For thou hast caused me to dwell securely" (Ps. 4:6-8). Then they should be dismissed by the superior at the last word.

### [12. Dietary Regulations]

Immediately upon the command of the superior the ecclesiarch should give the signal for compline. But on the vigils of the great feast days and especially those of the Savior they must prepare the things for supper more carefully and lavishly so that cooked dishes also should be put before them prepared with vegetables and legumes, and fruits of the season. Fish too should be often supplied to them and a measure of wine greater than is customary.

It is necessary to speak of both the number and the kind of dishes that will be set before the monks on each occasion. On all Wednesdays and Fridays observance of the sacred canons will not be neglected nor will there be any thought of neglecting it, yet any change made in the strict conformity to the canon to accommodate weakness of the brothers will be completely at the discretion of the superior. On the Mondays which are not fast days, except those during the great fasts, three dishes will be set before the monks brightened with olive oil and seasoning, prepared not only with vegetables and legumes but also oysters and mussels when in season. On Tuesdays and Thursdays cheese and eggs will be eaten; and on Saturdays and Sundays fresh fish will also be set before them. There will always be three cooked dishes; on the four aforementioned days of the week there will be two dishes made from salted and fresh fish, cheese, and eggs and the third will be of legumes.

The great fasts will be different in the following way. The fast of the Holy Apostles<sup>49</sup> will have an abstinence from cheese and eggs only to be observed on the days without a fast. The fast of St. Philip<sup>50</sup> will also put an end to the eating of fish during five days of the week, with the exception of Saturday and Sunday. If, however, a feast day occurs on one of the five days, then they will have the refreshment of fish. They will eat once in the day during this fast after the completion of the office of lamplighting although the fast of the feast of the Holy Apostles does not preclude the eating of supper. On the five aforementioned days of the week the food of the monks will be set out sometimes with olive oil for their refreshment and sometimes without any

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

of this gladdening because of the holiness of the days.

When a feast of our Lord comes round or of the Mother of God or of one of the famous saints, on these feast days there will be a refreshment for the monks at the discretion of the superior. However the revered name of the Mother of God should be set as a seal to mark the end of all meals of the monks, both the midday meal and supper, and with this invocation the refectorian at the bidding of the superior should take a piece of bread of reasonable size, bless it with the sign of the cross, and then all the monks taking a portion of it [p. 57] should also drink a final drink in the name of the Mother of God, so that they may be sanctified both in their souls and bodies through the invocation of her divine name and by what is eaten and drunk in its honor.

Also each day the distribution of two maritime *modioi* of bread should take place at the gate and the observance of this distribution should be maintained without evasion every day.

During the week of Cheesefare, the eating of cheese and eggs will be firmly maintained that the faithful may not seem to observe the fasts of unbelievers by respecting their ordinances.

The great [Lenten] fast, being special in every way since we offer to God a consecration of ourselves, will have the strictest possible observance in every way with regard to both food and drink. Thus they should eat once a day during it, apart from Saturday and Sunday, even if a feast should occur, and during the first week they will be served with less bread than the usual portion, legumes soaked in water, *almaia* without olive oil, nuts, and dried figs. During these days they will take less wine than usual. If some wish to spend the first day without food, as is the custom of many, it will be allowed according to their preference.

On Friday evening because of the vigil of St. Theodore a measure of wine should be given to each of the brothers and olive oil should be sprinkled on the *almaia*. On Saturdays and Sundays three dishes should be served, one of fresh vegetables, the second of legumes, and the third of oysters, mussels, scallops,<sup>51</sup> and onions, all seasoned with olive oil. Also they should be given the usual measure of wine. A similar system of diet to that of the first week will continue on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays during the following weeks of the fast. On Tuesdays and Thursdays they will be served legumes and fresh vegetables with a moderate amount of olive oil poured over them after the cooking. As an additional refreshment the legumes they will eat will be prepared with honey and they will be given the usual measure of wine.

Because it is fitting that those who struggle spiritually should have some respite, the monks should have the refreshment during this holy fast of eating fish on the feast day of the [p. 59] Forty Saints,<sup>52</sup> unless this falls on one of the five days of the first week; for then they will have the refreshment only of olive oil. In the same way they will eat fish also on Palm Sunday. However the whole of the fourth week of the Lenten fast will have the same observance in the matter of food as the first week, and Holy Week similarly, with the refreshment of olive oil allowed only on Holy Thursday. On Good Friday and Holy Saturday until the evening the diet should consist only of bread, legumes soaked in water, and wine mulled with cumin. On the joyful day of the Annunciation, whichever of the days of Lent it occurs—apart from the five days of the first week and Holy Week—permission will be granted for the monks to eat fish; but should it occur on the five days of these two weeks, the monks will have the refreshment of wine and olive oil. Yet if the feast falls on Holy Thursday they will also eat fish.

## TWELFTH CENTURY

### [13. Clastration and Abstention from Bathing during Lent]

However none of the monks will be allowed to wash himself during all this period of Lent, unless the constraints of some disease make it necessary; nor will they be allowed to go out of the monastery so that they may maintain an undistracted perseverance at their prayers. If some pressing need to go out urgently requires it, the side gate will be opened and the one instructed by the superior will go out through it. All those who are going to carry out some service, whether inside or outside the monastery, should first receive a blessing from the superior; but if the superior is away, the steward should do this, and if both of them are absent, the senior priest should take their place.

### [14. Honor and Respect Due the Superior]

All should show such honor to the superior that they never pass him by without a greeting, whether they meet him on the road or see him just poking his head out. Also, anyone summoned to him or whoever comes of his own accord should in the same way do obeisance, and should clasp his hands together while standing in front of the superior and show him the respect that is his due everywhere, with peace and obedience guiding them in everything.

### [15. Bathing Permitted]

Since it is also fitting that the monks should have the refreshment of bathing, they should all have a bath twice in the month to wash themselves, except however during fasts. For in no way will they wash themselves during Lent, as has been stated, and during the other two fasts they will take a bath once a month.

### [16. Reception of Postulants]

Whenever someone comes asking to be received into the monastery, he will not be admitted without any testing, but with a strict examination. If he is from another monastery he will not be admitted without the encouragement of that superior, since the observance of the canons also prevents this. [p. 61]

### [17. Entrance Gifts Not Required]

An entry gift will be required of no one lest, because of this, freedom be given to anyone to be admitted into the monastery. For the character of each person, his training, the righteousness of his actions, and the abundance of his virtue will count above gold or any gift, and the whole brotherhood's way of life will have equal consideration. But if someone is necessary for the monastery, since the requirements of its activities demand people who are able to contribute as they can, or if a person for certain reasons needs some concession, either because he happens to be from a pre-eminent family or he has been brought up in a rather luxurious way of life, it will rest with the superior after consideration to devise measures for the care of that person in accordance with the benefit to the monastery as he perceives it.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

### [18. Entry Forbidden to Women]

Women will not enter the monastery and the monastery will be a forbidden area for them, even if they are distinguished ladies and are adorned by a devout life and a noble birth. But if some must enter, perhaps for the burial of their relations or their commemoration, they will not enter by the monastery gate but by the gate of the church of the *Eleousa*.

### [19. Number and Responsibilities of the Monks]

Since it is appropriate to discuss the number of the monks, the total of the monks will not be less than eighty. Moreover those who are active in the church will come to as many as fifty and will devote themselves to the praise of God and be concerned with the divine hymns without interruption. The rest will be divided up among the menial duties. However those who are active in the church will be men who are reverent in manner, adorned with virtue, zealous in the duties entrusted to them, of venerable wisdom, and will take care that none of the monastery's possessions are destroyed through carelessness. There will not only be bakers, gardeners, and cooks among the servants but also helpers for the ecclesiarch and assistants to the steward and other such people. However the ecclesiarch, the sacristans, the archivists, the infirmarian, and the guest-master must be from those assigned to the church, also the treasurers, [p. 63] the provisioners, two choir leaders, six priests, six deacons—as to whether there can be more priests and deacons there will be nothing in this document to hinder the superior—two precentors, two assistant choir leaders, and an official responsible for summoning the brothers to church.

From the category of servants there will be four together serving all the brothers in the lowliest tasks, or rather the most important and godlike ones, if the saying is true which says “whoever humbles himself will be exalted” (Matt. 23:12). So these men will wash their tunics and outer garments, bathe those who are dirty, minister eagerly to the sick, and will clean the jugs, plates, and pots. The superior will control all these men from the most important to the lowest and will keep an account of the tasks they are all employed on and will consider worthy of the appropriate respect and honor those who carry out their duties well but those who conduct themselves in the opposite way he will move completely to something useful.

However none of the monks will be entrusted with the supervision of property or any of the tasks that require the spending of time outside the monastery lest they incur a harm to their souls greater than the expected benefit to the running of the monastery. For not even the whole world itself is equal to one soul. But the monks will carry out all the tasks inside the monastery and no lay person will live inside the monastery but they themselves will dwell alone in their own paradise and will cultivate this carefully and plant it, one for a yield of thirtyfold, another of sixtyfold, and another of an hundredfold (cf. Matt. 13:23), having attained the full measure of perfection, and so no secular darnel will grow among them. On the other hand lay people will carry out the duties in the properties of the monastery and each one will be liable for the appropriate accounts.

None of the monks serving in the church will be permitted to leave the monastery to sing psalms, whatever festival is being celebrated by anyone, whether it is another monastery that is celebrating it or some lay people. For such an undertaking will be in every way dangerous and harmful to the monks in the monastery as well as bringing shame on the monastery and its superior because those who are subject to him are not watched over and supervised.

## TWELFTH CENTURY

### [20. Confession to the Superior]

As the preceding text has prescribed all the requirements common to the monks—sharing the refectory, living inside the monastery, attendance in the church, unwavering prayer—it also lays down as their common duty the confession of their sins before the superior and urges them [p. 65] all alike to reveal to him willingly their dangerous thoughts and all the stirrings of their soul so that the enemy hidden within them thus shamed might run away very quickly from their minds. So as a result monks looking to the confession of their thoughts as an excuse to leave the monastery will not be allowed to depart from the precincts of the monastery lest they unwittingly receive a fatal wound instead of a draught of salvation, and instead of gaining the healing they seek suffer a wound caused by the doors themselves. They should drink the most valuable water which comes from their own well and each should receive the appropriate healing from confessing to his superior.

But if perhaps someone becomes so lacking in faith and clearly finds it distasteful to confess to his superior, the latter will take care to win him, as far as he can, and will make allowances for his weakness, entrusting him to one of the old monks in the monastery, a godly man who is capable of discerning thoughts and hearing the confessions of this brother. Naturally both the superior and the one who receives permission from him to hear confessions in accordance with the divine canons will previously have been given permission through episcopal *sphragis* to hear the confessions of the brothers and will receive spiritually and devoutly the power to bind and loose from those who have received it from God. (Matt. 18:18)

### [21. No Overnight Absences]

However not a single monk will be allowed ever to spend the night outside the monastery. For each of those who go out on the request of the superior will take every care to get back inside the gate of the monastery before sunset. For evening solitude is harmful and fatal to those sheep of the flock who are left outside the fold, and is a joy to wolves. May this not happen to any of those in this holy sheepfold since all of them are protected by the almighty hand of the Savior.

### [22. Communal Provision of Clothing]

Since the brothers need a reasonable number of clothes, each of them at Easter time will be supplied with two undergarments, one cotton tunic containing four *litrai* of cotton, two pairs of boots and every two years one woolen cloak and one vest also every two years. These the monks will receive, first showing the old ones to the superior so that they can be dealt with by him as he wishes. [p. 67]

### [23. Superior's Discretionary Authority]

These then are the instructions my majesty has given concerning the procedure of the monastery. If from time to time the superior in office should notice that something ought to be added or taken away either in the daily life of the monks or in the liturgical procedure of the church whether through some illness on the part of the monks or for another acceptable reason, this will be a matter for his discretion.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

### [24. Election of the Superior]

It is time now to speak about the installation of the superior. Since disagreements and quarrels have customarily occurred among the brothers at the selection of superiors, some preferring this one, and some that, I wish the one who is superior after my death to choose on his own three brothers from all the monks, both those in the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator* and those in the monasteries attached to it and even in the dependencies. For he will in no way exclude them should he find anyone worthy of this position of leadership in any of these monasteries or dependencies. When he has gathered the monks together, he will write the names of those who have been chosen on a piece of paper in their sight, then he will sign and fix his seal to this paper, and he will deposit it in the sacristy and it will be kept there until his death, but the names written on it will not be made known to any of the brothers. Then, when the position of superior is empty, the paper will be brought out when all the brothers have gathered and will be set out before them, then the seal will be broken, and if all of them together are pleased with one of the three written down as being a person who excels the others, this person will be accepted at once without any hesitation for the position of superior.

If however there is a difference of opinion about the three, and some choose one and others another, when all from the other monasteries are gathered in the chief monastery, all the brotherhood will together make a most earnest supplication to God and will entreat him earnestly with tears to reveal to them the one who is worthy of the leadership. Then the names should be written on three pieces of paper and someone who does not know how to read should carry these to the holy table, place them under its holy cloths, and then night office should be held for three days with vespers and liturgies, and when the [divine] mystery is completed on the third day some other person who does not know how to read should on the instruction of the brotherhood go into the sanctuary and putting his hand on the holy table take one of the pieces of paper and show it to them all and the person written on it should be considered by all to have been judged by God worthy of the leadership.

If it should ever happen that when the names written down by the superior are considered, someone is found to have been left off this document, though he surpasses those who are written down in excellence and clearly shines out in his personal conduct and is a better candidate for the leadership, and most of the monks testify to this—I mean two-thirds of the brotherhood—they will hereby have the authority to bring it to the notice of the divine Emperor through one of his closest aides and to seek correction of what has happened, to prevent one [p. 69] who is better than the rest being overlooked through some human failing, which seems to happen often, by being wrongly omitted from the vote for the leadership.

### [25. Installation of the Superior]

So when the selection for the office of superior has been carried out following the aforementioned procedure, one of the bishops who reside in the capital,<sup>53</sup> after a request from the monks, should be instructed by patriarchal ordinance to celebrate the divine mystery and install the superior, so that strict adherence to the canon may be maintained and the independence of the monastery in no way disturbed as a result of the [episcopal] *sphragis* of the superior. Then the one being installed will receive with all reverence his pastoral staff from the icon of the Pantokrator

## TWELFTH CENTURY

itself as he will surely render account to him on the day of judgment for his period of rule. The brotherhood will accept the one to be appointed thus by God's instigation and choosing, as one could say, with great joy and, as the phrase goes, with open arms, and the brotherhood will show him total affection, submission, reverence, and willing obedience. He in return will help them as beloved children (Eph. 5:1), and will show a careful concern for each one, advising, encouraging, strengthening, exhorting, reproving, summoning them to reform, always acting for the benefit of all like the apostle (cf. I Cor. 9:19).

### [26. Privileges of the Superior]

Therefore this superior, since he necessarily has more cares and toil than the others, will for this reason also have privileges in the daily regimen<sup>54</sup> compared with the rest, and no one will be jealous of his different mode of life, each one thinking to himself that his selection for the office of superior was due to him and that the number and variety of his cares merit some consolation. So, each day he will be supplied with the fine leavened bread previously mentioned, which we ordered to be made for him, he will drink a superior wine, and will be given provisions from the storehouse on the days that the brothers are permitted to eat fish.

I order that the reverend superior who after my death will then take over the reins, as long as he behaves in a godly and spiritual manner in accordance with the contents of the *typikon*, is to be criticized by no one nor asked to render account, since he is going to render account to the Pantokrator alone at the time of his righteous judgment.

### [27. Revenues of the Dependent Monasteries]

Since other monasteries were attached by my majesty to this monastery, that is, the monastery of Nossiai,<sup>55</sup> the monastery of Monokastanon,<sup>56</sup> the monastery of Anthemiou,<sup>57</sup> the monastery of [p. 71] Medikariou<sup>58</sup> on the far side opposite the city, the monastery of Galakrenai,<sup>59</sup> and the monastery of Satyros<sup>60</sup> in accordance with the patriarchal ordinance issued for it, with all the properties of those monasteries inside and those outside the city, I wish the revenues of these to be used in the first place for all the administration, care, and maintenance of the monks themselves and the churches in the monasteries, the customary feasts and commemorations, and the other necessities of each of the monasteries. Then, after all reasonable and necessary expenditures have been made, whatever is left over of the revenue will pass to the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator*. On the other hand if one of these monasteries should find itself in need, through a difficult situation, whatever it needs will be provided.

### [28. Constitutions of the Dependent Monasteries]

The monastery of Nossiai will have a cenobitic way of life in accordance with its *typikon*, but the others will have the kelliotic way of life as they have had up to now. Since each of these monasteries has contained up to now with no distinction some internal monks<sup>61</sup> and some external monks<sup>62</sup> according to the decision of those supervising them and without due canonical observance or the maintenance of the monastic way of life in them, we have decreed that a list should be made of those in them now and it be given to the superior so that these men may be kept undisturbed. But from now on no internal monks or external monks will be admitted to any of

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

these monasteries until the number of the monks in each monastery is reduced to the number laid down here.

For we wish the monastery of Nossiai to have twelve monks living a cenobitic way of life and six other servants carrying out all the necessary service of the monastery. Their way of life will be in accordance with the procedure at the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator*.

We wish the monastery of Monokastanon to have sixteen kelliotic internal monks and these monks will receive whatever has been given to each of them up to now, in accordance with what is contained in their *typikon* and the customs they have followed up to now. There will be twelve kelliotic monks in the monastery of Anthemiou and they will receive [p. 73] whatever they were receiving up to now, in accordance with the rule they have followed.

In the monastery of Medikariou there will be six kelliotic internal monks and they will receive the same. In the monastery of Galakrenai also there will be six kelliotic monks having the same procedure as the rest of the kelliotics. In the monastery of Satyros there will be eighteen monks similarly living the kelliotic life, and each one of them will receive whatever they have been receiving up to now.

There will be no superior in any of these monasteries, but their affairs will be managed by the stewards who must be included and counted in the aforementioned number of brothers in each monastery. However, all of the monasteries will be under the superior of the monastery of the *Pantokrator* and will be set, like one body made up of different limbs, under one head, the aforementioned superior.

### [29. Church of the Mother of God *Eleousa* and Its Lighting]

Since my majesty wished a church also to be built near this monastery dedicated to my most holy Lady and Mother of God *Eleousa*, and between this church and the monastery another chapel in the form of a *heroon* dedicated to Michael the commander of the heavenly armies, in which we have decreed our tomb to be placed, now at this point I must discuss matters concerning the procedure in these two churches.

For I wish the lighting in the church of the *Eleousa* to be like this. One lamp should burn continuously in the conch of the apse, one standing lamp in the *synthronon*, one before each of the two icons for veneration, three lamps before the banner of the holy icon of the *Eleousa*, and one in the dome. These then I prescribe to burn continuously. The ones that are lit in the services and are again extinguished at the end will be as follows—one in each of the three apses of the church, all the crater lamps around the *choros*, seven lamps before the middle of the *templon*, three before each of the two small *templa*, another triple lamp before the holy icon of the *Eleousa*, one lamp in each of the four corner bays, and three lamps in the narthex. A candle will be lit to burn continuously in front of the banner, one before each of the two icons for veneration, one in the dome and another in the conch of the apse. Three others will be lit and extinguished before the banner, one before each of the two icons for veneration, three before the middle *templon*, one before each of the small ones, one in the *synthronon*, [p. 75] one in each of the three apses and in the narthex, and one at the mosaic icon of the *Eleousa*.

Since it was decreed by us that on Friday evening of each week the banner of intercession with the rest of the holy icons following it should turn aside and go among our tombs and that an

## TWELFTH CENTURY

*ektenes* should be made for us, now we also issue these instructions concerning the illumination that there will be on that evening. For the arrival of the holy banners four large candles will be lit in those colonnades which are alongside the public colonnade and are used both for the arrival and the departure of these sacred icons. On the same evening also ten lamps will be lit and each must burn in its own lantern. In the *phiale*, where water must flow to refresh those who are weary from traveling, another lamp with lantern will be lit; on the exterior side of the church situated beyond this passageway six lamps; in the passageway situated in front of the door of the narthex one standing lamp and one candle; in the narthex itself three other lamps; before [St. John the] Forerunner above the door of the narthex one standing lamp and one candle, and opposite him before the icon in mosaic of the Mother of God one candle; outside the other *phiale*, in which other water similarly flows to refresh the people, one lamp with its lantern; inside the church four large candles, seven other candles, that is one candle before each icon that is placed above the different doors in the church, and the rest of the candles that are usually lit; in the passageway of the *heroon* itself in front of the icon of Christ, which is placed above the passageway to our tombs, two candles; all the crater lamps around the *heroon* should be lit or the chandeliers whenever these are hung up instead of the crater lamps. In the two apses of the *heroon*, that is before the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, there should be one candle each, and in the other apse one candle before the Holy Sepulchre and another candle before Christ appearing to the Marys.

### [30. Clergy Stationed in the Church of the *Eleousa*]

We decree that all the clergy of the church should number fifty, that is, eight priests, two of whom, being more distinguished, will lead the others each during his own week with the same applying to the deacons, ten deacons, two choir leaders, two others acting as *laosynaktai*, sixteen chanters, four precentors, and eight orphans acting as lamplighters, and four [p. 77] other extra orphans who must receive advancement in precedence whenever the number of certified orphans is incomplete. In addition, we decree that four respectable women of propriety, mature in age and character and with the rank of *graptai*, should carry out their duties, two in one week and the other two in the next, and the four of them should be present on a Friday evening and watch over the church and what happens there. For we have decreed that these orphans and *graptai* should exist for this reason, that they should conduct the procedure of the meeting of the holy banners every week, carry out the service to those brothers who gather by refreshing them all with water, and see to the oversight of the church and the things connected with it.

### [31. Duties of the Clergy of the *Eleousa*]

These clergy should follow a pattern of two weeks. Half of them should sing during one week and the rest during the second. They should sing the liturgy of the Hagiopolites<sup>63</sup> in the form that is used in the great church in the palace. On Friday of each week a vigil should take place with the night office when the banner of intercession with all the rest preceding and following it, together with all the clergy and people, will be invoked on the way by the members of the clergy of the *Eleousa* and will be met with all reverence and fitting honor and in faith brought into the church and all men and women, that is as many as follow these revered banners, will make an *ektenes*, banners and people alike in the appropriate order, for the pardon and remission of our

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

sins. *Kyrie eleison* will be repeated fifteen times for each banner and then they will go forwards again towards the holy tomb.<sup>64</sup> Then those taking part will receive for their own consolation twelve *hyperpyra nomismata*;<sup>65</sup> this procedure will take place each week and the distribution also at the departure of the banners from the church.

### [32. Remunerations of the Clergy of *Eleousa*]

We decree that the clergy of this church should receive as their [cash] allowances and grain allowances the following: the leading priests should each receive fifteen *hyperpyra nomismata* and twenty-five maritime *modioi* of grain each, the other six [p. 79] priests similarly fourteen *hyperpyra nomismata* each and twenty-five maritime *modioi* of grain each, the ten deacons thirteen similar *nomismata* each and twenty-four maritime *modioi* of grain each, the two choir leaders the same as the deacons, the two *laosynaktai* and the sixteen chanters twelve similar *nomismata* each and twenty maritime *modioi* of grain each, the four precentors six similar *nomismata* each and fifteen similar *modioi* of grain each, the eight orphans or lamplighters the same amount, the four *graptai* four similar *nomismata* each and twelve maritime *modioi* of grain each. The distribution will take place at the times it has traditionally been carried out from the beginning.

A weekly allowance should also be given to the servants, one *hyperpyron nomisma* each week and another similar *nomisma* to the same people each week for the vigil on Friday. At the two feasts of the Mother of God, that is the Annunciation and the Purification [Presentation of Christ in the Temple], all of them should receive two *hyperpyra nomismata* at each of these two feasts; at the commemoration of the sovereign and father of my majesty of blessed memory three *hyperpyra nomismata*; at the commemoration of my majesty the same amount; at the commemoration of the lady my most beloved wife of blessed memory the same amount; at the commemoration of the lady and mother of my majesty of blessed memory two *hyperpyra nomismata*; at the commemoration of the lady and grandmother of my majesty of blessed memory the same amount. Since my majesty hopes that my most beloved son the *basileus* Lord Alexios Born-in-the-Purple wishes to be placed, as he promised me, in the same tomb with me, they will receive at his commemoration the same as at the commemoration of my majesty.

### [33. Liturgical Ritual of the Church of *Eleousa*]

However the feasts of my most holy Lady and Mother of God will take place as follows. The feast of her holy *Metastasis* will be celebrated with a vigil, with all the clergy assembling and carrying out the whole liturgy with fitting diligence, and they will receive for their singing fourteen *hyperpyra nomismata*. But if some of them are missing from this feast and are not eager to carry out all the liturgy with fitting diligence, not only are these not to share with the rest in what is given for this feast, but each of them as a punishment will be fined two *hyperpyra nomismata* out of those which belong to him. The lighting of the church will be made brighter following the procedure set out above for the feast of the [p. 81] Transfiguration in the monastery. The feast of the Entry into the Temple will have a little less lighting but the singing at the feast will be carried out by all the clergy. The same procedure will hold good also for the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God. However for each feast in the church one offering of fine wheat flour weighing two *litrai* and two other offerings of the purest flour weighing two *litrai* each also will be supplied

## TWELFTH CENTURY

from the bakery of the monastery. That made from fine wheat flour will be for the Lord, but those made from flour for our commemorations. At the same time half a maritime measure [of wine] for the eucharist will be supplied every week from the monastery and incense will be provided from the monastery also each week weighing half a *litra*. These are the things I prescribe for the church of the *Eleousa*.

### [34. The Church of St. Michael and Its Lighting]

In the church of [St. Michael] the Incorporeal one candle will be lit to burn continuously in the conch of the apse and another before the tomb of my most beloved wife and one before that of my majesty. In the services, during matins and the liturgy and during vespers there should be one candle before the icon for veneration of the Incorporeal opposite the Savior, three candles before the middle *templon*, another in the holy sanctuary, and another one before each of our tombs. Lamps should be lit to burn continuously, one in the conch of the apse, a triple lamp before the Incorporeal, another single lamp in the dome of the Incorporeal, and one in the middle of the exterior *heroon*. One lamp should also be lit to burn continuously in each of the tombs which have remains and one candle in each during the services of the vigil on Friday.

### [35. Liturgical Ritual of the Church of St. Michael]

All the singing of psalms in this church and the rest of the office should be carried out completely by a group from the monastery but the *trisagion* at the tombs should be performed by clergy from outside;<sup>66</sup> the same applies to the night office each evening. The ecclesiarch of the monastery should carefully maintain the lighting in the church of the Incorporeal and in the tombs themselves, and he should take care that this is done in the approved manner. For he must supply the oil and the candles for this church from the monastery in sufficient quantities. The liturgy should take place in this church three times a week, that is on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and for each liturgy three offerings should be provided by the monastery weighing two *litrai* and made of the purest flour, and sufficient wine also. The particulars of our commemorations will take place as my majesty prescribed in the other more secret document.<sup>67</sup>

However I wish the holy icon of my most pure Lady and Mother of God *Hodegetria* [p. 83] to be taken into the monastery on the days of our commemorations—that is, those for the most beloved wife of my majesty, for my majesty itself, for my most beloved son and *basileus*, Lord Alexios, if he will want to be buried with me—and while her holy icon is brought in, an *ektenes* should be made for us by all those who are following it and the *kyrie eleison* repeated thirty times. Then this holy icon should be set in the church of the Incorporeal near our tombs and on those nights vigils should be held by the monks and the clergy, and on the next day the divine liturgy should be celebrated while the holy icon is present, and after the dismissal an *ektenes* should again be made for us in the presence of all the assembled people, and they should receive when they leave fifty *hyperpyra nomismata* at each visit of the Mother of God. The division of the money should be as follows: six *hyperpyra nomismata* for the holy icon, twenty-four *hyperpyra nomismata* for the twelve *koudai*, two similar *nomismata* for the bearers and the other servants of the holy icon. The rest should be changed into *hagiogeorgata nomismata* and distributed to the banners.

However the superior and those who with him administer matters concerning the monas-

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

tery and the church will take care in every way that those who are going to be appointed to the church are worthy clergy.

### [36. Establishment of a Hospital]

Since my majesty also prescribed a hospital which should shelter fifty bedridden sick people, I wish and decree that there should be that number of beds for the comfort of these sick people. Of these fifty beds, ten will be for those suffering from wounds or those with fractures, eight others for those afflicted with ophthalmia and those with sickness of the stomach and any other very acute and painful illnesses; twelve beds will be set aside for sick women and the remainder will be left for those who are moderately ill. But if from time to time there is a lack of people ill either from wounds or from ophthalmia and other very acute illnesses, the number will be made up from other [p. 85] sick people afflicted with simply any disease whatever. Each bed should have a mat, a mattress with a pillow and a coverlet, and in the winter also two blankets made of goat's hair.<sup>68</sup> So since these fifty beds have been divided into five wards, there will be an extra bed also in each ward in which will be placed any patient whose condition of emergency requires that he lie down but who because the beds are full cannot find an appointed place to lie down. Apart from these beds, six more extra beds will be set aside with mattresses pierced through the middle for those who cannot move at all, either because of the severity of their illnesses or their utter weakness or sometimes even the pain of the wounds they may suffer.

### [37. Bedding and Clothes for the Sick]

They must maintain a continuous supply of as many as fifteen or even twenty shirts and cloaks for the poorer invalids or those suffering from more acute illnesses so that whenever they go to bed they can change into these and their own clothes can be washed and kept for them to put on whenever they had got rid of their illness and are about to leave. Each year they should change any of these bedclothes and other clothes that are completely unserviceable, unsew the mattresses and pillows and pull apart the wool, and change the torn linen or sew it up again for the comfort of those in the beds. However any of the old clothes and bedclothes that have been changed and are of use for the invalids will be kept by the infirmarian, but the rest will be distributed to the poor.

### [38. Medical Personnel]

When these fifty beds have been divided up into five wards, each ward will be served by two doctors, three certified assistants, two auxiliary assistants, and two orderlies. However, each evening four male and one female assistant from the assistants will remain with the patients, that is one to each ward, and they are called watchers. There will be two doctors for the women's ward, and they will be accompanied by one female doctor, four certified female assistants, two auxiliary female assistants, and two female orderlies. Of these doctors appointed to the wards the two chief ones will be called *protomenitai*, and there will be two in addition to the doctors on the wards called *primikerioi*, one teacher to teach medical skill, and two attendants. For the sick who visit from outside [p. 87] there will be four extra doctors of whom two will be physicians and two surgeons. These two surgeons will serve the women's ward also whenever any of the women has an illness caused by an open wound. These four doctors who have been assigned to the sick who

## TWELFTH CENTURY

visit from outside will be accompanied by four certified assistants and four other auxiliary ones, two of whom will also serve the monastery for a month alternately.

### [39. The Doctors]

Then all these doctors will be divided into two groups and half of them will minister for one month, the other half the next month. The same will apply to the two *primikerioi*. They will visit the hospital each day without fail. But from the beginning of May to the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross they will also visit in the late afternoon and after the customary singing of a psalm they will examine the sick carefully and scrutinize each person's illness in accurate detail, treating each person with appropriate remedies, making suitable arrangements for all, and showing great devotion and a careful concern for all as they are going to render an account of these actions to the Pantokrator.

### [40. *Primikerioi*]

So also, each of the *primikerioi* will go round all the beds independently each day for a month alternately and will ask each of the patients how he is being treated and whether he is being tended by those appointed to this task with proper care and attention, and he will actively correct what is not right, reprove the negligent, and firmly put an end to anything being done improperly. He will also supervise the bread that is given to the patients and anything else laid down to be given to them on a daily basis. He will watch over everything with care and will properly attend to and straighten out each matter. For this reason he should not be in charge of a ward, since supervision only has been laid upon him and no other task. If any of the sick who visit the hospital from outside is found to be seriously ill, the doctor assigned to them will explain to the *primikerios* about them and on his instruction another doctor, the most experienced of the rest, will go and examine the invalid and take appropriate measures to bring him healing.

### [41. The Infirmarian and the Superintendent]

Besides the doctors described above, there will also be an infirmarian and a superintendent who will receive all that is necessary in sufficient quantities and will supply it plentifully not only for those lying in bed inside but also for the sick coming from outside, as has been stated. These men will pay no heed to the expense of these things in maintaining an unfailing supply of everything.

### [42. Exhortation to the Hospital Staff]

We give this instruction jointly to all, to the doctors, the supervisors, assistants, and the rest, [p. 89] that they all turn their gaze on him, the Pantokrator, and not neglect their careful examination of the sick, knowing what a great reward this work has when it is properly carried out and again what danger it brings when it is neglected and falls short of what is fitting. For Our Master accepts as his own what is done for each of the least of our brothers (cf. Matt. 25:40) and measures out rewards in proportion to our good deeds. So then with regard to these our brothers we will all behave as people unable to escape the unsleeping eye of God and view with apprehension and great fear the time when we shall fall into his hands.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

### [43. Service Personnel]

To the aforementioned group of doctors, assistants, and others these also will be added—one chief pharmacist, three certified druggists, and two auxiliaries, one doorkeeper, five washerwomen, one man to heat water, two cooks, one groom who is going to work with the horses at the mill and will also receive and keep an eye on the horses of the doctors during the time that they are treating the patients, a gatekeeper, another to act as a caterer, two priests for the churches, two readers—one of the priests, however, will also have episcopal *sphragis* to hear the confessions of very sick patients, lest they should die a spiritual and ruinous death should they depart from this life without making their confession—two bakers, four undertakers, one priest for funerals, one cleaner of drains, and one miller.

### [44. Commemorations]

On the occasions of the commemorations of the sovereign and father of my majesty of blessed memory, and of the lady of blessed memory, my very dear wife, and furthermore when commemorating my own majesty and my very dear son the *basileus* Lord Alexios (if he also wishes to be buried in the same tomb with me, as has often been mentioned), all these people will gather in the church of the most immaculate Lady and Mother of God with those of the sick who are able to move, carrying out a procession and singing “Remember, Lord, thy servants since thou art good,” and “Rest with the saints,” and “Ardent intercession.” Then they should make an *ektenes*, say *Kyrie eleison* forty times and “God will bless the founders,” and they should partake in a collation and depart. Four maritime *modioi* of eucharistic bread will be provided for the collation and four similar measures of wine.

On returning, the doctors along with the other servants of the hospital should receive four *hyperpyra nomismata* and the [p. 91] fifty sick people one *trachy nomisma* each, that is for each procession in these commemorations. Also, sixteen large torches should be provided for the processions of the whole year so that the *primikerioi* can have them to light at the time of the processions.

In addition to this we decree that seventy-two monastic *modioi* of wheat, that is six *modioi* each month, should be given for the offerings of bread and *kollyba* that take place on the first day of each month and are distributed to the doctors, assistants, and other servants of the hospital. Similarly, for the offerings of bread and *kollyba* that are going to take place on the Saturdays of Meatfare, Cheesefare, and Pentecost in memory of the brothers who die in this same hospital, fifteen similar *modioi* of wheat should be given and forty *folleis* for the decoration of each of these baskets, and the doctors and other servants should receive two hundred and fifty *folleis* on each of these three Saturdays.

### [45. Allotments for the Sick and for Service Personnel]

We decree that the fifty patients along with the four assistants—those also called watchers—the four orderlies, the one female assistant, the female orderly, and the man to heat water should receive each day one white loaf weighing one-fifteenth of a maritime *modios* and as food they should all be provided together with a similar *modios* of beans and another *modios* of another kind of legumes—but if peas are being provided, instead of a *modios* a half *modios* will be pro-

## TWELFTH CENTURY

vided—and in addition to these two foods a hundred onion heads. But sometimes, instead of one of the legumes, fresh vegetables will be supplied, and sufficient oil will be provided by the superintendent for the preparation of these two courses. For wine and all other refreshment the fifty will receive one *trachy nomisma* each or it will be quite in order to distribute to the fifty each day the preferred gold *nomisma* of the day in *tetartera* or *noummia*, and each of them will receive three *folleis* for their soap each Sunday. There will also be a bakery in which bread will be made for our brothers in Christ—the residents of both the hospital and the old age home—and it should have two milling establishments and three horses.

### [46. Bathing of the Sick]

Since those who are ill need to bathe, as many as the doctors prescribe this for will bathe twice a week in the hospital's bath in the company of sufficient assistants and orderlies. But if someone [p. 93] because of his condition needs more frequently the therapy that comes from bathing, the doctor who is attending this sick person will be able to take him into the bathhouse without anyone hindering him.

### [47. Washing and Cooking Utensils]

There will be without fail in the hospital ten hand towels, the same number of towels, and the same number of hair wipers, three wash bowls, four copper buckets, and four ewers kept by the infirmarian for those who are going to have a bath. There will also be copper cooking pots and kettles for the kitchen kept in store and other small vessels, pestles and mortars for the needs of the hospital, one large cauldron, and another small one.

### [48. Doctors Assigned to the Monastery]

We decree that there should be a further two extra doctors to serve the monastery month by month and tend in every way to those in it who are sick, receiving from the hospital the appropriate remedies for the invalids, both medicines, plasters, and other necessary articles. The people who should be assigned to the monastery should be from among the more established of the hospital's auxiliaries, since they are going to receive advancement from there to the hospital. First they will take the place of those who are missing in the women's ward, then also with promotion in the other wards in succession, as has been mentioned. In place of the auxiliaries who are promoted and gain appointed status, we decree that of necessity other auxiliaries should be brought in who should carry out their service to the hospital and the monastery, as has been stated previously.

### [49. Allotment of Supplies for the Infirmarian]

So that the infirmarian may not have any excuse for providing the monastery with what it needs in a niggardly fashion, he also will be receiving annually twenty *hyperpyra nomismata* for the things which should be provided for the monastery besides what has been prescribed for the hospital. Since four orderlies and one female orderly were included in the distribution of the daily bread and food of the patients in the hospital, and since there are two orderlies for each ward, the

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

orderlies will receive this daily allocation, half of them on one day and half on the next. The same applies to the female orderlies so that they will carry out their task eagerly.

Sixty-six maritime measures of olive oil will be supplied to the infirmarian for the preparation of all the ointments and for the making up of plasters, and furthermore for the two lamps that burn continuously in the churches of the hospital, for eight other lamps that must burn in the churches during matins, the liturgy, and vespers, for the five lamps in the wards of the patients that will burn together with the one lamp in the portico, for the two lamps in the lavatories, for the triple lamp which should burn at the doctors' office, and for every other outlay of olive oil that he will make. Of this oil two measures will be of old oil and two others of unripe oil. [p. 95]

Similarly fifty maritime measures of honey will be supplied to the infirmarian for medicines, rose-water, oxymel, the liquid of Diospolis, sour grape juice with honey,<sup>69</sup> and for every other outlay of honey made by him, including the juices that will be distributed at the feast of the Savior and at the feast of the Holy *Anargyroi* celebrated on the first of November. He will also be supplied with forty measures of vinegar for all the different outlays made by him, as has been described, and twenty *peisai* of firewood for the cooking of the medications and the cooking of the juices and the *kollyba* offering. He will also receive a hundred *litrai* of pure wax weighed out on the steelyard<sup>70</sup> and two *hyperpyra nomismata* for incense for the churches along with what is distributed for the mulled wine, and for the candles in the churches along with what is also distributed, three *theotokia* for vine-oil,<sup>71</sup> ten *trachea nomismata* for the purchase of cups and plates,<sup>72</sup> two *theotokia* for cold cauterizers,<sup>73</sup> and one *theotokion* for the purchase of lamps.

Each month he will receive five monastic *modioi* of fine wheat flour, one hundred weighed *litrai* of sugar for the whole year, three barrels of grapes, two barrels of pomegranates, four barrels of wild grapejuice for must, four maritime *modioi* of barley for juice for each of the two feasts, and one loaf each day for poultice<sup>74</sup> and leavened bread. He will receive two *hyperpyra nomismata* for the purchase of candles for the patients, the doctors, the assistants, the orderlies, etc. during the festival of Palms and Holy Week, and two *hyperpyroi litrai* at the beginning of spring for the purchase of medical supplies, medicines, plasters, and the other preparations for the hospital excluding the antidote theriac and the *Mithridate*.<sup>75</sup> Similarly he will also receive [p. 97] ten maritime *modioi* of wheat and ten similar measures of wine yearly for the two churches of the hospital, that of the men and that of the women, for the offerings of bread and wine.

### [50. Allotment of Supplies for the Superintendent]

The superintendent, since he must carry out the work of the cellarer, will himself also receive thirty-six maritime measures of oil for the seasoning of the two meals that are going to be distributed daily to the patients of the hospital, also for hot poultices<sup>76</sup> and enemas and all other outlay in olive oil that is going to be made by him; for juices, plasters, lozenges,<sup>77</sup> etc. fifty maritime measures of honey, forty-eight similar measures of must concentrate,<sup>78</sup> and thirty similar measures of vinegar; for wine syrup,<sup>79</sup> hot poultices, and plasters thirty-six measures of wine, thirty *modioi* of linseed, thirty *modioi* of salt, eight *modioi* of rice, eight *modioi* of spelt, eighteen *modioi* of almonds, and all of these in the monastic *modios* and measure. For the purchase of mastic, myrrh, incense, gum-ammoniac, and other simply medical articles, also for dates, plums,

## TWELFTH CENTURY

eggs, tow, etc. he will receive three *hyperpyra nomismata* each month, for starch<sup>80</sup> and jelly<sup>81</sup> three *modioi* yearly; for the purchase of beet and the proper seasoning for *almaia* one *hyperpyron nomisma*; for the two cauldrons, one big one and one small one, which are going to be heated continuously in the hospital, also for the kitchen forty maritime *peisai* of firewood will be provided each month.

The superintendent will also receive each month one length of pine torch and twelve monastic *modioi* of barley each month for barley water, dry poultices, barley-meal, husked barley, etc., one similar *modios* of wheat-flour, half a *modios* of bean-flour, half a *modios* of lentils, half a *modios* of millet, half a *modios* of chickpeas, and a quarter of a *modios* of vetches: for the purchase of goat-fat, pig-fat, and goose-fat, deer marrow, and other such things yearly one *hyperpyron nomisma*, two *modioi* yearly for pickled and crushed olives, four *modioi* of raisins a year, twelve *modioi* of dried figs, and fifty *litrai* a year of rose water: four *hyperpyra nomismata* a year for chamber pots, cooking pots, [p. 99] aprons, pots, wooden seats, sponges, sawdust, bran, cloths, combs, and other things; and for the purchase of brooms (?)<sup>82</sup> and for the washing out of the dining room which must be done twice a month by the orderlies half a *hyperpyron nomisma* yearly.

### [51. Miscellaneous Dispositions for the Hospital]

There will be one large brazier in the hospital, one small one in the surgery, and another similar one in the women's ward, and they will be supplied yearly with twenty wagons of coal. Each week four liturgies will be celebrated in the hospital, on Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday for the glorification of Our Lord and in our memory, excluding the feasts of Our Lord and other significant ones which occur during the week. For on those days also the divine mystery will be specially celebrated. Commemorations of the sick who die should take place three times a year, as has been stated above, that is during [the Saturdays of] Meatfare, Cheesefare, and at Pentecost. Two *aspra trachea nomismata*, or a twenty-fourth part of the preferred gold *nomisma* of the day, will be given to the priest taking funerals for incense and candles for each of the sick who die. The washing of the feet of the sick by the superior will take place on Holy Thursday and the fifty sick will receive one *trikephalon nomisma* each; for the purchase of candles on that same day for the washing of the feet, three *hyperpyra nomismata* will be provided to be distributed to the whole medical establishment. No assistant or servant of the monastery or of any of those carrying out any task in the monastery or of those acting under its authority will occupy a bed in the hospital. For the fifty beds will be kept free for our brothers in Christ, and the care of the sick of the monastery will take place in the monastery, as has been made clear above. Those who drink a purgative will also lie down with those with ophthalmia and those suffering from a bowel disease so that they may not interrupt the sleep and rest of the other sick people by their continual getting up and the pains which come on them from this.

### [52. Salaries of the Hospital Staff]

We prescribe that all staff in the hospital who have been appointed to look after the sick are to receive the following:

The two *primikerioi* as their allowance should receive seven and a half golden *nomismata* each of the most preferred type of the day, for their food half a similar *nomisma* each, and for their

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

grain allowance forty-five *annonikoi modioi* of grain each. [p. 101]

The two chief doctors, those whom we have decreed should be called *protomenitai*, should receive seven similar *nomismata* each, for their food half a *nomisma* each, and for their grain allowance thirty-eight *modioi* of grain each.

The two chief surgeons should receive precisely the same.

The other four after them should receive six and a half similar *nomismata* each, for their food a third of a *nomisma* each, and thirty-six *modioi* of grain each.

The two doctors of the monastery should receive four similar *nomismata* each, for their food a quarter of a similar *nomisma* each, and thirty *modioi* of grain each.

The two physicians for the sick who come from outside and the two surgeons appointed as assistants should receive four similar *nomismata* each, for their food a quarter of a *nomisma* each, and thirty *modioi* of grain each.

The infirmarian should receive eight similar *nomismata*, for his food two-thirds of a similar *nomisma*, fifty *modioi* of grain, sixty *modioi* of barley, and a thousand bundles of hay.

The female doctor should receive three similar *nomismata* including her food allowance, and twenty-six *modioi* of grain.

The two attendants should receive three similar *nomismata* each, for their food a sixth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty-eight *modioi* of grain each.

The superintendent who is also going to carry out the job of the cellarer should receive four similar *nomismata*, for his food a third of a *nomisma*, and thirty-six *modioi* of grain.

The chief pharmacist should receive three and a sixth similar *nomismata*, for his food a third of a similar *nomisma*, for the wine and food of the druggists when they make their preparations twenty-five *trachea nomismata*, forty-two *annonikoi modioi* of grain, for sieves one *theotokion nomisma*, and in the month of May for the gathering of herbs six old *hyperpyra nomismata*, and nine similar *modioi* of grain.

The sixteen certified assistants and the four female assistants should each receive two and a half of the new preferred *nomismata* of the day, for their food a sixth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty-four *modioi* of grain each. [p. 103]

The eight auxiliary assistants and female assistants should receive two similar *nomismata* each, for their food a twelfth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty *modioi* of grain each.

The three certified druggists should receive three and a third similar *nomismata* each, for their food a sixth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty-four *modioi* of grain each.

The two auxiliary druggists should receive two and a half similar *nomismata* each, for their food a twelfth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty *modioi* of grain each.

The four auxiliary assistants who have been allocated to those from outside and to the monastery should also receive the same.

The eight orderlies together with the three female orderlies should receive four similar *nomismata* each, for their food a quarter of a *nomisma* each, thirty *modioi* of grain each, and for their monthly allowance each of them should receive four similar *trachea nomismata* every month.

The two readers should receive including their food allowance three similar new *hyperpyra nomismata* each, twelve maritime *modioi* of grain each, nine measures of wine each, and for their monthly allowance four *nomismata* each every month.

The doorkeeper should receive as his allowance including that for his food three similar

## TWELFTH CENTURY

new *nomismata*, twenty-four *annonikoi modioi* of grain, and for his monthly allowance four *trachea nomismata* every month.

The man who heats the water should receive as his allowance three similar *nomismata*, for his food a quarter of a *nomisma*, thirty similar *modioi* of grain, and a monthly allowance of four *trachea nomismata* every month.

The two cooks along with the caterer should receive including their food allowance three similar *nomismata* each, thirty similar *modioi* of grain each, and four *trachea nomismata* each every month.

The five washerwomen should receive one and a half similar *nomismata* each, twelve similar *modioi* of grain each, for their monthly allowance four *nomismata* each every month, and each Sunday twelve *folleis* each for soap to wash the clothes of the sick who are confined to bed.

The priest to take funerals should receive including his food allowance three new *nomismata*, twenty *modioi* of grain, and four *trachea nomismata* every month.

The four undertakers should receive two similar *nomismata* each, and twelve *modioi* of grain each.

The gatekeeper should receive two and a third new *hyperpyra nomismata*, for his food a sixth of a *nomisma*, and fifteen *annonikoi modioi* of grain.

The two bakers should receive as an allowance four similar *hyperpyra nomismata* each, for their food one similar *nomisma* each, and for their grain allowance thirty similar *modioi* of grain each.

The groom who is going to work with the horses of the mill and must keep the horses of the doctors during the time that they are on duty should receive four similar *hyperpyra nomismata*, and twenty-four similar *modioi* of grain; for the upkeep of these three milling horses five hundred and forty-seven *annonikoi modioi* of barley will be provided, three thousand bundles of hay, and sufficient straw; for baking the bread for the sick in the hospital and the brothers in the old age homes one hundred and eighty maritime *peisai* of firewood each year, for sieves for the bakery two *theotokia nomismata* each year, and for kneading troughs [p. 105] and linen covers and all the rest that goes with them three more *theotokia nomismata*.

There will also be a miller who must receive, if there are two milling establishments, two *hyperpyra nomismata* and sixteen *annonikoi modioi* of grain, but if there is one, half of this, and a drain cleaner who will receive two new *hyperpyra nomismata* as his allowance, for his food a sixth of a similar *nomisma*, and fifteen monastic *modioi* of grain.

In addition to these there will be a sharpener who must clean up the medical instruments which are going to be kept in the hospital and used to bleed the sick. For in the hospital itself there will be stored at all times lancets, cauterizing irons, a catheter, forceps for drawing teeth, instruments for the stomach and head—simply whatever is necessary for them all. There will also always be copper washbasins and ewers, one for each ward, for the doctors to wash after they have finished tending the sick with whatever is beneficial for the curing of each one, and the sharpener will receive one and a half new *hyperpyra nomismata*, and twelve *annonikoi modioi* of grain.

The hospital will also be sure to have the services of a hernia surgeon who will also receive as his allowance three and a third similar new *hyperpyra nomismata*, for his food a third of a

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

*nomisma*, and for his grain allowance thirty similar *modioi* of grain.

The coppersmith who must also be the cooper will receive two similar *hyperpyra nomismata*, and twenty *modioi* of grain.

As a monthly allowance the doctors and the assistants will receive five *trikephala nomismata* each month, in the same way the *protomenites* will receive one similar *trikephalon nomisma* for distribution to the sick who come from outside, and the watchers will be given as their monthly allowance thirty-six *trachea nomismata* each month.

### [53. Allocation of Other Sums]

In addition to the other things we also decree as follows. On the glorious day of the Transfiguration of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ one *annonikon* measure of olive oil will be given for brightening the two churches in the hospital and elsewhere, and two *annonikoi modioi* of grain for the bread of the offerings and the *kollyba*; one *trachy nomisma* each will be given to the fifty patients and fifty *trachea nomismata* and nine hundred and twenty *tetartera* to the doctors and the other servants of the hospital. In the same way also at the feast celebrated on the first of November, the feast of the miracle-working saints the *Anargyroi*, for brightening these two churches and elsewhere one *annonikon* measure of olive oil will be given, one *annonikos modios* of grain for the bread of the offerings and the *kollyba*, and fifteen *trachea nomismata* will be given to the doctors and other servants of the hospital. At the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple three hundred [p. 107] and nine *tetartera nomismata* will be given to the same people. On Holy Thursday when the washing of feet usually takes place, forty-two *trachea nomismata* will be given to the doctors, assistants, and the other servants of the hospital.

### [54. Doctors Not to Undertake Outside Work]

However the doctors will not be allowed to go out of the city to tend any of the ruling class, even if they are very important and related to the emperor. In general we forbid any of the doctors to carry out additional work. So we forbid even more these doctors to perform unpaid service by imperial command on occasional secular excursions, and furthermore we forbid the taking of any medical articles from the hospital for these excursions, making this present document of ours a request to those who will be emperors after us.

### [55. Teacher of Medicine]

We also prescribe that there should be a teacher to teach the principles of medical knowledge, who will also receive exactly the same allowances as the infirmarian. The aforementioned food allowances have been prescribed for him for this reason, that he may attend to the task of teaching and teach the student doctors of the hospital the knowledge of medicine in a consistent and zealous manner. For the teaching post is not being set up by us as an office so that the man thought fit for this responsibility receives his food allowance but neglects his teaching, since the man who is discovered not to be performing this service will be deprived of the receipt of his food allowance and someone else will be appointed instead who will carry out in full the teaching of medical knowledge according to our instructions.

## TWELFTH CENTURY

### [56. Cemetery of Medikariou]

Since it is necessary to bury the brothers who die in the hospital and in the old age home, and it is a troublesome imposition to convey them either to the common burial ground of the dead which are taken to the church of the holy apostle Luke,<sup>83</sup> or elsewhere to the cemeteries throughout the city and those beyond it, we consecrate a place for their burial in our monastery of Medikariou across the water consisting of about two *modioi* of its own land, in which there will also be a chapel, and an enclosing wall will be built completely mud-blind surrounding the same place and at one point providing an entrance for visitors by means of a gate.

In the same chapel a priest, one of the monks in the monastery of Medikariou, should celebrate the sacrament once a week, that is on the prescribed day of Saturday for all the brothers who have previously died; on the day before, that is Friday, he should sing vespers with a night office. For this chapel there should be provided each year from the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator* for its lighting twelve *litrai* of wax, one and a half *annonika* measures of olive oil, six *litrai* of incense, and for the bread and wine of the offering six monastic *modioi* of grain and six similar measures of wine. [p. 109] The same priest, who is also a monk, should not be criticized by the rest of the brotherhood for whatever donations he perhaps receives for this his service to those who die and are buried there.

### [57. Standards of Measurement]

Of course the monastic *modioi* and measures must equal four-fifths of the maritime ones and the *annonika* measures two-thirds of the maritime ones.

### [58. Establishment of an Old Age Home]

Since I also wish there to be an old age home in this monastery, in it will be twenty-four old men being looked after, all of them crippled, lame, infirm, and suffering in other ways. Six orderlies will give them assistance. It will not be possible for the superior or anyone else to enroll in this number of old men any who are healthy and strong either from the monastery or from any of the ruling class or even from clergy, whether they are slaves or others able to provide from their own work the means of their livelihood. For we threaten the superior himself and anyone else with great condemnation if they try to transgress this order in any way.

### [59. Allowances of Old Age Home Residents]

Each of the old people in the old age home will receive each year twenty maritime *modioi* of bread, eighteen maritime measures of wine, two maritime *modioi* of legumes, fifty *litrai* of cheese, one maritime measure of olive oil, three maritime *peisai* of firewood, and two *hyperpyra nomismata* for their allowance and clothing allowance. In the distributions at the feasts and commemorations, they will also receive from what is distributed as alms from the monastery whatever the brothers at the gate receive. These men moreover will also attend our commemorations and make supplication for us, as has been specified above. For the chapel in which they are going to attend divine service they will be given annually two maritime measures of olive oil, six similar measures of wine for the wine of the sacrament, six similar *modioi* of grain for the offering, twenty-four *litrai* of wax, and six *litrai* of incense. For the priest of this chapel including his food

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

allowance there will be six *hyperpyra nomismata*, twenty-four maritime *modioi* of grain, eighteen similar measures of wine, and for the reader there will be half of this. [p. 111]

### [60. Transfer of the Sick to the Hospital]

If any of the old men in this old age home are afflicted with any other sickness besides the one for which they were thought fit to enter the old age home, the priest of the old age home will notify the infirmarian of the hospital and information will be supplied to the medical team and they will command one of the doctors or assistants to take care of the sick man, as has been stated, so that he finds relief from this disease. But if the illness is judged to be too serious he will be put to bed in the hospital and will be entitled to the necessary care and medical attention, and when he has regained his strength once more, he will return to the old age home. Each of the old men in the old age home will be washed twice a month in the bath of the hospital.

### [61. Appointment of an Infirmarian]

From time to time an infirmarian will be appointed from the monks in the monastery, the most reverent of them all, who will devote all his concern and zeal to ministering well to the old men in his care. Also the superior himself will pay careful attention to these brothers. On Holy Thursday he will take care to wash these also as he does the sick in the hospital and after the washing he will give them three *hyperpyra nomismata*, that is one *nomisma* among eight.

### [62. Allowances for the Orderlies]

Their six orderlies will each receive as an allowance two *hyperpyra nomismata* each, twenty maritime *modioi* of grain each, sixteen similar measures of wine each, and for their food two maritime *modioi* of legumes and fifty *litrai* of cheese.

### [63. Establishment of a Lepers' Sanatorium]

Though we wished to set apart in a certain place separately some brothers afflicted with leprosy<sup>84</sup> and establish from certain revenues their relief, consolation of every kind, and care to be maintained for them undisturbed, yet the establishment in the city of such a place for their residence and way of life seemed an annoyance to those living in the neighborhood because of the concentration of buildings and it being difficult to approach, on the other hand to establish [a facility] for the special care of these seriously afflicted people selected by us in the same area which we had originally dedicated to that entire group of brothers appeared difficult for such a group.

For this reason we have turned our attention to this scheme, namely to build a special house near the other rooms in which the brothers now live being especially near to the old age home of the emperor Lord Romanos<sup>85</sup> [p. 113] for those afflicted brothers selected by us, and then to dedicate and set up a revenue that is going to be spent on their behalf in addition to the other revenues which these our brothers in Christ now have, so that the management of these also can be carried on jointly by the one managing the care and administration of all these afflicted brothers.

If then because of this we are thought worthy of special remembrance by this holy and

## TWELFTH CENTURY

divine community as having ourselves also expended concern and toil on the resources for their livelihood along with the others who showed care about their prosperity, I am grateful for their gratitude towards me. But if perhaps they wish to be in some way neglectful of their special entreaty on our behalf, then in that case we are confident of not being deprived of the reward for this concern by God the Good Rewarder.

### [64. Responsibilities of the Stewards]

Since the multitude of cares for things both inside and outside the monastery and for matters both spiritual and secular arising from what has been decreed here by us gives rise to the reasonable thought that the superior in daily control of the monastery could not by himself superintend all matters and keep a watch on everything equally, since he could not divide his attention among so many things, we therefore decree that there be several stewards, one of necessity appointed in the controlling monastery dealing carefully with the spheres and concerns that apply to him, another one to be in charge of the other monasteries attached to this monastery and manage things in them, watching all their several stewards with much similar care and earnest zeal and effecting the appropriate improvements in all matters, another one to manage the business of the church of the *Eleousa*, and another the business of the hospital and the old age home. All of them with the permission and knowledge of the superior should deal with the matters that ought to be dealt with by them.

Furthermore I decree that the superior himself in all the most important matters should not do anything without meeting these men, neither appoint agents or suppliers, nor grant leases or immovable property or contracts or other hirings, also in the sanctioning of the most important expenditure and in the case of the other most essential procedures he should carry out whatever seems possible in the presence of these stewards, just as in the appointing of each of these stewards. For in the meeting together and advice of a greater number, the management of these matters will be carried out better.

All these stewards will be required necessarily to reside in the controlling monastery, since they should also be monks, and never on any pretext take up residence outside it, unless [p. 115] one of them has to go out to one of the properties outside for some necessary and unavoidable cause. If however the superior from time to time finds any monk among those in the associated monasteries worthy of being appointed to one of these stewardships, and if it is decided that this should be done, this also will be carried out after a joint gathering and decision of the aforementioned monks. However the successive stewards of the monasteries will each live in the monastery of which he is the steward.

### [65. Inventory of Properties]

Since various properties have been assigned to this monastery both by my own majesty and by the lady my dearly beloved wife of blessed memory, those from my majesty are:<sup>86</sup>

In the village of Diabenetoi the estate of Anthemiotes and the estate of Kostomyres, the estate Kottabos together with its hostel

In the village of Ta Mintou an estate called that of Kiboulios and the other estate called that of

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

Kyklobios or of Kamytzes

The property of Monomachatos in Daonion, his estate called that of Tornikios and his other estate called Auzizin

The house of Seth in Rhaidestos with its rental property also

The house of Nestongos with its two hostels and fields, also the vineyards which he possessed outside this town

The estate of Agelastos

The village of Melandros

The estate Kryon Neron

The estate of Morochartzanes bought from the monastery of Kanchres

The village Achnistai [p. 117]

The estate of the eparch in the district<sup>87</sup> of Pamphilon and the estate St. Theodore

The two *aulai* of Triakontaphyllos inside the fort of Panion, of which one is at the gate of Polydrion and the other at the shore

The village Psychron Pegadin

The estate Zapechonion

The village Madytos which the Alakasseis occupied

The estate St. Blasios in the district of Apros

The village of Marmaras

The village Leuke

The *pronoia* of the late Synadenos situated in Hexamilion in the market of Brachionion

The maritime rights of the market of Brachionion with the fishing grounds

The village Thrymbakin with the dependent peasants subject to *strateia* settled there and the estate in it

The estate Limnin

The estate Platanin

The village Boupi

The village of Gregoras

The estate Kinsterna

The village Armoukomis

All the salt works in the Chersonesos [p. 119]

## TWELFTH CENTURY

The whole Jewish quarter in the market of Koila in the Chersonesos and the tithes on the wines

The whole market of Madytos apart from the *strateiai*

The whole property of Alousianos which is in this market, that is his house, his rental property, his gardens and bathhouse with the cultivated areas there and vineyards, his estate St. George of Melos, the estate St. Demetrios, his other estate Kochlakea, his estate Kareon, the estate Sthlaboi, the two villages subject to the *strateia*—that is the village Daphne and the village Damon together with the dependent peasants of Alousianos settled there

The *episkepsis* of Dadouna and that of Tzoubakos just as they were transferred to the treasury by sequestration<sup>88</sup>

The *episkepsis* of the Kaminia which passed to the treasury as a result of an obligation to the state and was transferred from it by exchange and gift to the monastery

The village Loxadi

The village of Kanikleion which is near it

The village of Megalebos

The village Mixis with its ford

The village of Dabroboulos

The village Poumoud...

The *episkepsis* of Kypsella and the fort of Kypsella itself

The *episkepsis* of Ialoukos along with the ford of the river Maritza

The *episkepsis* of Pareuria just as it came to my majesty by gift of *sebastos* Botaneiates and by the purchase of the daughters of the *sebastos* cousin of my majesty, the monk Lord John,<sup>89</sup> the son of the late *sebastokrator* [p. 121]

The property St. John of Chalkeus bought from Antzas

The property of Ma..... and Malon along with the hostels in Kypsella, bought from the monastery of Psychosostes

The property Itea bought from Kourtikios

The estate of Lykos bought from Synadenos

The village of Koxes..... in the district of Popolia

The village Ta Adriana

The village Tzerkoubitzianes

The village upper and lower Blaktista with Neochorion

The estate of Theodoritzes, *sthlabopolos* of my majesty, called Kodoneianes along with the mills on it

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

The village Orniales

The house of the same Theodoritzes which is in Christoupolis and its vineyards

The *praitorion*<sup>90</sup> in Christoupolis near the shore along with the rental property around it

The village P..... that is Neobolianes bought by the treasury through the agency of the bureau *epi ton oikeiakon* from the grandson of the late *sebastos* Eumathios along with the mills in it

The fort Panakas

The new *episkepsis* at Thessalonike as it was handed over by Galaton with the rest of its rights

The ownership of the water running down from Chortaites with the conduit and the mills operating in Thessalonike

The building-site (?)<sup>91</sup> inside the city of Thessalonike bought from Kakodikos and Karbeas

The confraternity<sup>92</sup> of Krambeas with its two bathhouses, rental property, and other rights

The estate called St. Galaktere which passed to the monastery by gift from some people of Thessalonike [p. 123]

The *episkepsis* in Berroia which passed to my majesty by gift from *sebastos* Lord Manuel Botaneiates with its pastures and other rights

The property of Machetarios in Mytilene

The property of Kapsex in Kos with the *episkepsis* of Drosos and that of the monk Christodoulos

The taxes from the metropolis of Patras

The taxes from the episcopate of Methone

Four *hyperpyroi litrai* from the taxes of the monastery of Molibotos

The house of Oumbertopolos

The house of Sarantenos

The monastery of Nossiai<sup>93</sup>

The monastery of Monokastanon

The monastery of Anthemiou

The monastery of Medikariou

The monastery of Satyros together with all conditional and unconditional rights belonging to them<sup>94</sup>

From my wife of a most blessed memory:

The *episkepsis* of Kodoneianes

The property of Skleraina in Diabenetoi with her rights in the village of Phlorios, the wharves, the maritime rights, and the fishing grounds.

## TWELFTH CENTURY

The monastery of Bordai in Opsikion<sup>95</sup>

The monastery of Galakrenai and the monastery of St. Horaiozele<sup>96</sup> which came to [the former] by *epidosis* together with all conditional and unconditional rights belonging to them

The house of Raoul [p. 125]

The house 1 of the metropolitan of Athens

The building-site (?) of Radenos

The building-site (?) of Ergodotes

The building-site (?) of Kamachon

The houses in Salibaria

And the whole territory of the monastery of Savior *Pantokrator* thus brought together from different acquisitions. I also wish that all these possessions be preserved in the keeping of the monastery forever inalienable.

However as for the cells<sup>97</sup> built close by this monastery for our dwelling and rest or those that will be built, after my death I wish . . .<sup>98</sup>

### [66. Rights to Unlisted Properties]

Since perhaps it is likely that either some of the possessions which have already passed to the monastery have by some chance been omitted in the present document or that the possessions which will pass to it later have not been mentioned here, this will not prejudice the right of the monastery to have secure possession of what rightly and truly belongs to it. So if in accordance with the intention of my majesty the possessions of the monastery are managed fittingly and irreproachably, thanks are due to the Pantokrator my Savior who showed his favor in increasing the possessions of the monastery and helping them gain a fitting improvement.

But if the contrary results in their case, which I pray does not happen, then my majesty will invoke the Pantokrator himself to put right what has been wrongly done and will apply itself with his help to bring about an improvement, because while my majesty still lives it will not bear seeing before its eyes our enterprise thus neglected and endangered. These plans and decisions have been made in accordance with what seemed to be for the benefit of the monastery and the places connected with it, and I wish that what has been decreed should, with God's help, be observed for ever unchanged.

### [67. *Typikon* Subject to Emendation by the Founder]

If after this I were ever able to alter any of my present decisions because of a change in circumstances, it will be possible to do this in accordance with my wishes and the later regulations and alterations will have force once they are set down in writing. [p. 127] For permission has been granted to me by the divine Fathers, the ordinances of the church, and the requirements of the law to make regulations and act in the case of my own possessions just as I wish.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

### [68. Secret Testament of the Founder]

Since another document was drawn up by my majesty containing some of my wishes, which I wished to be sealed and deposited in the sacristy of the monastery, it will be kept there as long as I wish it to be protected in that way. But if at any time I should happen to die before my return, such being the chances of mortal life, then the document will be brought out from the sacristy and unsealed in the presence of the superior himself, the steward, the ecclesiarch, the archivist, the *megas droungarios* Nikephoros,<sup>99</sup> the *protonotarios* Constantine, the nephew of the metropolitan of Nikomedia when notice has been given to the most holy patriarch.<sup>100</sup> After this document has been unsealed and read, those who are mentioned in it will take care to act in every way according to its contents.

### [69. Independent Status of the Monastery]

The monastery will be completely free and under no subjection, being subject to no authority, with no one having control over it, independent and self-governing, master and controller of itself, placed under no ecclesiastical control, or princely authority or any other governmental power, with sole claim on its own possessions and enjoying all of them with complete power and authority and with the regulation of inalienability observed in respect of all the things dedicated to it, whether properties or monasteries or any rights both secular and spiritual.

### [70. Defender of the Monastery]

I wish this monastery to be respected, defended and supported first by my very dear son the *basileus* Lord Alexios and then in turn by the leading member of our family, not only that they should not take anything at all from the monastery but should drive away those who harass it from outside, enriching the Savior who generously repays such actions not only guiding their steps well in this life [p. 129] but also reimbursing them many times over in the judgment to come.

### [71. Supplication to the Pantokrator]

But, O Savior, most high Pantokrator, Lord of mercy, Reflection of the Father's glory (Heb. 1:3), equal in honor with the Father and equal in power with the Spirit, Word of God, Wisdom and Might, who for our sakes wore our flesh and emptied thyself even as far as death on a cross for us (Phil. 2:7–8), bestowing salvation on us through thy precious blood (I Pet. 1:19; Eph. 1:7) accept this my small offering, if not like the sacrifice of Abel and the burnt offering of Abraham and the widow's money and whatever sacrifices there are pure and blameless before and after the law, yet as the repentance of the publican and the repayment by the chief tax-gatherer of what was defrauded many times over and the confession with contrition of Manasses.<sup>101</sup> Bend thine ear with compassion to the anguished entreaties of our brothers and grant pardon to our transgressions. Accept those who are the living dead, half-separated from their bodies and half-dead, as suppliants of thy goodness begging for thy compassion on our behalf. Thou who waitest for our reform and repentance do not wish for the death of sinners (Ezek. 18:23). Furthermore I offer thee an acceptable advocate, that cannot be put to shame, the very fount of pity, the pure expiation, the refuge of mortals (Phil. 4:18; Rom. 3:25). For I am completing this holy habitation for the spotless and divine house of thy majesty. I pray thee, the compassionate one, accepting its confidently

## TWELFTH CENTURY

spoken entreaties, to grant us redemption from our sins, to keep the enterprise of our hands intact, to guide the souls of the monks towards thy saving will, strengthening the failings of their spirits and treating as an acceptable incense before thy goodness their penitent intercessions on their own behalf and ours (Phil. 4:18).

### [72. Final Exhortation to the Monks]

What about you, my fathers and brothers? For now I shall address a few words to you also. You yourselves remember your own undertakings entered into in the presence of God and the angels, reckon up the promises made to God, shudder at the penalty laid down for their denial, bear in mind the rewards that are stored up for your labor, and taking to heart the mortification of human life that each one of you promised, desire to be rid of every earthly passion, setting aside all shouting, blaspheming, strife, and jealousy and acquiring the fruit of the Spirit, joy, [p. 131] love, peace, patience (Gal. 5:22), obedience, accepting as your master himself the one who receives from him your leadership and, like sheep their shepherd, following the leader of your souls to the life-giving pastures of salvation, being eager to obtain the inheritance of the chosen ones.

Remember also our wretchedness and, as you are able, beseech God for us. Pray also for the rulers now dead, for the parents of my majesty, for my very dear son the *basileus* Lord Alexios, for the most fortunate *sebastokratores*,<sup>102</sup> for the rest of my very dear children,<sup>103</sup> and the whole world. May you keep the small flock of the Savior safe for me and may we all be kept safe by the gracious will of the Pantokrator.

The present rule of my own monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* was signed by my majesty in the month of October, of the fifteenth indiction, and of the six thousand six hundred and forty-fifth year [= 1136 A.D.].

John Komnenos in Christ our God a faithful emperor Born-in-the-Purple, and Emperor of the Romans.

### *Notes on the Translation*

1. The title is not original, but the work of the eighteenth-century copyist of the manuscript from the Halki Theological School; the beginning of the document is missing, as it was also in the original *typikon* destroyed in 1934; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 26, n. 1.
2. August 15, 1118, upon the death of his father Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).
3. Archaic references to the contemporary Turks, Patzinaks, Serbians, Hungarians and Bulgarians; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 27, n. 5.
4. An allusion to the opposition to his accession to the throne staged by his sister Anna Komnene on behalf of her husband Nikephoros Bryennios.
5. The clergy assigned to services in the church of the *Eleousa*; see [30, [31] below.
6. The anticipated beneficiaries of the hospital [36] ff., and lepers' sanatorium [63] below.
7. Presumably the main church of the *Pantokrator*.
8. Michael the Archangel; for his chapel see [34], [35] below.
9. Psalms 3, 37 [38], 63 [64], 87 [88], 102 [103], and 142 [143].
10. The main entranceway to the naos of the church of the *Pantokrator*.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

11. *kathiste*; cf. Laskarina Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982), p. 479.
12. Feast of the Transfiguration, August 6.
13. Feast of the Epiphany, January 6; feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14.
14. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
15. Feast of the Presentation of the Lord, February 2; feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, September 8; feast of the Entry into the Temple, November 21.
16. Possibly January 30; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 40, n. 38.
17. Feast of the Holy Apostles, June 29.
18. Feast of St. Philip, November 14.
19. Feast of the Dormition, August 15.
20. Alexios I Komnenos; see the additional commemorative provisions in [32], [44] below and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
21. Anna Dalassena; see the additional commemorative provisions in [32] below and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
22. Irene Doukaina Komnene, author of (27) *Kecharitomene*; see the additional commemorative provision in [32] below.
23. Irene of Hungary († August 13, 1134); see the additional commemorative provisions in [32], [35], [44] below and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
24. John Komnenos († July 12, 1067), John's paternal grandfather, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 248, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 49–57; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
25. Maria of Bulgaria, John's maternal grandmother, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 248; she is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
26. Andronikos Doukas († October 14, 1077), John's maternal grandfather, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 248–49, and Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), pp. 55–59; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
27. Isaac Komnenos, Alexios I Komnenos' brother, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 249, B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 124–30, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 67–79.
28. Eudokia (Dobrodeja Mstislavna), for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 249, and "Pantocrator," p. 42, n. 5.
29. Andronikos Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 249–50, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 229–37; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
30. Eudokia Komnene; for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 251, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 254–59; she is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
31. Nikephoros Bryennios, husband of John's sister Anna Komnene; for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 251–52; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
32. Nikephoros Katakalon Euphorbenos, husband of John's sister Maria Komnene, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 252–53; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
33. Adrian Komnenos (+ April 19, 1105), younger brother of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 114–18.
34. Zoe Doukaina, daughter of Constantine X Doukas, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 54–55.
35. Manuel Komnenos, brother of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 62–64.
36. Nikephoros Melissenos (+ November 17, 1104), husband of Eudokia Komnene, sister of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253.
37. These three sisters of Alexios I Komnenos are: Eudokia Komnene, wife of Nikephoros Melissenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 80–84; Maria Komnene, wife of Michael Taronites, for whom see Gautier, p. 253, and Varzos, pp. 64–67; and Theodora Komnene,

## TWELFTH CENTURY

- wife of Constantine Diogenes, for whom see Gautier, p. 254, and Varzos, pp. 85–86.
38. Michael Doukas, oldest brother of John's mother Irene Doukaina, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 254, and Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 63–66; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
  39. Husband of Anna Doukaina (see below) and a supporter of the reform leader Leo of Chalcedon, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 254, and (38) *Kellibara I* [12].
  40. Theodora Doukaina, youngest sister of John's mother Irene Doukaina, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 255, and Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 75; she is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
  41. Anna Doukaina, a younger sister of John's mother Irene Doukaina, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 255, and Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 74–75.
  42. Second week before the beginning of the Great Lent.
  43. The week immediately preceding the Great Lent.
  44. Kamytzes, Stypeiotes, and perhaps also Dekanos were courtiers of Alexios I Komnenos; the others mentioned here are otherwise unknown; see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 255–57, and "Pantocrator," p. 44, nn. 24–28.
  45. The monastery's designated protector [70], who died in 1142; see the additional commemorative provisions in [32], [35], [44] and [72] below.
  46. John's youngest son, the future emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80); see also [72] below.
  47. Their dates of birth are unknown; see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 260. There is an additional provision for their commemoration in [72] below.
  48. For this individual, see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 260–62.
  49. 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.
  50. Fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas.
  51. The meaning of the obscure term *neura* is provided by Eustathios of Thessalonike, who identifies them with *ktenia*; see Ph. Koukoules, ed., *Thessalonikes Eustathiou ta laographika*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1950), p. 254. On the word *ktenion*, the demotic form of *kteis*, i.e., "scallop," see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *ktenion*.
  52. Feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
  53. One of the many absentee bishops nominally assigned to dioceses overrun by the Turks who were resident in Constantinople.
  54. *diaita* refers to a daily allowance for food and drink, which in the case of the superior differs from that of the monks.
  55. An imperial monastery founded by Leo VI (886–912) located in a port on the Asiatic coast of the Sea of Marmora; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 68, n. 18.
  56. A monastery located somewhere on the Asiatic coast used as a place of imprisonment by Romanus I Lekapenos (920–944); see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 68, n. 19.
  57. A monastery in the Asiatic suburbs, probably south of Anadolu Hisar, that was founded by Alexios Mousele, son-in-law of the emperor Theophilos (829–842); see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 70, n. 20.
  58. Probably near Chalcedon. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 70, n. 21.
  59. Monastery of uncertain identification in the vicinity of Chalcedon; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 70, n. 22.
  60. Monastery on the Asiatic shore opposite the Princes' Islands founded by Patriarch Ignatios in 873–774; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 71, n. 23.
  61. *esomonitai*, resident recipients of support from a monastic foundation; sometimes these are lay appointees—see Alexios I Komnenos, *De jure patriarchae circa monasteria* (JGR 3.409).
  62. *exomonitai*, non-resident recipients of support from a monastic foundation; they could also be laymen in some situations.
  63. Andrew, archbishop of Crete; see Beck, *KTL*, pp. 500–502, and Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 76, n. 10.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

64. Obscure reference; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 77, n. 12.
65. For this and other numismatic terms in the *typikon*, see Frolow, "Noms de monnaies" and especially Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 26–38.
66. Those described in [31] above.
67. See discussion of this document in [68] below.
68. *losnikion*; a word of Slavic origin denoting a blanket made of goat's hair or skin. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 84, n. 2.
69. For the preparation and medicinal purposes of rose-water, oxymel, the liquid of Diospolis, and sour grape juice with honey, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 94, nn. 27–30.
70. *kampanos*: a balance for gross weighing; see G. Vikan, "Steelyard," *ODB*, p. 1947.
71. *oinanthion*; aromatic oil made from the flower of the wild vine. See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *oinanthe*.
72. *kaukopinakia*; see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *kaukion*, and Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v. *kaukin*.
73. *psychrokauter*; for this surgical instrument, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 95, n. 36.
74. *artomeli*; see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v.
75. The theriac was an antidote to poison; the *Mithridate* was a medication attributed to Mithridates VI King of Pontus and transmitted by Galen; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 95, n. 40.
76. *pyria*; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 96, n. 43.
77. *eligma (ekleigma)*; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 96, n. 44.
78. *hepsema*; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 96, n. 45.
79. Tentative translation of the otherwise unattested *oinokolle*.
80. *katastaton*.
81. Tentative translation of the otherwise unattested *tremousa* (lit. "shaking," "wiggling").
82. *chouspe (or chouspa?)*; the meaning of this otherwise unknown term is surmised from the context.
83. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 311. It was used as a place of burial for indigents.
84. *hiera nosos*; as already noted by Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 110, n. 5, starting with the patristic age, this phrase no longer applied to epilepsy but to leprosy.
85. Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 112, n. 6, proposed Romanos I Lekapenos as the founder of this philanthropic institution.
86. For a prosopographical and topographical commentary on this chapter, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 114–25.
87. *petiton*; on this territorial unit, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 116, n. 9.
88. *schideumos*: "seizure for debts." See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 119, n. 20.
89. According to Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 119, n. 22, this is the monastic name of Adrian Komnenos, son of Alexios I Komnenos' brother Isaac the *sebastokrator*, who had been named archbishop of Bulgaria ca. 1140.
90. The reference may be to an "inn." For this meaning of *praitorion*, see C. G. Pitsakes, *Konstantinou Armenopoulou Procheiron Nomon e Hexabiblos* (Athens, 1971), p. 32.
91. *oikostasion*; not in the dictionaries.
92. *diakonia*; for which see M. C. Bartusis-A. Cutler, "Confraternity," *ODB*, p. 494.
93. For these dependencies, see [27] above.
94. *somatika kai asomata dikaia*; see H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles," *Actes du 12<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'Études byzantines*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 103–14.
95. This is evidently an additional dependency contributing to *Pantokrator*'s endowment; the monastery is attested in the late eighth century when its superior Theophylact attended the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787); see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 123, n. 38.
96. Not otherwise known, but evidently a dependency of the monastery of Galakrenai, which was itself now a dependency of *Pantokrator*; see [27] above.
97. Presumably a reference to a private residence for the founder; cf. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [6], (27)

## TWELFTH CENTURY

- Kecharitomene* [4], [79] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [115]. Given the author's dislike of kelliotic monasticism (see [28] above), he may have intended for these cells to be torn down after his death, as his uncle Isaac Komnenos foresaw being necessary for his own private residence in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [115] if it should cause "some harm or disturbance to the monastery."
98. A lacuna occurs here in all of the surviving manuscript witnesses; Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 124, n. 42, reckoned that there was at least one folio missing here from the original manuscript.
99. As Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 126, n. 46, suggested, possibly Nikephoros Komnenos, John's uncle and Alexios I Komnenos's youngest brother, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, p. 119.
100. At the time this *typikon* was issued, the patriarch would have been Leo Styppes (1134–43); John II Komnenos died on April 8, 1143, in the midst of a patriarchal interregnum.
101. Cf. Gen. 4:8 and 22:13; Mark 12:42; Luke 18:13 and 19:2; II Chron. 33:12.
102. John's other sons Andronikos, Isaac, and Manuel; see [8] above.
103. John's daughters Maria, Anna, Theodora, and Eudokia; see [8] above.

### Document Notes

- [1] Performance of the canonical hours. See comparable provisions for the performance of matins and the midnight office in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [A4], [11], [12], [18], [A36]; (20) *Black Mountain* [15], [16], [17], [18]; (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents.
- [2] Incenses. See comparable provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [A2] and in (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents.
- [3] Chants and prayers in honor of the emperors. There are analogous provisions in honor of the Norman rulers of Sicily in (25) *Fragala* [C3], [C4].
- [4] Order of precedence. Note that the honor of the priesthood outranks even high office in the monastery.
- [5] Other instructions. See the role assigned to choir organizers in (4) *Stoudios* [18]; according to [19] below, the specialist singers were not allowed to perform outside the monastery.
- [6] Illumination of the main church on ordinary days. See comparable provisions in [29] and [34] below for the foundation's other two churches, in [53] below for the chapels in the hospital, and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [68], (34) *Machairas* [26], and (48) *Prodromos* [10]. (23) *Pakourianos* [33B] has a list of lighting devices.
- [7] Illumination of the main church on feast days. See comparable provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], [61], [63].
- [8] Liturgical offerings and commemorations. See also [32], [44], [72] below and comparable provisions for members of the imperial family in (27) *Kecharitomene* [34], [71] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54].
- [9] Regulations for dinner. For the requirement of a common table, see also (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [44]. For the ban on secret eating, see also (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [72]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]; (23) *Pakourianos* [4]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [49]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23], [47]; (30) *Phoberos* [23], [41]; (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [20]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. For deference in seating precedence, see the generally stronger provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [9], (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], (30) *Phoberos* [22], (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [36], and (34) *Machairas* [64]. For the second sitting for food servers, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], (32) *Mamas* [17], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17].
- [10] Care of sick monks. See comparable provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [41], (23) *Pakourianos* [28], (27) *Kecharitomene* [57], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61], (30) *Phoberos* [56], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [108].
- [11] Regulations for supper. See comparable provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [29], (22) *Evergetis* [9], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], (30) *Phoberos* [24], and (34) *Machairas* [66].
- [12] Dietary regulations. See comparable provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents, (20) *Black Mountain* [34] ff., (23) *Pakourianos* [10], and (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [3], [5], [9].

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

- [13] Clausturation and abstention from bathing during Lent. See also [15] below and provisions in (7) *Latros* [6] and (31) *Areia* [T3].
- [14] Honor and respect due to the superior. See the very similar provisions in (32) *Mamas* [24] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents.
- [15] Bathing permitted except during fasts. See also [13] above and (22) *Evergetis* [28], (27) *Kecharitomene* [58], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28].
- [16] Reception of postulants. See the generally more detailed provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [25]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A6]; (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8]; and (27) *Kecharitomene* [30], [54].
- [17] Entrance gifts not required. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents, and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [7].
- [18] Entry forbidden to women. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [39], (23) *Pakourianos* [23], (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (30) *Phoberos* [55], (32) *Mamas* [27], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27], and (34) *Machairas* [115]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [84]. Moreover, (26) *Luke of Messina* [3] implies a ban on women.
- [19] Number and responsibilities of the monks. For regulations of numbers, see also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48], (30) *Phoberos* [42], (31) *Areia* [M4], (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23], which declines to set a fixed number.
- [20] Confession to the superior. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], [17]; (30) *Phoberos* [14], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [29], [30]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29], [30]; and (34) *Machairas* [50], [141].
- [21] No overnight absences. A strict provision not found in other regulations for male monasteries.
- [22] Communal provision of clothing. See similar provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [75], (22) *Evergetis* (25), (23) *Pakourianos* [9], (27) *Kecharitomene*, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], (30) *Phoberos* [44], (31) *Areia* [T4], and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103].
- [23] Superior's discretionary authority. (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents concede discretionary authority to the superior in dietary regulations.
- [24] Election of the superior. See different provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [15], [16]; (22) *Evergetis* [13]; (23) *Pakourianos* [5]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A18]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [11], [12], [13]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [12], [32]; (30) *Phoberos* [35]; (31) *Areia* [M7], [T10]; (32) *Mamas* [1]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [25] Installation of the superior. See also provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [13], (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [33], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [26] Privileges of the superior. This is a rejection of the principle of equal food and drink for all monks found in (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents.
- [27] Revenues of the dependent monasteries. For identifications of these institutions, see Gautier, "Pantokrator," p. 68, nn. 18, 19, p. 69, nn. 20–22, and p. 70, n. 23. They are also listed in the inventory in [65] below, along with an additional dependency of Bordai in the theme of Opsikion.
- [28] Constitutions of the dependent monasteries. Cf. the less tolerant treatment of a kelliotic dependency in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26].
- [29] Church of the Mother of God *Eleousa* and its lighting. See comparable provisions above in [6] for the main church, [34] below for the church of St. Michael, and [53] below for the hospital chapels.
- [30] Clergy stationed in the Church of the *Eleousa*. This facility is staffed with a corps of imperial clergy such as had existed in Byzantium since the late ninth century, when one such group staffed Basil I's (867–886) *Nea Basilike*; see my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 136–37, cf. 225.
- [31] Duties of the clergy in the Church of the *Eleousa*. Cf. the provision in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7]. The commemorations are in addition to those provided for in [8] above and [44] below.

## TWELFTH CENTURY

- [32] Remunerations of the clergy of the *Eleousa*. See also provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [33], 35.
- [33] Liturgical ritual of the church of the *Eleousa*. See comparable provisions for the church of St. Michael in [35] below.
- [34] The Church of St. Michael and its lighting. See comparable provisions above in [6] for the main church and in [29] for the church of the *Eleousa*.
- [35] Liturgical ritual of the Church of St. Michael. See comparable provisions for the church of the *Eleousa* in [33] above.
- [36] Establishment of a hospital. See a similar provision for a public hospital in (39) *Lips* [50], [51]. The chapter headings employed in our translation are listed below to facilitate reference:
- [37] Bedding and clothes for the sick.
- [38] Medical personnel.
- [39] Doctors.
- [40] *Primikerioi*.
- [41] The infirmarian and the superintendent.
- [42] Exhortation to the hospital staff.
- [43] Service personnel.
- [44] Commemorations.
- [45] Allotments for the sick and for service personnel.
- [46] Bathing of the sick.
- [47] Washing and cooking utensils.
- [48] Doctors assigned to the monastery.
- [49] Allotment of supplies for the infirmarian.
- [50] Allotment of supplies for the superintendent.
- [51] Miscellaneous dispositions for the hospital.
- [52] Salaries of hospital staff.
- [53] Allocation of other sums.
- [54] Doctors not to undertake outside work.
- [55] Teacher of medicine.
- [56] Cemetery of Medikariou.
- [57] Standards of measurement.
- [58] Establishment of an old age home. See a similar provision for old age homes in (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [70]. The chapter headings employed in our translation are listed below to facilitate reference:
- [59] Allowances of residents of the old age home.
- [60] Transfer of the sick to the hospital.
- [61] Appointment of an infirmarian.
- [62] Allowances for the orderlies.
- [63] Establishment of a lepers' sanatorium. See the special study of this unit of the foundation by Philipsborn, "*Hiera nosos*."
- [64] Responsibilities of the stewards. Separate stewards to administer monastic dependencies are also found in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244]; In (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [11] and (34) *Machairas* [86] there are two stewards.
- [65] Inventory of properties. See other inventories of immovable properties in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 9] and (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix A, (35) *Skoteine* [31] ff., (37) *Auxentios* [17] (missing), (39) *Lips* [44] ff., and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121] ff.
- [66] Secure possession of unlisted properties. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 22, for a possible example of one such property.
- [67] *typon* subject to emendation by the founder. See similar provision in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]; cf. (23) *Pakourianos* [5], in which this authority is denied to the superior.

## 28. PANTOKRATOR

- [68] Secret testament of the founder. For other secret testaments, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [3]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [96], [116]; (51) *Koutloumousi* [C11]; and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
- [69] Independent status of the monastery. See similar provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [18]; (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [18]; (24) *Christodoulos*; and (31) *Areia* [M11], [T12].
- [70] Defender of the monastery. See similar provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and (34) *Machairas* [160].
- [71] Supplication to the Pantokrator. See similar requests for heavenly assistance in (10) *Eleousa* [14], (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [15], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [119].
- [72] Final exhortation to the monks. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents.