

This is an extract from:

*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:*

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

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### 30. *Phoberos*: Rule of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of *Phoberos*

*Date*: First edition, after 1113; re-edited ca. 1144<sup>1</sup>

*Translator*: Robert Jordan

*Edition employed*: A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 1–88.

*Manuscript*: Public Library, St. Petersburg (12th c.)<sup>2</sup>

*Other translations*: None

#### *Institutional History*

Except for the information contained in the *typikon* itself, nothing else is known about this foundation. Janin (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 7) was rightly skeptical about the veracity of any of the various accounts of the monastery's creation preserved in [2] and [33] below, though *Phoberos* may have been an imperial monastery at one time (cf. [49]). Even the various names for the monastery and its location could not be satisfactorily explained [2] by the time the *typikon* was written in the twelfth century. Janin plausibly located the monastery, however, near the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, close to the entrance to the Black Sea. The author John has some better evidence for the foundation's more recent history. He notes [33] that it had been ruined by rapacious *charistikarioi*, probably in the last half of the eleventh century, though he also blames [2] "foreign attacks," probably by the Seljuk Turks towards the end of the same century. He claims [33] that some surviving monks remembered when the foundation housed as many as 170 of their fellows.

According to his own statement, John himself came [1] to the foundation in October 1113. The requirements [33] to commemorate the patriarch and to allow him to provide the blessing of the monastery's superior (cf. [35]) suggest that Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111), who is mentioned [50] later as one of the benefactors of the foundation, granted it to John specifically for its restoration as part of a broader patriarchal program of reviving ruined monasteries.

The foundation's subsequent history is obscure. John did not live to complete the *typikon* and was dead by the time that a list [50] of benefactors to be commemorated was drawn up in October 1144. Luke, metropolitan of Mesembria, had meanwhile completed his service as superior of the monastery. Several members of the noble Botaneiates family, descended from Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81), established themselves as patrons of the monastery, including the late emperor's widow Maria of Alania and another Nikephoros Botaneiates, son-in-law of Alexios I Komnenos' brother Isaac the *sebastokrator*, who may have become a monk at *Phoberos* under the name Neophytos. The younger Botaneiates' wife Eudokia Komnene, still living in 1144, is hailed as the monastery's "second founder" out of consideration for her many gifts to the foundation, including a very large sum of money for the purchase of landed property. Her son Ioannikios, who

predeceased her, may, like his father, have been a monk at this monastery. Finally, there is a note of appreciation [59] at the end of the *typikon* for the nobleman monk Thomas Eugeniotes, hailed as a “spiritual child” of the founder John, for his work in building the monastery’s church and for other benefactions.

### *Analysis*

#### *A. Model for the Typikon*

This is the first of the surviving Byzantine monastic foundation documents likely to have been modeled directly on the *typikon* of the great reform monastery, (22) *Evergetis*. Of the present document’s sixty-one chapters, forty-five are indebted textually to (22) *Evergetis*, even though many of these also have substantial original material.<sup>3</sup> However, a close examination of some of these chapters suggests that our author was working from a version of (22) *Evergetis* that predates our present edition of that document. Seventeen chapters in (30) *Phoberos* are derived from other sources or else are possibly original to this document.<sup>4</sup> All told, this *typikon* uses at least parts of all but four of the forty-three chapters found in (22) *Evergetis*.<sup>5</sup> This qualifies him, along with Isaac Komnenos, the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*, as a “close copier” of the Evergetian *typikon*, as opposed to several other authors in the Evergetian tradition, like Irene Doukaina Komnene, author of (27) *Kecharitomene*, who probably relied on various intermediary texts. Even in a few instances where our author completely disagrees with the thrust of (22) *Evergetis*, such is his reverence for the text of that document that in these cases he strives to incorporate as much as possible of that document’s language in his new, contrary regulations.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, this massive usage of *Evergetis* is completely unacknowledged by our author, for there is not a single mention even of the monastery of *Evergetis*, much less its *typikon*. Our author typically supplements the Evergetian text he has used with supporting citations of various scriptural, ascetic, patristic, and conciliar authorities, a practice of deference to authoritative precedents that was a characteristic trait of the authors of founders’ *typika* since the late eleventh century.<sup>7</sup> All this suggests that (22) *Evergetis* was respected at *Phoberos* not so much for its own sake as for its consonance with an ever increasingly valued tradition of precedents.

Like (22) *Evergetis* itself, this document shows unmistakable evidence of a re-edition after the death of the founder John, its original author, who was deceased in 1144 as [50] was written. He is also spoken of in the past tense in [59]. The unprecedented redundancies in the document’s numeration, with both an [8A] and [8B] as well as a [53A] and [53B], are marks of this hasty re-edition that evidently included some reworking of John’s section of the *typikon* as well.

#### *B. Other Sources*

In the middle of a discussion of fasting requirements, the author straightforwardly declares [16]: “I did not write things of my own choice or wish or devising, but what we have received in writing from our holy fathers and what we have learned from experience itself to be true and immutable and unchangeable . . .” Therefore, even aside from the unattributed quotations from (22) *Evergetis*, it is likely that the author used additional sources to compose his *typikon*. The foundation history [2] presents two alternative accounts of the monastery’s foundation. Like [3], an account of a miraculous icon of St. John the Forerunner, it is probably derived from lost hagiographical texts.

The bans on boys and beardless youths [58] and on female animals [57] can be traced back to Studite legislation that probably reached our author through Athonite sources like (13) *Ath. Typikon*. A long chapter [53B], is a discourse on the value of monastic stability, taken from the *Ascetic Constitutions* incorrectly attributed to Basil of Caesarea, along with a contemporary commentary. Another long chapter [58] features an unattributed quotation from a late antique ascetic author, Paul Helladikos (see below, “Safeguarding Moral Purity”). Some other chapters in the beginning of the document [4], [5], [6], [7], [8] seem suspiciously polished, and although not presented as quotations may in fact have been adopted from other ascetic literature. The long meditation on death [1] may not be original to this document either.

### C. Original Materials

The author’s own thought can most confidently be identified in the many chapters in which he carefully cribs his model (22) *Evergetis* yet introduces small changes or exercises editorial discretion in deleting certain materials. The evidence is discussed below in the Analysis under the appropriate topical subdivisions. The regulation of diet and fasting (see [16], [17], [18], [19]) and the accumulation of supportive quotations from various authoritative sources to supplement the Evergetian quotations on various topics were the author’s most important personal contributions to the document. He even explains [18] the scope of his research to determine the appropriate use of wine in the monastic diet. But aside from the chapters on diet and fasting, the only ones that appear likely to have been the author’s own work are [10], [24] (except for the unrelated quotation from *Evergetis* at the end), and [31]. He must have stopped work on the document before [50], which honors him as the deceased founder. There are a few original sections thereafter, such as the conclusion of [53B] and both [57] and the introduction to [58], but they must be the work of a subsequent editor.

### D. Lives of the Monks

#### 1. Number of the Monks

Unlike the author of (22) *Evergetis* [23], who declined to set a fixed number of positions for monks in his institution, our author here provides [42] that there will be 12 monks in his foundation, preferably “educated” ones in implicit accord with the latter’s specifications. This is in contrast to the 170 reported [33] to have been living at the foundation before its properties were dispersed by the *charistikarioi*. Our author is anxious to use the language of his Evergetian model in this regulation even though he comes to an opposite conclusion. The possibility of a later increase is foreseen, contingent on an increase in the foundation’s resources.

#### 2. Liturgical Duties

As in (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5], and [6], the celebration of the canonical hours was an important part of the lives of the monks at *Phoberos*, for these chapters are taken over into this foundation’s *typikon* as chapters [9], [12], and [13], either verbatim or with small changes. The author adds a new chapter [10] which cites patristic and canonical precedent to justify exemptions from genuflections during Christmas and Pentecost, thereby replacing but not contradicting the last few lines of (22) *Evergetis* [4]. The author adapts [32] the regulations of (22) *Evergetis* [32] for the patronal feasts to honor St. John the Forerunner.

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Imposing consistency on his less well organized model, our author's successor utilizes [50] portions of (22) *Evergetis* [34], [35], and [36] in his discussion of memorial services. These were to be performed annually for the founder John, his spiritual father Luke, metropolitan of Mesembria, who had been the monastery's superior, various members of the Komnenos dynasty, some of whom had become monks in the foundation, Patriarch Nicholas Grammatikos, and other benefactors. Following (22) *Evergetis* [36], this *typikon* also orders commemorative services and charitable distributions at the gate in remembrance of the foundation's departed monks.

### 3. Manual Labor

Although the author reproduces [14] verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7] that document's evidence for a community divided into monks dedicated to liturgical services and a larger number engaged in manual tasks, this may not be an accurate portrayal of conditions at *Phoberos* since there were only twelve resident monks at this foundation. In the last chapter [59], however, there is an enigmatic command to the monks to "provide your own food from the work of your own hands" which might indicate that the monks were expected to prepare if not actually grow their own food. Self-provision also seems implicit in [57].

### 4. Sacramental Life

Our author adopts [11], [14] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [5], [7] on communion and confession. He places the discussion of the "Great Confession" offered to the superior at a monk's tensure in a separate chapter [15]. Subsequently, the author obliges [36] the monks to make their confessions exclusively to their superior rather than to some other spiritual father, in this respect following and quoting (22) *Evergetis* [15].

### 5. Length of the Novitiate

The author's successor copies [51] the language and procedures of (22) *Evergetis* [37] on the monks' novitiate, but adds that the *typikon* is to be read to the postulants (cf. (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], where portions of the *Basilian Rule* are to be read) and the term for casual acquaintances is considerably lengthened to three years. A new chapter, [52], utilizes some of the language of (22) *Evergetis* [37] but, citing canonical tradition, comes to an opposite conclusion in banning outside monks entirely.

### 6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Our author follows [41] the stern provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [22] in prohibiting private possessions, eating in secret, and correspondence with family or friends without the superior's permission. Also, as in (22) *Evergetis* [27], the superior was to visit [45] cells monthly and confiscate any unauthorized items found there. Following (22) *Evergetis* [24], monks at *Phoberos* were not to have [43] personal servants. Since the author thought that "it is harmful for novices to be only one to a cell," he orders [43] monks to be grouped three to a cell (unlike (22) *Evergetis* [24] with its pairing of older and younger monks). Perhaps *Phoberos*' arrangement was more effective in curbing the much-feared "special friendships" (cf. [59]) between monks. Our author sees fit to require [45] the foundation's monks to observe equality in food, drink and clothing, following (22) *Evergetis* [26] verbatim in this respect. In some respects he is even stricter than his model: he forbids [44] the use of locks and keys in the monks' cells, and, unlike (22) *Evergetis* [28] (at least in that document's present form), he does not allow [46] the monks to bathe except for those who were sick.

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As a reminder to the monks of their responsibilities, the author's successor provides [59] for the reading of the *typikon* at mealtimes, starting at the beginning of the month until the document had been read aloud to its conclusion. This follows the prescription and language of (22) *Evergetis* [43].

### 7. Fasting

The author's interest in the subject of fasting far exceeds that of his model (22) *Evergetis* and ought to be compared to the importance placed on this topic by Nikon, the author of (20) *Black Mountain*, with whose generally conservative approach to problems he agrees on several points of controversy. Yet chapters [27] through [30] on the dietary regime for fasts copy (22) *Evergetis* [10] very closely. Following his usual practice, the author produces [28] a long list of canonical, scriptural, and patristic testimonies to support his treatment of the Holy Saturday fast. A chapter not found in (22) *Evergetis* treats [31] the fast before the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, citing old precedents that are identical to those found in (20) *Black Mountain* [87]. Similarly, the discussion of the fasting requirement on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent starts off [16] with a quotation from (22) *Evergetis* [8], but then launches into a lengthy additional discussion based on various ascetic sources including Palladius' *Lausiaca History*, the *Panarion* of St. Epiphanius, and the *Life* of St. Symeon the Wonderworker. Other chapters regulate [17], [18] and [19] fasts that may and may not be broken and set quantities of food and drink. They are not present in (22) *Evergetis*, but may be taken from another source or sources as the author implies in [18]. A liturgical calendar, similar to but with fewer feasts than its counterpart in (20) *Black Mountain* [89], is included as part of [19].

### 8. Care of Sick Monks

Taking his lead from the provisions of (25) *Evergetis* [41] our author's successor orders [56] that a cell be set aside to serve as an infirmary for sick monks. There were to be four beds in this hospice; at *Evergetis*, a larger institution, there were eight.

## E. Constitutional Matters

### 1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Our author follows [33] the lead of *Evergetis* and other reform monasteries in claiming independent and self-governing status for the foundation. The reform patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos had granted this status in a now lost memorandum (*hypomnema*) sometime before his death in 1111. The chapter in question here closely follows the language of (22) *Evergetis* [12], with an indignant note added that it was the institution's past *charistikarioi* who had been responsible for ruining this once flourishing foundation, now being reconstituted but at a fraction of its former size.

### 2. Selection of the Superior

The *typikon* provides [35] for the superior to direct the foundation as in (22) *Evergetis* [13] and [14]. As in the latter document, it was envisioned that the steward would advance to the position of superior provided he had carried out his office faultlessly. Our author adds very little new material here except for the requirement that the monks should take their new superior to the

patriarch to receive his blessing (cf. [33]). There are, however, three major deletions from the text of *Evergetis*: the installation ceremonies for the new superior staged internally in that monastery, the explanation of why it might be necessary to remove an unfit steward, and the entreaty to the monks to avoid jealousy, strife and factionalism in their choice of a new superior.

### 3. Removal of the Superior

Borrowing the language of (22) *Evergetis* [13], our author instructs [35] the preeminent monks to remove an unfit superior, provided they can agree on a suitable replacement. However, like the author of (22) *Evergetis* [18], he was unwilling to allow [37] the brothers to demand financial accounts from their superior, but he drops the lengthy justification for this position found in the latter document.

### 4. Role of the Preeminent Monks

These officials are given [35] the responsibilities of helping the superior choose a steward and of choosing an alternative to a bad steward to promote to the superiorship as in (22) *Evergetis* [13] and [14]. As in *Evergetis*, the superior is instructed [35] to use the preeminent monks as his advisors. They were to be among the witnesses [38] of emergency alienations of consecrated property (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19]).

## F. Financial Matters

### 1. Financial Officials

As in (22) *Evergetis* [13], the key financial official was the steward who was also superior-designate. Our author also adopts [47] the three treasurers and the language describing their responsibilities from (22) *Evergetis* [30]. For some reason, the list of grounds for the steward's deposition that is found in (22) *Evergetis* [14], mostly related to fiscal misadministration, is omitted in (30) *Phoberos*. Also missing is (22) *Evergetis* [20], with its detailed description of how the monetary treasurer was obliged to keep detailed records of the monastery's income and expenditures. The sanction of expulsion found in (22) *Evergetis* [22] for thieves who fail to make amends is retained, however, in (30) *Phoberos* [41]. Since it is unlikely that our author wished to hold his financial officials to lesser standards of accountability than their counterparts at *Evergetis*, this may be an indication that he utilized an older version of that document than the one now extant, before revisions were added to it reflecting the experiences with the government requisitions of the 1080s and 1090s.

### 2. Provisions against Misconduct

According to [1], there was once an inventory associated with this foundation which described the church and its much improved cells, and made a record of books, sacred vessels, icons, coverings and cloths. In this respect *Phoberos* follows the pattern established by reform monasteries of the late eleventh century with an eye towards deterring future thefts or at least making them more easily detectable. The author also incorporates [47] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [29] in which the revering of patronal icons of Christ and (here) John the Baptist is associated with the bestowal of keys of office to various officials. However, the use of the *typikon* in (22) *Evergetis* [13] as a substitute for the icons and keys in the superior's installation ceremony does not appear in this document.

### 3. Inalienability of Property

Our author closely follows his model (22) *Evergetis* [19] in declaring [38] the inalienability of the foundation's movable and immovable properties under ordinary circumstances. *Evergetis*' assertion that a violation of this rule would be sacrilege is missing in (30) *Phoberos*. The latter's procedure for handling emergency alienations also omits the use of the monastery's inventory as a checklist as provided for in the Evergetian *typikon*. This therefore may be another instance in which *Phoberos* follows an older version of (22) *Evergetis* before reactions to the imperial requisitions of the Komnenian era had had a chance to make an impact on the final version of that text. Like our existing text of (22) *Evergetis* [42], however, (30) *Phoberos* [59] warns even the monks not to pilfer the monastery's possessions.

### 4. Property Managers

In his brief discussion of the qualifications of property managers [49], the author follows his model (22) *Evergetis* [34] in requiring that monks chosen as property administrators should be pious and preferably elderly. He adds the particular information that the monastery still possesses some "small worthless pieces" of immovable properties (though most have been "snatched away") donated by the emperor who built the monastery long ago.

### 5. No Mandatory Entrance Gifts

Following (22) *Evergetis* [37] closely, the author's successor abandons [53A] the requirement of mandatory entrance gifts while allowing voluntary ones. He faithfully reproduces the assertion of the Evergetian *typikon* that an attempt by a departing monk to reclaim his entrance gift was be considered as sacrilege.

## G. Overall Philosophy

### 1. Egalitarian Aspects

The author imports [36] some of the language hostile to privilege found in (22) *Evergetis* [17]. Moreover, he faithfully reproduces [45] the instruction of his model (22) *Evergetis* [26] that even officials should not be exempt from the required uniformity of food, drink and dress. Elsewhere, he adds [36] that the superior should go into the refectory daily and have the cellarer set out before him the food of the brothers for his inspection. He also closely follows the militantly cenobitic (22) *Evergetis* [9] in several of its own chapters intended to regulate the refectory, including that document's vehement condemnation of quarrels over seating.<sup>9</sup> True to form, the author cannot resist adding his own selection of scriptural passages in [23] to support (22) *Evergetis* [9]'s condemnation of eating in secret.

### 2. Not Anti-Aristocratic

Like (22) *Evergetis*, however, this document is hardly anti-aristocratic. As we have seen [50], members of the imperial family both patronized the foundation and joined it as monks, and the author himself prefers [42] educated monks. As in (22) *Evergetis* [37], "distinguished people" are allowed to be tonsured [51] without serving the novitiate (which was especially long here). Also like (22) *Evergetis* [39], noblewomen are excepted [55] from the general ban on women visiting the monastery. Moreover, the foundation's beloved "second founder" Eudokia Komnene [50] was

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a member of the imperial family, and the founder's "spiritual child" who assisted in the building of the church and became a monk in the foundation, was the nobleman Thomas Eugeniotes [59].

### 3. Concerns over Safeguarding Morality

As in (22) *Evergetis* [38], women are excluded [55] from daily distributions at the gate (though not from annual ones) professedly to protect the monks from sexual temptation. But much more so than its model, (30) *Phoberos* is obsessed with safeguarding the moral purity of its monks and considers threats from all sources. Following the old Studite tradition seen in (3) *Theodore Studites* [5] and adopted for Athos in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], our author's successor not only bans [59] female animals from inside or outside the monastery, but in [57] there is a long justification of this position. Then there is the document's most remarkable chapter [58], mostly made up of a long unattributed quotation from the late antique ascetic Paul Helladikos. This describes the threat to monastic chastity posed by bestiality and homosexuality.

## H. External Relations

### 1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Perhaps in view of its founders' views of the unreformed patriarchs of their times, (22) *Evergetis* made no mention of any patriarchal rights over that foundation. In different circumstances, with a friendlier patriarch, our author affirms [33] (cf. [35]) the rights of future patriarchs to liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*) and blessing (*sphragis*) of new superiors as he was obliged to do by the terms of Nicholas III Grammatikos' memorandum. As noted above, the patriarch was also among those benefactors listed [50] for liturgical commemoration. By demonstrating their continuing commitment to reform activities, Nicholas' immediate successors John IX Agapetos (1111–34) and Leo Styppes (1134–43) must have earned the confidence of our author and his successors at *Phoberos*.

### 2. Institutional Philanthropy

Our author's successor simply adopts [54] the charitable provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [38], including distributions at the gate, hospitality to travelers and the sick, and burial of those who died while lodged at the foundation. Elsewhere in a long chapter that is mostly independent of (22) *Evergetis*, the original author John warns [24] the monks, however, that the practice of almsgiving was no substitute for a life of poverty. This suggests that the commitment to poverty was wavering, perhaps as some aristocratic monks sought to return to the practice of retaining some of their personal assets after admission as seen earlier in (9) *Galesios* [192].

## Notes on the Introduction

1. The grant of independence through a memorandum of Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (†1111) mentioned in [33] and the date the author John arrived at the site, October 1113, help establish a *terminus post quem*. The fact that the document borrows from (22) *Evergetis* is no help for dating it since the latter also cannot be dated precisely. Although they both borrow from (22) *Evergetis*, there is no apparent relationship between this document and (27) *Kecharitomene*, itself thought to date to 1110–16, which might otherwise help to date (30) *Phoberos*. The mention of John as being deceased in [50], in which there is also a record of a donation dated to October 1144, indicates a re-edition took place at that time.

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2. See the Foreword by V. Benešević to Papadopoulos-Kerameus' posthumous edition in *Noctes Petropolitanae*. The manuscript may be an autograph.
3. [1], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [3]; [9], [10], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4]; [11], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5]; [12], [13], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6]; [14], [15], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [16], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [8]; [20], [21], [22], [23], [24], [26], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [27], [28], [29], [30], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10]; [32], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [11]; [33], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12]; [34], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [35], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], [15]; [36], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15], [16], [17]; [37], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [18]; [38], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [39], [40], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21]; [41], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22]; [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23]; [43], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [24]; [44], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [45], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [26], [27]; [46], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28]; [47], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29], [30]; [48], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [31], [32], [33]; [49], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [34]; [50], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [34], [35], [36]; [51], [52], [53A], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [54], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [55], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39], [41]; [56], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [41]; [59], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43].
4. (30) *Phoberos* [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8A], [8B], [16], [17], [18], [19], [25], [31], [53B], [57], [58].
5. (22) *Evergetis* [1], [2], [20], [40].
6. See [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23]; [46], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28]; and [52], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37].
7. See especially (20) *Black Mountain* [53], [87], and (24) *Christodoulos* [18], [26], [28].

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As noted above, this document shares substantial portions of the text of (22) *Evergetis* as well as other ascetic works. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

### *Translation*

Rule and commentary containing in brief all the monastic life and practice, accurately put together by John, a humble monk, and handed on to his brothers on the mountain of the monastery of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner at Monacheion.

Therefore, holy fathers, you who read this, pray for me the careless sinner, so that I may find God merciful on the fearful day of judgment.

Pronounce a blessing, father.

[1]. "What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to destruction?" (Ps. 29 [30]:9) This David the prophet and king cried out in clear and prophetic language. His words are true and prophetic,

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and suit the reality of the actual situation. For we human beings have not been made for this purpose, namely to continue in toil, disorder, and the cares of life, by which and through which the innermost part of the sea is investigated and all places on earth, cultivated land, rocks, valleys, and the slopes of mountains are thoroughly searched, so that from them man might have his luxury items. Man was formed and created in God's image (cf. Gen. 1:26–29), and appointed to rule the creatures below him, an earthly angel in bodily form and a clear herald of the majesty of God in him, as it is said and believed that the “wisdom of God is magnified in man” (cf. Ps. 138 [139]:6), because man is really a remarkable creature, as in the same being has been united and is contained an incorporeal nature, immaterial, ever-moving, and an essentially animal one in a very material and carnal body which wastes away and changes, suffers and is altered, is changed and modified through the earthly and [p. 2] dispersed nature of its material and through its crafty nature that is prone to lapse and is changeable and variable.

Just as the same man is born as a very small creature, so he is enclosed somewhere within his body which is like a very small wall, a very changeable creature and one that seizes on everything by the very swift movements of his mind, not enclosed by places, nor by very solid battlements on walls. So the means of his birth accompany him and live at the same time and are contained within him, a heavenly being that thinks and an earthly one that sees, the same being incorruptible and corruptible, mortal and immortal, controlled by reason and often moved by very irrational desires, honorable at the same time in as much as he has been formed and created by the hands of the creator and in whose image and likeness the elements of his forming came to him. Since this creature is one that is intelligent and possesses free will, it is controlled by thought and reason, yet also at times it is made subject to the laws of disorderliness in proportion to its more irrational and earthly nature, when its material constitution holds sway within it; and according to this part of its nature it is classed with the animals.

David himself, who was approved of by God often in many places, in his writings very often says, “Man that is in honor understands not; he is compared to the senseless cattle and is like them” (Ps. 48 [49]:20), because in reality, my beloved ones, whenever reason rules us we live like God, then we also become beautiful people and are beautiful in our feet in accordance with the declaration about Our Lord and Master (cf. Is. 52:7; Rom. 10:15), for we preach peace, not only outward peace among the mass of mankind but much more so inward and spiritual peace. For there is a kind of war and disagreement in the soul which different passions stir up.

Listen to Paul as he speaks and organizes us for this war of the mind, “Our war is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the ruler of darkness” (Eph. 6:12), I mean the murderous and wicked serpent. For material and physical warfare is often caused by swarms of foreigners seized by a desire for gain. Swords and breastplates are made ready, by means of which it is planned to overthrow all the enemy forces that resist. There is nothing strange in that. For the people who abide by their earthly nature display the actions of their earthly nature; but then, when the passions make an attack on the spirit, that is a pitiable situation and worthy of many tears, for even now as I think of the excessive amount of my passion and sin, a tear falls from my eyes. You may also experience this, those of you who live devoutly and reverently and for whom the most important end being sought is the salvation of your souls. For it is possible to see man sometimes living a life in accordance with God and carrying about him a kind of peace,

but sometimes in the control of the [p. 3] wicked serpent who is preparing war and gathering the passions together against the soul like a swarm of barbarians, and making an attack on the mind. It is [a situation] worthy of many tears, when it is possible to see this man falling, and being killed in a pitiable overthrow, and his decease and death, when the power of his soul is ineffective and fails to stir an impulse towards things that are more divine, when the man who is controlled by reason is viewed like an irrational animal and seems to be without understanding because of the form of his very irrational way of life, when he has a need of many prayers and supplications to see again the light of knowledge kindled within him and find a return to that old form of his way of life. But I have been drawn away by the stream of my discourse, I do not know how, and I am being carried there away from my target.

So then I will bring my discourse back to its purpose, bearing those abiding words of David, my beloved ones, in my inner and spiritual ears, and having Solomon in agreement as to their meaning that everything slips away and vanishes, as he himself instructs—for, he says, “the form of the world passes away” (I Cor. 7:31) and equally pleasures turn into shadows, for “treasures shall not profit the lawless, but righteousness shall deliver from death” (Prov. 10:2)—and on the other side having this word of the Lord which suggests to me the means of salvation, “for what will it profit a man, if he gains the whole world and forfeits his life? Or what shall a man give in return for his life?” (Matt. 16:26) I have dismissed all the things that are subject to decay, having the Lord himself present with me and suggesting to me words of salvation. For really, my beloved ones, what is the equal of soul? For all the attributes of the body and whatever bodily good things anyone might mention, as many as there are of whatever kind, whether beauty or speed or strength or even those outside it and more external, wealth, nobility, acres of land, and the supremacy of one’s country, the many things of this kind by which man gains distinction when he caters to the senses, they all quickly fade and pass away, disappearing in so far as they are not even held in the hand, for no sooner does an eye glance up and comprehend it all, then close and withdraw, than these pass away.

For what is it that abides in possessions whatever they are? Let someone have beauty of body, and the limbs and parts of his body be of a corresponding kind; let the man be made as a creature fashioned on the lathe, let a marvelous complexion bloom appearing in the beauty of his face, part white and part red and mixed; let a mass of hair adorn him, let it be fair in color and let it be moved gently and suitably in a gentle breeze and a peaceful breath [p. 4] of wind; let this man also when so adorned raise eyebrows and let him behave impudently towards his neighbors by raising his eyes beyond the heavenly orbits. [But] let the symptoms of ill health appear in him; let violent fevers seize the man and let him be smitten by disease and remain in bed through the constraints of diseases; then visit this man and see where the pride of him has gone; soon you will shed a tear from your eyes, reckoning up the most pitiable aspect of nature and that he who was lately a man to be admired for his appearance now lies a pitiable ruin and worthy of many tears. If the seeds of his dissolution accompany him and the indescribable bond is likely to be dissolved, then the meaning of the story becomes more clear. The one who lately was using a fine-talking tongue, the swiftly moving creature in tune with his impulses, is a phantom and shadow of a creature, and in truth nothing anywhere. As his eyes are nowhere, neither do the means of his sight operate, as the hands that are on him are hands no longer, and his feet no longer carry his torso, but all the limbs

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and parts of his body that were lately supple and very easily moved have become lifeless and dead and motionless, and in short exist only in name but nowhere in action.

Would any man not weep pondering on these things in his mind and flee the vanity of human life, and will he not lament for the living more than for the dead as if they were corpses, since they are carried about by vanity, as Our Savior himself instructed saying, “Leave the dead to bury their own dead” (Matt. 8:22), because men who remain in the confusion of vanity are no better than corpses? For man has been formed by God to be a member of “the heavenly commonwealth” (cf. Phil. 3:20), to reach up to that place and contemplate the beauties there. For this reason he has an upright stance which looks straight upwards and contemplates heaven. For this reason he has the name “man” (*anthropos*) as one appointed to gaze upwards and behold the beauties there, and able to derive pleasure and banish pain. What is seen [when man contemplates heaven serves] as a model of conduct, while the feet walk and serve as a ministering instrument of walking. For this is what the complex term “man” means, that man is obliged to travel straight along the road that leads to God himself, by whom we have been made and to whom we return.

For this is the end of human life, and the mystery of man’s creation and composition leads us to this. Man has come into being as a formation and creation of God, the hand of God created him; even if dust is part of the material and earthliness and a kind of earthy composition, the end of the creation and its most purposeful aim is the return of the [p. 5] creature to its creator and Lord, the return of the thing made to its maker through the perfecting of his deification. For these reasons there is envy, debate, loss of life, and the means of condemnation which are immediate, terrible and inexorable, death and return to that very dust from which he was formed (Gen. 2:7). But nevertheless the creator brings the creature to life again and conquers death. This is the great mystery of the dispensation, that God becomes man and takes the form of a servant (cf. Phil. 2:7), so that man might be made divine again and regain his ancient status. If anyone considers all these things in his mind, how will he not ignore the visible world and consider it to be like the “grass of the field which today is alive and tomorrow” (Matt. 6:30) withers and dies? For such things are subject to death, appearing for a short time, quickly being refuted and fading away, being dissolved and passing away, and deceiving only the senses. Turning over these and such things in my thoughts, I myself ignored the visible world and chose to live alone with God, as he himself instructed; for he says, “Be still and know” (Ps. 45 [46]:10). For in reality if someone does not keep himself far away from material and earthly confusion, he will no longer understand what is the end of life that is in accordance with God. For where there is disorder and disturbance, a recollection of God cannot be present in any very pure way. Smoke chases away a swarm of bees as men say who occupy themselves with beehives, and disturbance from worldly things chases away the recollection of God from the spirit of each person.

This being my state of mind, I came to this place which was in that small and simple form in the confidence of a very noble and unwavering spirit at the beginning of October of the sixth indiction and the six thousand six hundred and twenty-first year [1113 A.D.]. [ cf. (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 49–60]: On finding **this so small and very insignificant**, in its place with the help of God and the intercessions of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner and the prayers of my holy father I worked **and raised it to this most imposing** and perfect condition from obscurity and simplicity. Furthermore you know and the truth makes clear **what kind of a church was built from the**

**very foundations to my Lord the Baptist and Herald of God, and what cells were constructed, much better than the previous ones, and the number and kinds of books that were acquired, similarly the sacred vessels and holy icons, also the holy veils and liturgical cloths, and in short the rest of the adornment of the all-holy church, and in addition the landed property acquired to support and maintain the monastery. It is not necessary for us to talk of these matters and anyone wishing to find out can be instructed more clearly by studying the inventory.** [p. 6]

2. The early history concerning the establishment of the monastery of Monacheion.

But now I must return to what I was saying, and I must give the early history of this monastery. It was indeed a small monastery then, or not even a monastery but much more like a hermitage, built perhaps years before in the name of the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, and time and foreign attacks had reduced it to nothing, for this is the report of history unwritten from its beginning that reached our ears. The establishing of the monastery was strange; therefore it is worth committing the details of this to writing, to prevent them being destroyed by time and handed over to the depths of oblivion. Time knows how to destroy and cover over many such things. An unwritten story came to us, which memory has preserved embedded in the souls of those who heard it, that this place which has now been consecrated to God as a monastery happened to be a very dense coppice full of trees, more suitable to be lived in by wild animals but not by men who dedicated the whole of their life to God. For the place is cold, unpleasantly cold, washed all round by the sea, just like a hill and a precipitous place surrounded by water as if in ravines in the valleys of the mountains, untrodden not only by men but also by most wild animals.

But such are the marvels of God. He was about to change what was as it were a wild olive into a cultivated one and make this place which was untrodden even by wild animals a place trodden by the beautiful feet of holy men “whose ways are not crooked nor their paths turned aside” (Prov. 2:15), but their ways are straight and their paths direct in the presence of the Lord Sabaoth. So what is the manner of its establishment and how does the God of miracles manage miraculous deeds that surpass the power of speech often by means of his enemies? For in this even more is the majesty of his glory discovered, the God who manages and controls everything.

A very illustrious man and close friend of the emperor—even though his name has vanished and been forgotten, as time knows how to remove many such things and commit them to the depths of oblivion—is struck by the shafts of envy and is himself slandered in the hearing of the emperor. For envy knows how to creep up on those with great power, since it often mixes a cup of bitterness and prepares death for those who are envied, and the very facts are a true witness to my statement. Such a thing also happened to this man, intrigue, slander, and finally the death penalty, to be thrown down into the waves of the sea, death, and disappearance. For such is envy and such are its wages. So the man was led out walking very slowly and leisurely on the road to death. He was anguished in spirit, he suffered, he trembled. For what else is more terrible than death, and a very violent [p. 7] death from drowning?

But oh, the ineffable decisions of God! For again he performed a miracle in this situation, he who previously quenched that blazing furnace which a barbaric and insolent mind had lit when the raging Nebuchadnezzar was roused up in recklessness. He who changed that to dew and rescued

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those burning children by extinguishing the blaze as if in refreshing water (cf. Dan. 3:28–50), the same one again performed a miracle in another strange way, because providence which manages things in different ways is truly a complex thing. Pity seized the one who was leading him off [to death]; for what is more sympathetic than human nature? He wept quietly, was in agreement, was well disposed, respected friendship, honored him. The end of the story is that he granted him the full measure of life and recommended that he hide himself in the thickets on the mountains and make his way through trackless places.

Pursuing the terms of life [granted to him], the man came to this place. The hope of life beguiled him, and since he had already received the pledge of his safety, he hid in the thickly wooded parts of the place. What happened next? One day the man was traveling by himself and suddenly (in fact as I relate the strange happening my hairs rise; for in such situations the spirit concentrates upon itself and withdraws, and is concerned with itself experiencing a contraction like a liquid which flows around a cavity, [but] because the story is strange, it is worth committing to writing) a man long-haired and shaggy, a creature of the wilderness for the apparition looked like that sort of thing, appeared to the man. It appeared to converse with him and preached the good news of salvation, and showed him a chapel and advised him to settle near it.

What happened next? A short time elapsed and the pleasant apparition came again, he, great among the prophets, appeared himself and inquired if he knew the one he saw. When the man answered that he did not, he heard him saying “I am that very one, the one great among prophets, John the Baptist, and the signs are clear. Your [bonds] of fear will be broken and as a pledge of my word the imperial power of the Romans will be entrusted to you, since God is managing your fate. As a reward to me for this prophecy, a chapel will be built in this place to my name.” In connection with this he gave an instruction, such as the Savior himself issued to his disciples. For then he instructed them not to depart from Jerusalem unless the manifestation of divine power came upon them (Acts 1:4), and here there was the same miracle and guarantee and disappearance of the fear that possessed him. The proclamation was amazing because it assured him of imperial power over the empire of the Romans and furthermore a recompense for the prophecy was imposed on him, namely the construction by himself of a chapel in [John the Baptist’s] name.

Only a short time intervened, and the emperor who arranged [p. 8] his death departed this life. He was searched for, inquired after, summoned to the imperial power, and he fulfilled his promise and built the chapel, since it is natural that the indescribable vision and the fulfillment of the prophecy had not left his mind. That was the establishment of the monastery, as we have it from popular report as if from some tradition. But different people have handed down the incidents of the story differently, and I will relate what has been received in this case. For I see rivers running together into the same stream, beginning from different springs but flowing together into one area and ravine; for even if there is a difference between them in their beginning, yet their end is in real harmony and agreement.

A peak rises up above the land and one portion of it is called Peak of Zeus and another, Sanctuary. For this land is high, raised above the plain, sloping towards a peak and reaching the summit of the peak over a long distance. There is one part where it is surrounded both by hills and some precipitous places. In this place many sacrifices were performed by people sailing since the beginning of time and certain rites and vows. It was simply so that their voyage might go with a

fair wind with the ship being carried along gently by the wind and that a smooth surge might be seen with a favorable and gentle wind while the waves sweep forward and mock the promontories, and are not whipped up like high mountains by the winds.

There is a large ravine between the mountains. It is a fearful ravine. In it is a hollowing of the mountains and a flooding in of waves. This ravine in the course of time gave its name to the monastery, sometimes the name Chasmadion was attached [to the monastery] from the ravine itself, and sometimes the Machadion or Chamadion was given, distorted in some way by the transposition and rearrangement of the letters. Others bestowed a name as a result of what followed the event, assigning the name *Mone Phoberou* to the monastery.

For here again—I do not know how—the [story of the] establishment of the monastery is recounted in another way. Do you wish to know this story? [Our] account will describe the establishment of the monastery starting from this point. Recently war was being waged by Theophilus [(829–842)], the impious emperor, against the holy icons of Christ, and he who wielded power over the empire of the Romans was ruled by strange passions, I do not know how, not by righteous indignation but by impiety which throws everything under heaven into confusion. The unrighteous persecuted and the righteous were persecuted. The anger of the impious emperor boiled over and the community of righteous men was burnt down and at that time it was possible to see righteous people being persecuted, starving, and [p. 9] being afflicted by countless excessive acts of ill-treatment. For this is the nature of evil, whenever it is stimulated by more uncontrolled desires. For often storms rouse the sea and as the waves come to a head they froth, and in the case of a soul, when it is often attacked by glory and at the same time by madness, excessive and incomparable evil is found in it. Such was the calamity that happened then. Theodore and Theophanes, the *Graptoi*,<sup>1</sup> who were condemned to exile at that time, bear witness to the very violent storm that came down on the church of Christ then.

3. Concerning the painter Lazarus who made the icon of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner with his left hand while in exile.

At that time a certain Lazarus, a painter by craft, knowing how to mix colors appropriately and render the figures and forms of icons in proper proportion, was slandered in the hearing of the one who wielded imperial power at that time. For such is envy, it suggests easily fabricated pretexts and excites the shallowest minds and provides the treachery of the plot. For it knows how to start a fire like highly inflammable material which nourishes a fire until it becomes a great blaze, and slanders and plots about certain matters know how to inflame a soul that is fanatical through madness and a love of impiety.

What happened to this man was what happens naturally in such cases. The man was slandered because he painted icons and made well-formed figures. The penalty was exile in this place and a dreadful punishment which is worth committing to writing. Some iron was heated up and flattened into the shape of a square. It was fastened on to his hand, which was bound up with iron and at once lost its use and active function at the same time, since the fire was by now showing its own capability. But some say that the iron was tied to both of his hands, yet one hand was made immobile and incapable of doing anything, suffering the effects of destruction and death, but his left was somehow preserved.

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Then using this and mixing various types of colors, as the Artist Word seemed to suggest, he depicted the figure of the greatest of the prophets on a very small piece of wood. The power of the icon is miraculous, so it is said. For often in many places a stream of miracles has gushed forth from it, and the long story of its miraculous deeds has been preserved up to our times.

But the common old saying seems to be true, that “all-conquering time”<sup>2</sup> seems to destroy and wear out everything and the more so when there is a combination of some opposing elements. Such indeed was the calamity which happened in this case. For the material has been destroyed even if its grace is not exhausted. Everything of the icon that is destroyed by time has fallen away from it and only the figure has been preserved, displaying [p. 10] grace that gushes up inexhaustibly, because this is recognized as part of the icon’s miracles also, since the image of the figure has been left safe and intact right up to our time.

The fact that when so much time has elapsed the figure has not been destroyed seems to me at least one of its greatest miracles and a miracle worthy of the prophet’s greatness. This figure hunted down by me was kept as a treasure. I handed it to skillful painters and now it radiates in a clearer image, so to speak, its manifestations of grace to those who are fond of [wondrous] sights. So farewell to other things. We know that this icon is an inexhaustible treasure, and the fact that we are alive and glory in our preservation is because we live by this.

### 4. Beginning of spiritual instruction.

So God cares for everything since he is a common Deliverer and Savior, creating everything and laboring to save mankind, because on account of mankind he “bowed the heavens” (Ps. 17 [18]:9) and “took on the form of a servant” (Phil. 2:7) to deliver mankind oppressed by the deceit of Satan the slayer of mortals. We hear and believe and the report is unimpeachable that there is great “joy in the heavens over one who repents” (Luke 15:7); and if a lamp is lit, being the light of discernment, and the dirt is swept from the house (cf. Luke 15:8) which is our material, earthly, and fleshly garment, to what extent ought we to take pains in working at the means of our salvation? “A voice was heard in Ramah, wailing and loud lamentation” and “Rachel weeps for her children and does not accept consolation” (Matt. 2:18). The statement is true, because when we sin there is wailing in heaven. When the spiritual Rachel, “the church of the first-born” (Heb. 12:23) herself, looks for her children and does not find them, since they have already been consumed by the sword of Herod’s most irrational desire (cf. Matt. 2:16), the mortal-slaying Satan that is, she weeps more intensely.

So in the future, my beloved ones, since the war of the mortal-slaying Satan against us is one that takes many forms, we ought to make war on him spiritually, since we are being attacked also in many ways. But the warfare is not in any way visible or physical. For if it was, the plotting and the struggle would have its end once the battle had been announced and victory was coming to us, but in reality, according to Paul, it is not against flesh and blood, but against the ruler of darkness (cf. Eph. 6:12), [p. 11] the wicked murderer. So then since the plot is different in character, come, we will suggest to you the nature of the struggle. For a man who is a general and commands an army, whenever he leads his army out to war, often makes conjectures about the war, and imagines the killing, the advances of the enemy, the ambushes, the tricks, the intrigues, as he prepares his army to be courageous when facing the clash and struggle of the war. But since the war is not for

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us one of the senses but is completely spiritual, with the passions sometimes attacking and disturbing the soul itself, and sometimes the mortal-slaying Satan stirring up and preparing war against us, come now, we shall suggest to you the means of this spiritual preparation and struggle in which we show ourselves most noble soldiers, approved by Jesus Christ who calls and will call us.

I pray that my words be clear and effective [and that] my discourse will do its part and contribute to [your benefit] through my prayers. Well then, the means are clear. For arrows and swords and daggers, when they touch earthly bodies, sink into the flesh and produce cuts and the dissolution of the body's binding. As a result, when the wound is very serious, death often follows for the person who is struck. But here in the spiritual struggle a very important weapon that brings death and destruction to the one who makes war on us, namely mortal-slaying Satan, is the power that comes from the singing of psalms itself and from prayer, as the apostle says when writing to Timothy, "First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life, godly and respectful in every way. For this is good, and it is acceptable in the sight of God our Savior, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim. 2:1-4).

Because of this, come, as if on a picture and a placard let us sketch the outline itself of the teaching. But since man is made up of two natures, possessing a substance made up from soul and body (for in this is a body liable to the passage of time and death, but also a soul, more divine and higher, transcending the whole passage of time and its own union) we shall suggest to you a twofold kind of teaching, passing on a rule and precept and outline, sometimes concerning the singing of psalms itself, since it strengthens the soul itself and enlightens the mind, but sometimes also concerning diet which enslaves the body and does not allow it to rise up against the soul. However, before the narration of what is said point by point, I add this to my discourse because [p. 12] my discourse aims at a common benefit. Even if these things seem to be defective and fall a little short of very great strictness, that is not at all strange. For since a great inequality divided life up, the result is that some people are ill, others weak, others are strong and noble in the composition of their body, but others as a result of their excessive weakness resemble people who sleep and are motionless. In the cases of those who are unequal in the condition and different composition of their body, the discourse aiming at what is necessary in accordance with what is possible omits to a great extent matters of very great strictness, and making allowances for human weaknesses, it also seems to pass over the excessive and unreasonable periods of fasting which many seem to perform intensely in their own way and by their own wish. For with regard to a rule for a spiritual diet, what concern of mine are the many wishes of this person or that person? For I do not think that I hold back the one who wishes to serve the Lord with a fervent will and adheres more eagerly to the road that leads him to God.

For would a soldier be accused before his general if he rushes out against the enemy too nobly and frightens his opponent with his weapons? Would perhaps a doctor find fault with a patient because the sick man joins him in following the hospital treatment to a great extent, abstaining from the causes of disease and unreasonable desires, and keeping only to those foods and drinks which encourage the patient himself to a state of health? So neither do I myself take a person

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away—may it not happen—from that fine and beneficial abstinence and more eager devotion. Indeed, I would pray that this man may follow this spiritual road more eagerly, and become for me a crown of exultation.

[I have made concessions] because I have understood this point, namely that what is easy for some to attain is in no way practical for others. If any one, then, in that way finds the road that leads him to salvation, it is good, beloved ones, and contributes to salvation. Let such a person hear and heed the Savior speaking to him, “You labor and are heavy laden, my beloved brother, you should come to me and receive correspondingly what contributes to your rest” (cf. Matt. 11:28). But this is the object of our search, namely how the strong and the careless will equally be helped, or the powerful and the weak. You endure the scorching heat of the day, but perhaps someone else does not even bear the morning temperature. You think the frost of the night is bearable, but for someone else even a slightly warm temperature is unbearable. It is because I travel this main “royal road”<sup>3</sup> that I outline this rule and pattern for the monastery which is brief and appropriate for the weaknesses of the brotherhood. One thing alone I affirm, that what I say comes not from me but from what the divine fathers rightly prescribed for us. [p. 13]

#### 5. Rule concerning true fasting.

Well then, those men have not handed down one rule concerning fasting nor yet one way to partake of food nor the same amount [of food], because of the fact that everyone does not have the same strength or because of a more delicate bodily condition. But they have handed down one aim to all, namely to avoid eating one’s fill and to reject the satisfying of the belly. They called this [not overeating] a daily fast and having tested it they said it was more useful and contributed to purity more than a fast lasting three or four days or even extended to a week. For he says that the one who immoderately extends his fasting beyond moderation, often indulges in food, so that as a result sometimes through the excess of doing without food he weakens his body and it becomes lazy with regard to spiritual services, and sometimes being weighed down by a large amount of food he implants *akedia* and indolence in his soul. Again they have proved that eating of vegetables does not suit everyone, nor does the eating of legumes suit everyone, nor yet can everyone use dry bread as their food continually. Also they said that one person by eating two *litrai* of bread can still be hungry, but another by eating a *litra* or six ounces was satisfying himself. Therefore, as has been said, they hand down to all one definition of abstinence, namely not to be deceived by satisfying one’s belly nor be enticed by the pleasure of the gullet. For not only is it usual for a difference in the quality of the food but also the size of the amount to kindle the “flaming dart” of the enemy (Eph. 6:16). For the stomach when it is filled with food of whatever kind produces the seeds of profligacy. Again, not only is it usual for a headache that comes from wine to befuddle the mind, but also an excessive surfeit of water, and all kinds of food render it sleepy and stupefied. The cause of disaster for the people of Sodom was not the partaking of wine and different foods, but according to the prophet, a surfeit of bread (cf. Ezek. 16:48–50). For weakness of the body is not opposed to purity of the heart, as long as we provide the body with the things that weakness demands and not the things that pleasure wishes.

The use of food is not forbidden, if food is taken in quantities sufficient to supply what is [necessary] for life, but not to the extent of enslaving people to the impulses of desire. The mod-

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erate and reasonable eating of food shows care for the health of the body, and does not take away holiness. The exact rule and definition of abstinence handed down by the fathers is the following: he who partakes of food should give it up while his appetite is still active and not wait until he is satisfied. The apostle in saying, "Make no [p. 14] provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires" (Rom. 13:14), did not forbid the necessary conduct of life, but he forbade a concern to seek pleasure. Furthermore, abstinence from food by itself is not strong enough to bring about complete purity of soul, unless the other virtues contribute.

So humility through the act of obedience and the subjugation of the body is of great service to us. Abstinence from the love of money, not only from having money but also from even desiring to possess any, leads the way to purity of soul. Abstinence from anger, grief, vainglory and arrogance, especially restraint and fasting, achieve [the purity of the soul]. For it is impossible for the person who has a surfeit in his stomach to make war on the spirit of impurity in his mind. For, as the fathers say and we have learned from experience itself, the extremes of each side cause harm equally, both excessive fasting and the filling up of the stomach, both extravagance in vigils and one's fill of sleep, and the other excesses. For we have learned that some people have not been defeated by gluttony but have been overthrown by immoderate fasting, having lapsed into the same passion for gluttony through weakness that came from lack of moderation.

I also recall suffering some such thing once after practicing abstinence to such an extent that I lost my appetite for food, and when I remained without food for two or three days and had no desire at all for food, other people roused me to this. Again as a result of a plot by the Devil sleep kept away from me so much that when I continued without sleep for very many nights I besought the Lord that I should receive a little sleep. I was at more serious risk through my immoderate abstinence from food and sleep than through gluttony and the drowsiness of sleep. So your first struggle should be the controlling of the stomach and the subjecting of the body, not only through fasting but also through vigils and toil and reading and bringing your heart to fear Gehenna and desire the kingdom of heaven.

### 6. Concerning how you must repel the spirit of *akedia*.

You should struggle continuously against the spirit of *akedia* which is bound up with and works together with the spirit of grief. This is a dreadful and very oppressive demon always making war on monks. It attacks the monk at the sixth hour, implanting in him slackness and dread, and creating hatred both towards the place itself and the brothers who live with him and towards all work and the reading of the Holy Scriptures itself, suggesting to him thoughts of moving and that if he does not move to other places, all his time and the place will become purposeless for him.<sup>4</sup> In addition to all this it also puts into his mind the idea of hunger at about [p. 15] the sixth hour which would not happen to him as a result of a three day fast or a very long journey or very heavy toil. Then it puts into his mind thoughts that he will not be able to get rid of this burden and disease in any other way except by going out repeatedly and visiting brothers, for their benefit, of course, and by visitation of the sick. But whenever [the spirit of *akedia*] is not able to delude him in this way, it plunges him into deep sleep.

[*Akedia*] then becomes aggravated and can be checked in no other way except by prayer, by abstinence from pleasures and idle chatter, by the study of the Divine Scriptures, and by persever-

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ance [in the face of] temptations.<sup>5</sup> For if it does not find him protected by these weapons, after shooting him with its own weapons, it proves him unstable and renders him a lazy and idle wanderer and trains him to go round many monasteries and concern himself with nothing else except observing where meals and drinking bouts take place. For the mind of the person affected by *akedia* imagines nothing except the distractions that arise from these things. Later on, as a result of these, it involves him in secular matters and gradually deludes him with these harmful activities, until it completely drives him out of this monastic profession.

The divine apostle, understanding that this disease is very serious and wishing to tear from our souls utterly the causes by which it is especially produced, makes it clear when he says this in writing to the Thessalonians, “Now we command you, brethren, in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ that you keep away from any brother who is living in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us. For you yourselves know how you ought to imitate us. We were not idle when we were with you, we did not eat anyone’s bread without paying, but with toil and labor we worked night and day, that we might not burden any of you. It was not because we have not that right, but to give you in our conduct an example to imitate. For even when we were with you, we gave you this command: if anyone will not work, let him not eat. For we hear that some of you are living in idleness, not doing any work. Now, such persons we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus Christ to do their work in quietness and earn their own living” (II Thess. 3:6–12).

Let us listen how wisely the apostle points out the causes of *akedia*; for he calls those who do not work idle, indicating much evil in this one word. For the idle person happens to be irreverent, hasty in speech, and quick to abuse, and then [becomes] unfitted for the submission of a monastery and a slave of *akedia*. Therefore he commands that we should keep away from him, that is be separated from him as from a pestilential disease. Then what does he say? [p. 16] “And not in accord with the tradition that you received from us,” by that expression indicating that they are arrogant and despise and destroy the apostolic traditions. Again he says, “We did not eat anyone’s bread without paying, but with toil and labor we worked night and day, that we might not burden any of you.” The teacher of nations, the herald of the gospel, the one exalted to the third heaven, the one who said that the Lord has commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should “get their living by the gospel” (I Cor. 9:14), worked night and day with toil and labor so as not to burden anyone.

So then what will we do, we who are careless about our work and seek physical rest, to whom neither the preaching of the gospel nor the care of churches has been entrusted but only concern for our own souls? Then pointing out more clearly the harm that is born of idleness, he adds, “Those not doing any work, mere busybodies.” (II Thess. 3:11) From idleness comes meddlesomeness and from meddlesomeness comes disorderliness and from disorderliness evil of every kind; and again, devising the remedy for them, he adds, “now such persons we command to do their work in quietness and earn their own living.” With more of a rebuke he says, “If anyone will not work, let him not eat.”

The holy fathers in Egypt trained by this apostolic teaching did not allow the monks to be idle for any length of time, especially the younger ones, knowing that by persisting in their work they would drive away *akedia* and would provide their own food and help those in need. For not only

did they work because of their own need, but from their own work they supplied the needs of strangers and the poor and those in prison, being confident that such good deeds were a holy sacrifice acceptable to God. The fathers also say this, that the person who works often fights with one demon and is afflicted by it, but the lazy person is taken prisoner by countless spirits.

In addition to this it is a good thing to remember the words of father Moses, the most renowned among the Fathers, which he spoke to the great [John] Cassian. For the aforementioned divine Cassian after residing in the desert for a short time and being troubled by *akedia*, visited the holy Moses and said to him, “Yesterday I was severely troubled by *akedia* and was weakened very much and I could not rid myself of it until I visited father Paul.” Father Moses replied to him and said, “Have courage; you did not free yourself from this, but rather you have surrendered and handed yourself over to it as a slave. So then you should realize that as a deserter you will be attacked more grievously, unless in the future you make an effort to overcome it by persistence and prayer and work with your hands.”<sup>6</sup>

I remind you of all these things, my beloved brothers, because there is a need for [p. 17] much persistence. For it is not the one who has made a beginning in goodness who is blessed, but whoever continues in it to the end. For the snake that creeps on the ground is always watching for our heel (cf. Gen. 3:15), that is, it plots against our going out, and until the end of our life it tries to spring upon us. Because of this to begin well will be of no use nor yet fervor at the beginning of your renunciation, unless it is also there at the end. The humility of Christ which you professed before him just now will not be firmly established in any other way unless you display it to the end [of your life].

Therefore so that you may be able to possess this perfectly and crush the serpent’s head (cf. Gen 3:15), whenever thoughts come to you, make sure that you confess these to the doctor of your souls, your father. For by thus bringing the beginnings of the Devil’s destructive thoughts into the open and by not being ashamed to reveal them, you will crush his head. Wherefore, according to Scripture, if you strive to serve the Lord, make your hearts ready not for freedom from anxiety, nor for relaxation and pleasures but for temptations and for tribulations; “through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom” (Acts 14:22) of heaven, and “narrow and hard is the way that leads to life and those who find it are few” (Matt. 7:14). So then, pay heed to those who are zealous and good, and following their example regulate your own lives. Do not pay attention to those who are lazy and disdainful even though they be many. “For many,” he says, “are called but few are chosen” (Matt. 22:14); and the flock is small to whom the father was pleased to give the kingdom. Do not consider it a small sin to profess perfection and yet follow those who are lazy and very careless, but, so that you may be able to enter upon perfection, use this rule.

7. Concerning perfection of spirit and how you should be brought to it.

The fear of God is the first stage of virtue and a beginning of our assurance of salvation; for through it comes cleansing from sins and protection of virtues and a way to perfection. For whenever the fear of God enters a soul, it persuades it to despise all worldly matters and implants forgetfulness of physical relatives and of the whole world itself. Out of this humility is achieved, the culmination and fulfillment of all good; for humility comes as an addition to the disregard and deprivation of all worldly matters.

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Humility is tested and proved by these characteristics, [namely], if someone keeps his own wishes mortified within him; secondly, if someone not only does not hide any of his own actions but also any of his ideas from his own father; thirdly, if he trusts his own judgment in nothing but in everything trusts the discretion of his own father, always thirsting for his advice and hearing it with pleasure; fourthly, if he is subject to the commands of his father [p. 18] wholeheartedly in everything; fifthly, if he himself not only does not dare to insult anyone but even were to accept with joy the insults hurled on him by others; sixthly, if he does not attempt to do anything too innovatory which neither the common rule nor the traditions of the fathers allow; seventhly, if content with his complete insignificance and grateful for the things that are given him, he thinks himself unworthy even of these; eighthly, if from a sincere heart he thinks himself to be inferior and not superior to anyone; ninthly, if he controls his tongue and is not hasty in speech and harsh of voice; tenthly, if he is not frivolous and prone to laughter.

8 [A]. Concerning humility.

By those signs and signs similar to those humility is recognized which, whenever it has truly been achieved, quickly leads to the height of love in which there is no fear of punishment and because of which everything is no longer maintained by compulsion and weariness but by a fervent desire and longing for goodness. So that you may have the strength to attain to this virtue more easily, a few of the brothers who are standing fast and possess reverence should be set up as examples for you to imitate, not the majority who live too lazily. For from imitating and emulating those who are zealous comes very great assurance for those who wish to attain to perfection.

So then, if you wish to be able to follow all these and endure patiently until the end under this spiritual rule of the community, these words which David said should be made obligatory for you to observe, "But I, as a deaf man, heard not; and was as a dumb man not opening his mouth" (Ps. 37 [38]:13). Do not imitate those of the brothers who are faithless and disobedient and hasty and insolent, but, like people who are deaf and do not hear, disregard these. If someone hurls at you reproofs and reproaches or insults, be unmoved as if silenced and dumb, always saying to yourself this verse of the psalmist, "I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue; I set a guard on my mouth while the sinner stood in my presence" (Ps. 38 [39]:1-2).

Yet in addition to that, before everything practice this continuously and keep it, in accordance with the command of the apostle, namely to make yourselves fools and madmen in this life, in order clearly to become wise (cf. I Cor. 3:18), doubting nothing nor being hesitant in whatever you are instructed by your father to do, but practice obedience with all sincerity and faith, considering that instruction given to you by your father to be the only thing that is most holy and [p. 19] believing it to be wise and beneficial. For after strengthening your hearts by such an attitude, you will be able to bear the good yoke of submission to the end, and none of the temptations and tricks of the devil will be able to shake you from the discipline of the community.

Do not expect your forbearance and long suffering to be achieved as a result of other people's virtue, for example, whenever you are provoked by no one or not despised or not dishonored, since this is not a proof of your virtue nor does it lie within your power. But whenever you are abused or dishonored or despised, bear it gently, for this is within your power to choose. Well then, so that I may gather together all these things, which I have said in a very expanded form, and

say something briefly which your minds may remember easily, listen again step by step to how you will be able to attain perfection.

8 [B]. Another ladder of spiritual ascent<sup>7</sup>

The beginning of our salvation is the fear of God and from this is born good obedience. From this obedience submission is produced and a disregard for all worldly things, and from this comes humility, and from humility is born the mortification of personal wishes, and as a result of the mortification of wishes the roots of pleasures wither away, and as a result of this all the defects of the soul are cast out. Through the casting out of these, virtues produce fruit and grow, and from the growth of virtues comes purity of heart, that is to say, apostolic perfection. Furthermore, if these words are actively maintained by the souls of those who hear them, and you remain joyfully in the dwelling and solitude of this mountain, I confidently declare that through the intercession of [St. John] the Baptist and great herald of the truth and the intercessions of the most pure virgin Mother of God these will become easy for all the brotherhood and will lead them up to the kingdom of heaven itself.

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

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 67–70]: **So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse and since I wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings the light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.**

9. Concerning good order during the psalm singing and concerning genuflections.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–141]: **So, after the worship of matins, the office of the first hour should be sung by us following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the prayer [p. 20] should be recited which begins, “Thou who at all times and all hours” and what follows. After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed, by the able-bodied on the bare floor but the weak should have some low supports. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner in as much as while we are standing we should say three times to ourselves with hands stretched out “God, be merciful to me the sinner” (Luke 18:13), then when we are kneeling down with our heads resting on the ground, we should say three times in the same way “I have sinned against thee, Lord, forgive me.” But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases at each genuflection and each time we stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch or the priest on duty that day as he stands near the holy screen and indicates the successive movements.**

This should take place when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung during the matins; but if it is, the performing of these genuflections in the church should be omitted but

the deep bows should be performed while at each of them, as has been mentioned, the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to ourselves three times. Then after these genuflections or bows the *mesorion* of the first hour should be sung to follow on, then immediately the short *catechesis* from the words of the Fathers should take place, read by the superior, just as we received it from our most blessed father, and this should never be omitted unless set aside by the *synaxarion*. At this point after the reading, the *trisagion* for our holy father and founder, which is prescribed for us, should take place.

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

Then we should stand up and depart to our cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle [p. 21] chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because our mind is relaxed by this and we forget what is really good, and reaching our cells in a dilatory and lazy form of mind we sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, “To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.”<sup>8</sup>

May this not be the case with my fathers and brothers, but let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind very quickly, always doing what is pleasing to God. But if perhaps some are discovered to be at fault in this matter, whether they are young or old, advanced in the monastic life or novices, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the disciplinary official. Those who do not mend their ways are to be punished. For it is not fitting that novices who behave carelessly should be punished, but rather those who have spent many years in the monastic way of life but are careless and lazy, as [John Klimakos] the author of the Ladder says somewhere concerning this.<sup>9</sup> Going away to your cells you should carry out the canonical procedure from the Psalter together with genuflections according to the command given to each one by the superior, if such people do not have important offices. You must sing the third and sixth and ninth hour together in the church with their *mesoria*, according to custom, when the semantron is struck. For genuflections should not be carried out in the church only when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is sung, so when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down.

10. Concerning the fact that it is not necessary to carry out genuflections during the twelve days of Christmas or at Pentecost.

[ cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 141–43]: **We will avoid this even in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas** and during the whole of Pentecost. For the great Athanasios says as follows, “Do not let anyone lead you astray so as to observe a complete fast at all on a Sunday, nor to genuflect on a Sunday nor during Pentecost; for it is not a law of the church.”<sup>10</sup> Again it is written, “And after Pentecost we celebrate the feast for one more week.”

There is also the twentieth canon of the [First] Council of Nicaea which says the following, “Since some people are genuflecting on Sunday and on the days of Pentecost, the Holy Council decided that prayers should be offered to God standing in order to have everything observed in the same way in every diocese.”<sup>11</sup> The ninetieth canon [p. 22] of the sixth Council [of Constantinople] discusses the matter as follows, “We received it as a rule from our inspired fathers not to genuflect on Sundays when we honor the resurrection of Christ. So that we may not be ignorant therefore of the clear-cut nature of the observance in this matter, we make it clear to the faithful, that after the entry of the clergy into the sanctuary during vespers on Saturday in accordance with prevailing custom no one is to genuflect until the following evening on Sunday when, after the entrance during the office of lamplighting, again bending our knees we thus bring our prayers to the Lord. For taking the night after Saturday as a precursor of the resurrection of our Savior, from then we begin the hymns in a spiritual manner, ending the feast in the daylight after the darkness, so that as a result we celebrate the feast of the resurrection during a whole night and a day.”<sup>12</sup>

So then, my brothers, pay heed to the exact detail of this rule, and as at Pentecost and Easter Sunday and the twelve days of Christmas and the other feast days you observe a rest from genuflections following the sacred rules, so learn from this rule carefully that you do not neglect these ever again without good reason, so that you may not be condemned. [= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 145–47]: **Therefore, the ritual of the first and third and sixth and ninth hours on days of the year that are free of fasting should be observed in this way.**

11. Concerning the holy communion.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [5] ]: **It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be celebrated in the church each day, but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there, more than in anything else, the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and chase from you every thought that is impure, sown by the devil, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed by the superior to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements; for it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day. This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is often to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who**

eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him,” (John 6:56) and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says “He who is united to the Lord becomes one” body (I Cor. 6:17) and as the most gentle David says conversely “Those that remove themselves from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]:27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of His body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and leader of the apostles. [p. 23] This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion three times a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters. But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion sing the office laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection to one another, and grant each other forgiveness, and thus gratefully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out thus.

12. Concerning the office of the ninth hour, vespers, and compline.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 195–219]: **The ninth hour should be sung in the same way as the preceding hours; and the regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers should be carried out, with the night office immediately next, as well as compline after the supper. During these you should genuflect in accordance with the rule whenever you are not to celebrate a feast, and by feast we mean a Tuesday and Thursday on which we have to sing “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) at matins, that is, alternating with Monday and Wednesday and Friday when the Alleluia is sung. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the [p. 24] first hour and incline your ear well to the superior as he says, “Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in word, deed, and in thought,” and you should grant him forgiveness saying, “May God forgive you, father.” But you also should immediately beg this from him by adding, “Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in deed, word, and in thought,” then again he should pray for us and say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive us all.” Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock learns from it the appropriate hour [and goes to] the superior, and receiving from him the required blessing then shouts out with a loud voice in a**

rhythmic fashion, “Bless me, oh saints.” Then when he has struck the semantron in the customary way and distributed lights to all, he will rouse you for the celebration of the midnight office which is sung in your cells—and there are three *kathismata*, the ninth, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth—and this he himself will also sing all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church.

13. Concerning the office of matins.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 219–240]: **Then when he has sounded the great semantron and the bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship. The preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows. For after the completion of the Psalm “Blameless” [(Ps. 118 [119])], the dismissal should be said outside in the narthex of the church by the priest who has the duty for the day, then, as we enter into the church we should sing at once a *trisagion* with the usual *troparia* , “May the Lord hear you,” and, “*Kyrie eleison*,” taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being sung. The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity, speaking audibly as follows, “Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever.” After replying “Amen” the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins should next be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes. That therefore constitutes the pattern of your daily office.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 242–43]: **We must also speak to you about life-preserving confession and the discourse about the [p. 25] table must wait for a while.**

14. Concerning confession.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 243–314]: **Well then, the superior must sit in a private place twice a day, and leaving aside all other work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each one the appropriate healing. We specify that after the second reading at matins has begun should be one time when he will bring healing to those who live continuously in the monastery and are not employed in any ministries; and after compline he will bring healing to those ministering inside or outside. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he does not have the time since the brotherhood is numerous, to authorize whichever priests and deacons he wishes, and even some of the more reverent brothers, to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated trouble, and to remit them and grant forgiveness. But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the superior by those who hear them, and he is to bring about the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing, though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor; also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them.**

So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says “Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all impurity, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should [p. 26] you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them, but this is a time for making confession and obtaining healing for spiritual passions. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, “Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart” (Matt. 11:29) What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.

Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God Ruler of All until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful thoughts. Thus it would be necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he may come to his senses held us back from this purpose. However for him to be liable to the penalty of excommunication is very useful since it is very effective. Indeed, what benefit does he obtain from remaining at the monastery? What benefit comes from not making confession? Or rather, does not harm and ruin follow, and a continued practice of evil and everything whatsoever that brings destruction to the soul? So then, as it is difficult for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul. The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows “If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the command of the Lord, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his superior all the secrets of his heart stripped bare.”<sup>13</sup> So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will possess later on something that is more sure; for [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says “Stripes that are exposed will not become worse,” and again, “A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.”<sup>14</sup> So the revelation of one’s own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it.

**Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the superior himself clearly, and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts.**

15. Concerning confession at the time of tonsuring.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 314–17]: **But the first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the superior alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one.** [p. 27] **These things should be so.**

16. Concerning fasting in Lent and on Wednesdays and Fridays.

[ cf. (22) *Evergetis* [8], ed. lines 319–20]: **Concerning the procedure for the holy fasts** and for Wednesday and Friday, as the rules of the Holy Apostles and of the holy inspired fathers handed it down, **the *synaxarion* will inform us most precisely, and we should carry them out always in accordance with it.** We must genuflect as for the holy period of Lent and the diet will be similar, made up of legumes soaked in water or fruits and fresh vegetables, and for our drink, water or hot water flavored with cumin, taken at the beginning of the ninth hour. For the most wise and divine teachers speak as follows in their rules setting it out in detail, “If any bishop or priest or deacon or reader or singer does not fast during the holy period of Lent or on Wednesday or Friday, unless he is prevented from doing so by some bodily weakness, he should be deposed; but if he is a lay person, he should be excommunicated.”<sup>15</sup>

In the regulations of the holy fathers, after prescribing rules for the fast of the Holy Apostles,<sup>16</sup> they say “After this fast we instruct you to fast every Wednesday and Friday and donate your excess food to the poor.” Also in the *Lausiac History* it has been written that St. Apollo said, “It is not possible to break the universal fasts except under the utmost necessity. For on Wednesday Christ was betrayed and on Friday he was crucified. Therefore the person who breaks these fasts joins in betraying the Savior and crucifying him.”<sup>17</sup> The twelfth canon of the Council of Gangra is as follows, “If anyone of those practicing the religious life behaves disdainfully and without any bodily necessity breaks the fasts that have been handed down and are commonly observed by the church, because a perfectly evil desire lurks within him, let him be anathema.”<sup>18</sup> Also in the discourse on faith in the *Panarion* of St. Epiphanius this is written, “Throughout the whole year fasting is observed in the holy catholic church, I mean on Wednesday and before Saturday until the ninth hour, except only at Pentecost.”<sup>19</sup> The wise and great Athanasios says this very clearly in his book: “Do not break a fast of the Lord, [p. 28] that is Wednesday and Friday, unless you are in some way oppressed by some disease, except only at Pentecost and Epiphany.” Again a little further on he says the following, “Break your fast whenever a brother visits you, but not a fast that has been prescribed, that is a Wednesday and Friday, but one of your own choice, that is a Monday and Tuesday and Thursday; and the period of the fasting on Wednesday and Friday has been laid down as until the ninth hour.”<sup>20</sup>

Many such things have been set down in divine Scripture not only for monks, but also lay people, which those of you who are willing to search for will discover. But there is a different strictness for monks, as also St. Symeon the Wonderworker of miracles says in his life, “The monk should fast until the ninth hour at least.”<sup>21</sup> All our holy fathers say the same thing, that fasting should always take place apart from the fasts of Our Lord.

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I have gathered these things together and set them out clearly for you in the present rule, my brothers, for this reason that you may strive to carry out with enthusiasm and by your wholehearted choice what has been prescribed for you. For I did not write things of my own choice or wish or devising, but what we have received in writing from our holy fathers and what we have learned from experience itself to be true and immutable and unchangeable and without which it is impossible to follow the path of the monastic life.

#### 17. Concerning when the fast should be broken.

Unless it happens to be a great feast of Our Lord, or a commemoration for one of the twelve Holy Apostles, or some other one of the great and illustrious saints, on these days of fasting, that is on Wednesday and on Friday, [everyone should fast] except brothers who are weak and ill. For we instruct the superior to care especially for such [brothers] with all his heart and assist the sick on fast days with both wine and cooked food and with all his heart be anxious about their comfort and recovery of strength. For it is impossible to break these fasts otherwise, for those who break them will be judged by God as transgressors.

#### 18. Concerning the amount of food and drink, the time for them, and their quality.

Since it is necessary to pass on to you also the differences in the feasts, which of them must be celebrated and which not, and concerning the difference in the food, see, I also give this instruction. If before the letters [of the names] of saints whose commemorations have fallen on the days of fasting, that is Wednesday and Friday, you find *kentemata*, we fast according to the tradition in the divine rules. But if you find crosses, we break the fast with cooked legumes, vegetables and olive oil and nothing more. Concerning wine, as I have discovered by searching all the *synaxaria* of the saints and the rules of monasteries, both those on the Holy Mountain<sup>22</sup> and the [p. 29] rest, they say that three [measures] should be drunk at the midday meal and two at the evening meal whenever they drink it.

It is necessary also to make arrangements concerning our officials who provide us with no small help, that the important officials who carry out onerous offices, when those who are not working eat once in the day, should be given a second meal when they are carrying out their offices and are working hard. But whenever they are not working, they too should be treated the same as the rest. For a monk who fasts is like the flower of the palm tree, called *halation*, because on the outside it is dingy but on the inside it is the color of snow and is very fruitful; in the same way he who fasts is outwardly gloomy but inwardly he is radiant. Therefore fasting not only consists in eating slowly but also eating small amounts, and this is how to practice it, not to eat two courses and avoid eating a variety of food. For practicing it is to have a table reduced to one form of food, whereas unreasonable fasting is that which waits for the appointed time and at the time for food rushes without any control to the table and through the flesh binds the mind to the pleasure of what has been set out.

I know for certain that many of you, and especially the careless, receive such instructions with disgust saying, "You labor for nothing and to no purpose, no one will carry out these instructions when you have died." Behold, I say to you that the word of the apostle forces me to do and say these things. For it has been written, "Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account" (Heb. 13:17). Even if I said

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it before, yet I will not be silent now. For the fear of that threat continually disturbs my soul, for if it is better for the person who has caused only one very little person to sin to have a millstone hung around his neck and be drowned in the sea (Matt. 18:6), what on earth will they all suffer and what penalty will they receive who sin against Christ himself wounding the consciences of the brothers (I Cor. 8:12), having brought about the destruction not just of one or two or three, but of so many multitudes? For it is not possible to blame inexperience, nor have recourse to ignorance, nor put forward compulsion and force as an excuse, but if it were possible, one of the subordinates would sooner have used that recourse in the case of his own sins than the superior in the case of those of other people.

Why is this? Because since he has been appointed to correct the ignorance of other people and forewarn them of the approach of danger from the devil, he will not be able to put forward ignorance as an excuse nor say, "I did not hear the trumpet nor did I know there was a war." For this reason Ezekiel took up residence, he says, to sound the trumpet for others and foretell the distressing things that were to come, and because of this punishment is inevitable even if one person happens to perish; "for if when the sword comes the [p. 30] watchman does not blow the trumpet for the people," he says, "nor gives a signal, and the sword comes and takes away a life, his blood I will require at the watchman's hand, but that man was taken away in his iniquity" (cf. Ezek. 33:6).

For this reason, even if those who are being instructed after the exhortation remain in fact without any benefit from their instruction, yet even so we will not give up our advice to them. For fountains still flow, even if no one fetches water, and springs still bubble up, even if no one draws water, and rivers still run, even if no one drinks. So then, the one who speaks must fulfill his role, even if no one pays any heed. For the law for us who have been entrusted by the merciful God with the ministry of the word is never to neglect any of our duties, nor be silent, whether someone listens or passes by unheeding.

Jeremiah indeed, when he was issuing many threats to the Jews and prophesying the terrible things that were going to come, and was mocked by his hearers and laughed at throughout the whole day, once decided to cease that prophecy, experiencing a human feeling and not putting up with the jibes and the abuse, and he says, "I have become a laughing stock all the day. I said I will not speak nor will I mention the name of the Lord, but it was as burning fire flaming in my bones, and I am utterly weakened on all sides and cannot even bear up" (cf. Jer. 20:7-9). What he means is this: I decided to cease my prophecy, he says, since the Jews were not listening, and at the time that I made my decision the force of the Spirit fell on my soul like a fire and burnt up all my internal organs, consuming and eating up my bones in such a way that I was not able to endure the conflagration. But if the man who was mocked and derided and abused each day endured such great retribution when he decided to be silent, what pardon would we deserve when we have not suffered any such thing yet, but have lost heart through some people's laziness and ceased from teaching everyone else, and more so whenever the majority are paying heed?

I say these things not as encouragement for myself nor as an exhortation, for I have convinced my own soul to fulfill this service, while I breathe and God decides that we should be in this life, and to do what I have been ordered whether anyone pays heed or not. But since there are some people who make the hands of the many feeble, and in addition to bringing nothing useful into our

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lives weaken the zeal of others and deride and ridicule saying, [p. 31] “Cease your advice, stop exhorting; they do not wish to heed you; have nothing to do with them”—since there are some people who say that, I am extending my discourse, wishing to cut from the souls of the many this unmerciful opinion and plot of the devil. For I know that many have said these words, since I have seen some of you not receiving my teaching with enthusiasm, but laughing and deriding it, saying to me, “They were completely persuaded, no one scorns your instructions; all were chastened.” Why do you say this, man? Did we promise to make everyone a captive in one day? For if only ten were persuaded, if five, if one, is it not enough as a consolation? But I now put an extreme case; let it be assumed that no one has been persuaded by our words, which is impossible. If we sow a word in so many ears, is it possible for it never to bear fruit? But let it be assumed that it is so, not even then is the word fruitless. For if they do not receive it with enthusiasm and if perhaps they break the rules laid down for their meals, which I am not persuaded happens, however not with the same shamelessness, yet at the table itself they will remember our words, the censure and the rebuke, and when they have remembered they will grow ashamed, they will blush in their minds, and will do what they have been accustomed to do, but not with the same recklessness. This is the beginning of salvation, even just to condemn what is being done.

In addition to this there will be another gain and one no less great. What is this? The making of those who behave prudently more venerable and persuading them through what has been said that they have made the best decision of all in many ways. I did not raise up those who were sick but I made the healthy more secure. The word did not lead people away from wickedness, but made those who live in virtue more scrupulous.

Let me say a third thing in addition to these; I did not persuade anyone today, but perhaps I will be able to persuade someone tomorrow, but nor even tomorrow or the day after. Perhaps the person who heard it today and rejected it will hear tomorrow and receive it, and the one who despised it today and tomorrow, perhaps after some more days will pay heed to what is said. For a fisherman often after drawing up his net empty throughout the whole day, in the evening when he wished to leave went away having caught the fish that eluded him all day. If we were to cease our ministry because of misfortunes which always occur, and give up all our work, our whole life would be ruined and it is not only spiritual qualities that would be lost. For if the farmer were to turn from his farming because of unevenness in the weather occurring once or twice or often, we would all quickly perish with famine. If a helmsman were to flee from the sea because a storm occurred once or twice or often, we would not sail the sea and life would become useless, everything would be utterly ruined, and the earth uninhabited. Therefore, knowing all these things, whether they happen once, or [p. 32] twice, or often in the course of the activities in which they are involved and spend their time, they undertake them again with enthusiasm for them.

Therefore, let us not utter this and say that though so many words are scattered by us there will be no benefit from these words. For the husbandman who sowed the same piece of land once or twice or often and failed to reach his goal, worked it again and often in one year he recovered the loss of a [life]time. A trader who often suffered shipwrecks did not forsake the harbor, but even launched a ship and hired sailors and borrowed money and applied himself to the same activities, and yet the future was equally uncertain. Each of those who go in search of anything, are accustomed to act in that way, like the farmer and the trader. They then would show such zeal concern-

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ing worldly things, but will we give up at once if we are not listened to when we have spoken? What excuse will we have or what defense? Yet in their failures there is no one who relieves their loss.

For example, if the sea overwhelms the ship, no one will make good the poverty of those who are shipwrecked. If rain pours down on the piece of land and suffocates the seed, the farmers are forced to go away empty-handed. But in the case of us speaking and exhorting, it is not so, but if I scatter the seed and you do not accept it or bear the fruit of obedience, I will gain from God the reward of my advice and will receive as much of a recompense as I would have received if you had listened. For I have fulfilled the whole of my task.

For we are not responsible for not persuading those who listen but only for advising them. For our task is to advise, yours is to be persuaded. Just as in the case that we did not advise, if you perform countless good deeds, the reward will be yours alone, and there will be no gain for us since we did not advise. So supposing we did advise, if you did not pay any heed the whole retribution will seize you and no blame will be attached to us, also great will be the reward that will come from God; for I fulfilled my whole task. For we are ordered to invest our money with the bankers (cf. Matt. 25:27).

Also John Chrysostom says, "Speak, exhort; but did they not listen? But you have your reward completed. Do not give up until you breathe your last. Let the end of your advice be the obedience of the one who receives the advice. So whenever you see your brother obdurate and obstinate, not paying any heed, say to yourself, 'I wonder if we may be able to persuade him in time?' Paul also gave this command, 'The Lord's servant must not be quarrelsome but kindly to everyone, correcting his opponents with gentleness, in case God may perhaps grant them true repentance (II Tim. 2:24–25).'"<sup>23</sup> [p. 33]

The same Chrysostom in one of his homilies says again, "The wounds that are inflamed do not bear any application of a hand or endure too rough a touch; therefore doctors who are wise wipe such wounds with a soft sponge. Therefore, since people who sin have an inflamed wound in their souls, so by pouring all our words over them as if we were applying soothing and fresh water with a soft sponge, let us try to reduce their swelling and take away the whole tumor. Do not abandon your cure, my loved one, whether they become insolent or spit or kick out or no matter what they do. For those who treat a crazy person must put up with many such things, nevertheless not even then must you give up."<sup>24</sup> That [is enough] about those matters.

But it should be known that, with regard to those feasts of the great saints prescribed previously,<sup>25</sup> whenever you find a cross preceding the letters, there are no fasts at all, but we break the fast. If one of the days concerned happens to be one of the days for fasting, that is Wednesday and Friday, we break the fast with cooked food only, that is legumes and vegetable prepared with olive oil.

19. Concerning the fact that fasting on Wednesdays or Fridays should not be broken.

We do not eat cheese or fish or eggs, even if the birth of Christ our God should occur. This applies on the first day of the feast; and if the day after the feast [falls on a Wednesday or Friday] the same fast is observed. So then, we fast every Wednesday and Friday, abstaining from cheese and eggs and fish. This applies also on those Wednesdays and Fridays during Pentecost and Christ-

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mas, and in the week before Meatfare and during Cheesefare because of the rule of the Holy Apostles mentioned above, and because of the rule laid down by the martyr St. Peter, archbishop of Alexandria. For in his fifteenth rule he says this, “No one will bring an accusation against us if we observe Wednesday and Friday, on which it has been laid down with good reason according to tradition that we should fast, on Wednesday because of the evil counsel entered into by the Jews in the matter of Our Lord’s betrayal, and on Friday because he suffered for us.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore, strive to carry that out both because of the exhortations of the saints and because of the bodily weakness and temptations of the flesh which are present in us who strive.

For those who abstain from these through a religious life and are eager to subdue the flesh to the spirit, do well. For the great apostle Paul says, “For the kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness” (Rom. 14:17) and a religious life and sanctity. Again it has been written, [p. 34] “Fasting is useful all the time, and the person who strives practices abstinence in everything; for those who serve God in this way are pleasing to him.” The rule of the holy and blessed apostles instructs us to fast every Wednesday and Friday, and not to fast on one and not on another, but on every one.

This rule is observed not only by monks but also by lay people; and if lay people fast in this way, what more is being asked of you than of them? For believe me, my beloved brothers, when I say truly, that if someone is obliged to put into practice the sense of the holy rules strictly, he will never concede that any Christian should break the fast on Wednesday or Friday during the whole year even just with a cooked dish, except for some physical weakness. But I have judged myself in advance to be condemned by God because of your weakness and suggest to you that you break the fast with a cooked dish when it is the day of a great feast; but if it is not a great feast, observe the fasts that have been handed down to you because of the Lord. But anyone of you who wishes not to touch even a cooked dish on any Wednesday or Friday throughout the whole year, even on the great feasts themselves, should not be prevented, but he should have the blessing of me the sinner also as his helper in this. But if afterwards the heresies of the Armenians and of Jacob<sup>27</sup> and the *Tetraditai* arose, why do they concern us, when we happen by the grace of Christ our God to be orthodox and obey the rules that have been handed down by the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers to the holy catholic and apostolic church of God?<sup>28</sup>

But if anyone visits our monastery on the days before Meatfare week or during Cheesefare and disagrees about this matter, eat a little cheese, all of you, for the apostle says, “If I partake with thankfulness, why should my liberty be determined by another man’s scruples?” (I Cor. 10:29–30). This has been written in the life of Symeon, our father and the worker of miracles, in these very words, “The holy man explained to his disciples what had been revealed to him concerning the holy period of Lent, speaking as follows: ‘When I was young and was standing in the first place of my standing, I heard that people were not observing the holy period of Lent, but were eating cheese and eggs, and when I fell into a trance at this, an angel of God appeared to me holding a bowl and a kid and a knife. Taking it he killed it in front of me and caught its blood in the bowl, and I looked and behold, the blood had coagulated and became cheese as if it had been milk. He said to me, ‘Behold the cheese which people eat during the holy period of Lent, it is the blood of kids. [p. 35] Therefore, when settling this matter lay it down for the assembled brotherhood that no one should eat cheese or an egg during the holy period of Lent or on Wednesday or Friday. For

these are like the product of snakes and serpents, formed from all uncleanness.’ Coming to myself, I remembered the prophet Isaiah saying, ‘He broke viper’s eggs and a web of the weaving spider, and the man who was going to eat some of their eggs when he crushed them found a wind-egg and inside it a viper’ (Is. 59:5). I was compelled to say these things, not classifying ‘as common objects which God has cleansed’ (cf. Acts 11:9)—for you must not consider them common in any way, since they are sanctified by those who partake of them faithfully, when they should, through the word of God and prayer—but I have explained these things for your benefit as if to monks, so that you would increase your sanctity very much more on the days of the holy fasts, just as I trained those who lived with me before you to be on their guard.’<sup>29</sup> These are the words of the worker of miracles.

This also is written in the *Gerontikon*, “A dead body was being carried along the road, and when father Pachomios met it, he saw two angels following the corpse behind the bier, and thinking about this he begged God to reveal to him what had happened. The two angels came, and he said to them, ‘Why do you, who are angels, follow the corpse?’ The angels said to him, ‘One of us is the angel of Wednesday and the other of Friday, and since this soul did not cease from fasting on Wednesday and Friday until he died, for that reason we followed its body because until its death it observed the fast. So for that reason we honored it, since it strove in the Lord.’”<sup>30</sup>

Did you hear, my brothers, how even lay people fast? What suffering are you obliged to endure if you abstain from cheese and fish and eggs on all the Wednesdays and Fridays only of the whole year, when you must break your fast? Are you not perfectly aware that we often abstain from these even on the holy days of Sunday themselves, as a result of not having these articles? What loss is it? Does not God, Our Master and the Lord of all, nourish us with other food and we thank him?

For these reasons, therefore, my fathers and brothers, I, the least, the insignificant one, “who owes ten thousand talents” (Matt. 18:24), the one more sinful than any sinner, beg you, trust in this very fine advice; heed this as it is blameless in every way, so that you may not be ashamed. “Take note of those who create dissensions and difficulties, in opposition to the doctrine which you have been taught; avoid them. For such persons do not serve Our Lord Christ, [p. 36] but their own appetites, and by fair and flattering words they deceive the hearts of the simple-minded” (Rom. 16:17–18). Let me pluck up courage and speak in the words of the apostle, “Let not him who abstains despise or pass judgment on him who eats; for God has welcomed him. Who are you to pass judgment on the servant of another? It is before his own master that he stands or falls” (Rom. 14:3–4). Let each of you be assured in his own mind that, “as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another” (Rom. 12:4–5). Because of this strive to edify each other, and if anyone should ever turn away from the things that have been handed on to you here, hasten to correct him. Cast far from you vain enquiries and disputations which come to you from outside, for by doing this, you will appear reliable in this present age, and will not be cast out of the kingdom of heaven in the age to come.

In the month of September is the beginning of the indiction and [the commemoration] of St. Symeon; + [the commemoration of] the commander of the heavenly armies [St. Michael] on the 6th; + the Birth of the Mother of God;<sup>31</sup> + the Exaltation of the Venerable Cross;<sup>32</sup> + [the commemoration of] St. John the Theologian on the 26th.

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In the month of October is [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Thomas on the 6th; + [the commemoration of] St. James, the brother of God, on the 9th; + [the commemoration of] St. Demetrios on the 26th; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Luke on the 18th.

In the month of November is [the commemoration of] the Holy *Anargyroi* on the 1st; + [the commemoration of] the Incorporeal Ones [the Archangels, Michael and Gabriel] on the 8th; + [the commemoration of] [St. John] Chrysostom on the 13th; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Philip on the 14th; [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Matthew;<sup>33</sup> + the Entry of the Mother of God [in the Temple];<sup>34</sup> + and [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Andrew.<sup>35</sup>

In the month of December is [the commemoration of] St. Nicholas on the 6th; + the Conception of St. Anne, the mother of the Mother of God;<sup>36</sup> + [the commemoration of] St. Ignatios;<sup>37</sup> + the Birth of Christ Our God.

Until the Holy Epiphany no fasting or genuflections at all take place either in the church or in your cells.

+ The Holy Epiphany; + [the commemoration of] [St. John] the Forerunner; + [the commemoration of] St. Gregory the Theologian; + the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple; + [the commemoration of] St. Symeon the Receiver of God; + the Discovery of the Venerable Head of [St. John] the Forerunner; + [the commemoration of] the Forty Saints; + the Annunciation of the Mother of God; + [the commemoration of] St. George; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Mark; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle James, the son of Zebedee; + [the commemoration of] St. John the Theologian; + [the commemoration of] St. Symeon the Wonderworker; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas; + the Birth of the Venerable [St. John the] Forerunner; + [the commemoration of] the holy all-blessed apostles Peter and Paul; + [the commemoration of] the Twelve Apostles; + [the commemoration of] the Holy *Anargyroi*; + the [adoration] of the venerable Robe of the Mother of God; + [the commemoration of] Gabriel, the commander of the heavenly armies; + [the commemoration of] the holy prophet Elijah; + [the commemoration of] St. Panteleemon.<sup>38</sup>

In the month of August is the [p. 37] feast of the Transfiguration;<sup>39</sup> + the Dormition of the Holy Mother of God;<sup>40</sup> + and the Beheading of [St. John] the Venerable Forerunner.<sup>41</sup>

In the week before Meatfare, during which the Armenians fast [in honor of] Artzibourios, there is no fast whatsoever with us, neither on Wednesday nor on Friday, neither as regards eggs nor anything else, since we reject the teaching of the Armenians, as some people hand it down. Similarly on Wednesday and Friday during the week of Cheesefare, in accordance with the tradition of the holy fathers, after the liturgy of the Presanctified [Gifts], cheese and eggs are eaten. This is likewise done because of the decree of Jacob and the heresy of the *Tetraditai*.<sup>42</sup> For [our practice] rejects such heresies, as are contained in the canon of St. Nikephoros of Constantinople.<sup>43</sup> We do not eat dry food on those days, but we eat a cooked dish only, and we do not eat cheese and eggs and fish, as we said above.

If the vigil of Christmas or the Epiphany should happen to occur on a Saturday or a Sunday, we celebrate the customary liturgy early in the day as always and then partake of a collation in the church. But in the evening we eat legumes and vegetables prepared with olive oil, and we drink wine, because we received [the instruction] from the *Address* of Theophilos the most holy archbishop of Alexandria, speaking as follows in his own words: "Custom and propriety demands that we should honor every Sunday and rejoice on that day, since on that day Our Lord Jesus Christ

brought about resurrection from the dead. Therefore, in the Holy Scriptures it is called the first day, since it is the beginning of life for us, and the eighth, because it has transcended the sabbath observance of the Jews. Therefore, since it has turned out that the day of Holy Epiphany is a fast day, let us act with discretion and advance knowingly in both directions, so that by eating a few dates we may at the same time shun the heresies that do not honor the day of Our Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection and render what is due to the fast day by waiting for the evening service."<sup>44</sup>

We are obliged to perform the vigils in accordance with the rule both on every Sunday and feast of Our Lord and at any commemorations for the other saints, which we will learn from the *synaxarion*. During these I exhort your devotion to do this also; after the completion of the canons of the night office stand in the middle of the church and sing the following *stichera*: in honor of [St. John] the Holy Forerunner, [the *sticheron*] "Light incarnate" in the second plagal mode; in honor of St. Symeon, "Father worthy of admiration" in the same mode; and another in the same mode "On the wood of the cross, she"; and another in the same mode "Good Father, I was separated from thee"; [p. 38] and another in the same mode "O, what a time and day it will be then." At the "Gloria" [you must sing] in the same mode "Fearful art thou, Lord, and who shall stand"; [and at the ] "And now" [you must sing] in the same mode "Lord, enmeshed by sins."

20. Rule for the quantity and nature of the food.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 325–36]: **It should be the right time now to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For as we are made up of two parts, I mean soul and body, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its body. So then, since with God's help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its body, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as the one who wishes to be concerned about the salvation and comfort of his brothers must be no less concerned about these things. So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my dear fathers and brothers.**

21. Concerning good order in the refectory.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 337–64]: **After the customary collation has taken place in the narthex, when the divine liturgy has already been completed, all the monks should sit together there waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the refectory semantron. When the semantron has been struck, going out at once with the priest who officiated at the liturgy, you should make obeisance to the superior and then beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm, walk to the refectory, that is the superior himself and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the above-mentioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, you should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before you. Then anyone who was late for the psalm**

and the thanksgiving should be reported by the refectorian to the superior, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the superior wishes.

Moreover, the traditional reading must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that, with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly [p. 39] if he wishes, and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly with some words and brief phrases, if possible. But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the refectorian. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the refectory even if he is unwilling, and subjected to the penalty of going without his food or made to learn self-control in another way as the superior wishes.

22. Concerning the fact that there must be no quarreling in the refectory about precedence in seating, but they should sit down in the order in which they happen to be.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 364–403]: **So we completely refuse to speak about seating. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God’s will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For “Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord” (Prov. 16:5) says Holy Scripture, “And the Lord resists the proud but he gives grace to the humble” (Prov. 3:34). So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right minds, you would never choose to be an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favor from him and have him near you, as those who are of a contrite heart, (Ps. 33 [34]:18) or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. But if any of you is found, alas, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and taught to leave the world and the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being totally incorrigible and completely incurable, he is to be driven out of the monastery, and like some cancer be thrown out somewhere far away from you, so that he may not also infect the rest of you with his filth: for, as some wise man said, “taking part in evil is much easier than in virtue.”**

When you are eating a meal you must not share with each other any food or drink, even as much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water], but the person who at the time is in need of any of these things should raise himself a little very respectfully and ask the superior reverently, speaking as follows, “Bless me, father, I need this.” So if the superior gives permission, he is to receive what he needs, but if not, he is to sit down again and sit thankfully in silence. We do this indeed not through any meanness and stinginess, as some people think—for we will not be so wrapped up in things that are transient as to prefer them

to the comfort of our brothers; for why should we, my brothers, be keen to possess these things if they do not contribute to [p. 40] our service, as has been said? But we do this securing for ourselves reverence and orderliness in this also, that the laxity of the majority may not find an opportunity from this to ruin the whole orderliness of the table, and we become no better than those who are undisciplined and irreligious, who are indulgent, and entertain each other by drinking toasts and replying to toasts. Not only are we curbing the inclination of the will but furthermore we are rooting out the lack of self-control of the majority, and teaching them to be satisfied with a few necessities and thereby at the same time plaiting for you crowns for self-restraint. Also we are keeping you away from committing unintentionally a secret deed of darkness, not to say one of stealth.

23. Concerning the fact that there must be no eating in secret.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 403–16]: Well then, is not something done in secret a deed of darkness? This is of course very obvious and the divine gospel of John makes it clear as follows, “Everyone who does evil does not come to the light, lest his evil deeds should be exposed by the light” (John 3:20). The apostle also says, “Anything that is exposed is light” (Eph. 5:13), the statement showing that what is not exposed is complete darkness. So for what purpose do you reject the deed of light and do the deed of darkness, my brother? “I am ashamed to ask,” he says. So while you do the opposite and something which God hates you are not ashamed and you hesitate about what is good. Do not, I beg you. However I know that many do this, trampling their consciences underfoot, and think that they are not noticed, which touches me to the depths of my heart, and I do not cease from weeping over them because they neither realize that they are in that evil plight, alas, nor acknowledge their passion. May the Lord have pity on them and guide them for their good as he manages all things for our good.

Since I have been reminded of this, come, I will explain to you briefly how you must conquer the wickedness of this demon, who does not allow us to follow the way of truth in purity. I heard some of you wrongly interpreting what was rightly said in divine Scripture, “It is [more] blessed to give than to receive” (Acts 20:35), and distorting it for your own deception and with a deceitful desire for covetousness misrepresenting the meaning of the statement and the teaching of the Lord, which says, “If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me” (Matt. 19:21). They judge that it is more blessed to exercise control over one’s wealth and give to those in need from the abundance of this than to live in poverty. [p. 41]

24. Concerning the fact that exercising control over one’s own wealth for almsgiving must not be considered better than a life of poverty.

So then such people should be known as those who have not yet renounced the world, nor reached monastic perfection, in so far as they are ashamed to accept glorious poverty along with the apostle on behalf of Christ, and by the work of their hands serve each other and those in need. But if they really desire to fulfill the monastic way of life and be glorified with the apostle, after scattering their old wealth, let them fight the good fight with Paul “in hunger and thirst and cold

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and exposure” (I Tim. 6:12; II Cor. 11:27). For if the possession of old wealth had been more necessary for perfection, the same apostle would not have despised his first rank, for he says that he is distinguished and a Roman citizen (cf. Acts 21:39; 22:27–28). Also those in Jerusalem, who sold their houses and lands and placed [the money] at the feet of the apostles (cf. Acts 4:34), would not have done that if they knew it had not been decided by the apostles that people should be fed by their own money and not by their own toil and the almsgiving of gentiles.

The aforementioned Paul explains these matters more clearly in the things he wrote to the Romans, when he says the following, “At present, however, I am going to Jerusalem to aid the saints; for Macedonia and Achaia have been pleased to make some contribution for the poor among the saints at Jerusalem; they were pleased to do it, and indeed they are in debt to them” (Rom. 15:25–27). Also, when he himself was often afflicted with bonds and imprisonments and the effort of his journeying, and was hindered as a result of this, as it seems, from providing for himself by his own hands, he explains that he received these necessities from the brethren who came to him from Macedonia, as he says, “For my needs were supplied by the brethren who came from Macedonia” (II Cor. 11:9). When writing to the Philippians he says this, “For you know, Philippians, that when I left Macedonia no church entered into partnership with me in giving and receiving except you only; for even in Thessalonica you sent me help once and again for my need” (Phil. 4:15–16).

So then according to the opinion of the covetous, these people should be more blessed than the apostles, since they supplied his needs from their own substance; but no one will be so utterly foolish as to dare to say this. So then, if we wish to follow the commandment of the gospel and of the apostle and of that whole church founded in the beginning on the apostles, let us not obey our own thoughts nor distort what has been well said, but throwing away the lukewarm and untrustworthy [p. 42] opinion, let us accept the exact sense of the gospel. For in that way we will be able to follow in the footsteps of the fathers and never stray from a knowledge of community life and truly renounce this world.

It is right to mention some holy fathers at this point in the discourse. The following remark is reported of our holy father Basil to some senator who had renounced the world in a lukewarm fashion and withheld some of his own money, “Though you have destroyed the senator you have not made a monk.”<sup>45</sup> So then we need to cut out of our souls with all zeal the root of all evil, which is the love of money, knowing for certain that if the root remains the branches grow readily, and that is difficult for those who do not live in a community to achieve that virtue. For in it we are free from anxiety even concerning necessary needs themselves. So keeping before our eyes the condemnation of Ananias and Sapphira, let us shudder to leave behind any of our old wealth for ourselves (Acts 5:1–5). Similarly let us fear the example of Gehazi, who through his love of money was handed over to everlasting leprosy (II Kings 5:20–27), and let us be on our guard against gathering up money for ourselves, which often we did not have even in the world, taking into consideration as well Judas’ death by hanging (Matt. 27:5). So let us fear something which we despised when we were renouncing the world. In all these things let us keep before our eyes the uncertainty of death, lest Our Lord should come one day at a time when we do not expect him, and find our consciences stained by the love of money, and say to us the words that were said in the gospel to the rich man, “Your soul is taken from you; and the things you have prepared, whose will they be?” (Luke 12:20)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 418–29]: **We must now return to the point from which we digressed. So after you have eaten and said the customary grace and risen, you should sing the specified office with the prayer and then go away to your own cells. At supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty as he who was late at lunch time, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. However, the one who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame. Then when you are at supper, bread will be set before you and that in small quantities; but if there are some small fruits, you should gratefully partake of these also by the decision of the superior. Drink, moreover, will be distributed to you with the larger wine measure as is prescribed. But if a feast happens to be celebrated by one of the brothers, with the knowledge of the superior this regulation should not be observed at supper, but you should act in whatever way the one celebrating the feast wishes.** [p. 43]

25. Concerning the fact that they must not spend time or talk with chance people in an unguarded way.

It is good and very useful for you to know this, just as we have learnt it from the saints and experience itself has taught us, that you should not pass time with any people in an unguarded way nor sit with them at your meals, neither inside nor outside the monastery, wherever you happen to be. The wise and great Basil bears witness to my words and this teaching by saying the following, **“It is fitting that you should neither confide in any people nor disclose things nor reveal them in an unguarded way. For the man who lives in accordance with God has many enemies lying in wait for him and often [they are] the closest observers of his life.**

So then it is fitting not to have untested meetings with people from outside. For if the Savior, as the gospel says, did not trust himself to everyone (cf. John 2:24)—for the Just One himself [the gospel says], he who is complete virtue—how will we sinners, who easily slip, who are not always guided by the aim, partly because of physical weakness and partly because of the one who wrestles wickedly and unceasingly against us, not bring upon ourselves wicked slanders and set up for ourselves occasions for sin, if we entrust ourselves to inquisitive people? For often wicked people attempt to slander what is being carried out well and they refuse to leave even the smallest of faults unreviled.

So then it is necessary that conversations with people from outside should be guarded against. For a different emotion comes over them through inexperience of the thoughts of those who have retreated from life. For they suppose that the mind of those who have changed their way of life was not changed, but their human nature has been changed. They do not discern that those who practice the religious life live with the same passions but control them through the power of their soul and the fact that they have cut themselves off from pleasures, but they think that the natural passions of their bodies have been completely removed. As a result, if the spiritual man fails in what is good even by a small amount, at once all those former most ardent supporters and admirers become bitter accusers and they prove that they did not confer true praise even previously. For just as when some athlete has slipped, at once his opponent rises up against him striking him down, so they, whenever they see the one who is living by the practice of virtue has failed a little in goodness, they attack him with

abuse and slanders as if they were striking him with arrows, not thinking that they themselves are wounded each day by the countless darts of their passions, but the champions of piety, although they are besieged by the same passions, are often injured by them to little or no extent, and that too [p. 44] though they accept a more vehement opponent than they do, since they agreed to fight against him and it is a great thing for the Wicked One to gain a victory against them; but on the contrary his defeat has given him a mortal wound, so completely has he been defeated by all kinds of virtue. But the war is scorned [by him] in the case of those who have dedicated themselves to this life, partly because most of them spontaneously run to their defeat, enticed into sin by various pleasures and desires and providing him with an effortless victory against them, and partly because though they seem to be putting up a small resistance to the various temptations to sin, they are easily distracted from the struggle, and turning their backs and being struck unceasingly they bear many disgraceful marks of their defeat.

If some people somewhere, being compelled to face the forceful temptations of this world, have plunged into the war against evil, yet not even these people have endured such struggles as those endured by people practicing the religious life, but ones to a great and infinite degree inferior. For the one is eager to have control over his own property and ambitiously strives to settle the disputes concerning the things of this life; but the other yields even what is rightfully his own to those who dispute it, fulfilling the command, 'Of him who takes away your goods do not ask them again' (Luke 6:30). The one when struck has struck back and when wronged has done wrong in return, and in that way supposes that he has equality; but the other endures until he grants his fill to the one wronging and striking him. The one is eager to gain control over all bodily pleasures; but the other lives with his fill of pleasures. So how could the man of this world be considered a combatant when compared with the man practicing the religious life?

Consider another thing also which those who devote themselves to this present life customarily experience whenever they examine the life of those practicing the religious life; for whenever the man practicing the religious life thinks it right to support his body with food after a long period of hunger, either they do not wish him to partake of food or just the smallest amount, as if he were something spiritual and immaterial. Whenever they see the man who practices the religious life not disregarding his body in every way but supplying his existing need for something, they abuse and slander [ascetic men], calling them well-fed and greedy people, extending their insults and abuse of one man to all, not considering that they themselves twice a day, and some of them three times, feed on the grossest and richest of food, filling themselves with an infinite amount of meat and pouring for themselves a boundless amount of wine, and even so they gape at their tables like dogs released from confinement after a long period of hunger. But those who truly practice the religious life use the driest of food having in its weakness little nourishment and [eat] once during the whole day. They know how to live in an orderly way, feeding themselves with moderation and understanding, and they supply the need of their bodies at the time for food in a reasonable manner with a confident conscience.

For this reason it is [p. 45] fitting that our freedom should not be judged by someone

else's conscience. For 'if we partake with thankfulness, why should we be denounced because of that for which we give thanks,' (I Cor. 10:30–31) for choosing hunger and inferior food with such gladness as they do not even have for the very sumptuous and varied provision of their luxurious table?"<sup>46</sup> So much concerning not spending time with lay people. Let us speak now about the condition of the refectory.

26. Concerning good order in the refectory.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 430–36]: **The disciplinary official should go in during the second sitting and, if there are some who should have eaten at the first but missed it, he should enquire the reason for their absence. If their excuse is reasonable, they are excused, but if it is unreasonable, we instruct him not to allow them to eat. For to be late for meals for no reasonable cause is not something to be approved of, and therefore this practice must always be punished and discouraged as much as possible. This is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year, but not the procedure during the holy fast days.**

27. That on Monday of the first week they should not take any care at all with their table.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 437–42]: **Especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day, that is Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the subsequent days of the same week after the conclusion of the whole liturgy, attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food.**

28. Concerning how they must regulate their diet during Lent.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 442–502]: **This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water seasoned with cumin.** But those who are engaged in the struggle, fast either until Wednesday or even Friday as each one has the strength. For this medicine greatly benefits sinners like me. This applies until Saturday, but **on this day you should eat two dishes of food cooked with olive oil, and drink a better wine distributed in the larger measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore,**<sup>47</sup> **which the superior must celebrate as a duty and give you refreshment. But if someone else of you wishes to celebrate this feast, we give him permission to feed the brotherhood with some shellfish on the Saturday, but we will not eat fish. You should carry out the first week of the great and holy fast of Lent in that way.** [p. 46]

**On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, but only one not both of them will have olive oil; and wine will be measured out with the smaller measure, that is half of the larger one.**

This is because of your weakness and the toil you have both in the church and from your manual tasks, since the fiftieth canon of the Council at Laodicea in its own very words says this, "That in Lent they must not break the fast on the Thursday of the last week and dishonor the whole

of Lent, but must fast for the whole of Lent by eating dry food.”<sup>48</sup> Blessed is that one of you who will be eager to fulfill this canon; for he will have born fruit a hundredfold and be shown to be one who fulfills the commands of God. Let the man who wishes to, fast like that, not hindered by anyone, having the blessing of me, the sinner, as his helper.

**Then on the rest of the days, I mean Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and hot water flavored with cumin. But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints<sup>49</sup> should happen to fall on one of these days, then you should celebrate it and have as a refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the larger measure and gruel. But on all the other days of the holy fast you are not allowed to eat fish at all, not even if perhaps some refreshment is sent you by someone. If, however, the person who is providing you with the refreshment should come himself to eat with you, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat. On Saturday and Sunday we eat shellfish, but not on other days.**

**When the feast of the Annunciation falls,<sup>50</sup> you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. Furthermore on the next day (if it is not a Monday or Wednesday or Friday) you should eat anything left from the table of the previous day, and in the same way drink the wine. If no fish has been left, then you will have two dishes with olive oil. The procedure of the feast should be carried out as for days free from fasting. We will eat fish during this holy [p. 47] feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time we will use shellfish, rather we will receive a refreshment because of the feast, because it is fitting that we should pass the whole of that holy week in the same way as the days of the first week, content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavored with cumin.** Those who are able fast completely. **If the aforementioned holy feast should fall on those days, we shall not partake of fish but of shellfish, as we said, and we shall drink wine of the larger measure, and we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday.** However, on Good Friday those who are able should not eat at all,<sup>51</sup> and likewise on Holy Saturday, even if the commemoration of the Mother of God should occur. **But all anxiety that produces distraction in us must be avoided, and there should only be a collation, as is customary, in the holy church after the holy communion, at the sixth hour of the night on Holy Saturday.** For that is the hour which the holy fathers have handed down to us.

For there is a canon of the sixth Ecumenical Council, the eighty-ninth, which says this, “The faithful must spend the days of the Savior’s passion in fasting and prayers and heart-searching, and break their fast about the middle hour of the night on holy Saturday, as the divine writers of the gospels, Matthew and Luke, assure us that it is late in the night, the one with the phrase ‘after the Sabbath’ (Matt. 28:1) and the other with the phrase ‘at early dawn’” (Luke 24:1).<sup>52</sup> That is the way the holy Ecumenical Council and the other holy councils and other different fathers have spoken about this matter.

One of these is Dionysios the archbishop of Alexandria of blessed memory. For he, when

## TWELFTH CENTURY

writing to Basileides his beloved brother and fellow minister explains to him about when he should break his fast, since Basileides was inquiring about the exact time, and among other things he says the following, “This being so, we reveal this to those who are making precise enquiries as to what hour or even what half hour or quarter hour it is fitting to begin rejoicing for the resurrection of Our Lord. We censure as neglectful and lacking self-control those who are too hasty and cease before the night is already halfway through, bringing the race to an end a little too soon, for a wise man says ‘The least thing is not little in life.’<sup>53</sup> We will commend as noble and conscientious those who wait until later, continuing for a very long time and persevering until the fourth watch, at which [p. 48] time Our Savior appeared walking on the sea to those who were sailing. (Matt. 14:25) We are not very troubled by those who ceased at an intermediate time as they were impelled or lost their strength. Since all perhaps do not endure the six days of the fast equally, but some continuing without food go beyond all the days, others [fast for] two days, others three days, others four days, others none, a too-hasty tasting of food is pardonable in the case of those who have toiled very much prolonging the fast and then are very weary and almost fainting. But if there are some who far from prolonging the fast did not even fast at all, but fared sumptuously for the four preceding days, then when they come to the final two days, the Friday and the Saturday, and try to go beyond these, only think that they achieve something great and glorious if they continue until dawn. I do not think that they have engaged in the same struggle as those who have competed for the greater number or days.”<sup>54</sup> That is what Dionysios says.

The holy apostles in the *Constitutions* prescribe that fasting should last until cockcrow. For among other things they also say this, “Observe the feast days of Our Lord, firstly his birth and after it his epiphany, then the fast of Lent which includes a commemoration of Our Lord’s way of life and lawgiving. This fast should be completed before the fast of Easter. It begins on Monday and is completed on Friday [of the first week of Lent]. After you have finished this fast, you begin fasting [again] during the Holy Week before Easter, fasting for the Jews who are lost. For thus Our Lord exhorted us to fast for these six days because of the Jews’ lawbreaking, commanding them to mourn for their destruction; for he himself wept for them. Fast during the days [before] Easter beginning from Monday for six days until Saturday, using only bread and vegetables and water; for they are days of grief and not a feast. Fast also on Saturday itself, not because we must fast on Saturday since there was [on that day] a rest from creation, but because we ought to fast since on that day the creator is still under ground. For they detained Our Lord during their own feast, so that the statement might be fulfilled, ‘Their signs were set up in the middle of their feast and they did not recognize them’ (cf. Ps. 73 [74]:4–5). Moreover, fast for the whole of Friday and Saturday until cockcrow. But if someone is not able to observe both of the two days, he should just observe the Saturday. For the Lord also speaks about this, ‘Whenever the bridegroom is taken away [p. 49] from them, then they will fast in those days’ (Luke 5:35). Therefore, on those days he was taken away from us by the lawless Jews and nailed on the cross; wherefore we exhort you to fast during those days, as we fast. On the remaining days before Friday each person should eat in the evening or in whatever way he can from Monday [through Saturday] until cockcrow, breaking the fast as the first hour of the Sabbath dawns, which is Sunday, keeping a vigil and praying and reading the law and the prophets and the psalms until the cockcrow. When you have ceased from your grief, beg God that Israel may be converted and receive him, the means of repentance and forgiveness

### 30. PHOBEROS

for their ungodliness. For Pilate when he had washed his hands said, 'I am innocent of this righteous man's blood; see to it yourselves.' Israel shouted, 'His blood be on us and on our children' (Matt. 27:24–25), and 'We have no king but Caesar' (John 19:15). When the Lord has risen, offer your sacrifice, about which he gave you an instruction through us saying, 'Do this in remembrance of me' (Luke 22:19). Then break your fast, happily celebrating the feast, because the pledge of our resurrection, Jesus Christ, has risen from the dead. This is for you an everlasting ordinance until the consummation, until the Lord comes."<sup>55</sup>

Again, counting from the first Sunday, celebrate the feast of the Resurrection of the Lord for forty days, and ten days after the [feast of the] Ascension, on the sixth [Sunday] after the first Sunday is the [feast of] Pentecost, which should be a great feast for you, for on it at the third hour the Lord sent to us the gift of his Holy Spirit.<sup>56</sup> After you have celebrated the feast of Pentecost, keep the feast for a week, and after that, fast. For it is right that you should be glad at the gift from God and that you should fast after the refreshment. For both Moses and Elijah fasted for forty days<sup>57</sup> and for three weeks Daniel "ate no pleasant bread, and no flesh or wine entered into my mouth" (cf. Dan. 10:2–3). After that fast, we instruct you to fast on every Wednesday and Friday and to distribute your surplus [food] to the poor, as has been said.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 503–5]: **In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles will be laid down immediately next.**

29. Concerning the fast of the Holy Apostles.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 509–17]: **After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the refectory [p. 50] at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, and there you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil on Tuesday and Thursday and drink wine of the larger measure at the midday meal. However, we will not eat fish provided by the monastery; but if some were to come as a refreshment, then we should partake of it gratefully, for it is not right to forbid this during these two lesser fasts.**

30. Concerning the fast of the Holy Nativity.<sup>58</sup>

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 518–25]: **The fast of the Holy Nativity will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion of course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*. It will differ from it in these two points only—in not performing the divine liturgy each day during the period of the fast, for the day being short does not provide enough time, and in eating once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast on Monday and Wednesday and Friday, when we sing "Alleluia."**

31. Concerning the fast of the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God.

In the same way we must also speak about the fast of the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God, because we have received [the regulation] that this fast should last from the beginning of August until the very day of the holy Mother of God,<sup>59</sup> with neither cheese nor eggs nor fish being

eaten, from the *Tome of Union*<sup>60</sup> in its rebuke of the three-times married, and similarly also from the discourse of John the Metropolitan of Nicaea against the Armenians.<sup>61</sup> For he counts up all the fasts and this one is included with the other fasts that were handed down by the holy fathers. However you, during this fast, break the fast on Saturdays and Sundays because of your weakness [but] only with fish. So these rules should be kept in this way.

32. That all the feasts of [St. John] the Holy Forerunner must be celebrated in a splendid manner, but [that for] his beheading more splendidly.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [11], ed. lines 528–35]: So **all the divine patronal feasts** of our patron, John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, **should be celebrated by you in a manner** which surpasses the others, **in the lighting of lamps, I mean, and the singing of psalms and in your own meals.** But the feast of his death, which we in fact call his beheading, **should be celebrated by you in a splendid and sumptuous manner. For it will be the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals, during which we order a distribution to be made at the gate of as much as we are able, and may our hand be generous.** But not only do I give my beloved brothers this instruction, but also [order] the whole brotherhood during [p. 51] this feast to sing the psalm “Blameless” [(Ps. 118 [119]) with heads uncovered, holding lighted candles with great care and in the fear of God, as if [St. John] the glorious Forerunner and baptizer of Our Savior were present with you himself as you give him glory and praise. I exhort you to sing the liturgy of this feast until the fifth of September.

33. Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be under its own control.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 538–57]: **We instruct all in the name of Our Lord God the Ruler of All that this holy monastery is to be independent, free of everyone’s control, and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person, but it should be watched over, steered, governed and directed only by John, the all-holy Forerunner and Baptist, by the prayer of our most blessed and holy father, and by the one acting as superior in it. If anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over this monastery or place it under someone’s power, whether he be an emperor or a patriarch or some other member of the clergy or of the senate or even the superior of this monastery himself or its steward or simply one of its brothers, prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and to St. John, his baptizer and our patron, but also “Let him be accursed” (Gal. 1.8) as the Holy Apostle says, and let him inherit the curse of the 318 holy inspired fathers and share the lot of the traitor Judas and be counted with those who shouted “away with him, away with him, crucify him” (John 19:15), and “his blood be on us and our children” (Matt. 27:25), because** the various *charistikarioi* reduced to nothing the monastery which was once great and famous and admired, for as many as 170 monks, as we have learned from those who know accurately and were practicing the religious life here at that time.

From among these came two patriarchs at different times, Menas and Eutychios,<sup>62</sup> and many other luminaries blazed out from their number here, whose honored relics have been pouring forth healing of all kinds to this day. For this monastery was built at the time of Leo [I (457–474)] the

great emperor, the father-in-law of Zeno [(474–491)] and Anastasios [I (491–518)]. But you, maintain strictly just the commemoration of the patriarch at the time and the *sphragis* [by him] of the superior, as the memorandum by the famous and holy patriarch lord Nicholas<sup>63</sup> on our independence describes. [p. 52]

34. Concerning the installation of the officials.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 572–74]: **It will be useful now to mention the installation of officials, of which the most important will always be the most important, I mean that of the superior.** But a description of how he should be installed is necessary.

35. Concerning the appointment of the superior.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 605–10, 624–31]: **After I have completed this mortal life, the one who is left by me as superior should consult with a few of you, those, that is, who always surpass the others in their conduct, manners, intellect, character, discipline, and their spiritual state and way of life, and he should choose the one who surpasses everyone in all these points and install him as steward; and he should install him in the following way.**

**If this steward carries out his office faultlessly, proving to be reliable in the sight of God and you, and being judged by you as fitting for the office of superior, should the superior know in advance of his own departure from here to the Lord, he should appoint him to leadership over you, since his faultless actions as steward have already been enough to act as a test and selection and, as has been mentioned before, his mode of life has been spiritual in every way. But if the superior should die without knowing in advance, then you, that is those who are preeminent and the most devout, will install this man. Then again he and you should choose the one who surpasses you all in virtue and appoint him as steward.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–87, 694–707]: **So if the steward continues unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his office but remain firm. Furthermore, he will rise to the office of superior since he is worthy of it. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, then another person should be found, someone who abounds in all goodness and is superior to him in virtue and is unimpeachable. He will be preferred to the other in every way and will be promoted to the office of steward and even that of superior; the other will be removed and made subordinate again.**

**That applies then while the superior is alive and is peacefully guiding your devotion. But should the superior suddenly die and has not removed this bad steward, if there is someone who surpasses him in good qualities and is pleasing to you preeminent ones, whom we have told the superior to use as advisers, and if you agree on him and are all unanimous, then he should be selected by you and immediately raised to the office of superior, and with him you should take thought about another better steward. But if, something I pray God does not [p. 53] allow, you yourselves resort to strife and discord, the bad steward himself will become your superior to avoid uproar and dissension. For when two evils lie before us then the less bad one is preferable. If he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways that were clear to all, and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him**

stay and be your superior even if he is not completely satisfactory. But should this same man still not give up his evil ways but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed on one man, someone clearly better, then we instruct you to remove that worthless man from leadership over you and raise the one you have selected to the position of superior.

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

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [15], ed. lines 737–49]: **I plainly instruct you all, my brothers, that as soon as your superior has been appointed, you should take him to the most holy patriarch and he is to receive from him the *sphragis* as has been said.<sup>64</sup> Then you should hurry to confide to him all the stirrings of your souls and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that have been confessed to preceding superiors but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible that we, being human, should not think something wicked at some time. Do not put off something that is good, a thing you should not do, but run to it with all eagerness and speed, so that you all may be “one” (John 17:21) “being of the same mind” (Phil. 2:2), thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and “fitted together into one body under one head” (cf. Eph. 4:16), as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder.**

36. Concerning the fact that the monks in the monastery must not make their confession to anyone else except their own superior.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [15], ed. lines 749–60]: **But if there should be someone who is obdurate and implacable, stubborn and obstinate, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his superior but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father [p. 54] and would endeavor to confide his thoughts to him, he should be put out far away from our flock. He should be chased out at once, receiving neither mercy nor pity but as someone who removes himself by his own evil—O eyes of God “that behold all things” (cf. Sir. 15:19)—evil and very dangerous decisions, he should be utterly rejected from the monastery and removed and counted a stranger to our group and community, our way of life and fellowship, as being the cause of dissension and discord and all other kinds of instability, disorder, and serious harm. That man should be treated thus.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 763–65, 770–71, 772–77]: **You, that I may turn my attention on you again, should reserve, I beg you, for your superior all honor, all affection, all reverence and unwavering submission, and all obedience** obeying the holy apostle when he says, “Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God. Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment. For rulers are not a

terror to good conduct, but to bad. Would you have no fear of him who is in authority? Then do what is good, and you will receive his approval, for his is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain. He is the servant of God to exercise his wrath on the wrongdoer. Therefore, one must be subject, not only to avoid God's wrath, but also for the sake of conscience" (Rom. 13:1–6). Again he says, "But we beseech you, brethren, to respect those who labor among you and are over you in the Lord and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love because of their work" (I Thess. 5:12–13). Again, the same writer says, **"Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account"** (Heb. 13:17).

Do you hear, brothers, how those who are over you are obliged to render account to God for each one of you? Therefore, wholeheartedly and with all eagerness show your obedience to them and you will have a good defense at the fearful judgment seat of Christ. **Also maintain love, peace, and harmony in your dealings with one another, burn with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, "instructing, comforting, and forbearing one another"** (Rom. 15:14), and, to put it simply, **exerting yourselves strongly to establish whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation.**

"Rejoice in the Lord, rejoice. Let all men know your forbearance. The Lord is at hand. Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God, and the peace of God which passes all understanding will keep your hearts in Christ [p. 55] Jesus. Finally, brethren, whatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things. What you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do; and the God of peace will be with you" (Phil. 4.4–9).

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a spiritual affection for them. I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forebear with them all, support them instructing, comforting, teaching, advising, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving "seventy times seven" (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that you, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss perhaps in what you ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness you be condemned as heartless and haters of your brothers. Also, to omit the rest, the great Basil says, "And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether spiritually or physically."**<sup>65</sup>

I give you this instruction also, spiritual father, to go into the refectory each day and for the cellarer to set out the food of the brothers in your presence, and you should observe carefully what is set out for the brothers and look after those of the brothers who are weak as if they were a limb of your own that is hard to cure. When you do this, you will realize the reason for this instruction, for it is very necessary and beneficial.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 800–814]: **If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp unworthily the office of superior or steward, making a display perhaps of his**

seniority or his sphere of work or his noble birth or rank or his offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in these offices who has been selected by all of you who have been chosen to consider and advise the superior, and by the superior himself, even if he has been recently tonsured, or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things. For not one bit of harm will come to the monastery through this. For “God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham” (Matt. 3:9) and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power and [p. 56] wealth and nobility. As a witness of this the truly divine and great apostle St. Paul clearly expresses it in the following words, “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are” (I Cor. 1:27–28).

37. Concerning the fact that the superior must not be questioned by the monks about the income or expenditure of the monastery.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [18], ed. lines 823–28]: **The brothers will not question their superiors, nor yet will they ever demand from them an account of the things for which they take in and pay out money. For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability, and every other cause for sin. But neither will the superiors themselves spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for their own relations and friends. For by acting in that way they will not be taking part in the divine mysteries “in the Holy Spirit” (Rom. 9:1), until they refrain from such an action.**

38. Concerning the fact that everything that has been dedicated to the monastery is to be inalienable.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [19], ed. lines 841–60]: **We wish the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, the holy icons and books acquired by us to be inalienable—for it is unnecessary to speak about the immovable property—and not only inalienable but also completely safe from theft and removal by anyone at all, because they were dedicated as offerings to John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist. For neither you nor any other sensible person could define any reasonable excuse for removing these objects or handing them over, except a calamity resulting from a chance occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire or a raid by some enemies who have perhaps burnt down the monastery or destroyed it to the foundations again as before or even a destruction caused by an earthquake, and then because a great deal of expense is needed to save it or even to rebuild it. For then they will be removed or handed over with good reason. They will be removed if perhaps there is not sufficient money to save what should be saved. This is not all, but it should not be done secretly or by one man and without reference to anyone, but openly and publicly when the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the other preeminent officials have gathered together for this purpose, and the removal of what is necessary should be done in the presence of all these people by the one who is managing the income and the expenditure at the time, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone.**

39. Concerning the fact that there must be no idle chatter.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 877–88]: **If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse themselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to obscene talk—for “By a multitude of words,” he says, “thou shalt not [p. 57] escape sin” (Prov. 10:19)—they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this very thing in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul or be silent. “For,” the author of the Book of Proverbs says, “if thou refrain thy lips thou wilt be prudent” (Prov. 10:19). Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured by the same method. For these people especially must take care to guard their mind at that time, knowing how easy it is of course for the adversary [the devil] to attack them and make them fall, which I pray may not happen, seeing that they are separated from their sheepfold, flock, and shepherd.**

40. Concerning the fact that they should not spar with each other verbally.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 888–96]: **Furthermore they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 (51):17), he will be punished. For we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of something that provokes quarrels, learn to say “Bless and forgive me, brother.” Those who form idle gatherings and visit people’s cells with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, when they are admonished and do not desist from their evil behavior, they will be punished.**

41. Concerning the fact that no one should possess anything in contravention of the rule of the monastery, and should not eat in secret or receive messages from anybody.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [22] ]: **Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an obol or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. Similar to them is the person who eats and drinks in secret, unless he confesses, and the person who receives messages from friends and relatives, and replies to them. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not make amends will be expelled completely.**

42. Concerning the number of the monks.

[ cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23], ed. lines 908, 911–15]: **This also should be added to what has been said.** I wish your number to be up to twelve who are educated in accordance with the description in our report, both because to live with a few good people is good and beneficial for souls which are striving and because poverty is more easily achieved among a few educated people than among the uneducated majority who do not fear the Lord “but serve their own appetites” (Rom. 16:18). But if the Lord will wish for this monastery to be enlarged, you will number as many as you have sufficient food for, and as many of you as promote the strict observance of this rule, and as many

of you as think that love, reverence, and [p. 58] harmony should be preferred to everything else, and **obey your superiors “in all patience” (II Cor. 12:12) and lowliness of heart, and are keen to carry out their instructions devoutly. The rest should be sent away, even if you have to be reduced to small numbers. For “one person doing the will of the Lord is better than ten thousand transgressors” (cf. Sir. 16:3).**

43. Concerning the fact that they should not have servants.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [24] ]: **It will not be possible for you to have servants, but it is very good and beneficial in many ways that in the cells there should be three of you, being of one and the same mind. For it is harmful for novices to be only one in a cell, whereas it is helpful that in the cells there should be three of you, being of one and the same mind and united by the law of spiritual love, really living together as brothers in harmony, bearing the same yoke of the Lord wholeheartedly, being subservient to one another in peace, proper care and reverence.**

**But even in this matter also, it is necessary to make specific distinctions, namely, that the novice should defer to the one who is more advanced, the more unlearned to the more educated, the more uncouth to the more sophisticated, and the younger to the older. But if the superior should decide that some should be alone in their cells, he himself may sanction the arrangement.**

44. Concerning the fact that the cells of the monks should not be locked.

Keys should never be hung in your cells, for this is not fitting in the case of monks. For the things that are locked up are all secret and their owner does not wish them to be revealed. But all your possessions are in common and are open, and therefore there will be no need among you for the use of keys. It should be recognized by everyone that the person who does this is a thief and does not wish what is hidden by him to be revealed and for this reason he uses a lock. This [instruction] should be observed among you for the Lord’s sake, and if you live like that, none of you will be overpowered by this passion.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [25] ]: **We prescribe that garments be bought and deposited in the storehouse so that when you need them you may receive them; and it is good to take care of your old garments as much as you can and use them. For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and vests and shoes, and in short, all necessities. So whenever anyone has a pressing need to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the superior. For otherwise, if you do not bring the old garments, we order that you be not given any. [p. 59]**

45. Concerning the fact that everyone should have the same food and drink and clothing.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [26] ]: **In addition to these we give you this instruction before God and our patron himself, the venerable Forerunner, that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same—I mean the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, those**

who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life, and those who are inferior to them in these matters. For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [27] ]: **The superior must do this also, that is, he should enter your cells once a month whenever he wishes, and if any have extra items, he should take them away and deposit them in the storehouse or give them to those in need.**

46. Concerning the fact that they must not bathe.

[ cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28] ]: **You should live completely without bathing,** and the sick only must be comforted in this way.

47. Concerning how the officials must be installed.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [29] ]: **The installation of officials must take place in the manner of the steward's installation, that is, the keys should be placed before Christ or [St. John] the venerable Forerunner, and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands, then bow his head to the superior, and receive from him the blessing in the following words, "The favor of John, the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, through the prayers of the holy fathers appoints you steward" or this or that. However for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon and the *sphragis* of the superior will be sufficient for the installation.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [30] ]: **It is fitting therefore that there should be three treasurers, of whom one should look after the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths and in short anything that is important, and he should be called the sacristan, the second should keep the money for expenditure, and the other one should distribute to the brothers necessities from the storehouse, I mean clothing and footwear etc., and see to the comfort of visiting brothers in their bedrooms as far as he is able. The common table of course will minister to their need for food to meet the occasion and the person.**

48. Concerning the fact that there must be a disciplinary official in the monastery.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [31] ]: **It is necessary that there should be [p. 60] a disciplinary official observing the brothers both as they enter the church for the singing of psalms and as they gather for meals, and in the same way at every hour correcting any who sit down together without good reason and chatter idly or do nothing or do something improper and foolish, persuading them to go to their cells and devote themselves to prayer and handiwork.**

Furthermore, there should also be a refectorian, attending to whatever the cellarer supplies him with, and going round the refectory at meal times reminding those brothers who are noisy perhaps or are whispering of the need for silence and that each of them should be reciting the fiftieth psalm in his mind. Also he should question visitors and sit them down at the table in a fitting position, and he should observe the entry of the brothers into the refectory and note which of them was absent during grace and which during the meal and report

these to the superior. For he who does not do this will be punished as one who is not carrying out his office wholeheartedly.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [32] ]: Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to our Lord Jesus Christ and his all-pure mother and to our lord, John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, from whom in fact he received his keys, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [33] ]: So I entreat the cellarers, the bakers, the cooks, those who look after the mules, those responsible for the dependencies, those acting as stewards in the monastery's properties, those sent to the City [of Constantinople], those going away elsewhere on the instruction of the superior or the steward, in short all those carrying out offices, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who says, "I came not to be served but to serve and to give my life as a ransom for many" (Matt. 20:28). [p. 61]

You see, my brothers, what work you perform? You see whom you imitate? You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love? Why then do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the service? Do you not think that you "are laying down your lives" (John 10:11, 15) for many like my Master, Christ, so that of course you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like the Heavenly Father (cf. Matt. 5:48). So why do you give up the treasure house and culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing, when thus having reached the summit easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? "We are afraid," they say, "because of our failure to carry out the rule;" but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to your failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you, attending to your

**offices wholeheartedly and eagerly. Those with offices who have been sufficiently advised by this will be devoted to their office and will carry it out well.**

49. Concerning the sort of people who must be sent out to the properties of the monastery.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [34], ed. lines 1063–67]: **Since then as a consequence of our weakness the emperor who long ago built this monastery also gained possession of some pieces of immovable property, some small worthless pieces of which are still left since many of them have previously been snatched away by different people, the superior must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them, that is they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions because of the attacks of Belial (II Cor. 6:15).**

50. Concerning the dead.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [34], ed. lines 1068–69]: **Since we have now dealt in a fitting manner and at sufficient length about matters that concern the monastery, we will discuss therefore our fathers and brothers who have died. [ = (22) *Evergetis* [35] ]: It is fitting that we should celebrate with a feast the remembrance of our thrice-blessed and glorious father and founder Lord John<sup>66</sup> in a [p. 62] splendid manner and with the chanting of psalms all night. This falls on the 16th of December, and it will of course be celebrated without delay on that very day on which it falls, unless it is a Sunday.** The sequence of psalms that will be sung will be that which you will find drawn up in the paper book.

In the same way [we will celebrate] the commemoration for the all-holy lord Luke, who was metropolitan of Mesembria and superior of this monastery, my holy father and sponsor.<sup>67</sup> If you wish to learn of the reward of his spiritual labor, endurance, humility, and infinite tears, approach his honored and holy relic in your sickness, and anointing yourselves with the oil from his lamp, you will realize the sweet fragrance and grace of healing which was given to him by God.

**Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance and have specified that they should be remembered by you, namely, those for *sebastos* lord Nikephoros Botaneiates<sup>68</sup> of blessed memory, who was son-in-law of the glorious lord Isaac *Sebastokrator*,<sup>69</sup> and when he put on the divine and angelic habit, changed his name to Neophytos. Similarly, those for *sebeste* lady Eudokia Komnene,<sup>70</sup> his wife, and their children, that is, their son and our fellow-brother the monk Ioannikios.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, the commemoration for the holy *despoina* Lady Maria.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, that for the most holy and ecumenical patriarch lord Nicholas [Grammatikos]. Along with him the commemoration for our benefactor lord Leo, son of Hikanatos, and his wife Anna and their children. Along with them, that for our beloved brother the *chartouliarios* lord Constantine, the nephew of the [metropolitan] of Zikchia. In addition to these also the commemoration for [the grandparents] and parents of me, the sinner. Their names are these, Nikephoros and the nun Theodoule, Christophoros and my sanctified mother the nun Maria, so that along with me they may find pity on the fearful day of judgment.**

I instruct you in the Lord to carry out the commemorations of these people once a year, that is on the twenty-fourth of September. But then a second founder after God appeared for us, lady

Eudokia Komnene, *sebaste* among *sebastai* and nun among nuns, the daughter of the glorious *sebastokrator* lord Isaac, who changed her name to Xene and often bestowed many gifts and acts of kindness on us and our monastery.

Furthermore just now, that is in the month of October of the seventh indiction and the six thousand six hundred and fifty-second year [1144 A.D.], she had given us and our monastery gold *nomismata* of [Constantine IX] Monomachos bearing crosses, weighing four *litrai*, for the [p. 63] acquisition by purchase of some immovable property, and we agreed to carry out each year on the first of January a personal night office and liturgy on behalf of her husband of blessed memory, and in the same way to carry out a personal night office and liturgy on the second of June on behalf of her son of blessed memory, the monk lord Ioannikios, and furthermore, in the case of herself, while she is still alive, to carry out a night office of intercession and liturgy on the twenty-second of November, and after her death to carry out the same things on the date of her death. In addition to this, [we agreed] to carry out a night office and liturgy on the Thursday of Meatfare week on behalf of all those who died before them, always at our own expense, [that is], the expenditure of our monastery.

I exhort you, brothers, those of you alive now and those who will come after us, that as long as our monastery exists they observe these instructions in such a way that they do not fall into condemnation as a result of transgression.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [36] ]: [These things should be] **equally [done] for those brothers whose names were and will be inscribed on the diptychs. In addition, whenever one of our brothers has recently died, he should be remembered during each service, and I mean during matins and the liturgy and vespers, in *ekteneis* until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day an offering will be made on his behalf. In addition to this the ecclesiarch must note down the commemorations of those who die so that you may not forget them and may perform them without fail.**

**Yet on this matter I must prescribe something more practical: for as the numbers of brothers dying increases, it is possible that sometimes the commemorations for three or four or even more will fall in the same week and it is necessary always to carry out the commemoration for each brother during the night offices, which are an obligatory duty for you each day, and chant the canon for the deceased. So that this may not happen, we command that, if some of the brothers should prefer to go away and chant the funeral canon, while the rest carry out that laid down for the night office of intercession, that should be carried out and is acceptable to us and, I think, to God. But if perhaps because of winter or even illness, that I may not mention laziness, you would not want to do this, then you must observe all the commemorations that you know occur together in one and the same week, and carry them all out for all of the people at the same time during one night office, unless there is a commemoration for one of your former superiors. For his commemoration must be carried out on its own, since he will be rendering account on behalf of you all. In that way you are satisfying your obligation to commemorate your brothers and you are not failing in the canon. So in both the night offices, and in the liturgies on their behalf, it is fine that commemorations should take place [p. 64] at the same time during one service as long as offerings are made for each one, and they should be carried out either as the priest officiating that day wishes or rather as he is able.**

As regards the distributions at the gate on behalf of certain person, who as has been mentioned has left or will leave something worthy of remembrance to the monastery, on behalf of whom it has been or will be agreed that something be distributed for their commemoration, we urge that these be carried out generously.

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

51. Concerning how those who are tonsured must be tonsured.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1123–35]: **I must speak also about those who are tonsured. If they are distinguished people or of people known to us for a long time and have a close knowledge of our way of life**, when they have first read the procedure in this rule and have promised to observe everything drawn up in it without infringement, **they should be tonsured within the customary period of time, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted. But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival here they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for three years, then they should be enrolled among the brothers after being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the superior whether they should be accepted or not.**

52. Concerning not receiving any monks from another monastery.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1135–36]: **Furthermore**, you must take care that you do not in any circumstances **accept any monks** or unknown people **coming from a different [monastery]**, observing also in this the tradition of the holy canons. But if you disregard this, you will suffer much grief and from this action there will come to you great harm and punishment of both a spiritual and physical kind.

53 [A]. Concerning the fact that no entrance offerings or renunciation offerings should be demanded from those being tonsured.<sup>73</sup>

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1137–61]: **Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. For one must not [p. 65] traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money, lest shame and reproach is caused thereby to those among us who have been tonsured without payment, and lest that evil and accursed expression is introduced, that is, mine and yours and greater and smaller, and that the one who has made an offering is thought to be more important than the one who has not. May it not happen, may that not happen among you ever. But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something, it should be accepted; for that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God's recompense is to**

atone for his sins, and moreover that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and John our venerable patron, the Forerunner and Baptizer of God. For a renunciation and an entrance offering are one thing and a gift another, whether an act of almsgiving or an offering; for the former has within it the repayment of expectation and, like some necessity that has to be bought, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses.

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

Since we have mentioned parting and leaving caused by the devil, come now, let us say a few words to you, my beloved, about it, not words that come from our weak understanding, but those which our wise and great teacher spoke, Basil the revealer of heaven, in his own words as follows.<sup>74</sup>

53 [B]. Concerning the fact that no one should depart from the monastery because of a chance difficulty.

Furthermore, it is necessary to be clearly convinced of this also, that the person who has once entered into a bond and relationship of a spiritual brotherhood could not cut himself free and separate himself from those with whom he was united. For in many instances if a person entered into an association in the material world, he would not be able to withdraw from it in contravention of the agreements, or if he did so, he would be liable to stated penalties. For the person who has entered into an agreement of spiritual companionship with those who have an eternal and unbreakable relationship, it would be much more impossible to separate and cut himself off from those with whom he was united, or if he did so, he would be subjected to the most serious divine penalties. For if a woman forming an association with a man and having a physical relationship with him is caught plotting against him, she is condemned to death, he who was united in a spiritual association (before the Spirit himself as witness and mediator) is much more liable in the case of separation.

As the limbs of the body which have been united together by a bond of nature could not be broken off from the body, and if they were broken, that broken piece would become dead, so also one practicing the religious life, being bound to a brotherhood by a bond stronger than that of nature and being held fast by a union of the spirit, would not have the power to cut himself free from those to whom he was united, or if he did so, he would be dead in his soul and would be deprived of the providence of the Spirit, as one who violated his agreement with him.

But if someone says that some of the brothers are worthless, since they render goodness ineffectual by negligence and disregard propriety and neglect the proper ascetic discipline,

and for this reason it is fitting to separate oneself from such people, that reason for separation that he has thought [p. 66] up is not sufficient. For neither did Peter or Andrew or John break away from the rest of the band of the apostles because of the wickedness of Judas, nor did any other of the apostles make that a pretext for defection, nor was anyone hindered by [Judas'] wickedness in obeying Christ, but obeying the instructions of the Lord, they were zealous in their devotion and virtue, being in no way converted to [Judas'] wickedness. So he who says 'because of worthless people I am compelled to separate myself from the spiritual community' has not found a reasonable excuse for his own fickleness, but is himself rocky ground unable to nourish the word of truth through a very fickle mind, and, because of a small attack by some temptation or a loss of control over passions, he does not abide in a life of moderation, and the newly sprung-up shoot of instruction is immediately withered by the heat of his passions (cf. Matt. 13:5).

The pretexts he has mentioned are not sufficient as a defense at the judgment seat of Christ, since he [only] thinks in terms of his own satisfaction and is easily put off. For nothing is easier than to deceive oneself, since each judge favors himself, judging what is pleasant to be beneficial. So then such a person should be condemned by the judgment of the truth as being the cause of more people falling into sin, that is by his wicked example constantly provoking them to imitate him with equally outrageous actions. Being an heir to woe, "it would be better for him to have a great millstone fastened around his neck and be drowned in the depth of the sea" (Matt. 18:6). For if a soul becomes accustomed to defection, it becomes filled with a great lack of self-control, covetousness and gluttony, falsehood and all wickedness, and finally it brings itself to the abyss of wickedness being [p. 67] experienced in the worst evils.

So then, he who is the leader of such [temptations] should consider the destruction of how many souls he is responsible for, since he is not even able to render adequate accounts for his own soul (cf. Matt. 18:7). For why does such a person not rather imitate the great Peter and become an example for the rest of a secure faith and persistence in goodness, so that as the light of his achievements shines out, those who live in the darkness of wickedness may be guided to the higher life? Then Noah, the righteous man, did not say to God, 'I must leave the world since they are all wicked,' but persevered, struggling more nobly, and maintained an undisturbed devotion amid the depths of wickedness, and by endurance and patience amid the waves of impiety and lawlessness preserved an incorruptible virtue and was in no way caught by evils and plots, but amid people who murdered strangers and among much insolence and licentiousness, in accordance with the law of nature that was current, he hath kept his holiness unstained himself and instructed the rest of them by his actions, as was possible, rather than his words by demonstrating goodness.

But you put forward as an excuse your brothers' neglect of duty, whether real or invented by you, intending departure and devising the rejection of the Spirit and you make the slander of your brothers a veil for your own wickedness and reluctance to labor for virtue. So such a person should be brought to his senses by examples and be content with spiritual concord which he attached to himself in the first swaddling clothes of his heavenly conception. For if it were to happen that one of the fingers on your hand should suffer something

painful now, the other one will not be anxious to be cut off, but it will at first beware of the pain from the cut, and then persevere firmly so as to offer to the body the use of the one which is at risk and that the hand should not be totally deprived of its natural branch and robbed of its own natural adornment.

So then, apply the example to the one practicing the religious life and observe how much disorder and pollution a separation causes to sensitive souls and how it proves the man himself to be a lifeless corpse. That the superior would not choose to lead his disciple into wickedness, with the result that the wicked conduct of his teacher is a reason for the disciple to depart and leave, to see if this is so, let us consider what a father and what a trainer [does]. Each of them prays and is zealous, the one for his boy and the other for his disciple. For it is natural for fathers to pray that their sons should become better people and very intelligent, very modest and well behaved, so that the boys may gain a good reputation and their fathers more honor, as their boys' good deeds reflect in them. Trainers are also keen that those who train under them should become very strong and skillful, so that with strength and experience [p. 68] they might compete expertly and be proved illustrious victors over their opponents, and their lawful competing might bring clear glory to their superiors.

It is natural for everyone who has chosen to teach to wish that his pupils reach the most accurate understanding of his teachings. So then since the nature of affairs has this basic principle, how would he who trains in holiness not pray that the one being trained by him might be shown to be most free of malice and prudent in terms of spiritual wisdom, although clearly knowing that, if his pupil is like that, then he will be honored among men and will receive glorious crowns from Christ, who made his servants, or rather his brothers, since he chose even this [relationship with us] (cf. Luke 8:21), worthy of fellowship with him through his care?

Consider another thing: if the pupil becomes bad because of his conduct, [the teacher] is disconsolately ashamed in the world and at the time of judgment and in the assembly and gathering of all peoples in the heavens. Not only is he ashamed, but he will be punished also. So how will it happen that the superior does not wish his own disciple to become well-behaved and gentle? In other ways also the wickedness of the pupil is unprofitable for the teacher. For since they each choose to live with each other, whatever wickedness the disciple takes part in he will give some of the fruits of this to his teacher first, as poisonous snakes which inject their poison first into those who annoy them, so that from every consideration it is clear to the trainer—both from the nature of things and from what is profitable—that he will pray and in every way take pains that the one who has been trained under him should be gentle and well-behaved. For if a trainer were a man of evil and wickedness, he would take pains to lead by every means those who are training with him to this end; but if a trainer is a man of virtue and righteousness, he would not choose, I think, that the goal for his disciple should turn out to be opposite to his own zealous efforts.

So then every pretext which the man has who wishes to cut himself off from a spiritual community is unreasonable, as has been said, and his reason for this decision has been revealed as his lack of control over his passions and his unsound and unstable judgment. For did he not hear from the prophet, "Blessed are they that keep justice" (Ps. 105 [106]:3), not

**they who are destroying it? These are the ones who are likened to fools [in the Gospel], who place the foundation of their spiritual dwelling on the sand of their mental instability, when a few showers of temptations and a short torrent of evil will undermine its basis breaking it up and scattering it (cf. Matt. 7:26–27).**

Tell me, my brother, where is there no affliction? Where is there no toil? Do people in [p. 69] the world not toil? Do sailors who sail across the open sea not suffer shipwreck? Do soldiers not run risks in wars? How are we discouraged as if we are the only ones suffering affliction? People in the world toil in worldly matters, and again spiritual people are afflicted in spiritual actions; but “the grief of the world causes death,” (II Cor. 7:10) whereas grief concerning God causes repentance leading to everlasting life. So let us not be discouraged if we are afflicted. Our affliction will be turned into joy. Did you endure so many things and are now discouraged? Recollect that you renounced the world and your own wishes and [yet] you do not suffer words [of advice]. So are we slaves to our own bellies and our own wishes, and for this reason do you wish to depart from the monastery? Is this praiseworthy in us? Surely the enemy has not taken away the argument for humility of mind, and because of this he is rousing up the passions again strongly?

Do not be angry with me as I speak to you the words of truth; for I speak these things because I suffer for you. Where does the reason come from? In every case it is through food or through drink or through not suffering words [of advice]. You forfeited so much and you thought it dirt that you might gain Christ, and do you go on to sink your mind in your old passions again? Do you not hear what the apostle says, “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, ‘For thy sake we are being killed all day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered.’ No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who called us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus Our Lord” (Rom. 8:35–39).

So then, my brother, consider the meaning of what has been said. For if we do not love self-control and we do not endure affliction and we do not cut out our own will, it is not possible for us to say with boldness, “Lo, we have left everything and followed you” (Matt. 19:27). Recollect what sort of person you were, when you arrived at the door of the monastery, fervent in the Spirit and in the fear of the Lord. But perhaps you wish to say, “These men destroyed my way of thinking.” Do you wish me to show to you that this reason arises from laziness? Lot was living among the people of Sodom and was not destroyed along with them, and Gehazi ministered to the prophet Elisha and he sinned. Similarly Samuel lodged with Eli and was reared with his children, and they fell into sin, but he was saved because he loved the Lord in truth.<sup>75</sup> Judas Iscariot followed the Lord with the disciples and yet he betrayed his Master and the “Lord of Glory” (I Cor. 2:8) into the hands of lawless men. Therefore let us not yield to the purpose of the enemy [p. 70] who is really putting forward specious excuses for the destruction of our souls. For we have models drawn from divine scripture for each of us to apply to ourselves whether we are living with righteous people or sinners. So then, if we live with righteous people, we will live in a righteous and holy way, but if with sinners, we will live so as not to imitate their deeds, but so that they may be drawn by us to the way of salvation, with grace as our fellow-worker. But if you wish to say, “I am weak and

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negligent,” let us listen to the divine scriptures and imitate the way of life of the divine fathers, so that our souls may be cured and we may not just feel compunction as we hear and a short time later act in a worse way. For the one who receives the word like that, will never bear fruit; for they have no root in themselves (cf. Matt. 13:21). “Every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire” (Matt. 3:10).

As we are weak, let us listen to men who fear the Lord, who guide the soul to health, and let us not be like those who only wish to hear what matches their own wishes, so that we may not be miserable adhering to the argument of perversity. If you see a younger person trying to climb by his own wishes to heaven, detain him, for it is not to his benefit. This is true also with regard to a man who is old in years but juvenile in mind. For he says in Proverbs, “The ways of fools are right in their own eyes, but a wise man harkens to counsels” (Prov. 12:15). Let us listen also to the one who says, “You that are younger, be subject to the elders. Clothe yourselves, all of you, in humility, being subject to one another, for God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble” (I Pet. 5:5). For there are some who think that they are wise and do not think it right to be subject to those who are really wise and have a knowledge of God, whom the apostle calls empty talkers and deceivers saying, “there are subordinate men, empty talkers and deceivers” (Tit. 1:10).

Reason often suggests something secretly to a man, saying, “You are too young, you repent in your old age.” If he reaches old age, again it offers to him arguments, “Now that you are old, you need comfort.” As a result it is necessary, my beloved, to serve the Lord each day “with fear and trembling” (I Cor. 2:3). For who would tell us that we will grow old and that we will discover the correct way of thinking, if thereafter we neglect our own salvation? Let us listen to the Lord as he says, “Watch and pray, that you may not enter into temptation, for you know neither the day nor the hour” (Matt. 26:41; 25:13). We reckon the easy yoke of the Lord is heavy because of our laziness.

How many people in the world, my brother, do you think are deprived and have pledged their own children as securities? The [p. 71] children of other powerful people have fallen into captivity and have been sold into slavery and serve low-class people in a foreign land. Others are cast out as naked beggars in the squares and alleys of the city, afflicted by both the cold and the heat, and is it not a great thing for us that we have this shelter, which the Lord has bestowed on us, and freedom from anxiety about worldly matters? Let us remember these things and not reject the grace of God and his benefits, because he thought us worthy of his easy yoke (cf. Matt. 11:30).

But we also sought and he did not give to us; and who knows that this was not for our benefit? Let us say that. Is anyone of us not aware that he disobeyed the Lord himself and saw that the Lord was long-suffering? We will leave to the Lord the matter of the superiors. For we shall all stand at the judgment seat of Christ; for God does not pay deference to any man (cf. Luke 20:21). So get up and gird yourself, and do not cave in to arguments. Listen to the one who says, “Do not be overcome by evil but overcome evil with good” (Rom. 12:21). Woe to the sinner, my beloved ones. The “Lord of Glory” (I Cor. 2:8) endured so much for us, what can we offer to him in return for the sufferings which he endured for us?

Therefore let us fall down before him with the whole of our hearts, begging for patience from his loving-kindness, [for] “through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom” (Acts 14:22) of heaven. For the Savior said to his disciples, “You will be sorrowful but your sorrow will turn into

### 30. PHOBEROS

joy. When a woman is in travail she has sorrow, because her hour has come; but when she is delivered of the child, she no longer remembers that hour, for joy that a child is born into the world. So you have affliction now, but I will see you again and your hearts will rejoice, and no one will take your joy from you” (John 16:20–22).

Therefore, my brothers, let us be patient, “bearing one another’s burdens” (Eph. 6:2). For what soldier seeing his comrade seized by the enemy does not struggle and fight against the enemy to rescue his comrade from the hands of those who have taken him prisoner? Whenever he is not able to rescue him, then he weeps and beats himself remembering his comrade. Are we not under a much greater obligation to lay down our lives for each other, since Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ said, “Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends?” (John 15:13)

My brothers, did you not promise to please Christ? If you do not bear the temptations and afflictions which are brought upon you by your enemies, and do not accept the admonitions and training from your superior or endure nobly, your promise has been proven false, as the apostle says, “If you are left without discipline, you are illegitimate children [p. 72] and not sons” (Heb. 12:8). Were you rebuked, were you reproached? Rejoice that you were rebuked, but also correct your error. Were you rebuked unjustly? Your reward is greater. For the apostles also when they were proclaiming salvation to the world city by city, when they were beaten as criminals they did not get angry, they did not become annoyed, but they rejoiced because they were thought worthy to suffer dishonor for the name of Christ. So you also rejoice, because you were thought worthy to suffer dishonor for the name of Christ.

But perhaps one of the more careless will say to me, “I am grieved because this has happened to me after so many labors.” Does this grieve you, O servant of the Lord? Then examine yourself to see whether you really conquered your passions after so many years, and whether you rejoiced when dishonor came upon you and whether you were not proud when glory came to you. “For if any one thinks he is something, when he is nothing, he deceives himself” (Gal. 6:3). For the test of the helmsman comes at the time of the storm. For the man who boasts and says, “I have lived the monastic life for so many years” and does not show his profession in operation or reveal the characteristics of the devout life as a result of his way of life, that man is carrying about the tools but has not yet learned the skill to use them.

Have you grown old in the [monastic] habit? Since you are experienced in the aforementioned life, be a model for the young and inexperienced. But if you are a neophyte, be subject to your elders. For the soldiers of the earthly emperor are subject to their superiors and leaders; ought you not be subject much more, not only because of envy but also for conscience’s sake? For if they who serve in a physical army show the utmost eagerness to serve their superiors, how is it that we, who rejected life itself, continue to be subject to these passions and to repudiate the discipline in Christ, and demand the glory and praise of perfect anchorites, but run away from the labors from which honors come? Why do we allow all this tranquility and struggle to be destroyed in one hour? For if we kill ourselves, who is going to pity us? Is this our praise? This is our test, so that when a small affliction comes, are we to be compelled nearly to renounce the habit itself and disown the angelic life and through our laziness arm the enemy against us?

Do not, my brothers, do not offer your backs to the enemy, but resist and wage the war and he

will flee from you. For I reckon that the one who undertook your leadership does not rejoice at your disgrace, since he is going to render account to the Lord on your behalf. So come to yourselves, beloved ones, and “return to your rest” (Ps. 114 [116]:7). Put on the breastplate of faith and the helmet of salvation, and take up the sword of the Holy [p. 73] Spirit, which is the word of God (cf. Eph. 6:14–17).

Be a model of gentleness to your brothers who are of the same spirit. Your senior brothers will admire your endurance. Let the Holy Spirit which dwells within you rejoice at your bravery. But if you do not put up with a small temptation, how will you endure a great one? If you do not defeat a child, how will you overthrow a grown man? If you do not endure a word, how are you to bear a blow? If you do not bear a slap in the face, how will you endure the cross of Christ? If you do not endure the cross of Christ, how will you become joint heirs of heavenly glory with those who say, “All this has come upon us, though we have not forgotten thee, or been false to the covenant” (Ps. 43 [44]:17), and again, “For thy sake we are being killed all day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered” (Rom. 8:36). If you did not strive with these people nor share in their labor, how will you enjoy the everlasting life with them? Run, my brothers, run [the race]. Hurry, that you may be crowned by Christ Our God and live forever and ever with him in the kingdom of heaven. So much concerning those who try to leave the monastery and the brotherhood and put forward vain and false excuses.

54. Concerning the fact that a distribution must take place at the gate, and that strangers and sick people must be visited.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. lines 1164–84]: **You must observe closely what we will say since it will bestow on you much benefit and salvation. What is this? It is the distribution at the gate and the comforting and visiting of strangers and the sick** in which we recommend therefore that you **comfort stranger brothers and provide whatever care you can to those among them that are sick and confined to bed.** As you know that I do this, so you do it also. **Clothe and give footwear to those who are naked and unshod using your old tunics and footwear, distributed not by you yourselves—for we do not permit that—but by the superior.** I say that you should **feed the hungry and refresh them, as we said, with bread and wine and some legumes, those that are excess to your needs.** For then you will have a much greater reward whenever you do this from your lack, **for what a person can do is dear to God,** and you should **bury those who die.** But you should not **bury them simply nor in any haphazard fashion but first the burial chants are to be sung by you and they should receive the other care, to put it simply, to show our stranger brothers complete joyfulness so that we may receive from God joyful and abundant mercy on their behalf.** [p. 74]

55. Concerning the fact that women must not visit the monastery unless they are people well known for their way of life and virtue.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. lines 1184–91]: **For we do not wish anyone to return from our gate empty-handed, except a woman. For they should not receive a share, not that we hate our fellow human beings, certainly not, but we fear harm from that quarter, in case if a habit was generally accepted they would visit the gate more frequently and would be found to be**

**the cause of evil rather than good to those ministering. If however there is a general distribution, as at the feast of the Beheading of our patron, the venerable Forerunner, and at different commemorations of the dead, giving also to women should not be prevented. For this occurs rarely and does not cause any harm.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [39] ]: **We wished and desired the monastery not to be entered and to be completely impassable to women, but the nobility of many and the fact that it was not possible to send them away easily prevented us giving this order. Therefore, as many as are well known for their way of life and virtue, their nobility and eminence, may come in but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly, so that in that way we may be able to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1248–50]: **Seeing that I have already spoken a few things before about our sick brothers assigning all their care to the discretion of the superior, I must discuss them at greater length.**

56. Concerning the comfort of sick brothers.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1250–69]: **Therefore we order that a cell be set aside for the sick as an infirmary, and four beds for their rest and comfort, and one brother to minister to them in every way.** There should also be a large stove on which their food should be cooked, hot drinks prepared and everything else required for their comfort. **Their care should not be carried out in a perfunctory manner but as well as possible with regard to food and drink and other necessities.** For I know from the benefits conferred on me by God that he will never overlook the request of his servants who beseech him night and day, but he will hear and send a doctor who will bring them relief. The Holy God provides them with healing and a remedy through the intercessions of our lord and patron, John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, and through the mediation of our benefactor, St. Symeon the Wonderworker.

The superior **should call at the infirmary neither rarely nor as an extra, but should visit the brothers, if he is able, almost every hour and in a wholehearted manner, and bring the things that each one needs. But our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of much less seen [p. 75] and eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources of the monastery provide for them. For if we command that they be cared for because of the [divine] commandment, yet we do not allow them to give themselves airs but live in a more restrained manner, and as monks ought, so that they may receive from God the reward of their endurance, which the deprivation of their desires and the unpleasantness of their sickness is going to secure for them.**

Therefore when I have mentioned one thing I will cease my discourse. What is this thing? It is something which is greater than all evils and their chief, and one which causes great harm to our souls, or to put it more strongly, also to our bodies, and throws the whole brotherhood into confusion both as regards our wonderful way of life and the tranquility of our souls dwelling on this mountain.

57. Concerning the fact that they should have no female animals at all.

We give this instruction from the Lord God, that you should never possess female animals inside or outside the monastery, neither oxen, nor sheep, nor anything else of that kind. For [this] has been forbidden to all those who conduct their lives in God's way and renounce the affairs of [this] life. Moreover you should only have male animals for the grinding of your bread, and very few of these, and two male oxen, that is one yoke, and no more, to work for you. For since I have had experience of the harm and damage, both spiritual and physical, that come from them, I am arranging for you to escape from their error and deceit, so that you may not be grieved as I was, and incur great damage and no benefit because of them. But if you disobey me, then you will remember and against your will you will call me blessed whenever you do not reap any benefit from them, but rather physical and spiritual damage, disturbances and confusion.

For I trust in God and in our founder, John the venerable Forerunner and baptizer of God, that if you adhere to poverty and monastic destitution and dwelling on this holy mountain and serve God properly according to his commands and as I have ordered you, you will never grieve for any of your necessities, but you will enjoy from the merciful God whatever you need for the maintenance of your miserable bodies richly and to a greater degree than all those who possess vain and wealthy possessions, as my Savior himself says through the holy gospel, "Therefore do not be anxious saying, 'What shall we eat?' or 'What shall we drink' or 'What shall we wear?'" For the [p. 76] gentiles seek all these things, and your heavenly father knows that you need them all. But seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be yours as well. Therefore do not be anxious about tomorrow, for tomorrow will be anxious for itself" (Matt. 6:31-34).

These things are true and happen, my beloved brothers, to those who trust wholeheartedly and are not lacking in faith, who offer their souls and bodies to God who formed them and seek him night and day, as I the sinner have realized from actions themselves and have been convinced by the countless benefits that come to me every day from God. For have confidence in me as someone deranged and yet telling the truth, that often when I, the [most] unworthy one in heaven and earth, was wandering on this mountain and beseeching the mercy of the Lord to find some small drop of salvation and pardon for my many and innumerable sins which I committed in both ignorance and full knowledge, great consolation, or rather, if I must speak more truly, divine illumination and fearful miracles were granted to my weakness by John, my Lord and the venerable Forerunner and wonderful Baptizer of Christ our God.

Therefore, I exhort and beg you not to reside in vain on this mountain, because this mountain is very beneficial for those who wish to be saved. For if someone calls this mountain Horeb (Ex. 3:1-4:18) and Mount Carmel (3 Kings 18:19-39) or Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:3-20:26), mountain of miracles, or Tabor, the mountain on which Christ my God revealed to his holy disciples and apostles the surpassing splendor of his divinity (Matt. 17:1-9), he will not fall short of what is proper. If you reside on this holy and wonderful mountain and lay to heart what has been said, you will bear fruit thirty-fold and sixty-fold and a hundred-fold (Matt. 13:8), being far away from the crafty serpent, fornication and the other foul passions, which it is disgraceful [for me] to mention in detail and for you to hear.

Through the Lord do not grow weary in carrying out, each Saturday or at the time of leavening [the dough for the bread], the holy command of our divine father the miracle-worker which

was handed on to you concerning the *trisagion* of the grain and leaven, when the priest must say in the granary, “Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who blessed the five loaves and fed the five thousand (Matt. 14:19–21), bless this corn and increase it in this thy holy monastery and for thy whole world, because all our hope is in thee and we entreat thee hoping for our daily bread from thee. Do not overlook us sinners. For thou hast said, ‘Whatever you [p. 77] ask in my name, you will receive’ (John 14:14; 16:24). Thy word is ‘Be fruitful and multiply’ (Gen. 1:28). Therefore having confidence in the mercy of thy compassion we entreat thee, do not abandon us, but look from thy holy dwelling, from the glorious throne of thy kingdom and give to us sinners and thy servants our daily bread, by the intercessions of our all-pure Lady, the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and of the holy and glorious prophet, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, and of our holy father, Symeon the miracle-worker, and of all thy saints, because thou art the one who blesseth and halloweth everything, and we offer up glory to thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.”

58. Concerning whether boys are to be accepted into the monastery or not.

Since it is necessary to make a regulation for you about whether boys or beardless youths are to be accepted into this monastery or not, I considered it important to commend to you on this subject all the things I have received from experience itself and from our luminaries, the holy fathers. So then it is my wish and is in accordance with the instructions of the saints that beardless youths should not be accepted, so that you may be free and untroubled by the harm that comes upon you from them.

But if the superior is obliged from time to time either for service or for the comfort of the old to accept some such person, when perhaps the brothers are hard pressed and do not have people to minister to them, I give you the instruction that these should reside on the estate of the monastery, which is called St. Peter and surnamed Chalkeion, but called locally Panteichion, and minister to the brothers until they grow a beard, and then they should be accepted into the monastery along with the fathers.<sup>76</sup> For otherwise it is not a good thing that such persons should spend their time with the old men inside the monastery, but it is very harmful in many ways.

If there are some who disagree and say that such persons do not cause harm especially in the mountains, they talk foolishly. For whatever [reason] they put forward is invalid and feeble. If they wish to say something to them for their help and study and instruction when the spiritual war caused by those persons begins and for support and protection of those who are obliged to live with such persons, come now, let us set out something for them.<sup>77</sup>

**Those who say that they associate with women and children [p. 78] and are not harmed in their souls by this pleasure but are greatly strengthened and face with resistance the temptations of fornication and the titillations of the flesh are entirely possessed by the deceit of demons.**

**For the stratagems and devices of the devil are many, as the blessed apostle Paul says (cf. Eph. 6:11), and one of two explanations apply. Either such people are foolish and inexperienced in the evil and devious nature of our unseen enemies, or in reality they are fond of pleasure and are subject to their passions, and with an appearance of reverence and chastity they satisfy their vanity and desire for popularity, while they secretly engage in much evil**

and lawless pleasure, and will be counted with fornicators and adulterers and sodomites and will be punished with them on the day of judgment, even if, as they say, they carry out nothing shameful that causes harm to their bodies. For if he who has looked on a woman to desire her has committed adultery already with her in his heart (cf. Matt. 5:28), it is much more the case with the one who associates with younger males, whether he is an old man or a younger man in the prime of life and at the height of his powers and seething with fleshly passion.

For we have known some who were really faithful men and powerful warriors in spiritual action, poor and strong and vigorous, knowing how to wrestle and box with demons that opposed them, keeping vigils and fasting and drinking [only] water and being satisfied with only a mat to sleep on, having many accomplishments and praying constantly, and because they were tempted regarding their own mothers and sisters and brothers and their own young sons, they were compelled by the pleasure loving spirits of impurity to carry out the madness of their evil desire and after this they confessed these actions openly with tears, striking themselves and shouting, “We have sinned, we have transgressed, we were possessed by demons.” For the desire of the flesh is truly a mighty and lawless demon and pleasure is bitter and destructive.

We have known and seen monks because of this renounce the holy habit and wreck themselves in countless disgraceful actions. History also has handed down monks of Mesopotamia suffering this and Cilicians and monks from Asia and Pontos and Egypt and Thessalians and Greeks and Arabians and Persians and so forth. But be aware of the cleverness, but more so of the wickedness of the demon of fornication. For it goes away for a time and deadens the body so that it is not tested by fire, and it stops [p. 79] the stirrings of passion and makes the one who is being deceived to think that he has reached the heights of tranquility and that he was thought worthy of the rank of the apostles and that he will be taken up to the heavens in the future like Elijah in a fiery chariot (4 Kings 2:11–12).

They also make him instruct many people and boast and speak proudly and reproach those who lapse into pleasures, and condemn those who commit fornication, and be arrogant and boast of the great deeds of his religious devotion, and scorn his brothers as soft and feeble with no act of spiritual excellence. But after all that, when some time has gone by, suddenly the demon of fornication attacks the brother who has gone astray, even if he has kept himself chaste, and alters his mind inclining it to disgraceful pleasure, compelling his lower nature to boil as if for an abominable action that brings harm to his soul, and slackens the cords of his purpose and inflames his limbs with the impure fire of passion and destroys all the strength of the man and turns his whole disposition towards what is blameworthy and worse, and shows that the man who previously seemed to be righteous and holy and a follower of the life of devotion is like a pig rolling in mud and clearly is worse than the people who openly and publicly commit fornication in the market place.

Then he realizes from where and to where he has fallen, and so he says, “‘I am come into the depths of the sea and the storm’ of my passion ‘has overwhelmed me’ (Ps. 68 [69]:2–3); ‘my wounds grow foul and fester because of my foolishness’ (Ps. 37 [38]:5). Now I truly know that I am not perfect or intelligent nor am I experienced in the tricks of the devil and

demons, but foolish and senseless and simple-minded.” Therefore he cries out, “‘Oh God, thou knowest my foolishness; my transgressions are not hidden from thee’ (Ps. 68 [69]:5). For what was considered my righteousness has in my folly been counted as the rag of a menstrous woman” (cf. Is. 64:6).

I say these things not as one who is righteous or virtuous but as a sinner who has been instructed by the holy fathers, men of great experience able to resist the devices of the enemy. Since the devil knows that the monk embraces piety and purity of life above everything and wishes to live always in purity and the fear of God, for this reason Satan, opposing and resisting this inclination of the monk, troubles and confuses and defiles him in wicked desires and in unhealthy and strange pleasures— not only when the faces of people are seen [p. 80] in the flesh but also when they are not seen—by an invisible disturbance in the soul and by the action of the bodily emotions, tempting and afflicting and defiling the person who is striving with filthy dreams at night and during the day in his thought and through the temptations of the flesh and the mad desire for wickedness.

Sometimes the demon of blasphemy also runs to join the fray alongside the demon of impurity, so that it throws the one practicing the religious life into a state of hopelessness and despair. Therefore we should be on our guard against the devices and stratagems of the crafty and cunning demon. Let us instruct ourselves that whenever we meet a handsome face, whether they are our brothers or members of our own family, not to look clearly at the handsome face, but to speak looking down at the ground and in that way answer those who speak with us. For the eye of a man is like a shameless dog running in a frenzy over the faces of those it sees, and always the demons use this weapon against us as they also use the hand. For in the beginning Eve first saw the beauty of the tree, then in her desire grasped in her hand and ate of the forbidden fruit, and after that she was stripped of innocence and righteousness and was cast down to death and destruction.

So that you may appreciate and understand what is being said more precisely, take heed of what will now be said. For a number of years ago a certain eunuch named Eutropios, a secretary of Jouliane of Plakis,<sup>78</sup> the wife of Areobindos the general,<sup>79</sup> renounced the world and became a monk, and taking the second tower which was built by Elias the archbishop of Jerusalem,<sup>80</sup> he lived in it and gathered together a community of eunuch monks not far from Jericho. So then this Eutropios after many years made confession with repentance and in affliction said, “A certain man of Jericho, noble and wealthy, became my friend and brought offerings to my monastery and often ate with me. When a son was born he begged me,” he said, “to act as his sponsor at holy baptism; and this I did. So the man always brought the child to me, and I used to receive the infant happily with joy and a pure heart in the sincerity of my soul, and I kissed it and embraced it as a child given to me by God through the holy baptism in the Holy Spirit. But when the child had grown and was about ten years old, my thoughts changed for the worse and my state of mind changed to evil. I suffered distress and was driven to a loathsome [p. 81] desire and the ferocity of the wicked desire and pleasure in my heart was burning me up.”

It is not an amazing thing that a eunuch should feel desire. For Scripture says, “It is the lust of a eunuch to deflower a virgin” (Sir. 20:4). For not only does a eunuch feel desire, but

he can also sleep with a woman and have intercourse and produce an emission, except however the eunuch produces weak seed and cannot beget children. Do not be shocked as you hear about the eunuch. For Satan often encourages a woman to desire a woman, and for that reason reverent mothers superior of communities instruct the nuns under them not to gaze at each other's faces simply and naturally, lest through the act of seeing they should slip into passion and harm, but to lower their eyes and look at the ground and in that way speak virgin to virgin.

"So then," said Eutropios, "I, having changed in appearance and becoming completely obsessed with my filthy passion, wished to have intercourse with the child and be united with him to my personal disgrace. But I beseeched God to hinder me and I said, 'Lord My God, send instead fire from above and burn me up and do not allow me to carry out this foul deed.' God granted that I should come to my senses a little and raise myself from the mud and darkness of my irrational desire. I said to the father of the child, 'Take him and go away to your house and do not bring him to my monastery anymore.'

So from that moment I never saw the boy. But when the enemy realized that, he attacked me more vigorously and more intensely and more bitterly and impressed on my mind the form of the boy and stuck his likeness and appearance and image on my heart. Under the constraint I did not have the power to tear myself away and cut myself off from the utterly foul and serpent-like passion, but even while I was praying and singing and keeping vigil and reading I had the wicked one who binds hand and foot working inside me, the demon of disgraceful desire plundering me and torturing me with passion and subduing me utterly.

I fasted, I was austere with my wretched body. I wept, I groaned, I gnashed my teeth as I howled, I struck my head with my fists. I beat my feet with a rod in anger and the evil did not go away, but the part of my body was even more inflamed and rose up and let fall drops of filth so that my thighs were [p. 82] defiled with impure moisture.

Therefore, after a long time had passed like this, when I was in despair and thought I no longer found mercy, against expectation the God of all stooped to have mercy on me. He looked with favor on the humility of my soul and removed from me that dark cloud, and released me from the pernicious temptation. Gaining refreshment in that way, I thanked and [still] thank and until my death will thank Christ our God."

Therefore let what happened to Eutropios the eunuch, the priest and superior, be instruction for those who say, "We sleep with women and live with children and are not harmed."

With women and children! What am I saying? Sometimes we are tempted with regard to irrational animals themselves, and this we know from many who have made confession to us and from the story which will now be told.

Once the priest of [the monastery] of Kellia<sup>81</sup> traveled from the mountain of Nitria riding on a female donkey and sent it back again with his own disciple, and along the way the devil tempted him with regard to the female donkey and seven times tempted him to sin with it. The brother in his struggle prayed and was uplifted and by doing so he gave back the donkey and returned to his father with a disturbed face. But the old man had second sight and saw seven crowns on his head. The brother prostrated himself to the old man saying, "Pray for me because I have fallen into immorality," and he reported to him how the devil

**tempted him with regard to the female donkey on the road. The old man said to him, “Have courage, my child, because I saw seven crowns on your head when you came. For you were not defeated in so far as you did not accomplish the sin but rather were victorious. For the struggle is great whenever a man has a good opportunity and [yet] practices self-restraint, and this action carries a great reward, as in the case of the great champion, Joseph of blessed memory.”**<sup>82</sup>

Therefore hearing all these things, my fathers and brothers, let us pay close attention to how we walk our road following God and how we live with our younger brothers, lest we find ourselves instead in the harbor of the devil, a prey and delight to our enemies, the demons I mean, who never cease tempting us. “We know that our old self was crucified with him, so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. For he who has died is freed from sin. But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live [p. 83] with him. For we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again. Death no longer has dominion over him. The death he died he died to sin, once for all, but the life he lives he lives to God. So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus Our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in our mortal bodies, to make us obey their passions. Do not yield your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but yield yourselves to God as men who have been brought from death to life, and your members to God as instruments of righteousness. For sin will have no dominion over you” (Rom. 6:6–14).

“Do you not know that if you yield yourselves to anyone as obedient slaves, you are the slaves of the one whom you obey, either of sin, which leads to death, or of obedience, which leads to righteousness?” (Rom. 6:16) “For just as you once yielded your members” as slaves “to impurity, so now yield your members” as slaves “to righteousness for sanctification” (Rom. 6:19). The end of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life (cf. Rom. 6:21–22). “For God has not called us for uncleanness, but in holiness” (I Thess. 4:7–8). So then the one who rejects does not reject man but God, who gave his Holy Spirit to us. So then these are our wishes and are acceptable to John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist and to God, and they are greatly beneficial for your help.

59. Summary in abridged form of everything that has been said above.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1272–91]: **In the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean:**

1. **To carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you.**
2. **To preserve the fasts that have been handed on to you, as we have received them from the holy fathers and as they are set out here, with much eagerness and a fervent heart, and**
3. **To preserve loyalty and honor which is due your superiors.**
4. **To love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labor with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another.**

5. **Not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships nor cause schisms and breakaway services.**

6. **To refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, from feasting and sitting together and meetings and conversations, but to look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul.** [p. 84]

7. **Furthermore, to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money, and the filching of the monastery's possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever which the superior has not approved nor the rule given you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God.**

8. **Similarly you must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.** If you are wronged by someone, never go to court but flee from this as one flees from a snake, observing in this matter the command of Our Lord which says, "If anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if anyone would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well; and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles" (Matt. 5:39–41). Again he says, "Love your enemies, bless those who curse you, treat well those who hate you and pray for those who abuse and persecute you, so that you may be sons of our Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:44–45). But in humility approach the one who is doing wrong and beseech him saying what is proper, and if he ceases from his wrongdoing, thanks is due to God; but if not, refer this matter to God and he will do what is beneficial to you and "He will not let you be tempted beyond your strength" (I Cor. 10:13).

But observe this also, [namely] not to possess female animals either inside or outside the monastery, but maintain a life of poverty and quiet and in that action strive to toil in a pursuit in which you enjoy tranquility not disturbances and distractions.

You should be eager to serve everyone as far as you are able and provide your own food from the work of your hands, and do not refuse to minister to each other both in the cooking of your food and in the refectory in imitation of Christ.

As each of you has the strength and upbringing and way of life and education and as you choose in your heart, carry out what is beneficial to your souls. Do not grow weary. Let the weak [among you] serve on fast days, and the strong ones on the remainder. For God loves a cheerful and eager servant, (cf. II Cor. 9:7) but he turns away from the servant who is lazy and slothful and does not serve with wholehearted eagerness, and in his work is not pleasing either to God or men.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1292–1305]: **So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard [p. 85] to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for**

**indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the good things that were promised.**

Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said, “for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force” (Matt. 11:12). **No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, strive, toil, persevere in the labors of battles. “Through many tribulations,” the Lord says. “you must enter the kingdom” of heaven (Acts 14:23).** “If anyone of you teaches otherwise and does not agree with these sound words of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching which accords with godliness,” according to the apostle he is to be called antichrist by you. For such a man “is puffed up with conceit, he knows nothing; he has a morbid craving for controversy and for disputes about words, which produce envy, dissension, slander, base suspicions, and wrangling among men who are depraved in mind and bereft of the truth, imagining that godliness is a means of gain. There is great gain in godliness with contentment. For we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we cannot take anything out of the world. But if we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content. But those who desire to be rich fall into temptation, into a snare, into many senseless and hurtful desires that plunge men into ruin and destruction. For the love of money is the root of all evils. It is through this craving that many have wandered away from the faith” and their profession “and pierced their hearts with many pangs. But as for you,” my brothers, “shun all this; aim at righteousness, godliness, faith, love, steadfastness, gentleness. Fight the good fight of faith; take hold of the eternal life to which you were called when you made the good confession in the presence of many witnesses” (I Tim. 6:7–12).

For “I know” this, that after my departure from the body, “fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise some speaking perverse things, to draw away” the weaker ones among you “after them. Therefore be alert, remembering that I did not cease night or day to admonish every one” of you “with tears. And now I commend you,” my brothers, “to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you inheritance among all those who are sanctified. [p. 86] I coveted no one’s silver or gold or apparel” (Acts 20:29–34). The Lord God is my witness, nor [did I covet] this or that, as you yourselves know. But instead of all the corruptible and earthly things, I preferred what was heavenly, and I chose to have you as my consolation and crown and boast, knowing clearly that through your holy prayers I will find a small relief and pardon for my many and innumerable sins on the fearful day of judgment.

For this reason I endured all affliction and confinement living on this mountain, and “I have shown you all that by so toiling you must help the weak and remember the words of the Lord, which he said, ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive’” (Acts 20:35). Behold, “in the presence of God who gives life to all things, and of Christ Jesus who in his testimony before Pontius Pilate made the good confession, I charge you to keep the commandments” and the traditions set out here and handed on to you “unstained and free from reproach until the appearing of your Lord Jesus Christ; and this will be made manifest at the proper time by the blessed and only sovereign, the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords, who alone has immortality and dwells in unapproachable light” (I Tim. 6:13–16).

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1305–11]: Yes, **I beseech you all to “lead a life worthy of your calling” (Eph. 4:1), “present your bodies holy to the Lord” (cf. Rom. 12:1), “love one another” (John 15:12), “run well the race that is set before you” (cf. Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (cf. Phil. 4:8). Do not fail to do the things “you have heard and learned” (Phil. 4:9). My brothers, “the appointed time has grown very short” (I Cor. 7:29). Remember your souls and our insignificance, do not forget us in your prayers.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [43] ]: **I instruct you to read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your mealtimes, until it is finished, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from our fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction.**

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

+ Since among all those who joined in working and toiling in our monastery the most illustrious benefactor lord Thomas Eugeniotes established and completed a great deal in it, both in the building of the church and in all kinds of other matters in our monastery and still even now does not cease working and ministering each day as one of the monks in the monastery, and seeing that he was counted as the spiritual child of our glorious father and founder, it is reasonable that this man’s name has been inscribed on the present *typikon* of the monastery, so that he may be numbered with the others who have been inscribed here and those set out on the holy diptychs of the monastery, and may be remembered with God’s help for as long as this monastery of ours is preserved.+

+ Makaria            + Nicholas and Anna  
[may also be remembered]

*Notes on the Translation*

1. Theodore (†844) and Theophanes (†845) Graptos; see Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838), pp. 104–6, and Theodore’s *Vita* in *PG* 116, cols. 653–84.
2. Simonides, *Fr.* 5 [4]:5.
3. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.2, *PG* 31, col. 1349B.
4. Cf. Pseudo-Nilos, *De octo vitiosis cogitationibus*, *PG* 79, col. 1456D.
5. Pseudo-Nilos, *De octo vitiosis cogitationibus*, *PG* 79, col. 1457B.
6. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Epist. ad Castorem II*, *PG* 28, cols. 900C, 900D–901A.
7. There are two Chapters Eight due to a mistake in numeration; they are distinguished here as [A] and [B].
8. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 12, *PG* 31, col. 1376AB.
9. Unidentified quotation.
10. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Syntagma doctrinae ad monachos*, *PG* 28, col. 840A.
11. *C. Nicaen. I*, c. 20 (R&P 2.162–63).

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12. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 90.
13. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 26 ([LR 26]), PG 31, col. 985CD.
14. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 4, PG 88, cols. 681B, 705C.
15. *Canones Apostolorum* 69 (R&P 2.88).
16. 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.
17. Palladios, *Historia Lausiaca*, PG 34, col. 1148B.
18. *C. Gangra*, c. 12 (R&P 3.115).
19. Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses* 3.22, PG 42, col. 828A.
20. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Syntagma doctrinae ad monachos*, PG 28, col. 837C.
21. P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon le jeune*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1962), p. 26, lines 102–3.
22. (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], [24].
23. John Chrysostom, *De Lazaro concio* I, PG 48, cols. 966–67.
24. John Chrysostom, *De incomprehensibili dei natura* II, PG 48, col. 718.
25. In [17] above; cf. liturgical calendar in [19] below.
26. Peter of Alexandria, *Epistula canonica* 15 (R&P 4.43).
27. See (20) *Black Mountain* [55] with notes 66 and 68.
28. Cf. *Can. Apost.* 69 (R&P 2.88), which prescribes fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays.
29. Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon*, vol. 1, p. 148, lines 1–24.
30. Unidentified quotation.
31. Feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, September 8.
32. Feast of the Exaltation, September 14.
33. Feast of the Apostle Matthew, November 16.
34. Feast of the Entry into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple), November 21.
35. Feast of the Apostle Andrew, November 30.
36. Feast of the Conception of St. Anne, December 9.
37. Feast of St. Ignatios, December 20.
38. Feasts of the Epiphany, January 6; of the Commemoration of St. John the Baptist, January 7; of the Presentation of the Lord, February 2; of St. Symeon, February 3; of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Baptist, February 24; of the Forty Martyrs, March 9; of the Annunciation, March 25; of St. George, April 23; of St. Mark, April 25; of St. James, April 30; of St. John the Theologian, May 8; of St. Symeon the Wonderworker, May 24; of Sts. Bartholomew and Barnabas, June 11; of the Birth of St. John the Forerunner, June 24; of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29; of the Twelve Apostles, June 30; of Sts. Kosmas and Damian, July 1; of the [venerable] Robe of the Mother of God, July 2; of St. Gabriel, July 13; of the prophet Elijah, July 20; of St. Panteleemon, July 27.
39. Feast of the Transfiguration, August 6.
40. Feast of the Dormition, August 15.
41. Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Forerunner, August 29.
42. Possibly a later interpolation, for it contradicts the preceding arguments advanced previously in favor of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year; for the “fast of Artzibourios,” see the discussion in (20) *Black Mountain* [55] with note.
43. Nikephoros I, patriarch of Constantinople, *Kanon* 79, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1858; repr. Graz, 1963), p. 398.
44. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Prosphonesis*, c. 1 (R&P 4.342).
45. Cassian, *Apophthegmata patrum*, *Apophth.* 4, PG 65, col. 245C.
46. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 6, PG 31, cols. 1360D–65A.
47. Saturday of the first week in Lent.
48. *C. Laod.*, c. 50 (R&P 3.217); see the citation of the same rule in (20) *Black Mountain* [63].
49. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.

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50. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
51. Cf. (20) *Black Mountain* [64].
52. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 89 (R&P 2.512–13).
53. Unidentified quotation.
54. Dionysios of Alexandria, *Epistula ad Basileidem* (R&P 4.3–4).
55. *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 5.13, 15, 18–20, ed. F. X. Funk, *Didascalica et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905), pp. 269–71, 281–83, 289–301.
56. Actually, the feast of Pentecost (fifty days after Easter) occurs on the seventh Sunday after Easter Sunday.
57. Cf. Exod. 34:28 and III Kings 19:8.
58. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
59. The feast of the Dormition, August 15.
60. *Tomus unionis* of the Council of Constantinople (920) = Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 669, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople: Miscellaneous Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1981), p. 66, lines 114–16.
61. Actually Euthymios of Peribleptos, *Oratio seu invectivus contra Armenios* 1, *PG* 132, col. 1200; for the attribution, see Beck, *KTL*, pp. 533, 598, with V. Grumel, “Les invectives contre les Arméniens du ‘Catholicos Isaac,’” *REB* 14 (1956), 174–94.
62. Menas (536–52) and Eutychios (552–65; 577–582), patriarchs of Constantinople.
63. Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111), patriarch of Constantinople.
64. In [33] above.
65. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, *PG* 31, col. 1417C.
66. The founder of the monastery and primary author of the *typikon*, now deceased; cf. [59] below.
67. Probably John’s successor.
68. Relationship to the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81) uncertain; see Alexander Kazhdan, “Botaneiates,” *ODB*, pp. 314–15; his son?
69. Older brother of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l’Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 124–30, and K. Varzos, *He Genealogia ton Komnenon*, vol. 1 (Thessaloniki, 1984), pp. 67–79. He is commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
70. Daughter of Isaac Komnenos the *sebastokrator* and niece of Alexios I Komnenos.
71. Probably his monastic name; not otherwise known.
72. Maria of Alania, Georgian princess and wife of Michael VII Doukas (1071–78) and Nikephoros III. Her cousin Irene was the spouse of Isaac Komnenos the *sebastokrator* and the mother of six children, including the Eudokia Komnene mentioned in this chapter (cf. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 125).
73. There are two Chapters Fifty-Three due to another mistake in numeration; they are distinguished here as [A] and [B].
74. A long quotation from Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 21, *PG* 31, cols. 1393–1401 initiates the next chapter; borrowed sections are in bold type.
75. On Lot, see Gen. 19:1–24; Gehazi, IV Kings 5:25–27; Samuel, I Kings 1–3.
76. Cf. the boys’ school in (23) *Pakourianos* [31].
77. According to this document’s editor (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes*, p. 77), this remarkable quotation is from the *Epistole* of Paul Helladikos, superior of the Elusa monastery in Idumaea, ed. V. Lundström, *Anecdota byzantina e codicibus Upsaliensibus cum aliis collatis* (Uppsala, 1902), pp. 15–23, which dates to the first quarter of the sixth century. Its extraordinary content was noted by J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosios I to the Death of Justinian*, vol. 2 (London, 1923), p. 412, n. 5, who describes it as “one of the most unsavoury documents of Christian monasticism.” See also Beck, *KTL*, p. 406, and C. Galatariotou, “*Eros and Thanatos: A Byzantine Hermit’s Conception of Sexuality*,” *B&MGS* 13 (1989), pp. 116–17.
78. Anicia Juliana, for whom see Walter Kaegi, “Anicia Juliana,” *ODB*, pp. 99–100.

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79. Flavius Dagalaiphus Areobindus, who married Anicia Juliana in 478/79; see Timothy Gregory, "Areobindus," *ODB*, p. 162.
80. Elias I, patriarch of Jerusalem (494–516), for whom see Aristeides Papadakis, "Elias I," *ODB*, pp. 685–86.
81. The largest Early Christian monastic settlement in Egypt near the Western edge of the Nile Delta, built from the sixth to the eighth century; see Peter Grossmann, "Kellia," *ODB*, pp. 1119–20. The source of this chapter on bestiality has not been identified.
82. The reference is probably to the early ascetic, Joseph, who boasted of having fought successfully against passions. See his *apophthegma* 10 in *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65, col. 232B.

### Document Notes

- [1] Introductory discourse; meditation on death. See other such meditations in (5) *Euthymios* [3]; (6) *Rila* [2]; (7) *Latros* Introduction; (10) *Eleousa* [1]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B1]; (25) *Fragala* [A6], [B6]; (41) *Docheiariou* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [2]; (48) *Prodromos* [1]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; (50) *Gerasimos* [1]; and (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A1], [C1]. The author makes some use of the text of (22) *Evergetis* [3] towards the end of this chapter to describe his contributions to the foundation.
- [2] Early history of the foundation. The various accounts here are purely legendary; cf. the small amount of factual material in [33] and [50] below.
- [3] Miraculous icon of the St. John the Forerunner. For references to icons and their uses elsewhere in our documents, see (9) *Galesios* [138]; (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5], [INV 18]; (22) *Evergetis* [29]; (23) *Pakourianos* [12], [33B]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B10]; (28) *Pantokrator* [2], [7], [25], [29], [34], [35]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [12], [35], [65], [89], [90]; (31) *Areia* [T10]; (34) *Machairas* [92], [150]; (38) *Kellibara I* [13]; (39) *Lips* [7], [25], [37]; (45) *Neophytos* [24]; (46) *Akropolites* [5]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [74], [137], [140], [142], [143], [156]; (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [2]. (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5] mentions a bronze icon of St. John the Forerunner.
- [4] Beginning of the spiritual instruction. The author's partiality to military analogies may provide a hint as to his background.
- [5] Discussion of fasting. Provides a philosophical justification of the author's approach to fasting, which rejects extreme asceticism yet is somewhat stricter than the rest of the documents in the Evergetian tradition; cf. the general discussion in (20) *Black Mountain*, with whose author our author here is often in agreement on particular issues.
- [6] How to repel *akedia*. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [26] and the general discussion in Gustave Bardy, "Akedia," *DS*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1937), cols. 166–69.
- [7] Ten steps to perfection of the spirit. See also [8B] below.
- [8A] Concerning humility. See also the Evergetian formulations in [36] below.
- [8B] Another ladder of spiritual ascent. Makes some use of (22) *Evergetis* [3] towards the end; this part of the Evergetian text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [30].
- [9] Office of the first hour. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [4]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [31], [32], [33], [34].
- [10] Exemptions from genuflections during Christmas and Pentecost; offices of the third, sixth and ninth hours. Makes some minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [4] at the beginning and the end; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (34) *Machairas*.
- [11] Guidelines for the reception of communion. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [5]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (32) *Mamas* [32], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], and (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39].
- [12] Prescriptions for the ninth hour, vespers, compline, the night office, and the midnight office. Like [13] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], [36],

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- [37], [38]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. (34) *Machairas* [42], [43], [44], [45], [46] provides a different treatment. The first gloss explains the association of the recitation of “God the Lord” with non-fast and the “Alleluia” with fast days.
- [13] Office of matins. Like [12] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [39], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [48]. The transition at the end is drawn from (22) *Evergetis* [7], whose text continues into [14] below.
- [14] Daily confession. Like [15] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], [17]; (32) *Mamas* [30], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30], and (34) *Machairas* [51], [52].
- [15] First and great confession at tonsure. Like [14] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [18] and (34) *Machairas* [53].
- [16] Authorities for the Lenten fast and Wednesday and Friday fast days. Makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [8] at the beginning to refer to the liturgical *typikon* for the regulation of fasts; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [19].
- [17] Feast days for which fasts may be broken. See the similar provision in (20) *Black Mountain* [48].
- [18] Diet when other feasts and fast days coincide. See the similar provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [49], [50].
- [19] General rules for fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays; liturgical calendar. See the similar provision in (20) *Black Mountain* [38] and the liturgical calendar in [89]. For the consumption of cheese and eggs before Meatfare Week and during Cheesefare Week to spite the Artzibourians, see (20) *Black Mountain* [55], [90]; (32) *Mamas* [19]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19]; (34) *Machairas* [78]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].
- [20] Importance of both the office and diet. Like [21], [22], [23], [24], and [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [20], (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34) *Machairas* [61], and (58) *Menoikeon* [8].
- [21] Refectory procedures. Like [20] above and [22], [23], [24], [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [41]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21]; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (34) *Machairas* [62], [63].
- [22] No arguments over seating precedence; no sharing of food. Like [20], [21] above and [23], [24], [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], [43]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], [23]; (32) *Mamas* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35], and (34) *Machairas* [64].
- [23] No secret eating. Like [20], [21], [22] above and [24], [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23], (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. As in the model *typikon*, the injunction against secret eating is repeated, found here in [41] below. The author’s concluding comment in this chapter is continued as a chapter-length discussion in [24] below.
- [24] Almsgiving not a substitute for a life of poverty; regulations for the evening meal. The discussion of the latter, like [20], [21], [22], [23] above and [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24] and (34) *Machairas* [66].
- [25] Regulations for relations with people outside the monastery. See also [39] below. Possibly influenced by Studite legislation on the subject; see (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], [10], [15], [17].
- [26] Role of the disciplinarian in the refectory. Like [20], [21], [22], [23], and [24] above, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared also with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24].
- [27] Diet for the first week in Lent. Like [28], [29], and [30] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [67].
- [28] Lenten diet. Like [27] above and [29], [30] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], [27], [28]; (32) *Mamas* [18]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]; and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73]. The author adds exten-

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sive canonical citations relevant to the subject.

- [29] Fast of the Holy Apostles. Like [27], [28] above and [30] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [76].
- [30] Fast of the Holy Nativity. Like [27], [28], and [29] above, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [76].
- [31] Fast of the Dormition of the Mother of God. Not an Evergetian fast, but see (20) *Black Mountain* [87], [88], cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [C17], where this fast is defended with reference to the same authorities.
- [32] Feast of the Forerunner. Utilizes the text of (22) *Evergetis* [11] originally intended to regulate the feast of the Dormition; text shared also with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [29].
- [33] Independent and self-governing status. Makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [12], the classic reform movement formulation; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], and (34) *Machairas* [21]. The author adds a historical note and a requirement that the superior seek the *sphragis* by the patriarch—repeated in [35] below.
- [34] The superior the most important official. Like [35] below, draws on (22) *Evergetis* [34].
- [35] Necessary personal qualifications; promotion of the steward; steward's tenure of office; retention of a bad superior; honors for a deposed superior; patriarchal *sphragis*; exclusive confession to the superior. An awkward chapter, the result of close textual dependency on the idiosyncratic provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], and [15]. Some text also shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [13]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41]; (32) *Mamas* [2]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2]; and (34) *Machairas* [89], [90], [141], whose authors (wisely) bind themselves less closely to the original Evergetian provisions. The interpolation of the requirement of obtaining patriarchal blessing, a repetition of an earlier provision in [33] above, is particularly awkward in the context of the Evergetian quotation here, but significant as an indication of a changed relationship between the founders and the patriarchate under Nicholas III Grammatikos.
- [36] Expulsion of non-confessants; necessity of obedience to the superior; monks' mutual affection for one another; exhortation to the superior; expression of hostility to privilege. Another multi-purpose chapter, utilizing key portions of (22) *Evergetis* [15], [16], and [17]; parts of the text also shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [42], [43], [44]; (32) *Mamas* [42], [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], [44]; (34) *Machairas* [54], [142], [143], [144], [148]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [18], [19].
- [37] Superior not accountable to the monks; not to do favors for friends and relatives. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [18]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (32) *Mamas* [44], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43], and (34) *Machairas* [145], [146].
- [38] Inalienability of sacred objects; exception for fiscal emergencies. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [19]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [45]; cf. (32) *Mamas* [37], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37], and (34) *Machairas* [94].
- [39] No idle talking. See also [25] above. Like [40] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [21]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47], (32) *Mamas* [35], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], (34) *Machairas* [113], and (58) *Menoikeion* [17].
- [40] No verbal sparring. Like [39] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [21]; text shared also with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47].
- [41] No secret eating or private possessions. Drawn verbatim from the classic reform formulation of (22) *Evergetis* [22]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41]; some textual sharing also with (32) *Mamas* [35], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], and (34) *Machairas* [87] for the ban on personal possessions.
- [42] Number of monks. Like [46] and [52], this chapter utilizes its Evergetian counterpart, here (22) *Evergetis* [23], but reaches a conclusion opposite to that of the model (at least in our present edition of that text); text also shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48].
- [43] Servants not permitted; assignment of monks to cells. Makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [24], but increases the number of monks in each cell from two to three; text shared with (32) *Mamas* [35], (33)

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- Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [87] for the ban on servants, and with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51] for the cell assignments.
- [44] Cells to be unlocked; communal wardrobe. The former is an original provision; the latter is drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [25]; text on the wardrobe shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52] and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103].
- [45] Equality of food, drink and clothing; exception for the sick; superior's monthly inspection of the cells. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [29] and [30]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53]; text on equality only shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [106], [107].
- [46] Ban on bathing, except for the sick. Like [42] above and [52] below, utilizes its Evergetian counterpart, here (22) *Evergetis* [28], but reaches a conclusion opposite to the reading of at least our present edition of that text. See also different, more lenient treatments of this issue in (27) *Kecharitomene* [58], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (58) *Menoikeion* [15].
- [47] Installation ceremony for officials; duties of the three treasurers. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [29] and [30]; text shared for the installation ceremony with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35], (32) *Mamas* [6], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6], and (34) *Machairas* [92]; only (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36] shares the three treasurers with *Phoberos* and *Evergetis*.
- [48] Duties of the disciplinary official and refectorian; tenure of office for officials; exhortation of officials. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [31], [32], and [33]; text shared for all these subjects only with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37], [38], [39]; for the refectorian also with (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; for tenure of office also with (34) *Machairas* [92]; the officials' exhortation is found also in (27) *Kecharitomene* [25], (32) *Mamas* [23], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23], and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [49] Qualifications of property administrators. Drawn almost verbatim, with the interpolation of an ironic historical note, from (22) *Evergetis* [34]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40] and (34) *Machairas* [109].
- [50] Commemorations of the founder, benefactors, and departed monks. Utilizes (22) *Evergetis* [34] and [35] partially and [36] extensively, with substantial interpolations after the author's death particular to *Phoberos*; text for the benefactors' and monks' commemorations shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39]; and (34) *Machairas* [156], [157].
- [51] Length of the novitiate. Like [53A] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [37]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56].
- [52] No admission of monks tonsured in other monasteries. Like [42] and [46] above, utilizes its Evergetian counterpart, here (22) *Evergetis* [37], but reaches a conclusion opposite to the reading of at least our present edition of that text. (31) *Areia* [T10] and (34) *Machairas* [148] exclude these monks from election to the superiorship, as does, apparently, (28) *Pantokrator* [24], but none of these documents bans them entirely.
- [53A] No mandatory entrance gifts; voluntary gifts cannot be reclaimed. Like [51] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [37]; the text of this classic Evergetian formulation is shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [7] (in part); (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [22]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [22]; and (34) *Machairas* [57], [58], [59].
- [53B] Exhortation not to abandon the monastery. This is the longest quotation in our documents from the *Basilian Ascetic Treatises*.
- [54] Charitable distributions; hospitality to visitors and care of the sick; burial of the dead. Like [55] below, draws on (22) *Evergetis* [38]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [64]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], (32) *Mamas* [13], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13], and (34) *Machairas* [118] have different provisions.
- [55] Entry to most women prohibited. Like [54] above, draws on (22) *Evergetis* [38] and also [39], and (for a transition to [42]) [41]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56] (part only) and (34) *Machairas* [118], [119]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], (28) *Pantokrator* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (32) *Mamas*

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- [27], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27], and (34) *Machairas* [115] also have their own provisions for the exclusion of the opposite sex.
- [56] Care of sick monks. Continues the quotation begun in [55] above of (22) *Evergetis* [41], which is utilized here almost verbatim, but with an interpolation and a transition to [57] below; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [57], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [108]. (28) *Pantokrator* [10] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61] have their own provisions.
- [57] Ban on female animals; blessing of the grain. The ban is not present in (22) *Evergetis* or other Evergetian documents, but see similar provisions in the earlier Studite and Athonite traditions: (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31]; cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23], and (15) *Constantine IX* [3], [4].
- [58] No boys or beardless youths as monks. A similar ban is found in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [49] but not elsewhere in the Evergetian documents; cf. earlier bans in (3) *Theodore Studites* [18], (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [5], and (23) *Pakourianos* [17].
- [59] Final instructions; reading of the *typikon*; scriptural blessing. Makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [42] for the instructions and [43] for the reading and blessing. Text of the final instructions shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57]; (32) *Mamas* [46]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45]; (34) *Machairas* [163], [166], [167], [168]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [20]. Text for the reading of the *typikon* shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [65], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59], and (34) *Machairas* [168]; cf. (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16] with their own provisions. Text of the scriptural blessing shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (32) *Mamas* [46], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (34) *Machairas* [167].