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*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:*

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

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### 31. *Areia*: *Memorandum* and *Typikon* of Leo, Bishop of Nauplia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God in *Areia*

*Date: Memorandum*: October 1143; *Typikon*: ca. 1149<sup>1</sup>                      *Translator*: Alice-Mary Talbot

*Edition employed*: G. A. Choras, *He "hagia mone" Areias* (Athens, 1975), pp. 239–52.

*Manuscript*: Codex graecus bibliothecae Taurinensis 326 (16th c.)

*Other translations*: Modern Greek (*Memorandum* only), by S. Papadopoulos, *Epistemonika Analekta* (Athens, 1967), pp. 220–30.

#### *Institutional History*

##### *A. Foundation of the Monastery*

The author of this document, Leo the bishop of Argos and Nauplia, was a member of the noble family of the Antzades.<sup>2</sup> He originally intended to found a convent at *Areia*, just a few miles inland to the east from his see at Nauplia in the Argolid. He drew up an official memorandum granting the convent an independent constitution and sufficient properties to support thirty-six nuns.<sup>3</sup> Later, fearing that the nuns might fall prey to pirates in a location so close to the coast, he relocated them to another site at Bouze, presumably further inland.<sup>4</sup> Leo then resolved to install a community of the same number of monks in the former convent. He drew up another memorandum, preserved as part of the present document [M], dated to October 1143. Later, he also composed a brief *Typikon* [T], which forms the second part of our document as translated below. These texts affirm that the monastery, like the convent, was to be an independent institution in which the rights of Leo's episcopal successors and their agents were to be severely limited.<sup>5</sup> A donor inscription on a marble plaque which survives in the facade of the monastery church records the completion of Leo's construction of this building in April 1149.<sup>6</sup> The *Typikon*, which is different in some particulars of regulation from the *Memorandum* and hence was likely to have been issued a little later than the latter document, may have been composed about the time of the erection of the church. Leo himself makes a brief appearance in an external source as a participant in the synod at Constantinople in 1157 that condemned the heresy of Soterichos Panteugenos.<sup>7</sup>

##### *B. Subsequent History*

*Areia* was just one of four ecclesiastical sites in this region of Greece marked by surviving churches from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> The monastery, along with neighboring Nauplia, became part of the Latin Duchy of Athens in 1212.<sup>9</sup> Frankish rule of the Argolid lasted until 1388, when the area came under Venetian administration for the first time. The monastery continued to be populated by Greek monks, but in the fifteenth century, Bartholomew, the Latin bishop of Argos and Nauplia, made an attempt to appoint *Areia*'s superior. The Venetian doge Francesco Foscari (1423–57) resisted this initiative and upheld the monastery's independence in 1437.<sup>10</sup>

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After a brief restoration of Byzantine power, the Ottoman Turks conquered the area in 1458.<sup>11</sup> The monks thought it prudent to find an influential protector, and accordingly arranged for their monastery to become a dependency of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 1679.<sup>12</sup> This relationship continued down to the abandonment of the monastery in the early eighteenth century. The Venetians returned to the Argolid in 1686 and controlled it for a generation down to 1715.<sup>13</sup> Not long after the Ottomans returned, the monastery was finally abandoned, according to a report of Chrysanthos, patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–31).<sup>14</sup> Ottoman rule lasted in this part of Greece down to 1822. The monastery was claimed by the new Greek government, but sold to Emmanuel Xenos, a private individual, in 1826.<sup>15</sup> It then became part of a private estate owned by a noble family of Nauplia until 1868 or 1875, when monastic life was finally restored on the site.<sup>16</sup> *Areia* currently functions as a convent, certainly an ironic outcome in view of the circumstances of its foundation in the twelfth century.

### *Analysis*

Despite its relative brevity, this document is of considerable interest for what it reveals about the concerns of an episcopal patron organizing a foundation in his private capacity. It is made up of two parts, the author's *Memorandum* [M] and his *Typikon* [T], which, judging from the considerable overlap<sup>17</sup> between them in the topics covered and a few inconsistencies,<sup>18</sup> must have been composed separately. Similar memoranda issued by members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy are attested as free-standing documents for such purposes as transferring ownership of a religious foundation (for which see (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]) or, as here, proclaiming its independence (see (30) *Phoberos* [33]).

### A. *Model Typikon*

The author instructs [M8] his monks that they are to use the *typikon* of lord Meletios “in all matters” with regard to their liturgical services and dietary regime. The latter was the ascetic Meletios the Younger (†1105), of whom hagiographic lives by Nicholas of Methone and Theodore Prodromos survive.<sup>19</sup> Meletios' *typikon*, which does not survive, was probably structurally like (4) *Stoudios* or (13) *Ath. Typikon*, that is to say, a document closer to a liturgical than a founder's *typikon* like (22) *Evergetis*. Indeed, if we are not to interpret Leo's instruction in the *typikon* that liturgical services should be conducted [T1] according to the Studite *synaxarion* as a contradiction of [M8], the implication is that Meletios' lost *typikon*, like (13) *Ath. Typikon*, was itself based on a Studite model. In that event, Leo's own materials would have served as a supplement on administrative matters unique to his own foundation.

To be sure, certain Studite institutions and customs, most notably involuntary confinement [T9], re-emerge in this document after a long absence. Nevertheless, topical treatments and approaches to issues that are usually attributable to Evergetian influence are even more noticeable, particularly in the *Typikon*.<sup>20</sup> Since the author does not incontrovertibly reveal his dependence on (22) *Evergetis* by using literal transcriptions as the author of (30) *Phoberos* did, we must leave open the possibility that he was drawing upon an earlier or parallel reform tradition with which the Evergetian *typikon* shared much of its content. Yet (28) *Pantokrator*, a contemporary document, is an example of a Evergetian-influenced *typikon* which nevertheless refrains from copying its model verbatim (probably out of a desire for stylistic brevity), and this document may be another.

*B. Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

The founder provides [M4] that there were to be no less than thirty-six monks at the foundation, making it somewhat larger than (27) *Kecharitomene* [5] but smaller than (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]. Compared to other, non-imperial foundations, however, Leo's monastery was large for its time, being three times the size of the monastery described in (30) *Phoberos* [47] and easily exceeding the twenty monks provided for in (32) *Mamas* [5] and in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5]. Moreover, the founder's resources at this location were also being used [M1], cf. [M4] to support thirty-six nuns in a separate facility.

2. Liturgical Duties

Observing [T1] the Studite *synaxarion*, possibly as mediated [M8] by the lost *typikon* of Meletios the Younger, the monks were to conduct both common and private liturgical services.

3. Sacramental Life

A discussion of confession promised in the title to [T1] is not actually supplied in the chapter. In [T2], the superior is designated, as in (22) *Evergetis* [15], to be the monks' sole confessor. The divine liturgy was to be celebrated [T2] on Saturdays, Sundays and feast days, but not daily as in (22) *Evergetis* [5]. The superior would make [T2] the determination for his monks of how frequently they should receive communion (so also (22) *Evergetis* [5], which is possibly being summarized here).

4. Cenobitic Lifestyle

For our author, communal performance of the doxology [T1] and common meals in the refectory [T3], [M8] constituted the essence of the cenobitic life. Although he refers [T3], [T5] his monks to the Studite *typikon* (i.e., (4) *Stoudios* or some contemporary version thereof) for the determination of quantities of food (moderated by the superior's discretion), the regulations he offers [T3] for the refectory and other aspects of the common life echo (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]: no quarreling over seating, absences from meals should be noted, no eating in the cells (except for the sick), and no private possessions. There is a brief allusion [T3] to manual labor. His ban [T9] on monks visiting one another in their cells also has an Evergetian counterpart in (22) *Evergetis* [21].

The author claims to be following the *typikon* of Meletios the Younger in providing [M8] that his monks should all share the same food and drink in the refectory, though this was also an important precept of (22) *Evergetis* [26]. The omission of clothing from this regulation for equality may be significant. As in (22) *Evergetis* [25], there is a provision [T4] for communal purchase and storage of clothes.

5. Monastic Discipline

Although the disciplining of refractory monks had been part of the Studite tradition in the ninth century (see (4) *Studios* [25]) which had then been passed down to Mount Athos in the tenth century (see (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]), it does not seem to have been a part of the monastic reform program in the eleventh century. Here our author revives [T9] it, perhaps through the medium of Meletios the Younger's *typikon*, and provides that after a second or third warning, a troublemaking or disobedient monk was to be locked up in a cell, then expelled if incorrigible. The propensity to

punish does have a more recent parallel, however, in (10) *Eleousa* [12], [16], another monastery founded by a bishop, which alludes to physical punishment and permits expulsion.

#### 6. Bathing

The author allowed [T3] his monks to bathe weekly, except during Lent. This is much more frequently than other founders were disposed to permit, e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [28], which allows baths three times a year, or even the contemporary (28) *Pantokrator* [15] which permits it twice a month.

### C. Constitutional Matters

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

The author was extraordinarily concerned to establish the independent status of his foundation, perhaps because, he being a prelate, there was a fair chance that it would be mistaken or misrepresented as an episcopal (i.e., diocesan) monastery after his death. As noted above, Leo had earlier issued [M1] a memorandum declaring the perpetual freedom of the convent originally planned for this site from all ecclesiastical and civil authority. Subsequently, he issued [M11] the present *Memorandum* granting independence and inalienability to the monastery as well, specifically exempting it from the imposition of a protector or a *charistikarios*. The monks were to enjoy [M12] freedom from episcopal interference as well. Later, in the *typikon* he makes [T12] a formal reiteration of the foundation's independence that follows the formula, with the customary curse of the 318 Nicene fathers, found also in (22) *Evergetis* [12].

#### 2. Leadership

As in other independent foundations, the superior perforce was the effective leader of the monastery. The first superior may have been an appointee of the founder; after his death the latter instructs [T10] that the monks are to choose the most worthy monk ([M7] cites "age and virtue" as qualifications) among themselves who is "agreeable and acceptable to all or at least the majority." A monk tonsured elsewhere (a *xenokourites*) was ineligible [T10] for election, lest he exploit his election to take possession of the monastery. The prescribed installation ceremony [M7], cf. [T10] was designed to make clear that the superior's authority to rule came from the founder himself, symbolized by the former's reception of the *typikon* and pastoral staff. The ecclesiarch was responsible for enthroning the new superior; the author boldly asserts "such an installation requires no other confirmation" (e.g., that of the local bishop).

The superior was to appoint [T7] the monastery's treasurer, ecclesiarch and cellarer "with the approval and confirmation of the other monks." Elsewhere our author states [M9] that the superior was also to appoint the steward. The author also exhorts [M6] the superior to "be like a protector" (an *ephoros*) towards the nuns of the convent at Bouze, visiting the superior for consultations once or twice a year.

#### 3. Consultative Government

As noted above, the community at large played at least some role in the selection of not only the superior but also the monastery's other officials. In [T10], the monks' obligation to show obedience to the superior is rationalized on the basis that he should be doing "nothing without their approval and knowledge" anyway. The author further obliges him to govern with the "knowledge,

advice and consent” of the leading monks (presumably including the officials cited above), which parallels the requirement of (22) *Evergetis* [14]. The more nearly contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41] also assigns important responsibilities to these monks. The requirement for consultative government here is justified by a curious extension of the reform critique of idiorhythmic monasticism to condemn also arbitrary, autocratic rule.

#### 4. Patronal Privileges

The author claims [T12] only the privilege of commemorative services for himself on the anniversary of his death and on the next day for members of his immediate family. Monks from neighboring monasteries in Nauplia were to be invited to participate in the founder’s commemoration.

### D. Financial Matters

#### 1. Financial Administration

The author obliges [M9] the superior to cooperate with the steward, ecclesiarch and treasurer in administering the finances of the foundation: “we forbid the superior to do anything without these three, or for them to do anything without the superior.” In (28) *Pantokrator* [64], Emperor John II Komnenos also requires the superior to consult with his financial officials before making important decisions. Deposits and withdrawals into the monastery’s treasury were to take place in the presence of the superior and the other monks. The precautions taken reflect the heightened concerns for fiscal probity characteristic of the second generation of the reform movement and are comparable to what appears in (23) *Pakourianos* [26] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; cf. the less specific provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [20].

The foundation was evidently supported [M10] largely by revenues derived from certain monasteries that the author had subordinated perpetually to his foundation under ecclesiastical *epidosis*.

Like (22) *Evergetis* [34], the author provides [T8] that the superior should choose an elderly monk to administer the foundation’s landed properties; the authors of some other twelfth-century *typika* preferred to use laymen as property managers.<sup>21</sup> A brief inventory (*brevion*) of movable property is included [T11] within the document. The superior was also to [M6] supervise the steward of the founder’s convent, provided that the superior and the nuns were agreeable, and assure that they received all the produce of their endowed properties.

#### 2. Acceptability of Entrance Gifts and Other Benefactions

In a provision that is unique in this collection of monastic foundation documents, our author states [M10] his determination to refuse any gifts of landed property that were not immune from taxation, professedly to keep the monks from being harassed by tax collectors. The author applies [T6] the same principle of selectivity to the entrance donations of postulants in a chapter that otherwise recalls the language of the comparable regulation in (22) *Evergetis* [37].

### E. External Relations

#### 1. Denial of Episcopal Rights over the Foundation

Probably to prevent his monastery from being confused with a diocesan foundation, the author

adopts an uncompromising stance towards any claims of ownership his episcopal successors might subsequently assert. In his discussion of the foundation's independence, he limits [M11] future bishops to commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy and investigation of spiritual faults, which is in accord (unacknowledged) with the legislation of Alexios Komnenos on comparable patriarchal rights issued in 1096.<sup>22</sup> The author explicitly denies [M15] his successors any rights to participate in the election of the foundation's superior or to install him in office, to convey the monastery to someone else as a grant (i.e., in *charistike*), or to send outside monks as imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) to it. Not content with these denials, the author also bans [M15] representatives of future bishops from the premises of his foundation (cf. [18] *Nea Gephyra* [2]) unless perchance they wished to come to the monastery to worship. Leo of Nauplia's late eleventh century counterpart, Manuel of Stroumitza was similarly skeptical of the good will of his episcopal successors, though in (10) *Eleousa* [16] he was willing to allow them the right of blessing the superior which our author here denies to his successors.

## 2. Other Threats to Institutional Autonomy

Curiously, Leo seems to have worried little about potential threats to his foundation from private individuals, who had posed the greatest concern to the early reformers in the late eleventh century. This despite the fact that Leo himself came from a clerical-monastic family (cf. [T12]: his father, one brother and uncle were monks, his mother a nun, and another brother was a bishop) of the type known in this era for a proclivity to privatize ecclesiastical property.<sup>23</sup>

### *Notes on the Introduction*

1. The *Typikon*, unlike the *Memorandum*, is undated, but probably postdates the latter by a little and may well have been composed around the time of the dedicatory inscription of the monastery church, which is dated to April 1149.
2. Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 312.
3. (31) *Areia* [M1], [M4], [M5].
4. (31) *Areia* [M4].
5. (31) *Areia* [M11], [M15], [T12].
6. Published in Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 51, and in Struck, "Vier Kirchen," p. 229.
7. Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 57–60; see also the note in Codex Parisinus, supplément grec 1090, with Choras' discussion, pp. 60–61.
8. The others are at Argos, Chonika, and Merbaka; see Mary Lee Coulson, "Re: Protomaiolica in 12th Century Corinth," *BSC* 18 (1992), 75; Megaw, "Chronology"; Savvas, "Quatre églises"; and Struck, "Vier Kirchen."
9. Timothy Gregory, "Argolid," *ODB*, pp. 164–65, and "Nauplia," *ODB*, p. 1443.
10. For the first period of Venetian rule, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 103–10, cf. 312–13.
11. Following Gregory, "Argolid," p. 164; cf. Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 111, who dates the Ottoman conquest to 1540.
12. For the relationship with the Holy Sepulcher, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 114–23, cf. 313–14.
13. For the second period of Venetian rule, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 125–36, cf. 314.
14. For the this era of Ottoman rule, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 137–44, cf. 313–15.
15. For the fate of the monastery after the recovery of Greek independence, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 145–94, cf. 315–18.
16. For the monastery's revival, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 195–214, cf. 318–19.

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17. Overlap between the two parts of the document: [M7] and [T10]; [M8] and [T1], [T3]; [M9] and [T7]; [M10] and [T6]; [M11] and [T12].
18. Cf. [M7] with [T10] and [M8] with [T1].
19. Halkin, *BHG* 1247, 1248; cf. Beck, *KTL*, pp. 625, 629; for this individual, see Alexander Kazhdan, "Meletios the Younger," *ODB*, pp. 1333–34, and Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho Hosios Meletios ho Neos (1035–1105)," *Theologia* 13 (1935), 97–125.
20. Chapters with close Evergetian parallels: [M8], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [26]; [T1], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4]; [T2], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5], [7]; [T3], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]; [T4], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [T9], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21]; [T10], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17]; [T12], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12].
21. (27) *Kecharitomene* [31]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19].
22. Alexios Komnenos, *De jure patriarchae circa monasteria* (*JGR* 3.408).
23. Cf. Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1000, ed. Th. Uspensky, "Mneniya i postanovleniya konstantinopolskikh pomestnikh soborov XI i XII vv. o razdache tserkovnikh imuschestv (Charistikarii)," *IRAIK* 5 (1900), 1–48, at 15–29; see also the author's condemnation [T10] of the monks of his own diocese of Nauplia as "passionately devoted to their relatives."

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### *Translation*

#### *Memorandum* [M]

*Memorandum* of the humble Leo, the lowly bishop of Argos and Nauplia, for the new convent constructed by him at Areia in the name of the exceedingly holy Mother of God.

[M1] My humble self first built a monastery in the name of our exceedingly pure Lady, the Mother of God, at Areia, and he ordained that thirty-six women, who choose to submit to the yoke of Christ our God, should lead the solitary life therein. In addition to the repose of their habitation, he also prescribed for them the necessities of life, so that they would continually have the wherewithal to obtain them, lest through the lack of these things, on account of pressing physical needs, they follow the monastic path in a feeble manner. By means of a memorandum to them he ordained that this monastery was to be free of all ecclesiastical and civil authority in perpetuity.

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[M2] What happened subsequently? Not long afterwards, just as gardeners and farmers use their special skills, first to place a plant cutting in the ground and tend it for a while, and then to dig it up and transplant it elsewhere, so that thereby the plant may be more firmly rooted and grow better and bear earlier, I did something similar with regard to this monastery. Even though in the end the affair [p. 240] turned out contrary to the original purpose of myself, the founder, still the final result resembles the above-mentioned procedure of gardeners.

[M3] For throughout the year our coastal waters have been swarming with pirates, who plunder everything with total license, and commit any outrage they wish against anyone who falls into their hands. Thus a not ignoble fear has disturbed me, lest this convent, which is vulnerable to attack by the pirates because of its proximity to the sea, be destroyed by them, and lest, in addition to the loss of monastic property, the nuns be the victims of rape, which is a special delight for men who once and for all have cast aside their fear of God and embraced the life of a pirate.

[M4] Therefore, lest something of this sort occur, with the cooperation of Satan, who hates the good, and lest this zealous undertaking, which seemed pious to me, have contrary results, I stripped for a second endeavor and constructed another monastery from the very foundations. It is located further from the sea, at a place called Bouze,<sup>1</sup> and is also established in the name of our exceedingly pure Lady, the Mother of God. I built therein cells for the repose of the nuns and other necessities for this convent, and also donated to the convent [enough property] to provide for the total physical needs of the nuns in perpetuity. I assured that it remain forever completely free and independent of any authority by means of a memorandum drafted by myself, the humble founder. Here I collected and assembled the nuns, and appointed their superior. As for their previous convent, after transforming it into a male monastery, I assembled sufficient monks, and installed them there. I wish their number to be thirty-six in perpetuity, or more, but never fewer, and I appointed a superior for them with an [episcopal] *sphragis*.

[M5] Therefore for the above reasons the nuns were transferred from their original convent to another, which I have just constructed from the foundations, and I changed the former nunnery into a male monastery. So that God may be glorified in both places, and the souls of men and women may be saved in like manner, by means of the present *Memorandum* I ordain that all the property dedicated by me to the former nunnery at Areia (which was [p. 241] subsequently transformed into a male monastery, for the above-mentioned reasons) belong irrevocably and without diminution and in perpetuity to the present nunnery at Bouze. [I also ordain] that no change or alteration whatsoever be made with regard to any of the contents of the memorandum issued by me for the convent,<sup>2</sup> so that the nuns will seem to be back again at the nunnery of Areia, even though they are actually residing and pursuing the ascetic life in the nunnery of Bouze.

[M6] We also permit the superior of the male monastery to be free to supervise the steward of the nunnery, if the superior and the other nuns are willing. I want him to be like an *ephoros*<sup>3</sup> and to exert himself on behalf of the nuns, when he is summoned by them in cases of difficulty. I ordain that he should go to the convent once or twice a year to pay his respects and to speak publicly with

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the superior and other nuns. But he should not go frequently, on the pretext of business, lest they become a scandal to the lay people. It is my wish that he should exert absolutely every effort for the prosperity of the convent, and with honesty so as not to touch even a *modios* of grain or a measure of wine or an animal that belongs to the convent. For I condemn to perpetual anathema any superior who would wish to do this.

[M7] These are the rules and instructions for the nunnery, but the rules for the male monastery should originate from the top. It is my command that the superior of this monastery should be one who on account of age and virtue is respected by this community and is approved by all the monks, so that he may be a model of every virtue for the others, not adorning himself with the rank of superior, but rather adorning the rank through the propriety of his behavior. His installation should proceed as follows: the episcopal staff of your servant, the humble founder of the monastery, should be placed at the doors of the holy sanctuary, and the superior-designate should first kneel down in this place and then be entrusted with the staff by the priest with the appropriate prayer and blessing. Then he should hear “worthy” repeated three times by the monks, and the priest should make an *ektenes*, and after the commemoration of the name of myself, the founder, the priest should also mention his name, and thus he will obtain the future leadership [of the monastery].

[M8] I command [the monks] to follow unerringly in all matters the *typikon* of the monastery of lord Meletios, with regard both to [p. 242] ecclesiastical services and their meals in the refectory, eating the same food, partaking of the same drink, and not introducing any different foods at the refectory table, unless perhaps someone should require a special diet on account of illness. For if a monk should happen to fall ill, and be afflicted with bodily weakness, and perhaps not be strong enough to walk to the refectory, in that case the superior should offer him every attention, and visit the cell of the ailing monk, and order prepared for him such food as is conducive to good health.

[M9] Furthermore I command that one of the monks be appointed and established as steward by the superior, and another as ecclesiarch to be in charge of the books and documents of the monastery and the other sacred objects. In addition there should be a treasurer and a treasury in the monastery, and every deposit and withdrawal of any sort should occur in full sight of the superior and the other monks, and the treasury should also be sealed by the superior. In short, we forbid the superior to do anything without these three [officials], or for them to do anything without the superior.

[M10] If a piece of immovable property should be offered and presented to the monastery by a pious soul, it should be accepted if it is free of any fiscal obligation; but if it is liable to taxation, then it should be refused. For I want to cast far away from the monks every such distraction once and for all . . . let them worship the Lord, and not get themselves involved in fiscal services so as to be disturbed by tax collectors, but they should be satisfied with the aforementioned monasteries<sup>4</sup> given to them in perpetuity as *epidosis*.

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[M11] These are my instructions, and by means of the present *Memorandum* I grant independence and inalienability to the monastery, and ordain that it never come under the control of an *ephoros* or *charistikarios* or anyone else. Nor should anyone, in the guise perhaps of administration of the monastery's affairs, or aid and assistance, lay hands on anything in the monastery and thus ravage and despoil it. I do not even permit the most holy bishops who succeed me to interfere with the monastery or monastic affairs or have any authority over it, but I withdraw it completely from their control, reserving for them only the commemoration of their name in the divine liturgies and the investigation of spiritual [p. 243] faults.

[M12] Therefore no primate or legal representative or archimandrite or steward or anyone else appointed by the bishops for these services<sup>5</sup> will ever have permission to enter within the monastery, but will be driven from the very forecourts, unless they come for the sake of a prayer. If any of these officials should dare anything of this sort, and should act contrary to my orders, he will be subject to the indissoluble censure of the lifegiving Trinity, which I, its unworthy worshiper, will impose. Therefore, in the Holy Spirit, let us commend to our brethren in the Lord and successor bishops to accept this arrangement of mine, and not contrive any innovations which might harm or corrupt this monastery in any way; but rather for all eternity they should pass their lives and be guided according to my will, and the monks in this autonomous and independent monastery should lead an ascetic life free from outside interference.

[M13] For I know well and am convinced that, if we have such concern for their training in virtue and there is no obstacle to pleasing God, as long as they are not negligent in their pursuit of the good on account of their own vanity, but gaze intensely and totally towards the ascetic ideal, they will appear as a blessed "generation of the upright" (Ps. 111 [112]:2), in the words of Solomon; and they will have plentiful abundance of gifts from heaven, and "their garner will be full, bursting with all manner of store" (Ps. 143 [144]:13), in the words of the psalmist, and "their streets will be streaming with butter, and the mountains with milk" (Job 29:6). For if they should light the gleaming lamps of the soul through pure health, and with the vigilant eyes of the soul should be well prepared to meet Christ the immaculate Bridegroom, they would obtain most abundantly the Lord's generous bestowal of earthly blessings, like a pledge and guarantee for their immediate and glorious arrival within the spiritual bridal chamber, "seeking the kingdom" (Matt. 6:33) of heaven, and acquiring everything else in addition.

[M14] But may it come to pass, O Christ the King, that this holy and spiritual husbandry of mine, with thee as cultivator and guardian of the immortal plants, may bring forth fruit at thirty-fold, at sixty-fold, and finally one hundred-fold (cf. Matt. 13:8), and therefrom [p. 244] may a spiritual ear of corn be produced that is beautiful and ripe, and worthy of the heavenly storerooms. For I made it full clear that it should be well guarded by the all-holy Virgin who gave birth to thee in an ineffable manner. Thus I have appointed her as guide and protector of this newly assembled flock, and I decided to have this holy sheepfold [i.e., the monastery] distinguished with her name, so that, as a dedication to thy Mother, it might receive thine aid more abundantly, and be preserved in a holy condition in perpetuity.

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[M15] Therefore again I beg my successors as most holy bishops, my brethren and fellow ministers, to be satisfied with their commemoration alone, and not to acquire any other privileges at the aforementioned monastery, whether that of installation, or election of the superior, or conveying this monastery to other people as a grant, or sending and assigning a monk, whether he be a relative of theirs or a stranger, to have any authority in the monastery except for that of commemoration, as has already been stated. Therefore I adjure them, in the most awesome name of the Holy Trinity, never to consider the [fiscal] abuse or destruction or enslavement of the aforementioned monastery. For I ordain once and for all that it is to be free of any episcopal and official authority.

Thereto this [*Memorandum*] of mine has been confirmed with my signature and secured with a lead seal, depicting the exceedingly holy Mother of God on one side, and St. Theodore on the other. It was entrusted to the monks for safekeeping in October of the seventh indiction, in the year 6652 [= 1143 A.D.].

*Typikon* [T]

*Typikon* of the holy monastery composed by the founder of the same monastery.

*Typikon* of the humble Leo, lowly bishop of Argos and Nauplia, for the new monastery built by him at Areia in the name of the exceedingly holy Mother of God.

We thank thee, Christ the King, eternal and beyond all ages, cause and perfecter of every action and thought, because thou hast deemed thy humble [p. 245] and weak servant worthy to establish a holy monastery to the glory of thy most honored and magnificent name, as a dwelling place for the grace of our Lady, the Mother of God, who gave birth to thee in a manner beyond our powers of understanding and speech, as a training facility for ascetic men who worship thee, servants of thy Mother, lovers of virtue who are concerned for their own salvation. This is the desire of thine undefiled Mother, and the consequence of thy true power. For where and how and whence would we be able to carry out and accomplish this pious deed, if thy most powerful hand did not assist us? For without it the builder cannot build, nor can the guardian guard.

[T] 1. Concerning holy confession and the office in the cells

I ordain that on each occasion every doxology be celebrated zealously and without any omissions, and with the fitting attention and sobriety in accordance with the Studite *synaxarion*<sup>6</sup> of the ecclesiastical office. It should be celebrated communally by all the brethren, since their life is communal. The other [office] should take place daily in their private cells, as each one [wishes] and is able, except for Saturdays and Sundays and the feast days of our Lord and the Virgin. For on these days alone they are to have a respite from their ascetic labors. I ordain, however, that a vigil should begin each Sunday evening, and on important feast days and all the feast days of the all-pure Mother of God.

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[T] 2. Concerning the divine liturgy and illumination, and the lighting of lamps in the divine sanctuary, and concerning the feast days

The divine and bloodless<sup>7</sup> sacrifice should be celebrated each week, without fail on Saturday and Sunday, and there should also be a liturgy on any other day which happens to be a feast day of Our Lord or the Virgin or one of the more important saints; otherwise [the liturgy should be celebrated] once during these five days. [The monks] should exert care in each celebration of the eucharist; for in this [ceremony] the awesome mystery of our salvation is celebrated, and they should be purified in every way, and indeed of wicked thoughts (and by wicked thoughts I mean those tainted with any sort of passion). Those [monks] who are permitted by their confessor should [p. 246] take communion reverently and in awe of the divine sacraments, and they should remain until the completion [of the ceremony]. For no one is permitted to take communion of his own accord without the permission of the monk who is concerned for his soul, that is, the superior. For I want the monks to reveal their thoughts to him alone. Those who are going to take communion should sing the obligatory office at communion, in accordance with the rule. The so-called collation<sup>8</sup> should take place at each eucharist, in accordance with the wishes of the superior, and the illumination should be more lavish.

[T] 3. Concerning the meals in the refectory and the number of monks

After the conclusion of the divine eucharist, or, if it is not celebrated, after the office of the customary hours, the monks should assemble in the narthex of the church. The semantron should be struck [as a signal] for mealtime. Then the monks should walk to the refectory singing aloud the customary psalm,<sup>9</sup> with the superior leading the way, and following behind him the others who are going to eat at the first sitting. When they have thus entered and concluded the psalm, the superior should bless their food, and they should sit down in an orderly fashion, young and old mixed together, so that every idle word and any inappropriate behavior or bearing or gesture may be restrained. Each monk should yield his seat to another, or sit where bidden by the superior who is seated at the head of table. For no one who has taken the vows of monastic life should argue over precedence, or quarrel in a worldly fashion; and anyone who, without good cause, is absent from the communal entrance procession [into the refectory] . . . when the leftovers have been handed in . . . and the usual thanksgiving has been said, all the monks should rise together, singing the prescribed office. After grace is said by the superior as is customary, each monk should go to his own cell, and then engage in handiwork.

No monk is to have permission to eat by himself in his own cell, unless he is confined to bed by illness, or this is permitted by the superior as a dispensation. Nor is he to have any private possession in his cell. As for the quantity of food, you should follow the rule of the Studite *typikon* concerning meals in the refectory,<sup>10</sup> as well as the discretion of the superior. You should follow the same procedure at suppertime. I, your unworthy founder, ordain that you eat three dishes daily on non-fast days and days for eating dry foods, but on feast days and memorial services you should eat up to five [dishes]. You should bathe on Saturday, except during Lent. For then all the monks, including the superior, should bathe on the Saturday of St. Lazarus,<sup>11</sup> and eat fish, and in the same way they should eat fish on the holy feast day of the Annunciation<sup>12</sup> in honor of the undefiled Mother of God. [p. 247]

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### [T] 4. Concerning the clothes of the monks

In accordance with the financial resources of the monastery haircloth tunics should be purchased and placed in the storeroom, for the monks to take when they need them, and furthermore the old tunics should be mended and used again. The same procedure should be followed with the cloaks and vests and footwear, in short all their garments, that whenever a monk needs something new, he should take the old garment to the storeroom, with the knowledge of the superior, and receive a new one in exchange. Let need be the measure for all the garments, thereby fulfilling the words of the Apostolic saying. "And distribution was made to each, as any had need" (Acts 4:35).

### [T] 5. Concerning the Lenten fast

The *typikon* of Stoudios sets forth rules for the fast of Great Lent, as well as that of St. Philip,<sup>13</sup> and its provisions should be followed on those days; but during the fast before the feast day of the Holy Apostles, let the monks eat twice a day if they wish, since the days are long at that time of year. For this fast differs from the non-fast days only in reciting the psalms at the third and sixth hours and then eating, and in abstaining from cheese and eggs.

### [T] 6. Concerning the so-called "entrance gift"

I forbid the so-called "entrance gift," if it is of immovable property which is liable to taxation. But if someone offers to the Mother of God property not thus encumbered, it may be accepted as a dedication and gift and propitiation of sins. For I prefer the obedience of the new monk to any other entrance gift, especially if it is accompanied by some other effects which profit the ministries of the monastery.

### [T] 7. Concerning the appointment of officials

There should also be [three] officials appointed by the superior with the approval and confirmation of the other monks, the treasurer, ecclesiarch and cellarer. They should be pious and energetic monks, who have led a blameless life and are irreproachable in every respect. At the appropriate times the officials should be admonished by the superior, both publicly and in private, to be careful and have fear of God, and to serve earnestly and with all love and honesty, since they have our immaculate Lady the Mother of God as their supervisor, and receive from her a reward for their accomplishments, but criticism for any improprieties. They also have an obligation to attend the [p. 248] services of prayer, when they can, and of their own accord to be concerned with psalmody, and not use their official duties as an excuse to be lazy and neglect the more important part.

### [T] 8. Concerning the management of immovable properties

Since [the monastery] has acquired immovable properties, the superior must look after them, and make responsible for them an elderly and revered monk, who has led a blameless life, so that as a result of his proper management [the monks] may obtain therefrom the necessary foodstuffs from time to time.

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### [T] 9. Concerning trouble-makers

If certain of the more negligent monks should stir up any kind of trouble, through the instigation of the devil, and if they should continue to argue and quarrel, even after a second and third admonition (cf. Tim. 3:10), and should disturb the peaceful monastic life, they should first of all be shut up in a cell for the sake of quiet and humility. If they should mend their ways, this is an accomplishment of the superior and the other monks; if they do not, they should be expelled as incorrigible, lest they infect the healthy monks with their corruption and cause even greater scandals. The same punishment is to be imposed on any monk who frequently disobeys the superior, and is shameless and incorrigible. I also forbid the monks to visit each other's cells without good reason, since this is a cause of idle chatter and suspicion, and those who cannot refrain from these superfluous conversations and idle talk should be subject to punishment.

### [T] 10. Concerning the election of the superior.

After the death of the superior you should choose the most worthy monk, one who is best suited to rule a spiritual flock, a man who is agreeable and acceptable to all the monks, or at least the majority. [I do not want] any monk from another monastery, a so-called foreign tonsure to come to the holy monastery and take possession of it through some circumstance and dispensation. For I do not want him to be promoted to the position of superior, or to celebrate the liturgy in the church of our altogether glorious Mother of God, nor do I want a monk<sup>14</sup> or "foreign tonsure"<sup>15</sup> who comes from Nauplia to be promoted to the position of superior, since they are passionately devoted to their relatives, and live indeed "according to the flesh" (Rom. 8:5).

Then he should be led to the altogether glorious icon of our undefiled Lady, the Mother of God, to receive this *typikon* and the pastoral staff which [p. 249] are placed at that time in front of the icon. After the *trisagion* and supplicatory doxology, and after [the superior] has received these [objects] in the aforesaid manner, he should be enthroned by the ecclesiarch, and be embraced by the preeminent monks, and assume his duties of leadership from that time on. This is the procedure for the election of the superior, and it should continue this way in the future, since such an installation requires no other confirmation.

Therefore when the superior has been elected and installed in his position of authority, the monks should offer him in the future every honor, every service, every obedience, being guided and led by his gesture almost, and eagerly carrying out his orders without any opposition, since the superior ought to do nothing without their approval and knowledge, but with the knowledge and advice and consent of the preeminent monks. For the idiorhythmic and uncounseled life is perilous. For in the words of Proverbs, "Do everything with counsel" (Prov. 31:4), for to have authority over and lord it over affairs is alien to the monastic way of life, since it is tyrannical and compulsory. Therefore I ordain, as has been said, that the superior should use the preeminent monks as advisors. Their advice should not only be about what must be done, but also about costs and expenses. For the superior should always be mindful of the apostle who said, "All things are lawful for me, but not all things are helpful" (I Cor. 6:12). Therefore trying to avoid blame on all sides, I order that the officials be in charge of everything, collecting and disbursing and being accountable to the superior for the management of objects entrusted to them.

As for you, O superior (for my words are addressed to you), you need to love and cherish all

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the monks in your charge, and deem each one worthy of the appropriate care, spiritual and physical alike, as the opportunity provides, like a doting father always caring for your own children, and being “all things to all men, that you may save all” (I Cor. 9:22), in the words of the great apostle. For thus the bond of love will be unbreakable, and the law of obedience will be maintained and fulfilled among them.

[T] 11. Concerning the sacred vessels

A silver chalice with paten and two matching spoons, all together weighing 4 *litrai*, 3 ounces. A little silver cross. Other bronze chalices with paten, two pairs. Two silken cloths with letters. [p. 250]

[T] 12. That the monastery should remain independent, and concerning the commemorations to be held from time to time

Since with the aid of God I have ordained and disposed of the regulations and rules of the other chapters, I should now discuss briefly the independence of the monastery. For it is my will and desire that this aforementioned monastery remain independent until the end of the world, and free and unenslaved by emperors and patriarchs and monasteries and metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, by archimandrites and superiors, in short, by all men. For my memoranda provide sufficient guidance for the monastery, with the assistance of this commandment which, as worthless founder, I enjoin and ordain. Anyone whosoever who attempts in any way to rearrange these [regulations] and introduce a partial or complete change in them, I subject to the most abominable curses, and sentence to anathema, and pray that every “divine misfortune”<sup>16</sup> and “wrath and indignation and distress” may befall this person, “a mission executed by evil angels” (Ps. 77 [78]:49), in the words of the great David.

Lord Jesus Christ, kind ruler, who puts in order large flocks and small, and magnifies them through thy grace, if anyone at all should attempt to oppose in any way my regulations and instructions, or to make subject to another this monastery which has been stipulated to be free and independent and completely autonomous, or to bring it under his own authority, or in any way or for any reason alter or impair its independence, whether it be an emperor or empress, whether patriarch or archbishop, or bishop, or metropolitan, or archimandrite, or superior of a monastery or any other ecclesiastic or civil official, or any man who is incited by the devil, whoever he may be, he will not only be considered liable for thy undefiled body, and honorable and life-giving blood, and will be alienated from thy portion, but will also inherit the curse of the three hundred and eighteen holy and divinely inspired fathers, and will cast his lot with the traitor [Judas], and will be associated and numbered with those who “cried out, ‘Away with him, away with him, crucify him!’” (John 19:15). I make the same curses against any monk of our monastery who attempts anything of this sort, whether he be the superior or another.

A commemoration should be held for my worthless self annually on the anniversary of my death, and on the next day for my blessed parents, [p. 251] the monk Nikodemos and nun Catherine, and for my brothers and sisters in the flesh, the monk Peter, and Helen, and the bishop John, and for my uncles who raised me, lord Constantine Antzas and the monk lord Iakobos, and together with them the deceased superiors, to the extent of the financial resources of the monastery. On the

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following day should be commemorated all the monks who have passed away, and all the monks in Nauplia should be invited to my commemoration.

[T] 13. Epilogue and exhortation and valedictory prayer

It is time now, my dearest and most ardently desired children, for me to make my final exhortation to you, my beloved and reverend monks, and to deliver my parting words. I will utter these words with tears and fervent exhortation. Therefore bend toward me the ears of understanding, and devote every attention to my words, and let each of you carry them forever in the storeroom of his soul, after inscribing them indelibly “on the tablets of the heart” (II Cor. 3:3). Strive above all to preserve this *tyikon* unaltered in all respects, take heed for the salvation of your souls, take care with regard to the church services and the office in your cells, “obey your leaders and submit to them” (Heb. 13:17), in accordance with the exhortation of the great Paul, be at peace with one another, maintain with all men love and “the holiness, without which no one will see the Lord” (Heb. 12:14), be humble, yield the chief offices to each other, be of one mind concerning the offices of the monastery, and be unified with regard to its prosperity and benefit, and to mention the most important point last, fear lest you not fear God; for in the words of Proverbs, “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom” (Prov. 1:7). Again I will make the final point last, fear to fear anything before God. For as the Scripture say, “Hear the end of the matter. The whole sum. Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man” (Eccl. 12:13). For it is truly fearful, brethren, “it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31), and fearful is “the face of the Lord against evil-doers” (Ps. 33 [34]:16), and it makes wickedness to disappear with total destruction.

I should have liked to say even more to you, but you have the books of the holy fathers which resound in your ears and explain everything [p. 252] in detail on each occasion. However, O Lady and Mistress of all, O servant and Mother of Christ the King, our true God, O bridge which crosses over to the blessed and passionless life, and ladder which rises up to heaven, O God-containing sanctuary, in whom Christ dwelt and on account of his compassion wrought the great mystery of our salvation, destroying the barrier of enmity, and uniting earthly to heavenly objects, O place of propitiation for the whole world to God! To thee this monastery is devoted and dedicated, and it is honored and glorified by thy magnificent name. Accept our many and long toils and labors which we lay down as a foundation for its prosperity, and may thou reward thy unworthy servants with a dwelling place in the monasteries of heaven, preserving this modest flock against harm. May the divine grace of thy visitation assist the incumbent shepherd with his flock, and may it raise an abundant and plentiful flock and make it fat and worthy of Christ the Chief Shepherd. May both shepherds and flock appear together before him, pure and radiant and not unworthy of the heavenly sheepfold.

Children, remember my love for you and my paternal attitude, and pray for your wretched servant, so that I may receive the portion of those who are saved, having found some confidence and moderate grace, through the intercession of the Mother of God and as a result of your<sup>17</sup> labors and holy prayers, before the awesome tribunal of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power together with the Father and Holy Spirit, for generations to come, Amen.

[Later addition]

Since the monastery also has fishing boats, it is my wish that each Sunday, when a vigil is performed, the monks eat five or six dishes of fish, or as much as they wish, and also when your worthless servant is commemorated, and the others, and on the feast day of [St. John] the Forerunner, the Holy Apostles, the holy prophets Daniel, Elijah and Elisha, St. Andrew, St. John the Theologian, [St. John] Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. . . .<sup>18</sup>

*Notes on the Translation*

*Editors' note:* The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot [AMT], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. For this locality and the possible identity of the convent with the monastery of Merbaka, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 55, n. 4.
2. See [M1], [M4] above.
3. protector, guardian.
4. The referent is probably lost in the lacuna in this chapter.
5. Read *diakonias*. [AMT]
6. Some contemporary variant of (4) *Stoudios*.
7. Read *anaimaktos*. [AMT]
8. Read *diaklysmos*. [AMT]
9. Ps. 144 [145], as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [40] and (28) *Pantokrator* [9].
10. (4) *Stoudios* [29].
11. Saturday before Palm Sunday.
12. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
13. Fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas, as regulated in (4) *Stoudios* [29].
14. Read *apobion*. [AMT]
15. *xenokouriten*. [AMT]
16. Euripides, *Orestes* 2.
17. Read *hymeteron*. [AMT]
18. Feast of St. John the Forerunner, June 24; feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, June 29; feast of the prophet Daniel, December 17; feast of the prophet Elijah, July 20; feast of the prophet Elisha, June 14; feast of St. Andrew, November 30; feast of St. John the Theologian, May 8; feast of St. John Chrysostom, November 13; feast of St. Basil, January 1.

*Document Notes*

1. *Memorandum* [M]
- [M1] Prior foundation of a convent on the site. The author employed a memorandum like the present document to establish the convent's independence; cf. parallel provisions in [M11], [M15] below. This document is mentioned again in [M4] and [M5] below.
- [M2], [M3] Nuns moved for fear of pirates. For the unsettled conditions in the Aegean in the Komnenian era, see also (24) *Christodoulos* Institutional History, C-D.
- [M4] Relocation of convent to Bouze; establishment of a male monastery on the previous site at Areia. Note that the author provides the episcopal blessing (*sphragis*) to the superior that he denies as a right to his successors in [M15] below.
- [M5] The convent to retain its consecrated properties at Areia. The author has not issued a new memorandum for the convent at Bouze; the earlier one, for which see [M1], [M4] above, will remain valid.

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- [M6] Relationship of the superior to the nunnery. See also (40) *Anargyroi* [7] and discussion of the canonical authorities on double monasteries in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8]. Typically, though not always, a man was chosen to administer the properties of a convent; see (27) *Kecharitomene* [15], (39) *Lips* [25]; cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [54], where, as here at Bouze, there was a female steward.
- [M7] Qualifications of the superior; installation ceremony. See more detailed provisions in [T10] below; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents.
- [M8] Recommendation of the *typikon* of Meletios for liturgy and diet; equality in food and drink, except for the sick. See also [T1] and [T3] below. For dietary equality, see (10) *Eleousa* [4], [11]; (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents; and (23) *Pakourianos* [4].
- [M9] Appointment of the steward, ecclesiarch, and treasurer. See also [T7] below; these three officials evidently fulfill the governing role of the “preminent” monks in other institutions, for which see (10) *Eleousa* [16] and (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents; cf. (23) *Pakourianos* [5], [19] and (24) *Christodoulos* [A20].
- [M10] Only tax-free gifts of immovable property acceptable. See also [T6] below, which places the same restriction on voluntary entrance gifts. (24) *Christodoulos* [A9], [A10] documents another founder’s efforts to secure an endowment of entirely tax-free properties.
- [M11] Independence of the monastery; no protectors (*ephoroi*) or *charistikarioi*; freedom from episcopal control. See also [T12] below for institutional independence, and [M15] for the limitation of episcopal rights.
- [M12] Episcopal representatives barred from premises. This is, of course, a provision of dubious legality, but see the similarly emphatic declaration in (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2].
- [M14] Appointment of the Mother of God as protector. For other appeals to heavenly protection, see (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [15]; (28) *Pantokrator* [71]; and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [119].
- [M15] Limitation of privileges of the bishops. See [M11] above and the similar discussion by the author of (10) *Eleousa* [16], another bishop, who permitted the episcopal blessing (*sphragis*) forbidden here.

### 2. *Typikon* [T]

- [T1] Studite *synaxarion* to regulate the office; daily private office in the cells. See also [M8] above. For other recommendations of the Studite liturgical *typikon*, see (20) *Black Mountain* [23], (26) *Luke of Messina* [10], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], [46]. Note that this apparently contradicts [M8] above, which recommends the *typikon* of Meletios, unless the latter itself was a Studite *typikon*. For the private celebration of the office, see (22) *Evergetis* [4] and related documents.
- [T2] Celebration of the liturgy; frequency of communion; exclusive confession to the superior. See analogous provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [5], [7], cf. [15], and related documents.
- [T3] Refectory procedures; no arguments over seating precedence; no secret eating; no private possessions; Studite *typikon* to regulate diet; weekly bathing. See also [M8] above. This chapter shows the influence of (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. [22] and related documents as well as (4) *Stoudios* [28]. For the regulation of bathing, see (22) *Evergetis* [28]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [58]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], [113]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [15]. This is by far the most generous provision; (30) *Phoberos* [46] prohibits bathing entirely except for the sick.
- [T4] Communal wardrobe. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [25] and related documents, (10) *Eleousa* [5], (27) *Kecharitomene* [52], and (28) *Pantokrator* [22].
- [T5] Diet for fasts to be governed by the Studite *typikon*. See (4) *Stoudios* [29], [30], [31]; cf. parallel provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents.
- [T6] Taxable entrance donations forbidden. See also [M10] above, putting the same restriction on donations of property; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
- [T7] Appointment of the treasurer, ecclesiarch, and cellarer. See [M9] above; cf. the somewhat different composition of the three treasurers in (22) *Evergetis* [30], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36], and (30) *Phoberos* [47].

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- [T8] Qualifications of the property administrator. See the similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [34] and related documents. Officials of this sort are also discussed in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [31].
- [T9] Disciplinary procedures. For the monastic prison, see earlier provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [25] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]; for a similar rule against visiting in cells, see (22) *Evergetis* [21] and related documents.
- [T10] Election and installation of the superior; governance in consultation with the preeminent monks; exhortation to the superior. See [M7] above; this chapter shows the strong imprint of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [17], cf. related documents.
- [T11] Inventory of sacred vessels. See the more substantial inventories of movable property in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 6], [INV 8], [INV 11], and (23) *Pakourianos* [33B].
- [T12] Independence of the monastery; commemorations for the founder's family and departed superiors and monks. See [M11] above, and similar provisions for independence in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents, and (28) *Pantokrator* [69].
- [T13] Final exhortation. Cf. analogous chapters in (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents.
- [Later addition] Consumption of fish on feast days. For evidence of fishing by monks to supplement their diet in other documents, see (29) *Kosmosoteira* [66], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], and (43) *Kasoulon* [25].