

This is an extract from:

*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:*

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

*edited by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero*

*with the assistance of Giles Constable*

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### 34. *Machairas*: Rule of Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of *Machairas* in Cyprus

*Date*: 1210

*Translator*: Anastasius Bandy

*Edition employed*: I. Tsiknopoulos, *Kypriaka Typika* (Nicosia, 1969), pp. 3–68, with corrections by K. A. Manaphes, “Paratereseis eis ta ‘Kypriaka Typika,’” *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon* 20 (1969–70), 155–68.

*Manuscript*: Autograph in the monastery *hegoumeneion*

*Other translations*: None

#### *Institutional History*

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

The foundation traces its origin to the Palestinian monk Neophytos who, according to the *typikon* translated below, left [7] the Holy Land because of “the invasion of the godless Agarenes,” an event that has not been identified, and settled on Cyprus with his disciple Ignatios. Their extremely modest settlement was on Mount Aôos, about 20 miles southwest of Leukosia (modern Nicosia). How the attribute *Machairas* or “Sword” was acquired is unknown.<sup>1</sup> After Neophytos’ death, an elderly monk, Prokopios, joined [8] Ignatios. Hoping to pull themselves out of poverty by securing imperial patronage, they journeyed to Constantinople (probably some time in the 1160s), where they succeeded [9] in gaining from Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) title to the mountain, an annual subsidy, a grant of institutional independence, and an edict restricting the rights of the local bishop of Tamasia (Tamasos) to liturgical commemoration. With this assistance, the two monks built [10] an oratory dedicated to the Mother of God and a few cells. By the time of Prokopios’ death, a modest community of five or six monks had developed.

Our author Neilos joined [11] the community in 1172, having arrived on Cyprus from an undisclosed point of origin with the intent of continuing on to the Holy Land on pilgrimage. He rendered signal service by traveling to Cilicia to obtain food for the brothers to relieve the effects of a famine and drought. Ignatios then drew up [12] a “written Rule” designating Neilos as his successor. Neilos’ own superiorship began [14] with a three-year drought, but the foundation’s fortunes eventually improved. Local benefactors donated land and movable property, and Neilos was able to erect [15] a church, a refectory, and cells. Niketas Hagiostephanites, the bishop of neighboring Tamasia, granted [16] a *stauropolegion* or “charter of foundation” for the church. Earlier, Neilos’ predecessor Ignatios had recognized [17] the local bishop’s right to install the monastery’s superior, a concession Neilos was eager to minimize [18], and happily he found Niketas to be accommodating. Eventually Neilos himself became bishop of Tamasia.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this was when he founded [169] a nunnery at Tamasia, for whose support he earmarked [170] one-eighth of *Machairas*’ revenues.

*B. Subsequent History of the Monastery*

Despite Isaac Komnenos' successful usurpation (1184–91) of imperial authority on Cyprus, Neilos maintained [22] relations with the legitimate emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–95), securing from him a confirmation of Manuel Komnenos' concessions, the gift of a garden in Leukosia, and a small cash donation. The conquest of the island by the crusader Richard the Lionheart in 1191 did not dim Neilos' enthusiasm for the imperial cause, for he secured [23] from Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) a complete tax exemption for the monastery's properties and a grant of twenty-four dependent peasants. Whether Neilos actually secured any real benefits from these emperors in the absence of any effective control of Cyprus by the imperial government at this time is doubtful, yet Neilos clearly hoped for an eventual restoration of Byzantine rule. There is a conspicuous gap in the *typikon* where Neilos hoped [160] to indicate the name of a reigning emperor in order to designate him as the monastery's trustee.

The chances for a reassertion of Byzantine authority over Cyprus became even more remote when Constantinople itself fell to the Latin Crusaders in 1204. Meanwhile, the rule of the Lusignan dynasty became ever more firmly established on the island. At the time that the *typikon* was drawn up in 1210, the Lusignan king Hugh I (1205–18) had just reached his majority at age fifteen, enabling him to dispense with the regency of Walter de Montbéliard, Constable of Jerusalem and husband of the young king's elder sister Bourgogne.<sup>3</sup> There are allusions [147], [161] in the *typikon* to the local authorities, but no direct recognition of foreign rule over Cyprus.

Although Pope Celestine III (1191–98) initiated the establishment of a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy for Cyprus, the harsher consequences of Latin rule for the island's Greek orthodox religious establishments were likely delayed until after Neilos' death. The order for the expulsion of the Greek bishops came only in 1222 under Pope Honorius III (1216–27).<sup>4</sup> Eventually the monastery lost most of its property and was reduced to destitution. The Ottoman Turks conquered Cyprus in 1571 and ruled it for over three hundred years. *Machairas'* fortunes revived in the eighteenth century under Parthenios, who served as the monastery's steward for nearly fifty years.<sup>5</sup> He was a patron of Ephraim, who published the first edition of the monastery's *typikon* at Venice in 1756. At this time, *Machairas* was one of seventy-eight orthodox monasteries on Cyprus and, along with the *Enkleistra* of Neophytos (for which see (45) *Neophytos* below) and the Kykko monastery, one of only three stauropegial foundations independent of the regular diocesan authorities.<sup>6</sup>

The British occupation of Cyprus in 1878 brought an end to Ottoman rule. There were forty-six monks at the foundation in 1891 shortly before a devastating fire struck on September 5, 1892.<sup>7</sup> The monastery was rebuilt, however, and continues in operation on its traditional site.

*Analysis*

Although this document dates from 1210 at a time when Cyprus no longer was part of the Byzantine Empire, it largely reflects conditions and institutions of a generation or two earlier. Textually related to earlier *typika* in the reform tradition, it testifies to the continued importance of the monastic reform movement in the early thirteenth century, though admittedly in rather attenuated form.

### A. Sources for the Typikon

Aside from the eighty-one chapters (classified here as Group A) of apparently original materials,<sup>8</sup> this *typikon* readily betrays its Evergetian heritage in its extensive quotations from (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas* even though the use of neither document is acknowledged. Forty-nine chapters (Group B) have textual links to both of these prior documents.<sup>9</sup> Sixteen chapters (Group C) are shared with (22) *Evergetis* but not with (32) *Mamas*,<sup>10</sup> while only ten (Group D) are shared with (32) *Mamas* but not with (22) *Evergetis*.<sup>11</sup> As usual with *typika* that are textually dependent on earlier documents, there are some original materials and reworkings to be found even in many of the transcribed chapters. Finally, there are fourteen chapters (Group E) that the author attributes to Basil of Caesarea;<sup>12</sup> most of these can be traced to the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential*, some to the Pachomian *Precepts*, and a few have no readily identifiable source.

The present document appears to draw on the Maman textual tradition (for the ten chapters in Group D) while also utilizing (22) *Evergetis* or some later version thereof (for the sixteen chapters in Group C). The bulk of the other borrowed materials (the 49 chapters of Group B), while shared with (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas*, probably were drawn from the former document except perhaps in two cases.<sup>13</sup> By way of contrast, Nikephoros the *mystikos*, the author of (33) *Heliou Bomon*, obtained the considerable amount of Evergetian content in his *typikon* only through the intermediary of (32) *Mamas*. Here in (34) *Machairas*, either the author himself, or more probably, a direct non-Maman intermediary (for which see below) utilized (22) *Evergetis* extensively, turning to (32) *Mamas* only occasionally (mostly for the chapters in Group D).

An analysis of the content of the exclusively Maman-derived chapters suggests a carefully considered use of (32) *Mamas* to supplement or alter the tradition embodied in (22) *Evergetis*. For example, (34) *Machairas* utilizes the Maman tradition to emphasize [49] the importance of attending the office, to modify [65] the Evergetian treatment of quarrels over seating at meals, to include [78] the dietary observances intended to spite the Artzibourians, to incorporate [94] the stronger, post-Evergetian formula on the inalienability of sacred offerings, to emphasize [158] the unalterability of the cenobitic constitution, and to establish [161] a mechanism for outside support for the maintenance of the *typikon*. This document's textual preference for (22) *Evergetis* does not preclude its being an ideological descendant of the Maman tradition as well, for of the 75 Machairan chapters derived in whole or part from other *typika*, only 16 (Group C) come exclusively from (22) *Evergetis*.

References within the document to "the ancient regulation" [4], possibly an earlier *typikon*, but more likely the monastery's oral tradition, as well as to the rule (*diataxis*) [12], [18] of the author's predecessor Ignatios suggest some candidates for the source of the composite Evergetian/Maman tradition. The rule would have to date from some time after 1172, when Neilos arrived at *Machairas* to become Ignatios' disciple. The ancient regulation, however, whether oral or written, could have dated back to the monastery's foundation during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) (cf. [9]). The substantial similarity in content among (32) *Mamas*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and (34) *Machairas*, all written for foundations dating back to this emperor's reign and benefiting from his patronage, suggests that our document's source (oral or written) itself dates to some time after (32) *Mamas* was composed in 1158, probably in the 1160s.

The posited direct dependence on an earlier Machairan document or the institution's oral tradition can explain the Maman content in the present *typikon*, for (32) *Mamas* seems to have been the favored vehicle for the governance of imperially sponsored foundations in Manuel's reign. The reason for the Evergetian textual preference, even for matters covered in essentially the same way in (32) *Mamas* (see most of Group B), is harder to explain. To be sure, the Evergetian content in (34) *Machairas* has been considerably compressed into the latter's generally short chapters, and in the process, stripped of what must have seemed to our author's contemporaries and their immediate predecessors its rhetorical excesses (e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [13]'s octopus analogy for ambitious officials, missing from [88]) and, incidentally, of much of its reformist fervor. What our author implicitly endorses in his own *typikon* is the administrative rather than the ideological legacy of *Evergetis*.

Incidentally, this *typikon*'s close dependence on the Evergetian tradition is helpful for overcoming some of its textual defects, enabling us to resolve some of the gaps in certain chapters and to surmise the content of others that are missing completely.<sup>14</sup>

#### *B. Utility for the History of the Reform Movement*

This *typikon* can be utilized for the fate of the monastic reform in the Byzantine world in the generation or two after the composition of (32) *Mamas* and (33) *Heliou Bomon*. The document's original chapters (Group A) are most important for this purpose. The author betrays little of the ideological fervor that had once distinguished the Evergetian reformers. He was not even committed to upholding an exclusively cenobitic approach to monastic life. Drawing instead on sentiments and reflecting concerns that were current a century after the composition of (22) *Evergetis*, our author seems most interested in taking an efficient, businesslike approach to running all the financial aspects of the monastery.

For this purpose, our author, like the first generation of post-Evergetian reformers, had a seemingly unbounded faith in the value of documentary evidence for establishing title to property (cf. [58]) and deterring (or at least detecting) theft. He intensifies the latter's earlier precautions designed to prevent internal theft by the monastery's own officials, but now the focus was not just on protecting monetary assets, but also movable property [95], commodities [99], and revenues in kind [83] as well as agricultural implements and other work tools [85] (cf. (35) *Skoteine* [44]). The precautionary record-keeping was taken down to the level of the monastery's individual tenant farmers and herdsmen, all under the direct personal supervision of the superior, which obliged the author to provide [86] for a second steward who would substitute for the superior in performing the latter's more traditional responsibilities vis-à-vis the monks.

Also useful for the fate of the reform movement are the *typikon*'s chapters shared only with (22) *Evergetis* (those of Group C), which show (34) *Machairas* returning to certain Evergetian usages and institutions that had been abandoned by the Maman foundations. These include the institution of exclusive confession to the superior or his designee [50], [52] ff., [141], communal provision of garments [102], [103], reliance on monks as property managers [109], and the exclusion of women from daily charitable distributions [118]. *Machairas*' return to these more conservative (or radical, depending on one's point of view) Evergetian principles and practices shows that from an early thirteenth-century perspective, there was no one linear path of development from the sources of the reform tradition.

### C. *Lives of the Monks*

#### 1. Number of Monks

In the text as we have it today there is no numerical limit set on the number of monks although one is alluded to in [164], which envisions a one-to-one replacement of monks with no increase permitted. At the beginning of the superiorship of the author's predecessor Ignatios, there were [10] only "five or six" monks; but by the date of this document there were, in addition to the superior, no fewer than twelve officials, including two stewards [84], [86], the ecclesiarch [91], [93], the cellarer [91], [96], two treasurers [91], [100], [102], [104], the provisioner [91], [105], the storekeeper [105], the guestmaster [105], property managers [85], [105], [109], and a disciplinary official [114]. This suggests a foundation of twenty-five to thirty monks in all.

#### 2. Liturgical Duties

Some of the monks were ordained clerics [165], cf. [164]. A priest, a deacon and a lamplighter were responsible [35] for the liturgical services. There are prescriptions for the performance of the canonical hours [31], [35], [42] through [46] that are textually independent of the parallel provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [6]. There are references [29], [30], [48], [73] to a liturgical *typikon*, apparently, judging from [75], a version of the Jerusalemite *typikon* of St. Sabas. The disciplinary official was responsible [114] for rousing the monks and for arraying them in choir. As in (22) *Evergetis* [4], the monks were also to celebrate [33] the office privately in their cells. As in (32) *Mamas* [21], monks were not to be excused [49] from performance of the office except for the sick.

In addition to the office, the monks celebrated the patronal feasts of the Mother of God [27], [29], above all that of the Presentation, which was to be celebrated "especially," while that of the Dormition was to be concelebrated by twelve priests. There are also prescriptions [26] for the regular illumination of the church. Departed monks were to be commemorated [157] in memorial services.

#### 3. Manual Labor

There are incidental references to the practice of manual labor [32], [33], [86], [120]. Yet monks who pursued private crafts without the permission of the superior were liable [120] to having their handiwork confiscated or destroyed. The *typikon* specifically mentions a gatekeeper [116], a baker and his assistants [112], and also a carpenter, a cobbler and coppersmiths [104], [113]. Certain of the brothers also accompanied [83] the steward to the monastery's dependencies to help him gather the crops and witness the quantities collected.

#### 4. Length of the Novitiate

Following (22) *Evergetis* [37], the novitiate was shorter [55] for notables (six months) than for others [56]. The latter were to serve in "appropriate tasks" for three years, continuing the trend towards a lengthening of the novitiate, exceeding even the two years required in (32) *Mamas* [22]. A monk from another monastery (a *xenokourites*) was eligible [60] for acceptance into the community after a probation of six months (cf. (32) *Mamas* [22]'s requirement of only eight days) and assent to the provisions of the *typikon*. Like the contemporary (45) *Neophytos* [9], the monastery was not to take in [115] lay youths for study of the scripture, but novices old enough to grow beards were to be admitted to learn the psalter.

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### 5. Sacramental Life

The author follows (22) *Evergetis* [5] in providing [36] for the daily celebration of the liturgy. Although this frequency was a departure from more recent twelfth-century practice, the author does follow the trend of restricting his monks' access to communion. Those monks without sin were to partake once a week (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5]: three times a week), while others were to partake twice a month (cf. *Evergetis*: once a week) or not at all. Additional provisions [40], [41] in this *typikon* reflect a new concern with the quality of the ingredients of the eucharistic bread (cf. (36) *Blemmydes* [4] ff.).

The author also follows (22) *Evergetis* [7] closely in imposing confession to the superior as a requirement on his monks. But here the superior was to hear [50] confession only once a day (cf. (22) *Evergetis*: twice a day). He could delegate the responsibility not only to the "more reverent brothers" (as in (22) *Evergetis*) but also to the "wearers of the great habit." At this monastery the superior was allowed to delegate [53] even the newcomer's first confession to "some of the more devout priests." However, the author took [54] a stronger line than (32) *Mamas* [29], supporting (22) *Evergetis* [15] in the latter's refusal to allow monks to have any other confessor than the superior or his designees.

### 6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The author generally endorses the principles and language of (22) *Evergetis* [9], [25], [26] in support of the cenobitic lifestyle. All monks were to eat [79] in the refectory. The same food and drink (but not clothing) were to be provided [106] to all the monks, even officials. Clothing was to be provided [102] communally though the items distributed varied according to each recipient's rank in the community. Other personal possessions were forbidden [87], as in (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Our author did not share the antagonism of some of his twelfth-century predecessors (e.g., the author of (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26]) towards alternative forms of monastic life. Instead, he, like the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [A24], provides [152] for certain of the monks to live as solitaries in individual cells during the week, returning to the cenobitic community on weekends to eat with the brotherhood, turn over their completed handiwork, and receive new supplies and provisions.

### 7. Diet

The author provides ([67] through [78]) fairly elaborate regulation of the diet of his monks. There are indications [68], [70] that he, along with some of his twelfth-century predecessors (e.g., the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6]), favored a more abundant diet, i.e., three cooked dishes instead of two, in certain situations in which (22) *Evergetis* [10]'s prescriptions were more austere. For Lenten Tuesdays and Thursdays, he introduces [69] a double dietary regime, austere for the strong and more lenient for the weak. He follows (22) *Evergetis* [10] in allowing [73] the superior discretion to alter the diet of the sick during the Lenten fast. Later, he allows both the superior and the steward to alter [99] diets to match the constitutions of individual monks. The eating of meat is explicitly forbidden [115], although in fact meat is absent from the dietary provisions of other Byzantine monastic foundation documents as well. In addition to seasonal times of fasting, the monks were also to fast [77] on three days of the week, Mondays as well as Wednesdays and Fridays, which is said to be a Palestinian observance. The author also adopts [78] the dietary provisions first seen in (20) *Black Mountain* [55] designed to refute the Artzibourian sectaries.

### 8. Servants and Agricultural Dependents

Monks were not permitted [87] to have personal servants. The author adds [115] that the bearded novices admitted for study of the psalter were not to be used as water carriers or for the performance of other personal services for the monks. The monastery's landed properties, however, were staffed [110] at least in part by lay farmers and herdsmen who were apparently hired laborers [82] paid a salary by the monastery, though the foundation also had twenty-four dependent peasants [23] as the result of an imperial benefaction.

### 9. Relations with Family

The author provides [136] for the reception of visiting relatives, though they needed to be announced to and meet with the superior first. Women were banned [115] from the monastery, however. They could not enter even for worship, such as on patronal feasts or for memorial services for their relatives, as the authors of (28) *Pantokrator* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (32) *Mamas* [27], and other documents were willing to allow.

## D. Constitutional Matters

### 1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The author adopts [21] the original formulation of (22) *Evergetis* [12] in declaring the independence of his foundation, that is to say, with no special provisions against the protectorate, *epidosis*, and other exploitation schemes such as in (32) *Mamas* [4]. An edict of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) had established [9] the institution's independence before the monastery had been built. The foundation also included [149] a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist that the author had erected east of the monastery. The author intended to draw up an inventory [150] of the consecrated movable property he had donated to this chapel. The author had also erected [169] a convent for nuns in Tamasia for which he had devised a "precise rule" and made donations of movable property. This convent was to be administered by the superior of *Machairas* and the ordained monk Neophytos as trustees (*epitropoi*).

### 2. Leadership

Citing common usage, the author designated trustees for his *typikon*, in the first instance God himself and his Mother [159], and also the emperor (unnamed) [160]. Since there was no universally acknowledged claimant to the Byzantine throne after 1204 and none at all who exercised control over Cyprus in 1210, it seems that the author preferred not to name anyone else as trustee who, like the trustees of the convent at Tamasis, might be in any position to interfere with the governance of his foundation.

There is a stray allusion [147] to a protector (i.e., an *ephoros*) to whom the leaders of the brotherhood were to resort if the superior should chance to refuse to stop spending the monastery's wealth improperly, yet there is no general treatment of this official's responsibilities or even an identification of who he might have been. In a subsequent chapter the author appeals [161] to "those who at the time are distinguished by the magistracies of the island," a circumlocution for Cyprus' Latin rulers, to uphold the integrity of the *typikon*. The ultimate source of this chapter is (32) *Mamas* [38], originally meant to describe the role assigned in that document to that foundation's protector (*antilambanomenos*). So perhaps the monastery originally had a formal protector whose

role our author has reconsidered and incompletely edited out of the *typikon* as it now stands.

As usual, the effective supremacy of the superior in the monastery under the rule of the *typikon* is not explicitly acknowledged. The author evidently envisioned that each superior would designate his own successor, as he does [140] here in this document, and as he was himself chosen [12] superior by his predecessor Ignatios. Indeed, the author identifies [3] the need to prevent the appointment of the next superior from becoming “an accessory to seizure [of the monastery] and anarchy” as his immediate motivation for issuing this *typikon*. In the future, the actual choice would be made [17] by a vote of the brothers, subject to automatic ratification by the local bishop of Tamasia (cf. [18]). Unlike (32) *Mamas* [43], monks tonsured at other monasteries were not eligible [148] to become superior “for any reason whatever.” Monks tonsured within the monastery holding the rank of *apostolikai* or those entitled to wear the great habit (*megaloschemoi*) were to be preferred instead.

Despite the traditional reluctance to acknowledge the centrality of his position, the superior was the beneficiary of a trend to centralize the monastery’s administration in his hands. The superior was to appoint [100] the monastery’s treasurers. The implication, not explicitly stated, is that the superior should appoint [91] the rest of the monastery’s officials. He was intimately involved [82], [84], [85] in the financial administration of the foundation as well as in the oversight [97], [98] of the monastery’s supplies that were under the care of the cellarer. Moreover, the author allows [92] the superior to remove lesser officials (those installed without keys) whenever he saw fit rather than allowing them the traditional lifetime tenure conditioned on competent performance as in (22) *Evergetis* [32].

### 3. Authoritarian Style of Rule

The author combines the divergent Evergetian and the older Basilian traditions in prescribing the nature of the relations between the superior and the monks. Perhaps it is significant that, in a chapter commanding [142] the monks to obey their superior that is derived ultimately from (22) *Evergetis* [16], he drops “affection” from the list of attributes his monks should show towards their leader. Yet he adopts [144] the benevolent, paternalistic language of (22) *Evergetis* [17] in his guidance to the superior without making any significant changes. In reproducing [146], cf. [147] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [18], he even drops the latter’s command that the monks should not hold the superior accountable for his administration.

To these Evergetian provisions the author has added a series of canons ([122] through [134]), mostly from the *Penitential* traditionally attributed to Basil of Caesarea, that espouse (esp. [123], [131], [133]) a sterner view of authoritarian rule and monastic discipline that had already inspired similar provisions in (32) *Mamas* [24] and even in one instance in (22) *Evergetis* [22] itself.

### 4. Patronal Privileges

The author exercises [140] his patronal privilege of designating his successor, the ordained monk Joachim, as superior. Earlier, the author’s predecessor had done [12] the same for him through issuance of a written Rule (*diataxis*). The only other privileges noted in the document are prayers and liturgical commemorations: a “customary” *trisagion* [31] on behalf of the “holy fathers and founders” during the recitation of the canon of the first hour; prayers [44] for the emperor, the holy father (the patriarch?), the founders, the monks and their lay relatives during

compline; psalmody and prayers [150] for the author at the chapel of St. John; and a joint annual memorial commemoration [154] for Neophytos, Ignatios and Prokopios, the author's predecessors.

#### 5. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author utilizes the language of (22) *Evergetis* [43] in providing [167] for the reading of the *typikon* at mealtimes. This was to occur three times a year, rather than monthly as in (22) *Evergetis*. Monks from another monastery who sought admission were to have the *typikon* read [60] to them in order that they should give their personal assent to its provisions.

### E. Financial Matters

#### 1. Financial Administration

The steward was the chief financial officer of the foundation, but as the agent of the superior, without whose informed consent he was [84], cf. [87] to do nothing. His personal qualifications [80] and the procedures for his installation [81] both come from (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Our author adds [81] his preference that the steward, as well as the monastery's other officials [165], should be an ordained monk. The superior and steward were jointly to inspect [82] and take notes on the monastery's dependent properties. No one's accounts were to be examined [85], not even a shepherd's, except in the presence of the superior. Thus the author carries the obsession of his twelfth-century predecessors with preventing peculation down to the level of individual agricultural dependents' accounts.

As an apparent afterthought, the author adds [86] a provision for a second steward who was to look after visitors and the sick, provide necessary supplies for the brotherhood, examine revenues, and help maintain discipline in the absence of the superior. Perhaps the author thought such an official would be necessary for the periods when both the superior and the other steward were absent during their tours (cf. [82]) of the monastery's properties.

The author establishes grounds [90] for the deposition [88] of either steward that are based closely on parallel provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [14], [13]. Unlike that *typikon*, which allows a deposed steward to stay in the monastery, our author orders [90] his expulsion.

In addition to the two stewards, the monastery was also to have two treasurers. One would be responsible [100] for recording the monastery's revenues and expenditures as well as for making monthly withdrawals at the superior's command from the money box in the treasury (cf. the even more stringent security provisions in (32) *Mamas* [10]). The other treasurer would be responsible [104] for the storage and security of agricultural and other work equipment, apparently reflecting a realization that these also were valuable properties that required prudent management.

The typical twelfth-century post-Evergetian concern with preventing theft by a monastery's own officials is more than matched here by the author's provisions [101] for a reconciliation of accounts every two months by the first treasurer in the presence of the superior and the "leading monks." The stringent procedures outlined were designed so that "there will be no cause for scandal against him [the first treasurer] who has been entrusted with this office or anyone else." Neither the superior nor the steward were to take anything for himself out of the money box since "everything ought to be openly collected and spent."

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The property managers (*metochiaroi*) were directly responsible [85], cf. [82], with assistance from others, for the cultivation of the monastery's landed properties. For this they received allowances in kind from the steward, who kept a written record of these payments. For the qualifications of these property managers, the author follows [109] the specifications of (22) *Evergetis* [34], with a change to preclude the use of laymen in this position (cf. [110]). Farmers and herders were to be recruited [110] from the ranks of the laity, however.

Overall, the author expected [29], cf. [170] the monastery's accounts to stay in balance, since he had "made the acquisitions of the monastery more abundant than its expenditures." One-eighth of the forthcoming revenues of the foundation were earmarked [170] for the support of the convent at Tamasia, including a stipend of twenty-four *nomismata* for the priests stationed there. According to Mango (*Byzantium*, p. 121), this suggests a total income for the foundation of twelve hundred *nomismata*.

### 2. Alienability of Landed Property

In a major break with one of the principles of the reform tradition, the author permits [111] the alienation of distant estates whose administration involved risk of spiritual harm. Given his insistence [110] that the monastery's properties be administered if not actually worked by monks rather than laymen, such a concession was probably inevitable. Such properties were to be traded for ones closer to the monastery. Proximate properties, however, were to remain absolutely inalienable on pain of sacrilege, which is in accord with the traditional reform principle.

### 3. Other Provisions against Misconduct

The ecclesiarch was to receive [93] a list of the church property entrusted to him, for which he was held accountable [95] in an annual check of movable property conducted by reference to an inventory.

The installation ceremonies for the rest of the monastery's officials are similar [91] to those set out for the steward and include the kissing of icons and reception of keys from the Mother of God.

### 4. Imperial Donations and Exemptions

In addition to recognizing the foundation's independence, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos provided [9] it with an annual grant (i.e., an imperial *solemnion*) of fifty *nomismata*. Subsequently, at the prompting of the author's emissaries, Isaac Angelos (1185–95) confirmed [22] his predecessor's benefactions and added the gift of a garden and a grant of twelve *nomismata*. Later, Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) outdid both of his predecessors by issuing [23] a chrysobull that extended "complete immunity from taxation for eternity" to the monastery and all its immovable properties. The desire of founders to have endowments free of tax obligations was evident already in the twelfth century in (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6]. Alexios III also made a gift of twenty-four dependent peasants. The monks are instructed [23], [24], [47] to perform daily *trisagia* and commemorative services in exchange for these benefactions, though it is hard to see how they could have been of actual value to Neilos' monastery since neither Isaac II nor Alexios III exercised any political authority over Cyprus during their respective reigns.

### 5. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

The author endorses [57] the by now traditional principle of (22) *Evergetis* [37] that postulants should not be required to pay mandatory entrance gifts “as if [they were] legal.” He crystallized the core of the objection as follows: “For the so-called renunciation (*apotage*) destroys blessed submission.” Like (22) *Evergetis*, however, he welcomes [58] voluntary offerings, but includes additional precautions in an attempt to strengthen the foundation’s title to these donations should those who offered them seek to reclaim them on leaving the monastery. Donors of movable property were to make a deposition on the altar; those offering immovable property were to draw up a formal document of grant and dedication to God and place this too on the altar.

### 6. Other Sources of Income

In the early days of the foundation, the monks lived [7] off the charity of various benefactors. Later, our author solicited [15] donations of both movable and immovable property from various benefactors, which enabled him to erect the foundation’s church, refectory, cells, and palisade. He intended to list the immovable properties donated in a separate document (*graphe*), akin to an inventory. In gratitude, the author provides [156] for an annual commemoration of the monastery’s benefactors, following the example of (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [40]. Yet in what he terms a “shuddering injunction,” the author announces [153] his unwillingness to allow the sale of *siteresia*, to be understood as living allowances, either to laymen or to monks, regardless of the benefits promised or amount of money offered in exchange. There is a rare and obscure allusion to tithes in [170] in the discussion of the financial support of the associated convent at Tamasia.

### F. Overall Philosophy

The old Evergetian hostility to the existence of privilege is hardly evident in this document. As long ago in (9) *Galesios* [130], the monastic community here was divided into ranks, with the wearers of the great habit being the most honored, followed by the *apostolikai*. These orders were distinguished [102] not only by honor but also by dress, requiring an abandonment (cf. [106]) of the principal of equality in clothing advocated by (22) *Evergetis* [26]. Of course even (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] reserved special rights for its “preeminent monks,” and more recently in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3] we have seen a community divided into senior monks and servants. Here at *Machairas* the superior was to rely [50] on the wearers of the great habit for assistance in hearing the confessions of the other monks, and, along with the *apostolikai*, these ranking monks were to be [148] the preferred candidates for election to the superiorship.

Even where there are survivals of the traditional Evergetian hostility to privilege, they are generally toned down. The punishment for a monk who quarrels about seating precedence is reduced [64] from the expulsion provided for in (22) *Evergetis* (9) to being made to stand up and perform some service. The author turns to (32) *Mamas* [36] for a way to preserve [65], cf. [63] the superior’s prerogatives in arranging preferential seating while nominally endorsing the Evergetian observance. In [106], the Evergetian affirmation that the requirement of equal food and drink for all applies to officials drops out of our author’s own regulation. Moreover, the superior was to sit [117] with visiting officials at mealtimes during fasts and entertain them “differently” without criticism from the rest of the community.

### G. External Relations

#### 1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

At the monastery's foundation, Manuel I Komnenos issued [9] an edict that prevented the local bishop from having "any authority over the monastery" except for the privilege of liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*). Subsequently, the superior Ignatios acknowledged [17] the prelate's right of installation (*procheirisis*) of future superiors, which said to have been granted by an imperial decree, though our author asserts that this was in practice to mean nothing more than an automatic ratification of the independent choice of the community. After our author built the monastery's church, he claims [16] to have followed "canonical procedure" in obtaining an episcopal *stauropegion* (a charter of foundation) from Niketas Hagiostephanites, the incumbent bishop of Tamasia, even though this was not specifically required by Manuel I Komnenos' original decree. Even though subsequently our author had himself become bishop of Tamasia, he warns [19] future bishops not to use the *stauropegion* and the right to liturgical commemoration as a pretext to interfere in the monastery's affairs. Should this occur anyway, the monks were to appeal to a representative of the emperor by presenting him with this *typikon*—a provision that obviously dates back to the era of Byzantine control over the island. The author obliges [140] his own successor as superior to obtain the *sphragis* from the new bishop of Tamasia. Bishops who were respectful of the monastery's rights were to receive [20] liturgical commemoration twice daily.

#### 2. Institutional Philanthropy

The monastery, which lay on one of the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land, emphasized hospitality, said [116] to be "a most royal gate to virtue," as its philanthropic contribution. Visiting monks were to be fed like residents; noble visitors were to be lodged—probably in the monastery's hospice or guest house (*xenodocheion*)—for three days.

No one was to be turned away [118] hungry from the monastery's gate, except, as usual, women, whose exclusion is justified [119] in the language of (22) *Evergetis* [38]. All others would be fed by the guestmaster (*xenodochos*) with bread from the table in the guest house. As in other institutions, the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, was the occasion [29] for an extra donation to the poor in accord with the monastery's resources. There is also a reference [170] to an allocation of a quarter of the foundation's revenues for "those who are struggling against the sacred disease" (leprosy), "and the other poor."

#### Notes on the Introduction

1. See the discussion in Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 346.
2. See his signature at the end of the *typikon*.
3. Hill, *Cyprus*, vol. 2, pp. 73–77.
4. Hill, *Cyprus*, vol. 2, pp. 46–47, with n. 3.
5. Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, pp. 346, 348.
6. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. 2, p. 25.
7. Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 348.
8. Group A: Chapters (81) new to (34) *Machairas*: [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20], [22], [23], [24], [25], [26], [27], [28], [29], [40], [41], [42], [43], [44], [45], [46], [47], [74], [75], [77], [82], [83], [84], [85], [86], [91], [93], [95], [97] [98], [99], [100], [101], [104], [105], [110], [111], [112], [114], [115], [116], [117], [120], [135], [136], [137],

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- [138], [139], [140], [149], [150], [151], [152], [153], [154], [155], [159], [160], [164], [165], [169], [170].
9. Group B: Chapters (49) shared with (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas*: [21] = (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (32) *Mamas* [4]; [30] = (22) *Evergetis* [3] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [31] = (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [32], missing, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [33] = (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [34], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [36] = (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; [37], [38], [39] = (22) *Evergetis* [5], cf. (32) *Mamas* [32]; [48] = (22) *Evergetis* [6] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [51] = (22) *Evergetis* [7] and (32) *Mamas* [30]; [55], [56], [57], [58] = (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; [59] = (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [9]; [60] = (32) *Mamas* [22] and (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [61] = (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; [62], missing, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; [64] = (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [36]; [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73], [76] = (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; [81] = (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [7]; [87] = (22) *Evergetis* [22], [24] and (32) *Mamas* [34], [35]; [88] = (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; [89], [90] = (22) *Evergetis* [14], and (32) *Mamas* [2]; [92] = (22) *Evergetis* [29], [32] and (32) *Mamas* [6]; [106], [107] = (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [108] = (22) *Evergetis* [41] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [113] = (22) *Evergetis* [21] and (32) *Mamas* [35]; [144] = (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [42]; [145] = (32) *Mamas* [44] and (22) *Evergetis* [18]; [146] = (22) *Evergetis* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; [147] = (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; [148], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [45]; [156] = (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [40]; [157] = (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [39]; [163], [166] = (22) *Evergetis* [42] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; [168] = (22) *Evergetis* [43] and (32) *Mamas* [46].
10. Group C: Chapters (16) shared with (22) *Evergetis* but not with (32) *Mamas*: [50] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [52] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [53] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [54] = (22) *Evergetis* [15]; [63] = (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [66] = (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [80] = (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [102] = (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [103] = (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [109] = (22) *Evergetis* [34]; [118], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [119] = (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [141] = (22) *Evergetis* [15]; [142] = (22) *Evergetis* [16]; [143] = (22) *Evergetis* [16]; [167] = (22) *Evergetis* [43].
11. Group D: Chapters (10) shared with (32) *Mamas* but not with (22) *Evergetis*: [35] = (32) *Mamas* [31]; [49] = (32) *Mamas* [21]; [65] = (32) *Mamas* [36]; [78] = (32) *Mamas* [19]; [79] = (32) *Mamas* [19]; [94] = (32) *Mamas* [37]; [96], missing; cf. (32) *Mamas* [11]; [158] = (32) *Mamas* [41]; [161] = (32) *Mamas* [38]; [162] = (32) *Mamas* [41]. These Machairan chapters also have analogues in (32) *Mamas*' close copy, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, which are not significant for our analysis here.
12. Group E: Chapters (14) derived from the Pseudo-Basilian *Penitential* or other late antique ascetic sources: [121], [122], [123], [124], [125], [126], [127], [128], [129], [130], [131], [132], [133], [134].
13. (34) *Machairas* [60], [145].
14. Missing chapters: [32], [62], [96], [155]; defective chapters: [31], [33], [63], [66], [67], [95], [97].

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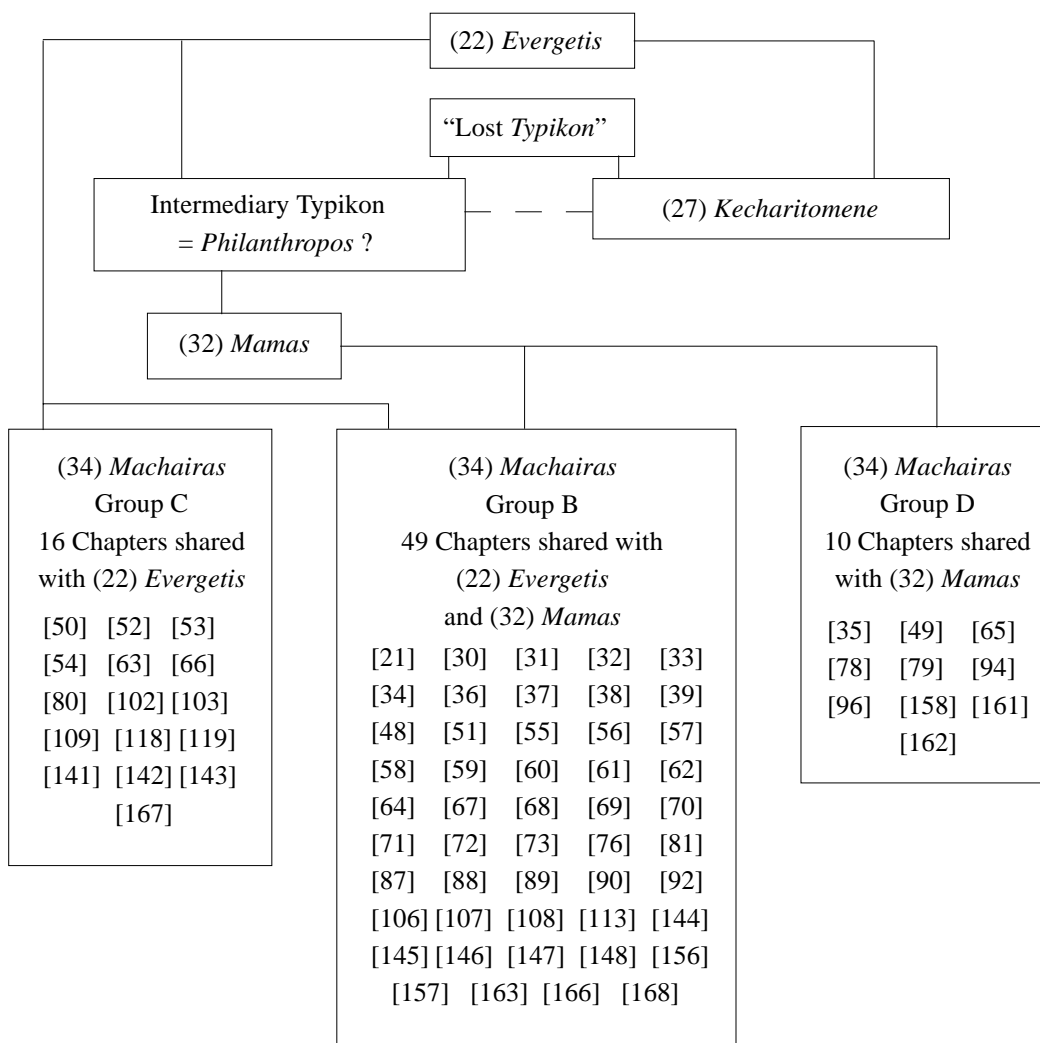
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Chart Three: Analytic Chapter Groups of (34) *Machairas*



(34) *Machairas*  
Group A  
81 New Chapters

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]					
[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]	[15]
[16]	[17]	[18]	[19]	[20]	[22]	[23]	[24]	[25]	[26]
[27]	[28]	[29]	[40]	[41]	[42]	[43]	[44]	[45]	[46]
[47]	[74]	[75]	[77]	[82]	[83]	[84]	[85]	[86]	[91]
[93]	[95]	[97]	[98]	[99]	[100]	[101]	[104]	[105]	
[110]	[111]	[112]	[114]	[115]	[116]	[117]	[120]	[135]	
[136]	[137]	[138]	[139]	[140]	[149]	[150]	[151]	[152]	
[153]	[154]	[155]	[159]	[160]	[164]	[165]	[169]	[170]	

(34) *Machairas*  
Group E  
14 Chapters from the  
*Basilian Penetential*  
and other ascetic sources

[121]	[122]	[123]
[124]	[125]	[126]
[127]	[128]	[129]
[130]	[131]	[132]
[133]	[134]	

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As noted above, this document shares, probably through intermediaries, substantial portions of the texts of (22) *Evergetis*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (32) *Mamas*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

### *Translation*

++ Index to the *Rule* of the monastery of Machairas +

1. Preface to the *Rule*
2. Concerning myself and the desire that is in my mind
3. Distinct reason for the *Rule*
4. Concerning the ancient regulation
5. Concerning the regulations that are going to be written
6. Concerning the beginning of the place
7. Concerning the monk lord Neophytos and the monk lord Ignatios
8. Concerning the monk Prokopios and his objective
9. Concerning the gift of the pious emperor
10. Concerning the building of the oratory
11. Concerning myself and my coming to the monastery
12. Concerning the rule of the old man
13. Concerning myself and the office [of superior]
14. Concerning the dormition of the old man
15. Concerning God's ineffable compassion and [about] the construction [of the buildings]
16. Concerning the *stauropegion* and the [right of] commemoration alone
17. Concerning the written injunction of the old man
18. Concerning the most holy bishop and the installation [of the superior]
19. Concerning those who will attempt to touch the things that are not to be touched
20. Concerning the fact that there is to be a commemoration of those who respect [this rule]
21. Shuddering curses against those who will make any attempt [to violate these injunctions]
22. Concerning the pious emperor, Lord Isaac Angelos
23. Concerning the pious emperor, Lord Alexios, and his gifts
24. Concerning the *trisaqion* of the emperor
25. Concerning the Christ-loving men and the immovable property
26. Concerning the illumination of the church
27. Concerning the feast day of feast days, the Holy of Holies
28. Concerning the rest of the feast days
29. Concerning the Dormition of the holy Mother of God [p. 4]
30. Concerning the [liturgical] *typikon* and precise canon of the church
31. Concerning the first hour
32. Concerning those who do not go on to their cells or to their handiwork
33. Concerning the [celebration of the] office in the cell

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34. Concerning the twelve days after Christmas and Pentecost
35. Concerning the third hour
36. Concerning the divine liturgy
37. Concerning the holy communion
38. Concerning those who do not receive communion
39. Concerning the prayers of holy communion
40. Concerning the [eucharistic] bread and wine
41. Injunction and additional emphasis
42. Concerning the ninth hour
43. Concerning vespers
44. Concerning the compline and the [begging for] forgiveness
45. Concerning the heavy semantra of the midnight office
46. Concerning the midnight office, how it ought to be sung
47. Concerning the big semantron and the *trisagion* of the emperor
48. Concerning the beginning of the six psalms
49. Exhortation to the brothers concerning the office
50. Concerning the soul-saving confession
51. Concerning the fact that the brothers are to hasten to confession
52. Penalty for those who do not confess
53. Concerning the first confession
54. Concerning the confession to the superior
55. Concerning those who come to be tonsured
56. Concerning the change of clothing of the novices and their clothes
57. Concerning not seeking offerings from those who renounce [the world]
58. Concerning the voluntary offering
59. Concerning those who will attempt to seek the return of the dedication
60. Concerning the monks who come from another monastery
61. Concerning the table and food
62. Concerning the brothers who are absent from the thanksgiving
63. Concerning the reading at the refectory
64. Concerning those who seek seats of honor
65. Concerning those who ought to be preferentially seated
66. Concerning supper and missing the prayers
67. Concerning the regimen of the holy Lent [p. 5]
68. Concerning the Saturdays and Sundays of the holy Lent and [the appropriate] food
69. Concerning the Wednesday of the Great Canon
70. Concerning the [feasts of St. John the] Forerunner and [of] the holy Forty [Martyrs]
71. Concerning Palm Sunday and the [feast of] the Annunciation
72. Concerning the [feast of the] Annunciation, if it occurs during Holy Week
73. Concerning the Great Sunday [of Easter]
74. Concerning the week of Renovation
75. Concerning the week of St. Thomas

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76. Concerning the fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity of Christ
77. Concerning the three fast days of the week and their breaking
78. Concerning Artzibourios and the week of Cheesefare
79. Concerning the fact that all are to come to the refectory
80. Concerning the steward and his selection
81. Concerning the installation of the steward
82. Concerning the superior and the steward
83. Concerning the harvest and the brothers sent [to gather the crops]
84. Concerning the steward, that he is not to do anything without the knowledge of the superior
85. Concerning the superintendents of the dependencies
86. Concerning the steward who is on duty in the monastery
87. Concerning those who have some acquisitions in the monastery
88. Concerning the two stewards and if they are removed from their office
89. Concerning the stewards and the serious pursuit [of their duties]
90. Concerning those who administer the office of steward deceitfully
91. Concerning the installations of the officials
92. Concerning the offices that do not have keys
93. Concerning the installation of the ecclesiarch
94. Concerning the sacred offerings and the divine vessels
95. Concerning the superior, that he is to inspect the things of the church during the holy week  
of Renovation
96. Concerning the cellarer and his appointment
97. Concerning the superior, that he is to go into the storehouse and make an inspection
98. Concerning the fact that the cellarer is not to do anything without the knowledge of the  
superior
99. Concerning him who operates the storeroom treacherously and deceitfully
100. Concerning the treasurer and the things in the treasury [p. 6]
101. Concerning the rendering of account after the passage of two months
102. Concerning the garments and every giving and taking by the monks
103. Concerning the giving [back] of old [garments] and receiving new ones
104. Concerning the other treasurer
105. Concerning the superintendent of provisions and the superintendent of the storehouse  
and the travelers
106. Concerning [the fact that] food is to be the same [for all]
107. Concerning the ill and their diet
108. Concerning the fact that the ill are not to grumble for excessive food
109. Concerning those who are going to be superintendents of the dependencies
110. Concerning the fact that a layman is not to be made superintendent of the dependencies
111. Concerning the estates that involve [the risk of] spiritual harm
112. Concerning the baker and the brothers [who assist him]
113. Concerning the cobbler, the carpenter, and the rest of the manual workers
114. Concerning the disciplinary official

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115. Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be altogether inaccessible to women
116. Concerning hospitality to guests [who are] monks
117. Concerning the magistrates who visit
118. Concerning the poor who visit
119. Concerning the fact that alms should not be given to women who approach [the gate of the monastery]
120. An added remark to the superior
121. Canons of Basil the Great: 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134
135. Concerning all the officials
136. Concerning the relatives of the brothers who visit
137. Concerning the canons of St. Basil
138. Concerning the above canons and decrees
139. Concerning the reasons for which these things were written
140. Concerning him who receives the leadership [of the monastery]
141. Concerning the brothers, that they are to confess to the superior
142. Concerning the fact that the brothers must have all goodwill and honor for the superior
143. Concerning the fact that they are to have love for one another and concord
144. Instruction to him who will be the superior
145. Exhortation to the brothers
146. Frightful penalties to the superior
147. To the superior who has disregarded the penalties [p. 7]
148. Concerning the fact that one who has been tonsured in another monastery should not receive the office of superior
149. Concerning [St. John] the Forerunner and his feast days
150. And [concerning] the holy icons [of the chapel of St. John]
151. Concerning the fact that another cell is not to be built
152. Concerning solitaries and their regimen
153. A shuddering injunction
154. Concerning the commemorations of our holy fathers
155. Concerning those who have dedicated properties to the monastery
156. [Concerning the commemorations of others worthy of remembrance]
157. Concerning the commemorations of all the brothers
158. Concerning my own judgment and the rule
159. Concerning the fact that following common usage a trustee is to be elected
160. Concerning the trustees: [they are to be] God and she who gave birth to him, and the emperor
161. A sworn appeal to the magistrates of the island at the time
162. Most shuddering curses against him who shall attempt to proceed towards the annulment [of the rule]
163. Instruction to the brothers
164. Instruction to the superior and regulation regarding [the number of] brothers

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- 165. Regulation concerning clerics
- 166. Entreaty and appeal of the sinner Neilos to all
- 167. Concerning the fact that the present *typikon* is to be read three times a year
- 168. A brief and concluding prayer
- 169. Concerning the holy monastery for women in Tamasia
- 170. Concerning what this holy monastery must receive yearly [p.9]

*Rule* of Neilos, the ordained monk, superior and founder of the venerable monastery of the supremely holy Mother of God of Machairas. Father, bless.

I, the lowly monk Neilos, primate, signed with my own hand.

### 1. (Preface to the *Rule*)

The divine scripture teaches us that our present life is short-lived and flows away, calling our transient days “the flower of the grass” (James, 1:10), because man during his life blooms, as it were, but quickly passes away, cut down by death. Experience itself teaches this even more. Accordingly, we see our race every day being mowed down as an ear of corn and being summoned to the other world. Providence ordains it this way, that evil may be cut short and that we may thereby be transformed to a more divine life and undergo a really divine change and thus gain that which is good.

There is also another more divine and lofty thing for our benefit. What is that? It is the uncertain and indeterminate limit of each person’s life in order that we may thus always be prepared for our migration from this world and dispose well of our affairs so that even after death our opinions may be of benefit and become veritable pillars to those who come afterwards and of whom we took thought while alive.

### 2. (Concerning myself and the desire that is in my mind)

I, too, therefore, unfolding this objective in my mind and having come in my own thoughts to my inevitable debt, I now proceed [to write] my present *Rule*, while I am alive and have my faculties in good health and my mind sound by the grace of the omnipotent God. I am disposing of matters that certainly do not belong to myself. What [p. 10], in fact, do I have that is my own except that which is from the ordinance of the sacred canons and the injunction that supports them—even if through me God’s ineffable love for mankind has caused the fortunes of the monastery under my jurisdiction to rise to a greater and higher prosperity and condition, as will be shown below more clearly? But, indeed, I delineate matters that pertain to my other most devout brothers and set forth as living images the very things that are advantageous to my spiritual flock both physically and spiritually since there is, in fact, much need of both [physical and spiritual] care for these sheep.

### 3. (Distinct reason for the *Rule*)

Such then is the objective of the present *Rule*. However, there is another very good reason: that after my departure to the Lord the appointment of the superior may not become an accessory

to seizure and anarchy, which very thing the love of power and contentious opposition that gradually emerges therefrom are accustomed to produce. By making this [opposition] the starting point for inciting trouble and by assuming its shape, the Evil One brings on a “turbid subversion” (Hab. 2:15) and a disturbance of the dignified life and the most noble conduct.

4. (Concerning the ancient regulation)

Moreover, [there is another reason]: that, having been laid down in my present *Rule*, the ancient regulation, which has been observed from the beginning, may be preserved up to the end unadulterated and altogether unmutilated, just as it has been preserved hitherto by God’s providence.

5. (Concerning the regulations that are going to be written)

The regulations of our holy monastery and the appointment of him who after me will hold the office of superior, the reasons as well as the times when the regulations of our cenobitic community are to be observed according to custom, will be written in separate chapters in the present manual with the approval of God and the pure Mother of God who conceived him without [human] seed.

6. (Concerning the beginning of the place)

It was necessary for me to mention in a condensed, general account and to present [p. 11] beforehand what sort of place it was in which our most holy monastery existed originally and what kind of change it underwent for the better with the approval of the all-benevolent God.

7. (Concerning the monk lord Neophytos and the monk lord Ignatios)

There was a certain old man, a bearer of the Spirit, Neophytos by name, who was leading the ascetic life, practicing asceticism in the deserts beside the [river] Jordan, and had become a consummate ascetic, celebrated for his moral excellence. The old man abandoned the places there because of the invasion by the godless Agarenes and came to the island. Because he had found the mountain impassable and harsh and away from all human disturbance, quiet and suitable for ascetic struggles, he chose to dwell there, having also as a companion his own disciple, namely the monk lord Ignatios. As soon as they built themselves a hut, they proceeded to inhabit the wilderness like a city and to procure their daily nourishment at the hands of some Christ-loving people. While they were living in such an angelic manner, the most honorable old man departed to the Lord and left behind his hut and his “mantle” to the new “Elisha.” (III Ki. 19:20) While the latter was toiling and being oppressed by poverty, he took the initiative to beautify the harshness of the uneven place as much as he could.

8. (Concerning the monk Prokopios and his objective)

He accepted an aged ascetic, Prokopios by name, having the latter as a consolation in place of his departed father. Whereas his eagerness was vigorous as regards the beautification of the place, his hand began to slacken because it was oppressed by poverty.

The thought came upon them to go off to the great city [of Constantinople] and to petition the

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pious emperor and to have him respond generously by his godly might to the poverty that was gripping them.

### 9. (Concerning the gift of the pious emperor)

He, the emperor Lord Manuel [I] Komnenos [(1143–1180)], Born-in-the-Purple, who was really a lover and imitator of Christ, not only listened to their petition and provided for [p. 12] them through an imperial and venerable decree to receive yearly fifty *trikephala nomismata* but also made a present to them of the mountain and the area around it. Furthermore, he made the monastery that was going to be built independent of every person, and through another edict prevented the prelate in the district from having any authority over the monastery and the monks who practice asceticism in it except merely [the privilege of] commemoration.

### 10. (Concerning the building of the oratory)

With God coming to their aid, they built the oratory which was named in honor of the supremely holy Mother of God, and they acquired only a few cells. [Then], the aforesaid old man [Prokopios] also departed to the Lord.

When he had been left behind, the monk lord Ignatios along with some brothers, no more than five or six, kept doing the things that were pleasing to God. For, in fact, the true man of God was striving not so much for his own advantage but for that of the men who were being shepherded by him. For the man was wholly spiritual [and] at all times he kept strengthening those under him so that they might nobly bear the toils of asceticism. Thus the man's fame spread and all ran to him as towards "the fragrance of ointment" (Song of Solomon 1:3), I mean his virtues.

### 11. (Concerning myself and my coming to the monastery)

I myself, the least [of men], was also moved in this way in the year 6680 from the creation of the world [= 1172 A.D.], and a strong desire came upon me to see the holy places and to do reverence to them and spend my whole life in submission to the fathers there.

In fact, rather quickly the desire became deed. When I had embarked on a sea voyage and had arrived at the island and had met with virtue-loving men, who praised both the tranquility of the island and the fact that this quite deserted place was suitable to those who wanted it for the purpose of asceticism, I chose to believe the words of the admirable men. I besought and earnestly entreated the latter to point out to me a tranquil place, and they yielded to my lowly request and indicated both the place and the old man [lord Ignatios]. [p. 13]

I, for my part, having made the obeisance that is customarily made to monks and having made known to him all the details of my objective, remained with him and was reckoned among his spiritual sheep. I had him as a spiritual father and guide of my deeds and salutary teacher of all things that are good and an unerring leader toward the road of the monastic life. I always submitted to his God-pleasing wishes. For having altogether denied my own will, I became in all things his own hand, foot, and staff of old age, coming to his aid and toiling together with him for the acquisition and establishment of the monastery. Also, when the island was being oppressed with famine and drought, I was sent by him to Cilicia for the purpose of ministering to the procurement of provisions for my brothers who are practicing asceticism with me. During his whole life I

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rendered every service to the monastery, for, in fact, I was doing everything pursuant to his judgment and wish.

Since he found me, by the grace of God, thinking and doing everything to serve him, what did he do?

#### 12. (Concerning the rule of the old man)

He set forth a written Rule and chose me for the leadership of the brothers and laid upon me the ministry of leadership and the office of superior. Yet, I—even if that which I am about to say should perhaps seem to be in bad taste, although certainly not to those who know me—put off the leadership.

#### 13. (Concerning myself and the office [of superior])

I was all in tears, and, by pressing my face to the ground, I kept seeking to cast away from myself the burden of leadership. He, however, with some gentle and mellifluous instructions won me over. “It is not right, child,” he said, “to resist or to dispute God’s unavoidable judgments; for ‘what God has purposed, who shall frustrate?’ (Is. 14:27). For, as his ineffable compassion allows, so he will manage the matters that pertain to you that this harsh and dry place may be both bright and beaming and that you may become a cause of salvation to many souls and lead this obscure and small flock to expansion, with the approval of God and the pure Mother of God, and that you may set forth for them regulations and standards that lead to the monastic life and safety. May you always have the grace of the Holy Spirit giving you its approval as well as the prayers of our holy fathers.”

I, for my part, after I had made the customary obeisance, proceeded to ask for forgiveness and I left the whole thing up to God. [p. 14] He, his eyes filled with tears and looking up to him who watches over the universe, granted forgiveness and prayed that “power from on high” (Luke 1:35) be given to me. I, in fact, clung to his admonition and judgment; and neither did he fail utterly in his hopes for me, nor indeed did I fail, as I trust in God, to win his holy prayers, through which until now I am being preserved. I became quite anxious that the venerable monastery under me make progress with the good will of God.

#### 14. (Concerning the dormition of the old man)

But it is, indeed, necessary to add to the narrative the events after the dormition of my father, and how the fortunes of the monastery were again reduced to a critical state and what way out of our great straits God granted us. For his is that truthful voice which says, “I will never fail you nor forsake you” (Heb. 13:5). Trusting in this [saying], we passed into relief from the great discouragement and storm which the multitude of our sins caused us, because the island was held in the grip of drought for three years and all were crushed and destroyed.

#### 15. (Concerning God’s ineffable compassion and [about] the construction [of the buildings])

His ineffable love for mankind, however, helped us and lavishly granted us supplies in the following way: some of the Christ-loving and faithful men worked together with us for the purpose of assisting us and dedicated to the monastery revenues from their personal possessions, both

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immovable and movable, over which, in fact, we exercise ownership. We erected the church and adorned it splendidly, such as it is seen today, and in like manner the refectory, too, as seen at the present time, and we made a palisade around the monastery and built cells in such condition as seen at the present time, and that impassable and rugged place was converted with much toil to level ground and we turned it into a cenobitic community by the grace of Christ, the pure Mother of God working together with us in all things. She will grant us supplies also for the future, as I both trust and pray. [p. 15]

### 16. (Concerning the *stauropegion* and the [right of] commemoration alone)

Since in accordance with canonical procedure it was appropriate for us to receive also a *stauropegion* upon the erection and dedication of the holy church, this indeed we have done. We received a *stauropegion* from the most holy bishop of Tamasia, lord Niketas Hagiostephanites, and in accordance with the imperial and venerable decree of the pious emperor, lord Manuel Komnenos, the bishop has the right of commemoration and that alone.

### 17. (Concerning the written injunction of the old man)

But that father of ours of blessed memory, the monk lord Ignatios, also prescribed before his departure to the Lord that the prelate in the region have the right of commemoration and that alone, in accordance with the imperial and venerable decree, and [the right] of the installation of him who will hold the office of superior at the time. The very one whom the brothers shall have selected beforehand and approved by vote, him he shall install for them without having examined in any way him who has been voted.

### 18. (Concerning the most holy bishop and the installation [of the superior])

This very thing, in fact, the most holy lord Niketas Hagiostephanites of blessed memory did. He gave me the appointment and confirmed the prescription of my father with his own hands and he bound fast his successors with the most shuddering penalties.

### 19. (Concerning those who will attempt to touch things that are not to be touched)

If, however, any of those who will undertake the helm of the most holy bishopric at the time attempts to touch [this regulation] under the pretext of the *stauropegion* and his commemoration, he is not to be obeyed. Instead, the brothers shall petition him who at the time acts as the representative of our holy emperor and shall point out to him the present *typikon* and shall check the impetuosity of him who attempts to move things that are immovable. [p. 16]

### 20. (Concerning the fact that there is to be a commemoration of those who respect [this rule])

I prescribe that those who respect and abide by this custom which has been observed from the beginning are to be commemorated in all the evening and morning doxologies and services while they are alive and after death.

### 21. (Shuddering curses against those who will make any attempt [to violate these injunctions])

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 538–53]: **We instruct all in the name of our Lord God the**

**Ruler of All that this holy monastery**, which has been erected by me from its foundations, is to be kept **independent** and unenslaved, **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 God and his undefiled Mother, and by the one acting at the time as superior.**

**If anyone ever in any way or at any time wishes to gain control over this monastery or put it in subjection or place it under someone’s power**, let him who has dared this, whoever he may be, **“be held responsible for the divine body and blood of our Lord”** (I Cor. 11:27) **and God and Savior Jesus Christ**. He shall have the pure **Mother of God** as an opponent and enemy on the Day of Judgment. Let, then, this monastery remain independent of all human authority.

22. (Concerning the pious emperor Lord Isaac Angelos)

It is necessary for the train and sequence of the narrative to add to what I said above some things that have been left out. For, in fact, certain brothers were dispatched by me to the pious emperor, Lord Isaac [II] Angelos [(1185–95)], and after they had besought his imperial majesty, the chrysobulls of the celebrated emperor, Lord Manuel Komnenos, were confirmed by his divine hand. Not only did he do this but he also made a present of a garden to our monastery from the imperial properties in Leukosia and the minting of twelve *hyperpyra nomismata*.<sup>1</sup>

23. (Concerning the pious emperor Lord Alexios and his gifts)

Also the emperor Lord [p. 17] Alexios [III] Angelos [(1195–1203)], the true lover and imitator of Christ, through an imperial and venerable chrysobull, extended to our holy monastery and to all the immovable properties that have come to the monastery from any source whatsoever complete exemption from taxation and freedom for eternity. He also made a gift of twenty-four dependent peasants.<sup>2</sup> I also prescribe that these emperors be commemorated not by saying, as is the custom, “Again we pray for the most pious . . .,” but particularly in all the supplications of the vigil.

24. (Concerning the *trisagion* of the emperor)

After saying, “Save, O God, thy people . . .,” we are to say the following prayer, “Again we pray for our most pious and Christ-loving emperor Lord Alexios. *Kyrie eleison!*” twenty times. [We must repeat this prayer] after the midnight office, as will be discussed further down.<sup>3</sup>

25. (Concerning the Christ-loving men and the immovable property)

Besides, some other immovable possessions were dedicated to the monastery by faithful and Christ-loving men, which will be listed in a separate document<sup>4</sup> according to their kind.

26. (Concerning the illumination of the church)

Before all other things I am going to speak of the most beautiful and loftiest topic, I mean, of course, the holy church. I shall prescribe a brilliant illumination, and further down I shall explain more clearly about the singing of psalms and the rest of the order.

At the daily doxologies and all services, the church shall be illuminated, as usual, with four

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tapers. Not only this, but they shall light an equal number of lamps which burn continually, night and day, at each of the two holy altars and at the sacred and divine icons which are to be venerated, as well as the twelve lamps of the *choros* and the two of the narthex. They shall have sufficient oil for these lamps, as is the custom.

### 27. (Concerning the feast day of feast days, the Holy of Holies)

We must certainly celebrate brilliantly the renowned and brilliant feast days and especially that of the Entry [of the Virgin into the Temple].<sup>5</sup> For we shall open the gate and receive with joy all those who enter [p. 18] and refresh them kindly, and they shall be lavishly feasted. For if you do this, you will have the Divinity lavishly granting you his blessing “a hundred fold” (Mark 10:30; Luke 18:30), according to his undeceiving and divine statement.

### 28. (Concerning the rest of the feast days)

The other divine feast days of our holy Mistress, the Mother of God, that is the birth, the commemoration, the Purification, and that of the Annunciation,<sup>6</sup> as I have indicated above, the brothers together will celebrate and be refreshed. They will be provided with fish by the monastery and a treat [of an extra serving of wine] shall be given, in accordance with custom, and they shall be lavishly feasted.

### 29. (Concerning the Dormition of the holy Mother of God)

But you must celebrate brilliantly the universally [celebrated] Dormition.<sup>7</sup> Not as you do the Holy of Holies, but you must invite only twelve priests, and you must celebrate the departure [from life] of Our Lady, and you must care for the poor in accordance with your ability and not use as a pretext poverty, the scarcity of revenue, that is. For I have made the acquisitions of the monastery more abundant than its expenditures, and they were dedicated through the intercessions of the supremely holy Mother of God. On this feast day we eat grapes, as the [liturgical] *typikon* of the church expounds.<sup>8</sup>

### 30. (Concerning the [liturgical] *typikon* and precise canon of the church)

Since it was necessary for this holy monastery, after it had been auspiciously established, to have also a [liturgical] *typikon* and an accurately described canon of ecclesiastical order and of the rest of the way of life of the cenobitic community, I recorded particularly the matters of ecclesiastical rite and order. But it is necessary to consign to writing also all the things that have been omitted in that volume but by tradition have been handed down to us, so that partly they may be easily taken in at a glance and partly that nothing may be corrupted by anyone.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 66–70]: **We must, therefore, pay heed most precisely to the things that will be stated, which I shall begin from a preferable place. It is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us the light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.** [p. 19]

### 31. (Concerning the first hour)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–76]: **So after the worship of matins, the office of the**

**first hour should be sung by you following on immediately, as is customary and at the end of this** while the customary *trisagion* is being performed at the narthex, the priest says: “Pray for our holy fathers and founders.”

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 116–19]: After its completion, **you must depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because . . .** [Gap in text, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], lines 119–26]: **[your mind is relaxed by this and you forget what is really good, and reaching your cells in a dilatory and lazy frame of mind you sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, “To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.”]**<sup>9</sup>

32. (Concerning those who do not go on to their cells or to their handiwork)

[Missing chapter; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 127–35]

33. (Concerning the [celebration of the] office in the cell)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 139–42]: . . . and the care of handiwork or reading, and besides **the genuflections** according to one’s ability, inasmuch as he has received from the father an order **to avoid [genuflections] only in the church when the psalm, “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is sung. So when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down,** except Saturday and Sunday, but **whenever there is a vigil, we will avoid genuflections in the cells.**

34. (Concerning the twelve days after Christmas and Pentecost)

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. line 142]: **Besides,** we must avoid genuflections **during the twelve days after Christmas and the** entire Pentecost, and during all the feasts of the Lord and those of the twelve apostles and the commemorations of all the great saints on which we are accustomed to hold vigils. In like manner, we shall observe also the singing of the *mesoria* in our cells during the entire Pentecost, during both its first week and the last [week], I mean both the **week of Easter** and that of the Holy Spirit.

35. (Concerning the third hour)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [31], ed. lines 25–31]: **When the semantron then is struck at the time that is proper, all must assemble in the narthex and there sing together the third and the sixth hours** [p. 20] **along with *mesoria*. At the beginning, however, of the sixth hour, both the priest and the deacon who have the priestly duties for the day and the lighter of the lamps along with them must make a genuflection to the superior, and, while the former must enter into the holy sanctuary to prepare this divine oblation, the latter must go off to strike the large semantron.**

36. (Concerning the divine liturgy)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 145–47]: **So the ritual of the third and sixth hours should**

**be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.** [= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 151–57]: **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 and divine faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled blood of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ.**

37. (Concerning the holy communion)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 157–84]: **So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is impure, sown by the devil, and unworthy of that fearful consecration, 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 each day. This we would indeed wish, for to partake continuously of the divine elements is continuously to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (John 6:56), and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says, “He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit” (I Cor. 6:17), and as the most gentle David says conversely, “Those who distance themselves from you will 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. 21] This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore and more especially the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion once 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 twice a month or not at all, at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters.**

38. (Concerning those who do not receive communion)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 185–86]: **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.**

39. (Concerning the prayers of holy communion)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 187–91]: **However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion read more attentively the prayers laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus joyfully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.**

## 40. (Concerning the [eucharistic] bread and wine)

But since I have come to this point of the discussion, I must speak also about the [eucharistic] bread and wine that are brought to the holy altar for a “living sacrifice” (Rom. 12:1), which is holy, pure and bloodless, lest, because some carelessness or disregard has crept in with regard to these matters, we err unawares with respect to the greatest and loftiest [sacrament]. For, if Cain was condemned because of this very thing, for not offering to God, that is, the best things, but keeping them and storing them up for himself (cf. Gen. 4:2–5), I fear lest we, too, should be found to be liable to such a condemnation, if we do not offer the best to the Giver and Bestower of all things. [p. 22]

## 41. (Injunction and additional emphasis)

This surely I also enjoin: that the offerings of [eucharistic] bread not be made from the common dough from which the loaves of bread for the [refectory] table are made, but that the flour be separately sifted and kneaded and that from this [dough] be made the offerings of [eucharistic bread] that are altogether pure. Also that the [eucharistic] wine be given from the best wine produced in the monastery. If the superior should set aside some of this [bread and wine] for himself or even for those whom he himself knows not to be healthy in body to eat and drink at table, he shall not at all be condemned.

## 42. (Concerning the ninth hour)

The ninth hour and its *mesoria* must be sung as follows. After we have risen from our eating at the common table, the brotherhood sings the psalm, “The Lord is merciful and compassionate. He has given food to them that fear him” (Ps. 110 [111]:5), three times and together with it the *trisagion*, as is customary. Then the priest adds this prayer, “Blessed is God who nurtures us from our youth by his grace and love of mankind, always” and forthwith we begin the hundred and twenty-first psalm, “I was glad when they said to me, ‘Let us go into the house of the Lord’” (Ps. 121 [122]:1), and as we sing this [psalm], we come out of the refectory with the proper decorum and order and go to the narthex of the church and there, finishing off this psalm, we begin the *trisagion* and sing the ninth [hour]. After its completion, while the priest is offering the usual prayer, the aforementioned mutual forgiveness by the superior and the brotherhood again takes place, and we are dismissed to our cells.

## 43. (Concerning vespers)

The regulation of the church’s *typikon* shows quite clearly how the office of vespers ought to be performed. At the completion of [this office], after the *trisagion*, which is customarily said in the narthex, it is proper for the aforementioned mutual genuflections and forgiveness to take place.

## 44. (Concerning the compline and the [begging for] forgiveness)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 199–205]: **After supper we ought to sing the compline, during which we must also genuflect whenever we are not celebrating a feast, and we call a feast the day when the psalm, “God [p. 23] is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung during the morning office. When the compline, too, has been sung and the superior has said the customary prayer, it is good for all the brothers, while they are standing up, to incline their ear to him**

when he kneels and says, **“Forgive me, fathers and brothers, for I have sinned in deed and in word and in thought,”** and granting him their forgiveness, to say, **“May God forgive you, honorable father.”** Then, each one of you must prostrate himself on the ground and ask a common forgiveness from the whole brotherhood, saying thus: “Forgive me, fathers and brothers, for I have sinned in deed, in word and in thought.” You must all pray for him who is lying prostrate and say, “May God save and forgive you.”

After all have asked for themselves this forgiveness and received it, it is appropriate for the ecclesiarch to say, “Pray, fathers, for our mighty and holy emperor, for our holy father, for those who enjoined us to pray for them, for our fathers and brothers who are absent, for those who sail the sea, for those who are being held in prisons, for those who are lying in sickness. Pray for and bless the founders; bless our fathers and brothers; bless our parents.” Then all together must answer, saying, “May God forgive and save them.” After this, having genuflected, all together must say to the superior, “Bless [us], pray [for us] and forgive us, holy father.” He says over you the customary prayer, “May God forgive and save you all.” As soon as he says this, all respond, “Amen,” and rise to accompany the father to the superior’s cell and, having received his counsel, they depart to their cells to **carry out the night office, in accordance with the given regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep.**

45. (Concerning the heavy semantra of the midnight office)

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 213–21]: When both the lighter of the lamps and the disciplinary official have ascertained from the ecclesiarch the proper hour, they should go to the superior and, having received the customary blessing from him, the lighter of the lamps should depart in order to strike the heavy [semantron], while the disciplinary official, having said in a soft and gentle voice, “Bless [me], holy father, it is time for the midnight office,” should pass by the cells of the brothers and, saying in like manner at each [cell], “Bless [me], father, it is time for the midnight office,” [p. 24] he should awaken you for the service of the midnight office, while the lighter of the lamps strikes the heavy [semantron], in accordance with custom. Both [the disciplinary official] and the lighter of the lamps will [also], certainly, sing [the midnight office]. Thus, at the sound of the iron semantron, all will assemble in the church.

46. (Concerning the midnight office, how it ought to be sung)

When the priest has given the blessing, the midnight office is sung. After its completion, the superior cries out, “Pray for and bless our holy fathers; pray for me, too, the sinner, in order that I may be delivered from my passions and the snares of the evil one.” You, falling on your knees, answer, “God bless our holy fathers and may he forgive you, too, You yourself, too, pray for us, honorable father, in order that we may be delivered from our passions and the snares of the evil one.” The superior answers, “God forgive you all through the prayers of our holy fathers,” and you arise, answering, “Amen.”

47. (Concerning the big semantron and the *trisagion* of the emperor)

Having made an obeisance to the superior, the lighter of the lamps departs and sounds the big semantron, and thus we begin the *trisagion* for our mighty and holy emperor with *troparia* and an

*ektenes* by the priest, [saying]: “Again we pray for our most pious and God-guarded emperors, their sovereign power, victory, permanence, peace, health and salvation, and that the Lord our God may further cooperate with them and make them prosper in all things and subject under their feet every enemy and foe.” [We say] twelve times, “*Kyrie eleison*.” Thus we begin the doxology of the morning office, which we must do in the following manner.

48. (Concerning the beginning of the six psalms)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 222–40]: **After the striking of the big semantron praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and he should at once make with the censer the sign of the venerable cross in front of the holy table and call out as follows, “Glory to the holy and consubstantial, indivisible, life-giving and unconfused Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever.” After this, both the superior and the ecclesiarch reply “Amen” and should at once begin [to recite] “Glory be to God in the highest” [p. 25] followed by the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly and quietly 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 just as the church’s [liturgical] *typikon* describes.** This we must do whenever we sing the psalm, “God is the Lord,” (Ps. 117 [118:27] for if the day calls for the [singing of] “Alleluia,” we begin from the *trisagion*. **Thus, then, will remain without alteration for all time the pattern of your daily office.**

49. (Exhortation to the brothers concerning the office)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [21], ed. lines 20–31]: **But above all I entreat you, my spiritual fathers and brothers, that no one be absent from the ecclesiastical office either during the daytime and night time doxologies or during the vigils that are usually performed. For, if, in fact, anyone should be absent in consequence of sloth and negligence and not because of illness, which, of course can attract forgiveness, let such a person know that, if after a first and second and third admonition he abides in his sloth, he shall have in consequence as his just penalty the eating of dry food and the drinking of water only on the day on which this offense should be committed by him. Those, however, who perhaps are occupied with certain tasks or wrestle with bodily illnesses, as I have stated, shall not be subjected to the censure of this sort. For it is necessary to show consideration for the illnesses and the labors of men.**

50. (Concerning the soul-saving confession).

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 241–60]: **We must also speak about soul-saving confession. Well then, the superior must enter the sacristy at each vigil at the time which he himself chooses for this, and leaving aside all 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 remedy. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he cannot act in person since the brotherhood [p. 26] is numerous, to authorize whichever of the priests he wishes, or even some of the more reverent brothers, (wearers of the great habit), to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour those 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 will produce the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing from their [confessors], though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor.

51. (Concerning the fact that the brothers are to hasten to confession)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 261–87]: **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 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 of faults 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 assuredly 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? [p. 27] The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.**

52. (Penalty for those who do not confess)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 288–314]: **Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful habits. 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 impossible 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>10</sup>

So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will be more secure later on; for 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>11</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, by the superior himself clearly and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts. [p. 28]

53. (Concerning the first confession)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 314–17]: **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.** But if, on the other hand, the superior should wish to urge some of the most devout priests to receive [confession] of thoughts, let those who cast off the hair of this world disclose their thoughts to them.

54. (Concerning the confession to the superior)

All who belong to the brotherhood are to confess their personal thoughts to the superior, as I have stated, both at the time of their renunciation [of the world] and during their struggle and training after their renunciation, and they are not to have as recipients of their personal thoughts any others who are either solitaries or reside in other monasteries, but they are to lay bare all their own faults only to the superior, from whom they will also receive the remedies that are appropriate and suitable. They [should also confess] to those to whom the superior himself may entrust the matter, as I have indicated. They should not, however, go to any other person for the purpose of confession, nor shall they acclaim him as a spiritual father for themselves [anyone] except their own superior. For I abhor this altogether as a cause of outrage.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [15], lines 749–59]: **But if, on the other hand, there should be someone who is obdurate and disobedient, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his superior but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father and would endeavor to confide his personal 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 who behold all things” (cf. Sir. 15:18)—evil and very dangerous decisions, let him be utterly rejected from the monastery 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.** Let these things be so.

55. (Concerning those who come to be tonsured)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], lines 1123–26]: **I must speak also** in fuller detail **about** those who come to the monastery for the purpose of being **tonsured**. [p. 29] **If they are distinguished people or are people known to you for a long time and have a close knowledge of the monastery's way of life and character, they should be tonsured within a period of six months, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted.**

56. (Concerning the change of clothing of the novices and their clothes)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1127–34]: **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 appropriate tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude until the completion of three years, then they should be enrolled among the brothers by being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit,** that is to say, the cloak. **But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and negligent,** let them divest themselves of their black clothes and clothe themselves with the clothing of the world and return to the world which they loved. For those who renounce it in accord with God's will become altogether strangers to "worldly passions" (Tit. 2:12) and their own.

57. (Concerning not seeking offerings from those who renounce [the world])

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1137–43]: **Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering,** as if [such gifts] were legal. **For one must not traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money, lest anyone causes shame thereby and inflicts a reproach on those among us who have been tonsured without payment, and lest that evil and accursed expression is introduced, that is, mine and yours and greater and smaller, and that the one who has made an offering is thought to be more important than the one who has not. May it not happen, may that not happen among you ever.** For the so-called renunciation destroys the blessed submission.

58. (Concerning the voluntary offering)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1143–56]: **But if, however, the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something to God, it should be accepted** in the following way. If the thing that is being offered and dedicated to God is movable, he who is going to be tonsured, when entering into the holy sanctuary bare-headed [p. 30], shall make a deposition of this on top of the holy and sacred altar with his own hands. But if it should happen to be immovable or animate, he shall set forth a document of grant and dedication to God through the intercessions of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God, and having entered into the holy sanctuary, as I have stated, he shall set down this [document] on the awesome and holy and mystical and divine table. **For that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God's recompense is to**

atone for his sins, and moreover that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and his mother.

For a so-called renunciation and an entrance offering are one thing and the 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 for the body, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses.

Therefore the person who offers must not suppose that he has any preference over the rest of the brothers because of this, but should be treated in the same way as every one and according to the rule of the monastery then in force.

59. (Concerning those who will attempt to seek the return of the dedication).

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1156–61]: **If someone who has made an offering is ever tempted by demons—there are many such examples of fickleness—and desires to leave the monastery and wishes to take his offering and what he had dedicated to God 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.**

60. (Concerning the monks who come from another monastery)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [22] ]: **But so much concerning those who are tonsured in the monastery. One should, however, consider also those who come from a different [monastery] for the purpose of making a beginning in it. Let him, therefore, who has been chosen by the monastery to be admitted as a monk, be ordered to observe its regimen, and after the passage of six months in it, let the present rule be read to him personally. If, indeed, he is obviously pleased, with all [p. 31] [the things] that are written in it, let the priest in the narthex, as I said, say “Blessed [is our God]” as well as the *trisagion*; and in the church let the monk bow down and present his head uncovered to the superior. The latter, as he makes the sign of the precious cross over it, reverently says the following, “May the grace of the all-Holy Spirit, brother, through the prayers of our fathers, grant you power and strength to complete well and pleasingly to God the beginning which you made for the edification and salvation of your soul.” Thereupon let the superior give him the kiss in the Lord and successively likewise all the brothers. Let him, however, make a prostration to the brothers, saying, “Pray for me, fathers and brothers, that God may grant me perseverance; for, behold, I have made a beginning in this holy monastery,” and, after the brothers have answered, “May God grant you, brother, perseverance in every good work,” he shall be enrolled in the brotherhood. Then, let glory be offered to God and let the dismissal follow, after the customary prayer has been said. For in no other way shall anyone be numbered among the brothers of our monastery unless, along with the confession, this ceremony takes place in exactly the same way.**

61. (Concerning the table and food)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 325–37]: **It should be the right time now to mention the**

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

After the dismissal of the sacred and divine mystery [of the Eucharist], as they are all coming out of the church and sitting together **in the narthex, the refectory semantron is sounded**, as is customary [p. 32] and **the priest who performed the service** leading . . . [Gap in text, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 340–48]: [**you should make obeisance to the superior and then, beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm, walk to the refectory, that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the appointed 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.**]

62. (Concerning the brothers who are absent from the thanksgiving)

[Missing chapter; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 348–51]: [**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.**]

63. (Concerning the reading at the refectory)

[Gap in text; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 352–56]: [**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 if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few] brief phrases.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 357–63]: **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.**

All, then, shall sit down at the table in accordance with the order that has been determined by the superior.

64. (Concerning those who seek seats of honor)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 364–80]: **We absolutely refuse even to hear that someone of his own accord seeks a loftier seat or the honor therefrom. 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 the rest 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 rejects 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 mind, you would never choose this, 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. 34:18), or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. [p. 33] But if any of you is found causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior, nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and undignified, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being incorrigible, he shall not sit down at all but, standing up, shall perform some service.**

65. (Concerning those who ought to be preferentially seated)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [36], ed. lines 23–31]: **But those who have been entrusted with these two great offices, [namely,] the steward and the ecclesiarch, shall sit ahead of all of them, and after them the priests according to their rank of seniority, and after the latter, in turn, the deacons, unless, the superior should prefer some who are advanced in years or old age, worthy of respect and honor, to sit ahead of the latter, the deacons, that is. After they are seated, however, there shall not be for the others a preference in respect to seating but thereafter the seating will be assigned suitably to each at the discretion of the superior.**

66. (Concerning supper and missing the prayers)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 420–21]: **But at the time of supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty [Gap in text; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 421–23]: [as he who was late at the midday meal, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. The one, however, who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame.]**

67. Concerning the regimen of the holy Lent

[Gap in text; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 438–44]: **[But that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the other days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of**

**legumes soaked in water and perhaps some fresh vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water flavored with cumin. That is apart from Friday.]**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 445–52]: Again, **[on this day] you should eat two dishes of food cooked with sesame oil, and drink wine distributed in the customary measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore,<sup>12</sup> which the superior must celebrate and give you a refreshment. You should carry out the first week of the great and holy Lent in that way.**

68. (Concerning the Saturdays and Sundays of the holy Lent and [the appropriate] food)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], lines 453–55]: **On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast three [p. 34] cooked dishes containing sesame oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary measure of wine should be distributed.** You must eat supper on these [days], as is the custom of the monastery.

69. (Concerning the Wednesday of the Great Canon)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 456–63]: **Also on Wednesday and on the Thursday of the great canon [you shall be] without supper, but on Friday a refreshment must be given to the chanters on account of the *Akathistos* hymn. On Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays of the holy Lent let [the food] be as follows: boiled beans and *almaia* and fruits and a brewed beverage. These are for those whose bodies are strong, but for those who are weaker let there be cooked food with sesame oil and olive oil and wine given with the customary measure and let these be served in one meal. Mondays and Wednesdays and Fridays, however, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and raw vegetables and hot water flavored with cumin.**

70. (Concerning the [feasts] of [St. John] the Forerunner and of the holy Forty Martyrs)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 463–78]: **But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints<sup>13</sup> happens to fall on one of these days, then the fast should be broken and you should eat three dishes with olive oil and take wine measured out with the customary measure, but not fish.**

**You should take care to celebrate one of these feasts when it falls on one of the days of the first week, and you should have as refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the customary measure and gruel. But then, on all the other days of this holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, unless, perhaps, some refreshment is sent you by someone, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat lest we be seen by men to fast (Matt. 6:16), lest we happen also to offend him who gives the refreshment, perchance on the very day of Palm Sunday.**

71. (Concerning Palm Sunday and the [feast of the] Annunciation)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 480–92]: **When that bright and holy feast, or the salvation-bringing feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, on each of the two [feasts], partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the customary measure. We will eat fish during this holy feast of the Annunciation, [p. 35] as has**

**been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time we will use for food only vegetables and legumes that have been cooked with olive oil on account of the feast, since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—we must eat just as on Wednesdays and Fridays of the rest of the weeks—and be content with legumes, fresh vegetables, fruits that happen to be on hand, and hot water flavored with honey or cumin.**

72. (Concerning the [feast of the] Annunciation, if it occurs during Holy Week).

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 492–501]: **If this aforementioned holy feast of the Annunciation falls on those days, whether on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday, or on Holy Saturday itself, we shall not partake of fish** but of legumes and cooked vegetables containing olive oil and **we shall drink wine with the customary measure**, and we **shall do whatever is appropriate for the feast.**

**On Holy Thursday your eating will be as on the days of Lent that are free from fasting in the matter of both dishes and wine; but on Good Friday** one must neither cook nor take thought of the table nor eat at all, but it is appropriate that all continue fasting. **On Holy Saturday** let there be a **collation only** in the narthex after the dismissal of the divine consecration [of the Eucharist], which must be celebrated around the third or fourth watch of the night.

73. (Concerning the Great Sunday [of Easter])

The entire office of the great and brilliant holy Sunday shall be performed in accordance with the prescription of the [liturgical] *typikon*.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 503–5]: **In this manner the 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.**

74. (Concerning the Week of Renovation)

During the Week of Renovation<sup>14</sup> one must indispensably eat cheese and eggs and milk every day and must partake of wine.

75. (Concerning the Week of St. Thomas)

Beginning with Monday of [the Week] of the holy apostle Thomas,<sup>15</sup> on Wednesdays [p. 36] and Fridays and Tuesdays, I mean, one must abstain equally from cheese and eggs and milk, but it is appropriate to eat olive oil and to drink wine but not to eat fish. According to the Rule which we have received from Palestine, after the entire last week of Pentecost, that is, during [the week of] the Holy Spirit, as well as during the Week of Renovation, we ought to partake of cheese and milk and wine.

76. (Concerning the fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity of Christ).

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 509–19]: I must say also concerning the fast of the Holy Apostles<sup>16</sup> that on all the Mondays and Wednesdays and Fridays we do not sing the psalm “God is the Lord.” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) For this reason, **after the completion of the whole office of the day, both of the hours and vespers, just as the church’s *typikon* expounds, you should be summoned**

**to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above.** For on these [days] one must partake neither of any cooked food nor of olive oil nor of wine but of cooked legumes and raw vegetables and perhaps fruits that are available at the time and water.

On Tuesdays and Thursdays, of course, you **shall eat two dishes cooked with olive oil and you shall each drink wine with the customary measure.** Also the customary **supper should be set out for you, a small piece of bread** and very few olives or fruits that are in season will be served, **and** let **wine** be drunk with the smaller measure. Likewise also on Saturdays and Sundays. On these [days] we shall eat three cooked dishes at dinner.

**The fast of the holy Nativity of Christ<sup>17</sup> shall be similar to the fast of the Holy Apostles regarding food and drink.**

77. (Concerning the three fast days of the week and their breaking)

So much concerning fasting during the three illustrious and holy fasts. Concerning, however, fasting on every Wednesday and Friday of the other weeks, as prescribed by the divine canons, the fathers in Palestine decided that fasting must consist of total abstinence from wine and olive oil. They also decided that fasting on Monday must be equal to that of [Wednesday and Friday]. Let us also conform to the same thing, following our holy fathers. I ordain, however, that when a feast of the Lord occurs, either the feast of the Twelve Apostles, or of the great teachers or any of the great fathers, on which vigils occur or the *Polyeleos* is sung, it is right that all fast be broken on whichever of the aforesaid three days of the week a celebration of the [feast] of the aforesaid [saints] should happen to occur. You are also permitted through the entire [p. 37] twelve-day period [of Christmastide] to eat cheese and milk and eggs and to partake of wine every day.

78. (Concerning Artzibourios and the week of Cheesefare)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [19], ed. lines 6–12]: **But a specific thing which I almost bypassed, must be committed to writing because it is necessary and it separates us from the loathsome tradition of the Artzibourians.<sup>18</sup> Since in the week before the Meatfare week the Artzibourians received the tradition to eat nothing else except bread and water, we, in order that we may be differentiated from their heresy, unhesitatingly eat both cheese and eggs throughout the entire week, and we likewise observe this, during the entire week of Cheesefare because of another heresy.<sup>19</sup>**

79. (Concerning the fact that all are to come to the refectory)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [19], ed. lines 12–18]: **Both our brethren who take care of the vineyards and the gardens, as well as all the other ministrants, ought without fail to come also to the refectory each day, and in common to enjoy the bounties of God and thank his goodness in order that the name “brotherhood” may not be just a name, but that it may become a reality through deeds.**

80. (Concerning the steward and his selection)

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 605–8]: It is fitting to add a steward to the monastery so that the superior may have him as a helper in all things and a most reliable fellow-combatant for the

support of the brothers and the care of the monastery. He must be appointed in the following way. **After consulting with** the brothers as to who is the one who is superior to the others **in conduct, manners, character, intellect and discipline** so as to be “faithful and wise” (cf. Luke 12:42), as the sacred gospel says somewhere, surpassing the others, as I said, **the superior shall install** this [brother].

81. (Concerning the installation of the steward)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 610–23]: His installation shall proceed **in the following way. After the dismissal from matins and the customary prayer said by the priest, a trisagion should be said by all** [p. 38] **and the one chosen and preferred should make three full genuflections in front of and near the holy sanctuary; then he should reverently kiss the holy, divine, and revered icons of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and of the most holy Mistress the Mother of God. After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the superior and then he shall bow his head uncovered, and he [the superior] making over it the sign of the venerable cross should reverently say as follows, “The grace of the all-Holy Spirit, my brother, through the fervent intercessions of our wholly pure Mistress, the Mother of God, and through the prayers of our holy and God-bearing fathers, is installing you steward of our venerable monastery.” Then when he has given him the kiss in the name of the Lord,** he sets him in front of the holy screen. Thus let all the brotherhood approach him and let all, **without exception, kiss him, and after the kiss glory should be given to God and the dismissal should follow after the usual prayer of the priest.** If, however, he who is appointed to the office of steward is also an ordained priest, he would be even more acceptable.<sup>20</sup>

82. (Concerning the superior and the steward)

Let the superior forego all other necessary duties and go out to visit along with the appointed steward all the dependencies of the monastery so as to investigate them even more precisely and to inspect them and to note them down in writing. The aforesaid steward, in fact, is to supervise all the [monastic] officials and hired laborers and to give to each one the appropriate living allowance.

83. (Concerning the harvest and the brothers sent [to gather the crops])

At the time of harvest and vintage other brothers, too, must be sent to the dependencies so that the steward may have them as his co-workers and assistants and fellow-laborers for the effort and endeavor of gathering the crops, but also as truthful witnesses for the exact [quantity] of the crops that have been collected. The quantity of each kind must be recorded and brought to the superior, and he shall note them down in an accurate written record. At the appropriate time [p. 39] he shall examine the revenues that have been collected and deposited.

84. (Concerning the steward, that he is not to do anything without the knowledge of the superior)

For the steward shall not have the power to do anything without the knowledge as well as the judgment and will of the superior, but he is to follow all his footsteps and wishes, just as Solomon says somewhere, “Do all things with counsel” (Prov. 31:3). But even the sacred gospel itself says,

## THIRTEENTH CENTURY

“I have come down from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of my Father who sent me” (John 6:38).

85. (Concerning the superintendents of the dependencies)

For it is not my wish that the superintendents of the dependencies have under their authority the revenues of the estates, but [only] the agricultural tools and all the materials. Their fair living allowance and that of the brothers who till the soil will be given to them by the steward. He shall also deliver to them the monies needed for other justified and reasonable expenses and he shall note these down in writing, and afterwards at the appropriate time he shall give a clear account of them. For it is not my wish that those who serve [the monastery] be examined and investigated for the outlay of any trifling thing except in the presence of the superior. Even the shepherds shall not be investigated by the steward and the man in charge of the flocks alone, but they, too, shall be [examined] just as I have indicated above.

86. (Concerning the steward who is on duty in the monastery)

There must also be in the monastery another steward, who in every way is on a par with the first steward in virtue, for the supervision and stimulation of all the officials. He must also have charge of all the strangers and brothers who visit and must take care of the ill, as I have indicated above, and the revenues that are collected from whatsoever source must be investigated and examined with his knowledge. He must deliver to each one of the [monastic officials] the things that are necessary for the brotherhood, as the author of Acts says somewhere that “distribution was made to each as any had need” (Acts 4:35). But when the superior is absent or even [p. 40] when he is resting in his cell, he himself will keep the entire brotherhood in order. Those who are sluggish in entering the church for the singing of the psalms, those who talk idly or do nothing or do any other thing that is improper and unprofitable, he will admonish and correct in a brotherly manner and in love. He will persuade them to go to their cells and to attend to their prayers, to do manual labor, and in addition to these, not to resort to insults against one another or wranglings. For he who does this shall be subjected to seclusion. But if he does not repent and does not ask for forgiveness with a contrite heart, he shall be punished most severely so as to learn the expression “Bless and forgive me, brother.”

87. (Concerning those who have some acquisitions in the monastery)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [22], ed. lines 899–904]: **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. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not confess it and make amends will be expelled completely.**

[ = (32) *Mamas* [34], ed. lines 16–21]: **It will not be possible for you to have domestics who render services, but each shall serve himself, the young one him who is advanced [in age], and the stronger one him who is weaker, as the superior orders. For thus the Master’s commandment will be fulfilled and the law of love will be observed unimpaired.**

All these things the aforesaid steward shall do in accordance with the order of the superior, without dispute, but in full accord with the superior’s judgment and wish.

88. (Concerning the two stewards and if they are removed from their office)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 644–58]: **What follows I did not wish to commit to writing. For it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it, if, in fact, they remained unchanged and completely unmoved in their adherence to what is good, but that is impossible, for we often change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we become weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whenever they ought to continue with the struggle and their diligence even more, or because we feign virtue at the start through the desire for authority and the hope of its attainment, and then when we have gained it, we immediately find ourselves being precisely and truly what we were before. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing [p. 41] and punishment given as strongly as possible.**

89. (Concerning the stewards and the serious pursuit [of their duties])

[ = (2) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–63]: **So if the stewards continue unchanged and immutable, properly maintaining virtue and love for the brothers, on account of which they were thought worthy of this rank, they will not be removed from this office but remain firm.**

90. (Concerning those who administer the office of steward deceitfully)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 664–75]: **But if time proves them to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because they have carried out their office in a careless and indifferent manner or because they have been doing favors for their friends and relatives or have been appropriating some of the monastery's property or have shown themselves to be trouble makers and unruly, or opposing the regulations of the superior, or betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control, or on the other hand have been disregarding any of the instructions in the rule and the *typikon* and following their own wishes, or clearly been involved in bodily passions or even have become unreasonably attached to someone in preference to the rest of the community and therefore have been proved as unsuitable for the guiding of souls, they are to be expelled, then others should be found, who abound in all goodness and are superior to them in virtue and are unimpeachable. These will be preferred to the others in every way and will be promoted to the former's office.**

If, on the other hand, they do not succumb [to evil] while performing their service and are approved by God and the father [superior] and the brotherhood, they will hear, “Well done, good and faithful servant; you have been faithful over a little, I will set you over much” (Matt. 25:21).

91. (Concerning the installations of the officials)

Let the installations of all the officials, that is, the ecclesiarch, the cellarer, the treasurers, the provisioner and the rest be carried out in the following way. After the dismissal of matins and the customary prayer of the priest, a *trisagion* having been said by all, let him who has been selected for any office whatsoever make three deep genuflections in front of and near the sanctuary. [p. 42] Then let him reverently kiss the divine and sacred and venerable icons of our Lord Jesus Christ

and the Mother of God and, in turn, let him again make a prostration in front of the holy screen and likewise to each choir. Then let him with his own hand take the keys from the supremely holy Mother of God and bow his neck to the superior, and let the superior bless him and make the sign of the venerable cross over him as he says the following: “The grace of the all-Holy Spirit, brother, through the prayers of our fathers, strengthen you well and, as it pleases the Holy Spirit, may you perform the service which has been assigned to you.”

After this, having taken his stand in front of the sanctuary, let him make a common prostration to the brothers, gently appealing to them as follows: “Pray for me, fathers and brothers, to execute well and in a manner pleasing to God the service to which I have been appointed.” As all the brothers say, “God strengthen you, brother,” let the dismissal take place.

92. (Concerning the offices that do not have keys)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [29], ed. lines 978–80]: **However for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon and the blessing of the superior along with the *trisagion* will be sufficient for the installation.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [32], ed. lines 1012–18]: **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, until the superior sees fit to remove them. 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 pure Mother, from whom in fact he received his office, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.**

93. (Concerning the installation of the ecclesiarch)

After the installation of the ecclesiarch, all the things of the church shall be handed over to him in writing.

94. (Concerning the sacred offerings and the divine vessels)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [37] ]: **Since, the monastery had need of sacred vessels, divine offerings and books [p. 43] for the glory of God and the illumination of those who practice asceticism in it, as many things as were necessary were dedicated to it by the grace of Christ and through the intercessions of the supremely holy Mother of God. All the silver vessels and revered icons and liturgical cloths and many books and bronze items that are seen, and an inventory of these has been made by us, signed by my own hand. Concerning these furthermore, I prescribe that they be absolutely both inalienable and irremovable. He who shall dare to remove from them anything of whatever kind shall be considered sacrilegious and along with Judas shall be referred to eternal punishments, and before the [punishments] may he also inherit [Judas’] noose.**

**But may no one, my Christ, whether potentate or magistrate or anyone of those in the monastery, whether superior or subordinate, even think of removing or alienating any of the offerings or of the books in it, either large or small, or any other thing whatsoever. Instead let there be more eagerness to make additions and further dedications for the glory of God and for their own considerable benefit.**

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95. (Concerning the superior, that he is to inspect the things of the church during the holy week of Renovation)

Likewise, the superior must during the Renovation week, on whatever day he wishes, check over all the things of the church, having in hand the inventory, and just as all things were handed over to the ecclesiarch . . .

96. (Concerning the cellarer and his appointment)

[Missing chapter; cf. (32) *Mamas* [11] ]

97. (Concerning the superior, that he is to go into the storehouse and make an inspection)

. . . lest somehow he try to entice you because you are rather weak and you succumb to the ill-will of the Evil One, run quickly to confession. For the honest confession will make your forgiveness complete, justly granting [you] the latter by the superior.

Do not deprive any brothers of their rights because of prejudice or in repayment for an injury. [p. 44]

98. (Concerning the fact that the cellarer is not to do anything without the knowledge of the superior)

Apply every effort, therefore, to do nothing, even as much as the smallest thing, without the knowledge and judgment of the superior. For if anyone of you shall do any such thing and, despite admonition and warning, does not restrain himself from such an undertaking, he shall be subjected to the appropriate penalty.

99. (Concerning him who operates the storeroom treacherously and deceitfully)

Neither will the cellarer have in his power to waste the things of the monastery on his friends and relatives nor to appropriate from the things that have been brought to him so much as an obol. For if he does this, he shall not partake of the divine body and blood, but he shall also be removed from his office and another who is better than he in virtue will be appointed in his place. The superior and the steward must examine precisely the food and drink of the brothers so as to make a decision in the case of each [brother] according to his relative weakness.

100. (Concerning the treasurer and the things in the treasury)

Two treasurers must be appointed by the superior. Of these, one will be in charge of all the income of the monastery and will record in detail both the revenues and the expenditures, not simply thus, but in accordance with the example that will be cited.

There shall be a money-box deposited in the treasury of the monastery, in which will be put all the monies that come to the monastery from whatsoever source, secured with keys and seals. There shall also be a piece of paper which will serve as a record of deposits and that, too, will be stored in the money-box. In this [piece of paper] all the aforesaid monies will be recorded in detail. From these, the treasurer will take each month whatever is necessary for the monastery's expenses and will spend these in accordance with the superior's order.

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101. (Concerning the rendering of account after the passage of two months)

After the completion of the month, both the superior and the preeminent monks will sit down together in a designated place, [p. 45] and the money-box will be set up in the middle and will be opened by him who holds its key. Then, the record of deposits will be brought out first, and after it has been read, it will make known the monies that had been previously given to the treasurer for expenditure. Then, the treasurer will present a clear and distinct [record of] the expenditure of these [monies], but he shall also make absolutely clear all the monies that have been collected by him from whatsoever transactions during the same months. He shall present the recording of them, which indicates what and from where, from whom and at what time the monies were collected, and thus both the monies that have been collected and those that have been spent during the same months, being clearly discerned, will be recorded in the deposit record very clearly. After the recording, the paper containing the deposit record will again be stored away in the money-box, and likewise the monies that have come to the monastery either from gifts or from other quarters. The treasurer, however, will take, in turn, from the money-box other specified *nomismata* for the expenses of the month that has started.

Then, the money-box shall again be closed and, after it has been sealed by the aforesaid brothers, it will be stored away in the customary place. Thus, all income and expenditures having been declared and made quite clear and evident, there will be no cause of scandal left against him who has been entrusted with this office or against anyone else.

Therefore, I enjoin in the Holy Spirit that neither he who after me will succeed to the office of superior nor he who is next in rank, I mean the steward, nor anyone else whosoever, is to take for himself out of the money-box even one single *nomisma*, neither a greater nor a smaller [amount], because, as I have stated, everything ought to be openly collected and spent.

102. (Concerning the garments and every giving and taking by the monks)

All the garments, indeed, of the brotherhood, any clothes and cloaks and *apostolika*<sup>21</sup> and the rest, shall be kept appropriately by the treasurer and shall be duly distributed to those brothers who need them at whatever times the superior should choose. The purchase, however, of these [garments] shall be made by the [superior] himself or another brother who has clearly been approved for possessing experience sufficient for such matters.

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [25], ed. lines 930–35]: **I prescribe such things to be bought** at the appropriate times, **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 [p. 46] in short, all necessities.**

103. (Concerning the giving [back] of old [garments] and receiving new ones)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [25], ed. lines 935–38]: **Whenever there should be a pressing need for anyone 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 old garments are not brought back, I do not permit new ones to be given out.** These shall be the duties of the treasurer.

## 104. (Concerning the other treasurer)

Let, however, the other [treasurer] have his own separate workshop, which is also called a treasury. In the latter he shall keep very carefully and safely all the more massive equipment of the monastery which happens to be stored in there,—agricultural tools, things made of metal and other things necessary for the monastery—receiving them with a written document and again giving them out to the attendants who need them for agricultural and other services of the monastery in order that he may have knowledge of what sort of and how many of the serviceable tools are given to each of the attendants. It shall [also] be the task of the aforesaid treasurer to supervise the coppersmiths of the monastery.

## 105. (Concerning the superintendent of provisions and the superintendent of the storehouse and the travelers)

It is also necessary for me to mention the other offices, such as [those of] the superintendent of provisions and the superintendent of the storehouse and, of course, the superintendents of the dependencies.<sup>22</sup> First of all, they are to have the fear of God and to do everything in accordance with the superior's order. In receiving and dispensing, they must give out everything in measure and take in everything in measure, as the sacred gospel says somewhere that "the measure you give will be the measure you get" (Matt. 7:2). Keep doing in accordance with the custom which you have received from me and which is traditional from the beginning, and it will be well with you.

If, however, one of you acts contrary to the judgment of the superior and appropriates the things that have been entrusted to him, he shall be accountable to our Lord Jesus Christ and to the pure Mother of God, from whom indeed he has received his office, [p. 47] having promised to administer his office readily and without deceit. But also the superior shall expel him from his office and shall by all means appoint another in his place, and to him who administers his office deceitfully a penalty shall be given, consisting of bread and water according to the degree of his trespass.

## 106. (Concerning [the fact that] food is to be the same [for all])

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [26], ed. lines 941–43]: **On these matters** I instruct **you**, my fathers and brothers, **that you should all have the same food and drink.**

## 107. (Concerning the ill and their diet)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [26], ed. lines 947–51]: **For in every way you should only help and take care of those who are clearly afflicted with illness**, as much as you can, **and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their weak and wearied bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.**

## 108. (Concerning the fact that the ill are not to grumble for excessive food)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1259–68]: **Our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of much less seen and eaten, but they should restrain and control them-**

selves, 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.

109. (Concerning those who are going to be superintendents of the dependencies)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [34], ed. lines 1063–67]: **Since**, by the ineffable providence of God and of the pure Mother of God who gave birth to him without [human] seed, **we have gained possession of some immovable property** for the monastery, just as [p. 48] I have said above, **the superior must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of brothers are sent to have the oversight of them, that is they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions that are caused by the attacks of Belial** (cf. II Cor. 6:15).

110. (Concerning the fact that a layman is not to be made superintendent of the dependencies)

I do not permit any layman to be entrusted with such an office apart from the tillers of the soil and those who tend the animals.

111. (Concerning the estates that involve [the risk of] spiritual harm)

If, however, there should be a piece of property that is not near the monastery but involves [the risk of] spiritual harm, I permit this to be given by agreement or exchange for another that is closer, the monastery collecting the sum of revenue that belongs to it. It is my wish, however, that such properties as are closer [to the monastery] be altogether inalienable and indefeasible, never to be taken away or alienated at all by anyone, except for those [properties] that involve [the risk of] spiritual harm, although these, too, Christ-loving people and I have purchased and acquired with many toils and expenses for the nourishment and preservation of our brothers who practice asceticism. He who shall give up possession of or shall take away any of these [properties] on any pretext whatsoever shall certainly be subjected to the charge of sacrilege and shall be liable to the legal punishment for this, apart from spiritual harm.

112. (Concerning the baker and the brothers [who assist him])

Now the discussion must proceed to other matters and I must speak also concerning these matters to the best of my ability, concerning our brothers, that is, who toil in the bake-house. They must celebrate the entire office and must not be engaged in futile conversations, for this usually happens at gatherings. I direct, however, that a gift of wine, the customarily given measure, be given to those who toil. [p. 49]

113. (Concerning the cobbler, the carpenter, and the rest of the manual workers)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 877–83]: But I must speak also of **those who are engaged in manual tasks**, the cobbler, the carpenters and the smiths. Some of the more simple brothers **should**

**not gather** without the superior's knowledge and should not engage in **vain chattering and then turn to disgraceful talk** —for **“by a multitude of words,”** he says, **“thou shalt not escape sin”** (Prov. 10:19)—**they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul.**

114. (Concerning the disciplinary official)

It is fitting, therefore, that a disciplinary official be attached to the monastery, also, who assembles the brothers to go into the church and sing the psalms. He shall arise before the doxology of matins, and while the lamplighter has already begun to strike the heavy [semantron], he shall go off to the cell of the superior and to that of each of the brothers, and calling out loudly the phrase, “Father, bless” he shall arouse all for the performance of the midnight office.

While matins is being sung, he will go out of the church twice, after the six psalms and the sixth ode, and will enter the cells of the brothers and will awaken whomsoever he will find sleeping, perhaps from indolence or from the hardship resulting from their duties, and will bring them to the holy church. He will do this once also during the mystery [of the Eucharist] and at vespers and compline. But he himself also at every service ought to post in the left choir those who are going to start [the singing].

He will closely watch the brothers very frequently at every hour, if possible, and will admonish and correct them in a brotherly manner and in love whenever they sit together without good reason or are chattering idly or doing nothing or doing something else that is improper and unprofitable, and will persuade them to go to their own cells and to attend earnestly to their prayer and to their handiwork. He will do these things throughout the whole year.

During the readings that take place at matins and the [canonical] hours during the holy and great Lent, he ought to rise from his own seat and make three genuflections in front of the holy sanctuary bareheaded and to go through the brothers one by one and awaken whomsoever he should find sleeping and not alert and listening to the reading, and persuade him [p. 50] who has been awakened from sleep to rise and make in the middle of the holy church three prostrations and one each to the two choirs and thus, after he has taken his seat, to attend more carefully to the reading.

115. (Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be altogether inaccessible to women)

The monastery shall be altogether inaccessible to women and not even for the sake of worship must they enter in all eternity.

Meat shall never be eaten at all in this [monastery].

Nor may lay boys be accepted for the study of the sacred scriptures, only those who have grown a beard or those who have the first growth of beard on their cheeks. In order to understand the [liturgical] office of the church, let the boys who wish to become monks be placed in a special cell of the monastery and taught the sacred psalter and all the rest of the office, and thus let them enter and be accepted. They shall, however, neither be brought in for the sake of carrying water or another service, nor will they work as servants.

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116. (Concerning hospitality to guests [who are] monks)

Since we acknowledge hospitality as a most royal gate to virtue, usually born of love—the first of virtues—it is my wish that, just as it was practiced up to now, it be extended again to monks who are entertained as guests in the holy monastery, from whatsoever place they may be. The monastery [should] accept all and impart to them a proportionate [share] of the food of the day that the brothers are eating. If anyone of these [guests] is a notable man, traveling for the sake of venerating the life-receiving tomb [of Christ], he is to be embraced and accepted at the common table and nourished equally with the brothers and be entertained as a guest for three whole days.

117. (Concerning the magistrates who visit)

Even if magistrates from the region should visit at the time when the brothers are eating dry food, the rule of the cenobitic community must be observed, but the visitor must be entertained differently. Let him be seated with the superior and let him eat with him without criticism and be accorded appropriate honor. [p. 51]

118. (Concerning the poor who visit)

[ cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. line 1185]: The poor, our brothers, who come to the gate quite frequently, since it is impossible for all to be brought inside the monastery, shall be received only in the hospice which is outside the monastery. The guestmaster shall supply bread to each one and food from the table, that they may be comforted. For I prefer that not even one be turned away from the gate hungry, but that in accordance with the custom that has been prescribed from the beginning, all be refreshed with food and beneficence as much as possible, **unless perhaps it should happen to be a woman.**

119. (Concerning the fact that alms should not be given to women who approach [the gate of the monastery])

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. lines 1185–88]: **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** the brothers. I enjoin in the Holy Spirit that the superior and the steward and the guestmaster observe this restriction.

The matters of hospitality and almsgiving shall always be observed in this manner. But I must turn my discussion to the things that benefit the brothers.

120. (An added remark to the superior)

Let the superior be permitted at whatever time he should choose to enter into the cells of the brothers and search closely lest someone is doing handiwork without the [superior's] wish and judgment, whether he has things, when closely inspected, that are called *margounia* ["baskets"] in the vernacular, or any other possessions, even trifles. If he should find these things, let them be taken away. He is either to burn them with fire or to distribute them to the poor; and he is to give the owner appropriate counsel and restrain him from such an undertaking thereafter, seeing that he

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is doing things that are contrary to the rule of the monastery. Basil the Great takes up this very thing and expressly says as follows: "If anyone possesses anything in the monastery or outside the monastery, let him be excommunicated."<sup>23</sup>

(Canons of Basil the Great)<sup>24</sup>

121. It seems to me necessary to mention also some other canons of our great father himself, Basil, which have been set forth for those who have undertaken the solitary life. [p. 52]

122. He who has become aware of a brother who contemplates a departure from the monastery and has either communicated with or has given his consent to him and has not reported his plans, must be excommunicated from the church for one week and [subsist] on bread and water.

123. If anyone goes out without the blessing of the superior, let him make a hundred prostrations and eat dry food for three days.

124. If anyone, while eating at table, talks idly or out of inattentiveness does something that is not pleasing, let him arise and intone, as is customary, "Have mercy on me, O God," and ask for forgiveness.

125. If anyone eats without having received the blessing, let him make fifty prostrations.

126. If anyone is absent from the first [seating at] the table, let him remain without food until the evening.

127. If anyone is not on time for the prayer at compline, let him make the customary obeisance and sing the entire office and make fifty prostrations.

128. If anyone after the prostration is found conversing or being alone with someone, let him make fifty prostrations.

129. If anyone of the brothers, apart from the officials and the steward, enters into the kitchen inopportunistly, speaking idly and giving orders, let him make thirty prostrations.

130. If anyone, without permission or absolute necessity, enters into the cell of another or sleeps [in it] or starts doing handiwork, let him be banished from the church and the refectory for three days and eat dry food.

131. If anyone is found writing to anyone or receiving a letter without the permission of the superior, let him eat dry food for three days. Likewise, both he who receives and he who gives out [something], apart from the steward, must be excommunicated.

## THIRTEENTH CENTURY

132. If one of the tillers of the soil or the gardeners or the vine-dressers or the shepherds take any fruits whatsoever and eat them without their having been blessed, [he] must make fifty prostrations and eat dry food for five days.

133. If anyone without the permission and blessing of the superior shall open a vein or cut his hair<sup>25</sup> or put on a garment or shoes, let him make fifty prostrations. [p. 53]

134. If anyone takes a fruit from a tree without the consent of the guard or the gardener, let him make twenty-five prostrations.

135. (Concerning all the officials)

Both the officials and those in charge of all the other necessary [services] ought to attend to them carefully in order that they may not fall under the charge of negligence.

136. (Concerning the relatives of the brothers who visit)

The visiting relatives of the brothers in the monastery must be announced to the superior by the gatekeeper. First of all, they must be asked to see the superior, then by his permission to see their relatives, in accordance with [what] the superior's wish will provide and the examination of the visitor will show. Let him, however, who does not abide by this rule and goes forth to meet his kinsman without the knowledge of the superior remain in seclusion for three days [on a regimen] of bread and water, in order that he may "not think of himself more highly than he ought to think" (Rom. 12:3).

137. (Concerning the canons of St. Basil)

Having found and recognized that these things tend to benefit the brotherhood, I have collected them from the canons of Basil the Great, as I have stated above, and had them recorded along with other matters.

138. (Concerning the above canons and decrees)

Accordingly, both the decrees and canons that have been transmitted to us from our fathers have been included in these chapters. If my spiritual flock should observe them, then "their light shall break forth as the morning and their health shall speedily spring forth" (Is. 58:8). If, on the other hand, it should turn away and reject the paternal injunctions, it will set aside everything and obtain the wages of disobedience. But may it not happen so in the case of my brothers, may it not, O Lord my God, nor may the terrible beast tear them apart. But just as until now you have kept them in your holy name, so also until the end preserve them in order that [p. 54] they may keep doing your will, and surely your will is that they walk in the footsteps of your sacred injunctions.

139. (Concerning the reasons for which these things were written)

The reasons that prompted me to write these things in the present rule are not few, and my fathers and brothers in Christ are not ignorant of them, I believe. Yet a further [reason], indeed, is the danger of silence that hangs over me, as the divine scriptures instruct me. For he says: "Woe to

him that gives his neighbor to drink the thick lees of wine” (Hab. 2:15). If the superintendent of souls is called a “watchman” by Ezekiel—which he is both in fact and in name—how could I have escaped the sword threatened through [him] and the full payment for the blood of the flock—what blood this, surely, is!—if I had not set forth everything openly? For he says: “Son of man, I have made you a watchman to my people. If you see the sword coming up and you warn them, you are innocent; but if not, their blood will be required at your hands” (cf. Ezek. 33:6–9).

All these things have made the exposition of the rule necessary for me in order that, by contemplating it every day like a model of behavior, as it were, my fathers and brothers may mold their own life on it and renew in themselves the ordinances of our present rule and may keep preserving them inviolate and may present their conscience pure before the tribunal of the impartial Judge, through the intercessions of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God, and through the prayers of our elders and fathers. May you be saved and magnified and have peace, and may you become enviable in the eyes of all for your good and dignified conduct all the days of your life.

140. (Concerning him who receives the leadership [of the monastery])

For, behold, by the providence of God, I am also leaving behind to you, my flock, a superior, the ordained monk and disciple of mine, lord Joachim, who after my departure from life is going to assume the entire leadership of the monastery. [He is] a man [p. 55] who is of attested virtue and piety and is adorned with understanding and learning and a spiritual way of life and the rest of the good qualities, and “has worked hard with me” (Rom. 16:6), as you also know, for the establishment of the monastery and for all the things that are under [its authority]. But may he, after he has received the *sphragis* as the superior by the most holy bishop of Tamasia and primate at the time,<sup>26</sup> govern the monastery and give rest to the flock in a place of verdure and refreshment (cf. Ps. 22 [23]:2).

141. Concerning the brothers, that they are to confess to the superior)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [15], ed. lines 737–49]: **I plainly instruct you all, my brothers, that after my departure from the world, you hurry to confide to him all the stirrings of your souls and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that have been confessed by you, unless someone, perhaps, should willingly choose [to do this], but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible, being human, not to think something wicked. 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 may all be “one” (John 17:21), “being of the same mind” (Phil. 2:2), thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and “fitted together into one body” (Eph. 4:16) under one head, as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder.**

142. Concerning the fact that the brothers must have all goodwill and honor for the superior)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 763–71]: **You should reserve, I beg you, for your superior**

all honor, all reverence, all unwavering submission, and all obedience as has been said by one of the divine fathers. For he says, “For if those caring for you are going to render account on your behalf, how will we not be submissive to them in everything, obey them, and serve them as the other parts of the body do the head.” The divine and great apostle Paul speaks as follows in his letter to the Hebrews; “Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account” (Heb. 13:17). [p. 56]

143. (Concerning the fact that they are to have love for one another and concord)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 772–83]: **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, stirring up one another to love and good works”<sup>27</sup> and, to put it simply, exerting yourselves strongly to establish whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation. For Our Lord Jesus Christ says, “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you” (John 15:12), and elsewhere, “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35). Do you see whose disciples we will be by keeping these words? Do you see what glory and blessedness and exultation we are going to get by being disciples of the Master who loves mankind? So then, let us take his commands to heart with all zeal and power and enthusiasm.**

144. (Instruction to him who will be the superior)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate with the brothers, gentle, protective, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them, instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving “seventy times seven” (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers. Also, to omit the rest, St. Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether physically or spiritually.”<sup>28</sup> [p. 57]**

145. (Exhortation to the brothers)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [44], ed. lines 31–33]: **If then, brothers, your superior conducts himself thus, being both paternally disposed towards you and devoutly and piously tending the flock of Christ, you shall not question him or disobey him or do anything without his consent. For whoever does this shall be answerable to the pure Mother of God and he shall render an account to her if he does not repent.**

146. (Frightful penalties to the superior)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [18], ed. lines 825–35]: **But neither will the superior himself spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for his own relations and friends. For by acting in that way he will not be taking part in the divine mysteries “in the Holy Spirit” (Rom. 9:1). Therefore he should take care not “to fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31). For even though we are not capable of imposing on him a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet he will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon him in writing this.**

147. (To the superior who has disregarded the penalties)

[Cf. (22) *Evergetis* [18], lines 835–36]: **But if he is seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that he does not even fear the condemnation of God, but spends the wealth of the monastery improperly,** in that case let him be questioned by the leaders of the brotherhood and, if he amends himself, let him be shown compassion. But if, on the other hand, he persists in the same ways, let him be reported to the *ephoros* [of the monastery], and the latter will justly do what is right and will amend what is wrong. For the superior has been appointed for the preservation of the monastery and as an “example” (I Tim. 1:16; II Tim. 1:13) for the brothers and that he may be a leading light and an example to all, and not deceitful and sacrilegious. May it not happen, O Christ the King, that such a person should ever be allowed to shepherd your flock, but rather a man who fulfills your divine commandments and is a scrupulous guardian of the rule, so as to follow himself, too, the fatherly model—just as the prevailing custom has been from the beginning—“in order that we may all be one in the Lord” (cf. Gal. 3:28).

148. (Concerning the fact that one who has been tonsured in another monastery should not receive the office of superior)

A monk from another monastery of the island shall not be appointed superior for any reason whatsoever. But we will appoint one who was nurtured and trained and tonsured in the monastery [p. 58] and knows its regulations and the traits of the brothers. For it is my wish that all those who are tonsured in our holy monastery, whether *apostolikai*<sup>29</sup> or wearers of the great habit, be appointed if they are worthy of the office of superior. I exclude, however, from the leadership those alone who neither entered the novitiate [here] nor made their obeisance to the brotherhood, even if they have resided for many years in the monastery.

If, however, it will be [impossible to find among the brothers tonsured in the monastery] an ordained monk who holds the rank of priest and is worthy of the office of superior—which I pray may not happen—in that case let those I indicated above hold the office of superior. For it is not my wish that anyone who happens to be a priest but is unworthy of the pastoral leadership and useless for the shepherding of souls should become a superior. Nor, in fact, should anyone rashly and by his own judgment pursue this [office], [ = (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 801–3]: **making a display perhaps of his seniority or his noble birth or rank or his offering of money or property, but that man should be preferred** whom the superior as well as the brothers in God know as having the actual virtues. He is to have the dignity of the appointment.

## THIRTEENTH CENTURY

149. (Concerning [St. John] the Forerunner and his feast days)

Furthermore, I erected a chapel very close to the monastery, towards the rising sun, which is named in honor of the venerable Forerunner and Baptist John. It is near the cell which is there and the very few trees and scant running water. Although the profound love of solitude which consumes me within, as well as the boundless love of my brothers, do not permit me to revel in the object of my desire, yet I have prescribed that the divine mystery [of the Eucharist] be performed [there] from the day of its inauguration and dedication, and that the two feasts [of St. John], I mean his birth and his beheading as well as his commemoration,<sup>30</sup> be celebrated by you splendidly in accordance with custom. These things shall be performed in eternity.

150. (And [concerning] the holy icons [of the chapel of St. John])

Besides, I have dedicated holy icons and sacred books for the glory of God and the saint, which will be recorded, according to their kind, in a special document and will be defined. [p. 59] But also in order that [the chapel] may look after the things I have indicated and may [offer] psalmody and prayers for us, I prescribe that it receive without fail the things that I have outlined in the document that bears my signature, affixed by my hand.

151. (Concerning the fact that another cell is not to be built)

I completely prohibit, from now on, the building of another cell very close to the monastery except for the aforementioned one.

152. (Concerning solitaries and their regimen)

I enjoin the following things upon those who prefer to live the life of a solitary. With the knowledge of the superior they shall build cells in more solitary places, observing the following rule. With much scrutiny, of course, let them receive late on Sunday the provisioning for five days: loaves of bread and fruits or legumes soaked in water and materials for plaited-work to combat *akedia*. On Saturday let them leave their cell, come into the monastery and eat the food that has been set before them equally with the brotherhood. Let them bring their handiwork to the steward of the monastery. Late on Sunday again, let them take their provisions, as they customarily do, and run a straight course to their cell. For this is the life of the true solitary, as we have received it from our fathers. I do not at all accept a solitary in any other way.

153. (A shuddering injunction)

I enjoin in the Holy Spirit that all those with you observe these rules and not sell to anyone else a living allowance, whether he happens to be a layman or a monk, or promises much and great benefit to the monastery, or gives a very large amount of money as an offering, or has toiled in the monastery for a long time and has then gone to another monastery and asks to receive a living allowance from our monastery. For this I completely forbid and reject.

154. (Concerning the commemorations of our holy fathers)

Concerning our fathers and brothers who have fallen asleep I shall say a few words. [p. 60] We must celebrate on the thirteenth of the month of December the memorials of our holy fathers,

the most saintly monks Neophytos, Ignatios and Prokopios.<sup>31</sup> Yes, indeed. But also on the thirteenth of each month, a night office for our aforesaid holy fathers and the divine mystery [of the Eucharist] must be performed and a treat [of an extra serving of wine], the customarily given measure, must be given to the brothers at the table.

155. (Concerning those who have dedicated properties to the monastery)  
[Missing chapter]

156. ([Concerning the commemorations of others worthy of remembrance])

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1083–85]: **Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance.**

157. (Concerning the commemorations of all the brothers)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1085–91]: **Equally** [we must commemorate] **all the brothers** in the monastery **whose names were and will be inscribed in the diptychs. In addition, whenever someone has recently died, he should be remembered during each service, and I mean during matins and the liturgy and vespers, until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day one offering will be made on his behalf.** This I prescribe. **In addition to this the ecclesiarch must note down the names of each of those who die in the *menologion*.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1118–21]: **We command, moreover, the priests** in the monastery **to consult the diptychs at every divine liturgy, so that they themselves may not bear the accusation of having forgotten and neglected them.**

158. (Concerning my own judgment and the rule)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [41], ed. lines 13–23]: **The things, then, that I have previously stated have presented quite clearly the circumstances that made the composition of the present rule necessary. For these are the rule and the precise constitution for a true cenobitic monastery. May the Triune God preserve inviolable up to the end of the present world all the things that have been formulated in order that thus the flock of Christ may be called light, in accordance with the statements of the gospels (Matt. 5:14), and through it yet others also might be brought to edification. May it be a truly chosen flock of Christ and by its example be able to instruct many souls of men [p. 61] that see its correct way of life as a marvelous example.**

159. (Concerning the fact that following common usage a trustee is to be elected)

Since it would be in conformity with common usage that [the monastery] acquire also trustees of my present rule, I forthwith institute these: the two greatest and loftiest, first God and [then] his undefiled Mother. From him and through him we were brought forth from non-existence into existence.

160. (Concerning the trustees: [they are to be] God and she who gave birth to him, and the emperor)

I institute as trustee him who from [God] and through [God] truly reigns, our very great and sovereign emperor .....<sup>32</sup> and along with him those also who after him will be granted by God the rights to the Roman scepters in order that they may protect my fathers and brothers and look after the monastery for their soul's mercy and reward.

161. (A sworn appeal to the magistrates of the island at the time)

[ = (32) *Mamas* [38], ed. lines 21–37]: **But I adjure** also those who at the time are distinguished by the magistracies of this island, **by our Lord Jesus Christ** and by his undefiled Mother, **that if the monks should come to them and present the present regulations of the *typikon* and say that they are being unjustly treated by some, that they proceed against the injustice and check its impetus and rescue the flock of Christ from the hand of quite cruel men and not to ignore it but support and defend it in accordance with the dictates of law and justice, in order that thus they may procure a reward for themselves and have the divine favor because they graciously received the monks of the supremely holy Mother of God of the Mountain of Machairas and deemed them worthy of the proper assistance. For this reason, in fact, it has been prescribed that they even be commemorated.**

162. (Most shuddering curses against him who shall attempt to proceed towards the annulment [of the rule])

[ = (32) *Mamas* [41], ed. lines 23–28]: **Let him, however, who shall even attempt to proceed towards the annulment of our present rule of the *typikon* [p. 62] in addition to not being listened to, be also alien to the hope of the Christians, I mean the undefiled body and blood, because he has wanted to overturn and violently shake this peace-loving and benevolent rule that has been established for the benefit of my fathers and brothers.**

163. (Instruction to the brothers)

[ = (32) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1270–82]: **So then I have stated sufficiently all the things that I wished and that are acceptable to God and to [our] ardent helper and patroness, the pure Mother of God, and which are greatly beneficial for your help. In the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure<sup>33</sup> handed on to you, to preserve loyalty and honor towards your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you “to surpass each other in humility” (Phil. 2:3; I Peter 5:5), to labor with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but 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.**

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1292–1300]: **So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation. 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 kingdom of heaven. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as**

**has been said; “for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and the men of violence take it by force”** (Matt. 11:12).

164. (Instruction to the superior and regulation regarding [the number of] brothers)

My statement is again directed to you, spiritual father and brother. The first thing is to follow the things that have been written and observe without obstruction the things that have been rightly and lawfully laid down by canon; and not to add to the number [of brothers] that has been prescribed until the Lord calls one of you, [my] brothers, to that blessed life. In that case you must make an addition according to the rank of him who departed, be he a cleric or someone else. [p. 63]

165. (Regulation concerning clerics)

I have prescribed that clerics, I mean [gap in text] . . .

At all events, you shall appoint them to the primary offices,<sup>34</sup> if they are competent for such an office, that they may not let anything belonging to the monastery become lost in any way out of carelessness or some other kind of neglect and so be liable to a penalty that is equal to that of sacrilege.<sup>35</sup> Every single person who does not follow this standard and rule, which leads to salvation, must be expelled, lest perhaps “a little leaven leavens the whole lump” (I Cor. 5:6). But I enjoin these things also upon those who after you will succeed to the leadership.

166. (Entreaty and appeal of the sinner Neilos to all)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1305–11]: **So then I, the sinner Neilos, beseech you all to “lead a life worthy of your calling”** (Eph. 4:1); **“present your bodies holy to the Lord”** (Rom. 12:1); **“love one another”** (John 15:12); **“run well the race that is set before you”** (Heb. 12:1); **“whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things you have heard and learned from me”** (cf. Phil. 4:8–9), the unworthy one. **Do not fail to do these things, my brothers and beloved children. Remember your souls and do not forget my insignificance in your prayers.** Do not let a stone cover my memory, O you to whom I gave birth in spirit. For “the measure you give is the measure you receive.”<sup>36</sup>

167. (Concerning the fact that the present *typikon* is to be read three times a year)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1313–18]: **I instruct you to read the present *typikon* three times a year during your meal-times, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from your fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction.**

168. (A brief and concluding prayer)

[ = (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1318–24]: **“The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory”** (Heb. 13:20–21), **through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through His only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, [p. 64] and majesty**

**now and always and for ever and ever, Amen. Glory to thee, our God, glory to thee.**

169. (Concerning the holy monastery for women in Tamasia)

Besides, by the good pleasure of God and his Mother, who gave him birth without [human] seed [and] who cooperates with us in all respects for the things that are better and bring salvation, I have erected from its very foundations a holy monastery for women in Tamasia, and it has been made complete in all respects, in both holy and venerable icons and sacred and soul-benefiting books, as well as other divine offerings. I have set forth in writing for the nuns a precise rule for practicing asceticism. I have appointed the most honorable superior who will succeed me as trustee along with the most devout ordained monk, lord Neophytos, to supervise and guide the sacred flock of Christ and to give approval in all matters, as I have prescribed in writing.

170. (Concerning what this holy monastery must receive yearly)

I prescribe that this holy monastery and the sisters who practice asceticism in it receive yearly from our net revenues—of the totals, that is—one-eighth of a hundred; and the other two are for those who are struggling against the sacred disease<sup>37</sup> and for the rest of the poor. From this eighth, the priests of *Blachernitissa*<sup>38</sup> ought to receive yearly twenty-four *nomismata*, but they, too, are to have the consent of the superior; and while the male [animals] ought to be tithed, the female are not because of the wool and the cheese.

The superior at the time ought freely to bestow this small gift without hesitation and complaining, just as I have prescribed, in no way whatsoever using poverty as an excuse. For I have dedicated to the monastery sufficient revenues and acquisitions for the appropriate expenditures and food for all. If you do so, you will be confident in the hope that you loan these things to Christ, by whom you will also be repaid “a hundredfold” (Mark 10, 30; Luke 18, 30). If, [p. 65] however, anyone attempts in any way whatsoever to take away from what has been dedicated [to God], he will have the divinity fighting against him for being sacrilegious, and let him not partake of the divine sacraments.

In the month of August, on the thirteenth, in the year 6718 [= 1210 A.D.]. I, the humble monk Neilos, founder of the monastery of *Machairas*, bishop of Tamasia and primate, have signed at the beginning and end. 6718.<sup>39</sup>

*Notes on the Translation*

1. The donation is problematic, for Cyprus was independent of Byzantium during this emperor’s reign, first under the usurper Isaac Komnenos (1184–91) and then, after the island’s conquest by the English king and crusader Richard I Lionheart (1189–99) in 1191, by various Latin rulers.
2. Another problematic donation. During Alexios’ reign, Cyprus was under the control of the Lusignan ruler Aimery (1194–1205).
3. In [47] below.
4. Presumably in an inventory, not preserved.
5. Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, November 21.
6. Feast of the birth of the Mother of God, September 8; commemoration, December 26; feast of the Purifi-

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- cation (i.e., the Presentation of Christ in the Temple), February 2; feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
7. Feast of the Dormition, August 15.
  8. Cf. (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].
  9. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 12, PG 31, col. 1376 AB.
  10. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractae* 26 ([LR26]), PG 31, col. 985CD.
  11. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, PG 88, cols. 681B, 705C.
  12. Saturday of the first week in Lent.
  13. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
  14. The first week of Easter; cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A3].
  15. The week following the Sunday of St. Thomas, i.e., the first Sunday after Easter.
  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. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
  18. See (20) *Black Mountain* [55] with note.
  19. The heresy of the *Tetraditai*.
  20. Cf. (28) *Pantokrator* [4].
  21. See also [148] below; according to (9) *Galesios* [130], the *apostolikai* (wearers of the habit of the apostles) were an intermediate rank between the wearers of the habit of the martyrs and the wearers of the habit of the angels (*megaloschemoi*).
  22. The Greek text (ed. p. 46, line 20) reads: *mokeritas*. The word *mokerites* is not found in the dictionaries; it may be a neologism, as the editor suggests (Tsiknopoulos, *Kypriaka Typika*, p. 23\*) or a scribal error. The reference is undoubtedly to the officials who visited and supervised the dependencies and who are called *stratokopoi* in this chapter, *metochiaroi* in [85] and [109] and *metochitai* in [110].
  23. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae in monachos deliquentes* 13, PG 31, col. 1308C.
  24. For references to the sources, see the Document Notes.
  25. Reading *keirekomei* for *kerokomei* in edition, p. 52, line 28. Although the verb *keirekomeo* is not found in the dictionaries, the adjective *keirekomes*, “one who has cut his hair,” is attested; see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *keirekomes*. For the rule forbidding monks to cut their hair without the superior’s permission, see Pachomios, *Regula* B, PG 40, col. 952B and (32) *Mamas* [24] and note.
  26. See [17] above.
  27. Rom. 15:14; I Thess. 4:18; Eph. 4:2; Heb. 10:24.
  28. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
  29. Cf. [102] above, with Document note below.
  30. Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Forerunner, June 24; feast of his beheading, August 29; commemoration, January 7.
  31. See [7], [8], and [10] above.
  32. Gap in the text here.
  33. The reading *diakonia* (edition, page 62, line 10) is wrong. (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. line 1273 has *akolouthia*.
  34. For the meaning, see [81] above and (28) *Pantokrator* [4].
  35. Cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19], [32].
  36. Matt. 7:2; Mark 4:24; Luke 6:38.
  37. *Hiera nosos*; for which, see (28) *Pantokrator*, n. 84.
  38. The Church of the Holy Virgin of Blachernai in Constantinople, for which, see Janin, *Geographie*, vol. 3, pp. 161–71.
  39. Two appendices follow in the edition (ed. pp. 66–68); these have not been translated. Appendix A (ed. p. 66) reproduces part of [114] (ed. lines 10–23), while Appendix B (ed. pp. 67–68) copies (22) *Evergetis*, [33] (ed. lines 1026–58).

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### *Document Notes*

The manuscript's editor has transferred chapter titles from the author's index to the body of the document, enclosing them in round brackets. We have followed this convention in our translation. The first twenty chapters discussing various aspects of the foundation's constitution and history, are all original to (34) *Machairas*. The chapters are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [1] Meditation on death.
- [2] The founder's authority to issue this *Rule*.
- [3] Reason for issuance of the *Rule*.
- [4] Preservation of prior rule.
- [5] Plan of organization.
- [6] Preface to the foundation history.
- [7] First founders Neophytos and Ignatios.
- [8] The monk Prokopios.
- [9] Gift of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos.
- [10] Building of the oratory.
- [11] Neilos' arrival at the monastery.
- [12] His designation as Ignatios' successor.
- [13] His reluctance to accept the superiorship.
- [14] Death of Ignatios.
- [15] Construction of the church and other buildings.
- [16] The episcopal *stauropegion*.
- [17] Ignatios' restriction of episcopal rights.
- [18] Neilos' installation by Bishop Niketas Hagiostephanites.
- [19] Warning to future bishops.
- [20] Commemoration for respectful bishops.
- [21] Independent and self-governing status. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (32) *Mamas* [4]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (30) *Phoberos* [33], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4].
- [22] Gift and confirmation of Emperor Isaac II Angelos. A Group A chapter.
- [23] Emperor Alexios III Angelos and his gifts. A Group A chapter. He is commemorated by name in [24] below.
- [24] First *trisagion* of the emperor. See also [47] below. A Group A chapter. See other provisions in (25) *Fragala* [C3], [C5]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [34], [71]; (28) *Pantokrator* [3]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [49].
- [25] Donors of immovable property. A Group A chapter. See the provision for their commemoration in [155] below.
- [26] Illumination of the church. A Group A chapter. See other provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [68]; (28) *Pantokrator* [6], [29], [34]; and (48) *Prodromos* [10].
- [27] Feast of the entry of the Mother of God into the temple (Presentation of the Mother of God). A Group A chapter. See also the provisions for this feast in (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (35) *Skoteine* [19].
- [28] Other feasts of the Mother of God. See also the provision in (27) *Kecharitomene* [60].
- [29] Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God. A Group A chapter. See also other provisions for this feast in (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (23) *Pakourianos* [11]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [59]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; (39) *Lips* [38]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [112]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C14].
- [30] Introduction to the hours. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [3] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provision in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [31] Office of the first hour. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [9], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point (extending through part of [33]) that can be resolved by using (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 119–26.

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- [32] Disciplinary enforcement. A Group B chapter, missing from the manuscript, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [9], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. The gap in the manuscript here cannot be restored with any confidence, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 127–35.
- [33] Private recitation of the office. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [9], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. The text of this chapter is defective; for lost content, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 136–39.
- [34] Omission of genuflections during Christmas and Pentecost. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [10], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [35] Offices of the third and sixth hours. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [31] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [31].
- [36] The Holy Eucharist. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], [14], (30) *Phoberos* [10], [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32].
- [37] Frequency of reception of communion. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [38] No one to abstain entirely from communion. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32].
- [39] Preparation for communion. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32].
- [40] Quality of the eucharistic bread and wine. A Group A chapter. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [85] and (36) *Blemmydes* [4] likewise show a concern about the manufacture and use of the eucharistic elements.
- [41] Specifications for the eucharistic elements. A Group A chapter.
- [42] Office of the ninth hour. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [43] Office of vespers. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [44] Office of compline. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [36], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [45] Summons to midnight office. A Group A chapter.
- [46] Midnight office. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [38], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [47] Second *trisagion* of the emperor. See also [24] above. A Group A chapter.
- [48] Office of matins. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [6] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [39], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [13], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [49] No absences from the office. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [21] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21].
- [50] Superior to offer confession. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], and (30) *Phoberos* [14]. (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29] have different treatments.
- [51] Guidelines for confession. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [7] and (32) *Mamas* [30]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [17], (30) *Phoberos* [14], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30].
- [52] Punishment of non-confessing monks. See also [54] below. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis*

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- [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [17], and (30) *Phoberos* [14].
- [53] Confession at tonsure. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [18], and (30) *Phoberos* [15].
- [54] Expulsion of non-confessing monks. See also [52] above. A Group C chapter, shared only with (22) *Evergetis* [15]. (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29] have different treatments.
- [55] Length of the novitiate for notables. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [51], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [56] Length of the novitiate for others. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [51] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [57] No mandatory entrance gifts. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [58] Voluntary offerings allowed. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [59] Entrance gifts cannot be reclaimed. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [5]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5].
- [60] Acceptability of monks from other monasteries. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [52] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [61] Importance of the diet; summons to the refectory. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [20], (30) *Phoberos* [20], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [62] Discipline of monks absent from meals. A Group B chapter, missing because of a gap in the manuscript, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos* [21], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [63] Discipline of the disorderly. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [9], (27) *Kecharitomene* [41], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos* [21], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. The lost portion of this chapter that is due to the gap in the manuscript that begins at [62] can be restored by reference to (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 352–56; the lost portion may have been shared with (32) *Mamas* [17] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17].
- [64] No arguments over precedence. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [36]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], (30) *Phoberos* [22], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35].
- [65] Order of seating at meals. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [36] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35].
- [66] Evening meal. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [9], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], and (30) *Phoberos* [24]. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point that extends down through part of [67]. Text is restored using (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 421–23.
- [67] Diet for the first week of Lent. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [27], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]. The gap in the manuscript that begins in [66] continues through the middle of this chapter; it is resolved by using (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 445–52.
- [68] Diet for Saturdays and Sundays in Lent. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [69] Diet for Wednesday of the Great Canon. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and

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- (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [70] Diet for the feasts of St. John and the Forty Martyrs. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [71] Diet for the feast of the Annunciation. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [27], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [72] Diet for holy week. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [27], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [73] Easter service; dietary discretion for the sick. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [74] Diet for the Week of Renovation. A Group A chapter. See also other provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [34], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (43) *Kasoulon* [10].
- [75] Diet for the Week of St. Thomas and the last week of Pentecost. A Group A chapter.
- [76] Fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (30) *Phoberos* [29], [30], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [77] Diet for days of fasting; diet during Christmas season. A Group A chapter. See also other provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [45]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]; (30) *Phoberos* [16], [17], [19]; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; (45) *Neophytos* [C4]; (36) *Blemmydes* [11]; (39) *Lips* [32]; (43) *Kasoulon* [5], [8]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [78] Diet to spite the Artziburians. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19]. See also other treatments of this diet in (20) *Black Mountain* [20], [55]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [19]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].
- [79] Fellow-brethren to eat with other monks. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].
- [80] Steward's qualifications for office. A Group C chapter, shared in part with (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (30) *Phoberos* [35]. See also different provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [32], (32) *Mamas* [7], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7].
- [81] Installation of the steward. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [7]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7].
- [82] Joint supervisory responsibilities of the superior and the steward. A Group A chapter.
- [83] Monks to help harvest the crops. A Group A chapter.
- [84] Steward subordinated to superior. A Group A chapter. (28) *Pantokrator* [64] takes the opposite approach, obliging the superior to make no administrative undertaking without consulting the stewards.
- [85] Property managers. See also [110] below. A Group A chapter.
- [86] Duties of the second steward. A Group A chapter.
- [87] No private possessions; no servants. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [22], [24] and (32) *Mamas* [34], [35]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [41], [43] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], [34].
- [88] Why stewards may need to be removed from office. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2].
- [89] Stewards' tenure of office. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [14] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [13], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], (30) *Phoberos* [35], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2].

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- [90] Justifications for removal of stewards. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [14] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], (30) *Phoberos* [35], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2].
- [91] Installation of officials. A Group A chapter. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [29], (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35], (30) *Phoberos* [30], (32) *Mamas* [6], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6].
- [92] Installation of officials without keys; tenure of office for officials. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [29], [32] and (32) *Mamas* [6] (investiture only); textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35], [38], (30) *Phoberos* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6].
- [93] Inventory of movable property given to the ecclesiarch. See also [95] below. A Group A chapter. See similar treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], (32) *Mamas* [8], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], and (58) *Menoikeion* [4].
- [94] Purpose of the inventory. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37].
- [95] Annual inventory check of movable property. See also [93] above. A Group A chapter. Part of the text is missing in a gap in the text that continues down to part of [97].
- [96] Duties of the cellarer. See also [105] below. A Group D chapter, missing, but cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [23], (32) *Mamas* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]. The entire text is missing in a gap in the manuscript that continues down to part of [97].
- [97] Superior to inspect the storehouse. A Group A chapter. The gap in the manuscript that begins in [95] ends part way through this chapter.
- [98] Cellarer subordinated to the superior. A Group A chapter.
- [99] Removal of the cellarer. A Group A chapter.
- [100] Duties of the treasurer. A Group A chapter. See similar treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], (32) *Mamas* [10], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10].
- [101] Reconciliation of accounts every two months. A Group A chapter.
- [102] Communal wardrobe. A Group C chapter, shared in part with (22) *Evergetis* [25], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], and (30) *Phoberos* [44]. (32) *Mamas* [28] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28] make different provisions.
- [103] Exchange of garments. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [25], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], and (30) *Phoberos* [44].
- [104] Duties of custodian of tools. A Group A chapter. Cf. the work supervisor found in (20) *Black Mountain* [80].
- [105] Duties of the superintendents of provisions, the storehouse and of the dependencies. A Group A chapter. For other descriptions of the duties of provisioners, see [96] above, and (27) *Kecharitomene* [23], (32) *Mamas* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]. Officials analogous to the superintendents of dependencies are found in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244].
- [106] Equality in food and drink. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33].
- [107] Additional food for sick monks. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33].
- [108] Sick brothers not to demand excessive food. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [41] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [57], (30) *Phoberos* [56], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33].
- [109] Qualifications of property administrators. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [34], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40], and (30) *Phoberos* [49].
- [110] No lay property managers. See also [85] above. A Group A chapter. Laymen are permitted to serve in this capacity in (27) *Kecharitomene* [31].

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- [111] Distant estates may be alienated. A Group A chapter. Unprecedented; cf. discussion of the issue in (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] and in (45) *Neophytos* [10].
- [112] The baker and his assistants. A Group A chapter. For bakers and bakeries elsewhere in our documents, see (11) *Ath. Rule* [30]; (15) *Constantine IX* [4]; (19) *Attaleiates* [16], [INV 9]; (23) *Pakourianos* [6], [21]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix A; (28) *Pantokrator* [33], [45], [52]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [62]; (35) *Skoteine* [9]; (37) *Auxentios* [7]; (38) *Kellibara I* [17]; (45) *Neophytos* [20]; (56) *Kellibara II* [2]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C1]; a baker is also among the signatories to (32) *Mamas*.
- [113] Manual workers not to engage in idle talking. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [21] and (32) *Mamas* [35]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [39], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], and (58) *Menoikeion* [17]. See also (11) *Ath. Rule* [30], [31] for similar craftsmen.
- [114] Disciplinary official. A Group A chapter. See also descriptions of this official's duties in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [18]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [17]; (22) *Evergetis* [31]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [26]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37]; and (30) *Phoberos* [48].
- [115] Women banned from monastery; no consumption of meat; school for youths intending to become monks. A Group A chapter. The ban on women is analogous to but textually independent of those found in (22) *Evergetis* [39], (28) *Pantokrator* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (32) *Mamas* [27], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]. For the ban on meat, see also (25) *Fragala* [B4] and (26) *Luke of Messina* [3]. (23) *Pakourianos* [31] makes a similar provision for a boy's school.
- [116] Hospitality for other monks and notables. A Group A chapter. See other provisions for hospitality in (21) *Roidion* [B2], [B3] and (42) *Sabas* [8].
- [117] Entertainment of visiting magistrates. A Group A chapter. See also (21) *Roidion* [B7] and (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], [8].
- [118] Charitable distributions. A Group C chapter, shared in part with (22) *Evergetis* [38], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56], and (30) *Phoberos* [55]. (32) *Mamas* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13] have different provisions.
- [119] Rationale for exclusion of women from almsgiving. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [38], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56], and (30) *Phoberos* [55].
- [120] Superior to search cells. A Group A chapter, textually independent of but recalling (22) *Evergetis* [27], (27) *Kecharitomene* [50], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20].
- [121] Introduction to the Basilian canons. Most of the following thirteen chapters, [122] through [134], are drawn from the pseudo-Basilian *Poenae in monachos delinquentes*, PG 31, cols. 1305–20, but from a text rather different from our edited version that incorporated elements of the Pachomian *Praecepta*. There is also a mostly different set of these canons in (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] through [CB12].
- [122] Punishment for a monk who fails to report another's plan to flee the monastery. Cf. *Poenae* 40, PG 31, col. 1312B; also found in (45) *Neophytos* [CB1].
- [123] Punishment for a departure without the superior's approval. Cf. *Poenae* 12, PG 31, col. 1308C; also found in (45) *Neophytos* [CB2].
- [124] Punishment for boorish behavior at table. Cf. *Poenae* 28, PG 31, col. 1309B.
- [125] Punishment for eating without receiving the blessing. Cf. *Poenae* 21, PG 31, col. 1309A.
- [126] Punishment for absence from dinner. Cf. *Poenae* 34, PG 31, col. 1309D.
- [127] Punishment for lateness at compline. Cf. *Poenae* 37, PG 31, col. 1312A.
- [128] Punishment for unauthorized conversation or socialization. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*.
- [129] Punishment for intruders in the kitchen. Cf. *Poenae* 52, PG 31, col. 1313A.
- [130] Punishment for entering or sleeping in another's cell. Cf. *Poenae* 23, PG 31, col. 1309B; also found in (45) *Neophytos* [CB6].
- [131] Punishment for unauthorized correspondence or distribution of monastic property. Cf. *Poenae* 59, PG 31, col. 1313C; also found in (22) *Evergetis* [22] and (45) *Neophytos* [CB5], [CB10].
- [132] Punishment for manual workers eating fruit before it is blessed. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*,

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- but see (32) *Mamas* [19], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], and (43) *Kasoulon* [11] which refer to a similar custom, and the Pachomian *Praecepta* [73], [75], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), pp. 34–35.
- [133] Even personal services not to be administered without the superior's permission. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*, but (32) *Mamas* [24] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24] have this provision, which may be derived in part from the Pachomian *Praecepta* [97], ed. Boon, p. 40.
- [134] Punishment for theft of fruit from the garden. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*, but cf. the Pachomian *Praecepta* [77], ed. Boon, p. 35.
- [135] Admonition to all officials. See also [165] below. A Group A chapter. The condemnation of official carelessness recalls (22) *Evergetis* [32]; cf. [19].
- [136] Reception of visiting relatives. See also [116] above. A Group A chapter.
- [137] Need to observe the (Basilian) canons. A Group A chapter.
- [138] Value of the canons. A Group A chapter.
- [139] Purpose of the *typikon*. A Group A chapter. Cf. the discussion of the purpose of the inventory in (32) *Mamas* [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37].
- [140] Designation of a successor. A Group A chapter. See also such designations in other documents: (1) *Apa Abraham* [1], (10) *Eleousa* [11], (41) *Docheiariou* [4], (48) *Prodromos* [6], (49) *Geromeri* [14], (50) *Gerasimos* [3], and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
- [141] Exclusive confession to the superior. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [15] and (30) *Phoberos* [35]. (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29] have different treatments.
- [142] Monks' obedience to the superior. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [16], (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [43], and (30) *Phoberos* [36]. (32) *Mamas* [24] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24] have different provisions.
- [143] Monks' mutual affection for one another. A Group C chapter, shared only with (22) *Evergetis* [16].
- [144] Exhortation to the superior. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [42]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [44], (30) *Phoberos* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], and (58) *Menoikeion* [19].
- [145] Monks not to question superior. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43].
- [146] Superior not to spend the monastery's wealth for friends or relatives. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [37], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43].
- [147] Correction of the superior. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; textually related provision in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43].
- [148] Outside monks not eligible to become superior; hostility to privilege. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [45]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [42], (30) *Phoberos* [36], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [44].
- [149] Chapel of St. John the Baptist. A Group A chapter. See discussions of similar dependencies in (13) *Ath. Rule* [9] and (44) *Karyes* [2] ff.
- [150] Icons of the chapel of St. John. A Group A chapter. For the furnishings of other small dependencies, see (35) *Skoteine* [28], [42] and (44) *Karyes* [3].
- [151] No additional cells to be built. A Group A chapter. See similar restrictions in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [45], [53].
- [152] Solitaries and their regimen. A Group A chapter. The weekly regime is similar to that prescribed in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24].
- [153] No sales of living allowances (*siteresia*). A Group A chapter. These are permitted in (19) *Attaleiates* [30] but rejected by (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
- [154] Founders' commemoration. A Group A chapter. See other provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [35]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon*.

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- [155] Commemoration of donors of properties. Missing, but presumably a Group A chapter. See also [25] above.
- [156] Commemoration of other benefactors. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [40]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [70] and (30) *Phoberos* [50].
- [157] Commemoration of departed monks. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [39]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], (30) *Phoberos* [50], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39].
- [158] Divine preservation of the *typikon*. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [41] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40].
- [159] Designation of heavenly trustees. A Group A chapter. See similar provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [18], (19) *Attaleiates* [7], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [13], [14], [123].
- [160] Designation of emperor as a trustee. A Group A chapter. See similar provisions in (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], and (39) *Lips* [3]; cf. (14) *Ath. Testament* [5].
- [161] Exhortation to the magistrates of the island. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [38] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [38].
- [162] Curse against violators of the *typikon*. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [41] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40].
- [163] Final exhortation. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [42] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57], (30) *Phoberos* [59], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (58) *Menoikeion* [20].
- [164] No addition to the number of monks. A Group A chapter. See similar scheme of replacement by attrition in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [8].
- [165] Promotion of clerics to offices; carelessness equivalent to sacrilege. See also [135] above. A Group A chapter. For the special honor accorded ordained monks, see also (35) *Skoteine* [14]; the condemnation of official carelessness recalls (22) *Evergetis* [32]; cf. [19].
- [166] Scriptural exhortations. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [42] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57], (30) *Phoberos* [59], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (58) *Menoikeion* [20].
- [167] Reading of the *typikon*. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [43], (27) *Kecharitomene* [65], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57], and (30) *Phoberos* [59]. See also different treatments in (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16].
- [168] Scriptural blessing. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [43] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (30) *Phoberos* [59], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45].
- [169] Women's convent in Tamasia. A Group A chapter. For other double monasteries, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [69], [77], [79]; (31) *Areia* [M1], [M4], [M5], [M6]; and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8].
- [170] Financial support for the convent. A Group A chapter. See the different financial arrangements made for the convent mentioned in (31) *Areia* [M4], [M5], [M6].