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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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35. *Skoteine* [Boreine]*: Testament of Maximos for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia

Date: November 1247

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Manuel Gedeon, "Diatheke Maximou monachou ktitoros tes en Lydia mones Kotines (1247)," *Mikrasiatika Chronika* 2 (1939), 263–91 (text at 271–90), with reference to Sophronios Eustratiades, "He en Philadelpheia mone tes hyperagias Theotokou tes Koteines," *Hellenika* 3 (1930), 317–39, corr. A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 8 (1931), 377–81.

Manuscript: Vatopedi 3:106 (13th c.)¹

Other translations: Abridged French translation by Pierre Năsturel, "Recherches sur le testament de Maxime de Skoteinè (1247)," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris, 1984), pp. 74–82.

Institutional History

The *Testament* is our only source for the history of this foundation. The monk Maximos, the author of this document, was the son of a charcoal burner who inherited [2] a modest private religious foundation from his father and grandfather. Năsturel ("Recherches," p. 86) conjectures that Maximos' father Gregory fled to the mountain on which he established his monastery in the first instance to escape the abuses of the tax collectors of Emperor Isaac II (1185–95), which eventually led to a successful usurpation by a local dynast, Theodore Mangaphas, in 1188.² The *Testament* indicates the existence of links between the family of the usurper and this monastery down to the middle of the thirteenth century.³ The foundation's original church was so small that only three persons could fit [8] into it at one time. Yet out of these beginnings our author built a substantial and prosperous foundation, a remarkable achievement for an individual of presumably modest means. He assiduously sought donations and made purchases of landed property from pious widows, clerics and monks. Some of the latter either chose or were required to make entrance gifts (*prosenexeis*).⁴ Though the debt is not explicitly acknowledged, he owed a great deal of his success to wealthy aristocratic neighbors. His foundation benefitted especially from the patronage of the *allagator* Phokas and his wife Irene;⁵ the lady Athanasia Mangaphaina, who later became a nun,⁶ was another important benefactor.

The fate of the foundation is unknown. The neighboring metropolis of Philadelphia was one of Byzantium's last strongholds in this part of Asia Minor, falling to the Ottoman Turks only in 1390. If the *Skoteine* monastery was still in existence at that time, it is improbable that it survived much longer. Its precise location has not yet been identified.⁷

Analysis

The *Testament* is essentially a detailed inventory [24] ff. of the properties and possessions of the *Skoteine* monastery and its five dependencies, prefaced by a foundation history [2] ff. Administrative and disciplinary matters are treated only briefly [12] ff.

A. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

As in (37) *Auxentios* [6] and (45) *Neophytos* [9], the community was divided into church monks (*ekklestiastikoi*) and others. The former were to enjoy [14] proper honor and precedence in “where they sit and stand, since they are obliged to pray fervently for all the others.” Before the author assumed charge of the foundation, there was [4] a community of six monks, including his father, grandfather, two uncles, and other relatives. Later, the size of the community increased [5] to at least nine monks, then, during [8] the author’s own superiorship, up to twenty. There are no instructions on the length of the novitiate or the minimum age for admission; the author himself was tonsured [7] while still a boy.

2. Liturgical Duties

The author provides [12] for the monks to participate in a morning and an evening service of daily prayer, to be led by the ecclesiarch in accordance with the prescriptions of a (liturgical) *typikon* that is also mentioned [24] in the inventory. The patronal feast of the Mother of God receives [19] a special regulation.

3. Manual Labor

There was a role [23] for manual labor in the lives of the monks as well, evidently including viticulture [41] and the production [23] of articles of clothing. However, the author instructs his monks that “they should not produce more than they really need,” that is, no production for the local market economy.

4. Cenobitic Life

The author strongly endorses [13] cenobitic life, rejecting solitary and kelliotic alternatives. Monks were to take meals in common, share the same food, and have no personal possessions. These are traditional Evergetian principles, but there is no use of Evergetian language.

B. *Constitutional Matters*

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Despite this monastery’s origins as a simple private religious foundation, our author was eager to claim [20] for it the status of an independent and self-governing foundation.

2. Choice of the Superior

The superior was free to transmit [20] the monastery to his successor, but not to a lay relative or to any other lay person. Future superiors were to be chosen [17] internally by “collective judgment” of the community. An outside candidate (i.e., a *xenokourites*) was eligible to be selected if there was no one available internally who was suitable for the foundation’s leadership. Previously, the author’s father Gregory had recruited [5] such a *xenokourites* to conduct the liturgical services at the foundation. This unnamed ascetic brought two disciples with him, and after ten years’ service here, moved on [8] to the superiorship of another monastery. This indicates that there was a kind of career track for a charismatic *xenokourites* despite the frequent sentiment against them among founders.

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3. Other Officials

An ecclesiarch, a cellarer and a treasurer served [22] as the monastery's officials, but the ultimate authority was vested in the superior himself.

4. Patronal Privileges

There was to be [19] a solemn memorial service for the founders each evening. The foundation's chief patrons, the *allagator* Phokas and his wife Irene, who decorated the church and paid for the construction of the monks' cells, the refectory, the kitchen and the bakery (cf. [45]), were to be buried [9] in the monastery and were to receive a perpetual liturgical commemoration. The nun Athanasia Mangaphaina was apparently allowed [10] to remain in the buildings that she had donated to the foundation; after her death she was to be joined with her husband Mangaphas as the beneficiary of commemorative services.

C. Financial Matters

1. Endowment Properties

The foundation's monks evidently directly administered (and possibly even worked on) their landed properties, which prompted [10] the establishment of five dependencies near the most important clusters because "the brothers in Christ did not have the possibility of stopping for a place to rest." These were: St. Nicholas (probably a house church, in buildings donated by the widow of a certain Berges) [10], St. John the Merciful (paid for by Athanasia Mangaphaina) [10], St. Prokopios at Aulax (built and furnished by Irene, wife of Phokas) [11], [34], St. Constantine [35], and The Saints [41], [42]. These dependencies were well stocked with sacred vessels, vestments, and service books. The author apparently also made use of his family's background in the crafts by providing for watermills and workshops [10], [29], [34], [36], [45] as well as the more commonplace gardens [36], vineyards [40], [41], [45] cattle byres [43], [45], and olive groves [37]. The author's pride in the assets of his foundation is reflected in the detailed inventory ([24] through [45]) of landed property, consecrated offerings, and even livestock [44] included as part of this document.

2. Financial Administration

It was the superior's direct responsibility to see [16] to it that the foundation's properties were not damaged or destroyed. As in the slightly earlier (34) *Machairas* [82], [84], he was [21] to "administer everything in the monastery down to the tiniest detail," but the monks were to report [16] him to the metropolitan of Philadelphia if he failed to do so, for "his [the superior's] administration ought not to go unobserved." This is an implicit repudiation of the principle embodied in (22) *Evergetis* [18] that the superior should not be accountable to his monks for his financial administration.

D. Overall Philosophy

Our author prefers [15] an egalitarian style of leadership in which the superior was to regard himself "as of equal station to all the rest" of the monks and not to "think anyone in the monastery is more worthless than himself." Like (31) *Areia* [T10], our author enjoins [21] the superior to govern collaboratively "together with monks who are knowledgeable and perceptive regarding a

wide variety of matters.” On the other hand, the superior was entitled [15] to expel disobedient monks after three warnings.

E. External Relations

1. Recognition of the Rights of the Metropolitan

The author enjoyed good relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and is accordingly generous with the rights [20] he was willing to concede to them: the local bishop was allowed to grant [17] blessing (*sphragis*) and installation (*cheirotomia*) to the newly elected superior of the monastery, to have [20] a commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy, and to provide [20] spiritual correction for the monks. This invites contrast to the entirely different attitude seen in the contemporary (36) *Blemmydes* [1]. The author also encourages [16] his monks to turn to the metropolitan of Philadelphia if their superior administered the foundation’s properties poorly; the prelate was also to help resolve other disputes between the superior and the monks. Less trusting founders of the eleventh and even the twelfth centuries (though cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [41], [111]) would not have allowed such a large role for the local bishop, but by this time the perceived threat from the hierarchy may well have receded significantly.

2. Relations with the *Nea Mone* of Chios

The foundation enjoyed close relations with the monks of the *Nea Mone*, with whom this monastery shared [43] ownership of a cattle byre. That monastery’s superior had also recommended [5] this foundation’s first spiritual director.

* As this publication was going to press, we were informed by Jacques Lefort that the correct form of this monastery’s name is *Boreine*, not *Skoteine*. See further volume one of *Actes de Vatopédi* (forthcoming).

Notes on the Introduction

1. Possibly an autograph, but probably a contemporary copy; see Năsturel, “Recherches,” pp. 73–74.
2. For this individual, see Charles Brand, “Mankaphas, Theodore,” *ODB*, pp. 1286–87.
3. (35) *Skoteine* [10], [36], [40], [43].
4. (35) *Skoteine* [31], [32], [33], [38], [39].
5. (35) *Skoteine* [9], [38], [41], [45].
6. (35) *Skoteine* [10], [36], [40], [43].
7. See the observations of Năsturel, “Recherches,” pp. 82–85.

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Translation

+ I, Maximos, ordained monk and founder of [the monastery of] the most holy Mother of God of Skoteine,¹ have signed in my own hand. +

[1.] “As for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so shall he flourish” (Ps. 102 [103]:15). This was the cry of King David, God’s forefather, as he was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Reflecting on these words I came to realize how true it is that everything a man has does wither away that quickly, and that all human prosperity and domination is a lie. Indeed every man is a liar, for he spends his life wandering about to no purpose, and he conjures up what ought not to be. In truth, just like grass, the reputation of each man is a picture of vanity. The only solid thing about him is that he has been brought forth in the likeness and in the image of God. For this reason, with the lyre of the Spirit, David proclaimed that human nature “has been made a little less than the angels” (Ps. 8:6). Therefore, I too have been created in the image of God, although I have not preserved that image in its entirety and I have not maintained intact the true man within me. Now, at any rate, I want to make my situation clear to everyone, for I am afraid that the customary separation which is part of human nature will come upon me and will find my affairs in disarray.

[2.] First of all, I bequeath to all orthodox Christians the love and the pardon which is found in Christ. Then, I make the following disposition. My father was the monk, the late lord Gregory, who was a craftsman. Before my birth, he went up to the [p. 272] mountain, the one on which the monastery was founded, accompanied by his apprentices in order to collect the charcoal to be found there. As he looked about here and there at the lay of the land, he was quite pleased. He offered a prayer that if God might allow him to plant a vineyard in this place, he would build an oratory to honor the name of our most holy Mother of God and, with God’s help, he would make arrangements that the liturgy and divine service would be celebrated unceasingly. His prayer was soon transformed into fact in accord with the promise of the Gospel which states: “Every one who asks receives, and he who seeks finds, and to him who knocks it will be opened” (Matt. 7:8; Luke 11:10). He then cleared the dense woods which covered the mountain and planted a small vineyard there.

[3.] Before me my father had sired a female child, and then I was born, but death took the one who had given birth to me, earth rendering its due back to earth, and with her my older sister also died. I was then left in the care of my grandmother, who nourished me with her milk and who brought me to the light [of baptism]. My father had no more concern for the things of this life. Rather, as the saying goes, he put himself beyond the reach of all disorder and confusion,² and, observing the precept of Solomon, he sneered at “the voice of the exactor” (Job 3:18). He ascended the mountain and there he built an oratory dedicated to our all-holy Mother of God. He also constructed a cell with a fence around it. Alone there he earnestly prayed to God for the increase of the oratory erected by him.

[4.] I was just starting to grow up then and was occupied in learning my letters. At the same time my father was very much concerned about putting some educated monk in charge of that oratory

and of the vineyards planted around it. In fact some monks did come, but they quickly turned around and went home because the mountain was such a wild, rugged, and inhospitable place. [p. 273] As a result my father persevered in the place by himself as though he were a winged creature, finding his comfort and consolation in God. My grandfather, the monk Niphon, came to live with him. A short time later my uncle on my father's side also went up to join them, and then another who was older. With their numbers augmented by the ties of nature, then, they came to about six monks. They still clung to their previous plan to place this small monastery under the charge of some worthy, formed monk who would see that they performed the morning and evening services of praise in the accustomed manner, as well as the divine liturgy. This indeed was what they were looking for.

[5.] For myself now, I had one day of the week free, while I spent the others in the school of grammar. My father learned that there was a certain godly man dwelling in the region of Sampson. He went and asked the advice of the late venerable lord Basil of the *Nea Mone*³ about such a man. He gave him truly excellent advice. He spoke about the man's virtue, which he could fully attest to from personal experience. My father went off there and found this man in a cell. He gave an account of his coming to him and of his journey, and explained his purpose. The holy man then agreed to his request, and accompanied him all the way to the monastery with two disciples from among the monks following him. He was very pleased with the location, which promised to be quiet and undisturbed. For the man had the greatest possible love for such complete solitude and was well aware of the benefits to be derived from it. It was for these reasons that he had lived in solitude for so many years.

[6.] This man now devoted himself to such a way of life and to meditation on the words of God. My father held him in great reverence and regarded him as on a level with the angels. In fact, as I grew older, I came to spend some time with the man and observed his virtuous conduct, his keeping vigil [p. 274], his love of God, his amazing mortification of the flesh, the fruit of his total self-control, and many other things beyond my ability to number. I myself was pricked by a divine goad. I strongly desired to be with that man and to share his daily life and, as though it were a honeycomb, to be nourished by his divine utterances.

[7.] At any rate, this holy man spoke with my father about my joining them and receiving the monastic tonsure. He did not let a day go by without giving me advice and warning me that all the pleasant things of the world were more bitter than poisonous drugs. But I had no experience of spiritual pleasure, for I was still immature. "Let the time come," I said, "when I am of age for marriage and then I shall choose the monastic tonsure." But he did not let up in his efforts to counsel me and to fill me with dread of the fearful judgment. He was persistent in urging me on. Like the falling rain he hollowed out my stony heart for the reception of his word or, to tell the truth, he shaped it like wax. So his admonitions did not, so to speak, fall upon deaf ears, but they touched my heart and soon accomplished their goal. Much later I would give abundant thanks to the Mother of the Word that I had indeed come into the possession of spiritual pleasure. On the feast of the Exaltation of the precious Cross⁴ the holy man tonsured me. When he placed the holy

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robe around me, I was filled with unspeakable joy as though I had been led, not into battle, but into a sort of bridal chamber. As a result, I myself entered into spiritual struggles, unlikely as this might seem, following and struggling alongside this holy man in observing the divine commandments.

[8.] After my tonsure, which I just recounted, this man stayed with me for two years. He was then honored by being named superior of the monastery of Kounion.⁵ He left me in charge of this monastery, which, with God's approval, began to expand. [p. 275] Each year a very large number of monks came to join us, twelve at times, then eighteen, and up to twenty.

While things were in this state, we worked toward the acquisition of immovable and animate property, inasmuch as our people were lacking the food and clothing they needed. In fact, the church which had been erected by my father was so small that it could not even accommodate three people. We set about building a more spacious divine temple. Since God, who brings everything to a good conclusion, watches over everyone, and arranges things for our benefit, did not despise our weakness and poverty, but kindly granted our requests, I collected a vast amount of material and raised up the present very beautiful church without anyone giving or handing over anything whatever for its construction.

[9.] The church, though, did not have any of the holy icons. But the *allagator*,⁶ lord Phokas, under God's guidance, decorated it with paintings on wood. He donated only what was essential. All the maintenance for the painters each day and other services came from the monastery and were provided by it. Most recently this same man had also given us the funds to build the refectory, as well as those for the construction of a kitchen and a bakery. May God grant him and his wife the reward due the good [servant] for, in addition to their other good deeds, they were instrumental in bringing down the water that flows into the monastery. They ought to be accorded the privilege of being commemorated unceasingly in the monastery and of being buried in it wherever they choose. This is enough now about the origins and present condition of the monastery.

[10.] Since the monastery did not have any dependency, the brothers in Christ did not have the possibility of stopping for a rest.⁷ At first I established a small oratory dedicated to our father among the saints, the bishop and miracle-worker Nicholas, in the buildings which were donated to me by the wife of the late Berges [p. 276], who gave what aid she could. We have been dwelling in that place until recently. Then in like manner the nun, lady Athanasia Mangaphaina, granted me all the buildings which belonged to her. With her help I erected a church dedicated to our holy father among the saints, John the Merciful. She also donated all her immovable property, I refer to the vineyard in Agridion⁸ and the other one in Kobena, along with the mulberry trees in it, and the workshop with the water mill right by the river, which she obtained by purchase. We made arrangements with her which are to remain in effect for the rest of her present life. After her death commemorative services ought to be held unceasingly for her, along with her former spouse, the late Mangaphas.

[11.] I also acquired another dependency at Aulax⁹ in the area around the river. With the help of the monk Hilarion, also known as Isaac, I built a fence around it. In addition, this same Isaac

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dedicated to the monastery one half of his share of the fields situated in the area of Epizyga which he had inherited from his parents, that is, a fourth of the entire property. His former wife's sister [donated] her entire share of the fields with his consent. However, about the various possessions of the monastery and other such matters [I shall speak] at another time.¹⁰

[12.] Let me first call to mind the manner in which my successor is to carry out his duties as superior, and the quality of the daily life which he and the monks under him should strive to attain. In the second place I shall put down all my prescriptions concerning the manner of performing the divine hymnody. This is what I prescribe: the semantron must not be struck nor the evening service of praise begun until the monk appointed by the superior as ecclesiarch should, while holding a copy in his hand, carefully read the *typikon* and carry out its prescriptions [p. 277] exactly as written. The same is to be observed in the morning service of praise. During the service itself all the brothers in Christ ought to observe silence. Nobody is allowed to speak to anyone else, no matter who they may be.

[13.] The superior ought to direct all the monks practicing asceticism in the monastery to live together in the cenobitic manner. Nobody is to be off by himself, or live by himself, or acquire things for himself. But together they are all to dine at one and the same table and to share the same food.¹¹ A common outlook, a common way of thinking, and love of the brothers should be fostered among them. There is no doubt that living by oneself cuts one off from the others. By so being cut off one is preoccupied with oneself and left to one's own devices, and this is totally incompatible with common life. One thinks about and is concerned about one's own good rather than that of another. Peace and union of minds are put aside and destroyed. On the other hand, having things in common binds together and leads to peace and, as mentioned earlier, is the cause of a complete unity of attitudes and of minds.

[14.] Those who serve in the church ought to receive proper honor in such distinctions as where they sit and stand, since they are obliged to pray fervently for all the others, to keep vigil, and to make every effort to bring about peace and tranquility.

[15.] I enjoin upon the superior that he be meek, gentle, compassionate, peaceful, and very forgiving toward everyone. He does not exalt himself above his own sheep, nor does he think of himself as anything but the most worthless man in the monastery. He must regard himself as of equal station with all the rest and frequently, if necessary, actually serve them. "I did not come," says Christ who is truth itself, "to be served but to serve, and to lay down my life for many" (Matt. 20:28; Mark 10:45). He ought to possess the gifts of giving counsel and of teaching. "He who draws forth," it is said, "what is worthy from what is worthless shall be as my mouth" (Jer. 15:19). He should be an example to all of them, and what he is obliged to teach he should first put into practice. If any member of [p. 278] the cenobitic community should take a stand against his own superior, he should be counseled and admonished. After a first, second, and third warning, as is stated [in the law], he should be expelled from the monastery as a cause of scandal (cf. Titus 3:10).

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[16.] The superior, along with the others, ought to exercise restraint in dealing with the possessions of the monastery. He should not be remiss, lest these possessions suffer damage or destruction. But if he does act otherwise, the monks should go to the person who is metropolitan of Philadelphia at that time and inform him truthfully of the superior's actions. If indeed he does not fall back into his previous lazy ways, let him remain in his position as superior, but if he persists in what he had been doing, let him be thrown out, and another installed in his place, according to the sacred canons. If some misunderstanding should arise between the monks and the superior, let it be straightened out by the spiritual fathers from outside. If it should stretch out and cause a great deal of tension, then let it be straightened out by the bishop.

[17.] When it comes to naming a person as superior it should be done in this way. If, in the collective judgment of the other monks, the monastery is fortunate to have in it a man worthy to be superior, let him go down from the monastery to receive the *sphragis* and be installed by the metropolitan then in office. But if the monastery does not have among its monks a man worthy to preside over it, then let them accept a man of blameless life from some other place. This man should then have full authority, and nobody should try to stand up against him on any pretext, for no monk is allowed to hinder him in what he may want to do.

[18.] The gate of the monastery should always be open. Let the monks welcome those who come here. They should not look down on any stranger or anyone in want, but they should receive everyone kindly and honorably, extending their hospitality with whatever the monastery can provide in food and drink.

[19.] The feast of our most holy [p. 279] Mother of God¹² should be celebrated on the twenty-first of November every year without fail. It should be done very splendidly with a great display of lights. On the morrow the fare at table should be very special, and that evening there should be a solemn commemorative service for the founders.

[20.] I leave the monastery absolutely free and not subject to any person who may hold ecclesiastical office nor to any other person among the civilians. It is to regulate its own affairs free of all external interference. The superior, who has received the monastery as free, is obliged to transmit it as free to his successor. He, in turn, must so pass it on to his successor, and so on. It is not to come under the control of any secular person, a private individual, a relative, or a complete outsider. The only exception is that the most holy metropolitan of Philadelphia at the time has the right to confer the *sphragis*, to have the customary commemoration in the liturgy, and, when necessary, to provide a cure and a correction for souls. But as far as any other right over the monastery is concerned, it is my wish that neither he nor anyone else, no matter how illustrious they may be in their way of life or dignity, is to have any such right.

[21.] The superior indeed ought to be beyond all evil suspicion. His administration ought not to go unobserved, but together with monks who are knowledgeable and perceptive regarding a wide variety of matters, let him administer everything in the monastery down to the tiniest detail.

[22.] The affairs of the church ought to be looked after by the ecclesiarch, the provision of food by the cellarer, and matters connected with contributions and income of all kinds are to be looked after by the treasurer. In all these matters the ultimate authority should rest with the superior.

[23.] I also decree that the monks in this revered monastery should not sell any item from among the garments issued to them or [p. 280] exchange them without the knowledge of the superior. They should not produce more than they really need, for this overturns the common good order, harmony, and spiritual behavior. This suffices on this subject.

[24.] Since we are obliged to give a detailed list of the possessions and acquisitions of the monastery in the present written disposition, this is what it has.

First, what appertains to the church. An ornamented gospel lectionary for daily use. Four books each with the four gospels. Another with the gospel readings for Sundays. The Gospel according to Matthew with a commentary: first and second volumes. Another [copy of the] second volume [of the commentary] on Matthew. Another gospel with selections from John. The four gospels interpreted by [Theophylact, archbishop of] Bulgaria.¹³ The *Hexameros* of [St. John] Chrysostom. Another by the great Basil. Another by him. The *Apostolos* for daily use. The *Propheteia*. A *Sticherarion* with the new notation.¹⁴ An *Oktoechos*. The *Parakletike* with the two canons. A *Synaxarion*. A *Heirmologion*. A *Kontakarion*. Another book with the *exaposteilaria* for the whole year. The *Triodion*. The *Pentekostarion*. Two *typika*. A *Schematologion* containing [also] the complete service for funerals. *Menaia* for the twelve months. A book [containing the lives of the saints] for September [by Symeon Metaphrastes]. Another for the same month. Another for October. Another for half of the month of November. Another for the same month also containing the life of Saint John the Merciful. Another for the same month beginning from the fifteenth of the second book.¹⁵ Another beginning from the fifteenth of the same. Two gospel lectionaries without ornamentation. The book of [St. John] Chrysostom called “The Pearls.”¹⁶ Another of the great Basil containing a commentary on the Psalms and various homilies.¹⁷ Two books of [St. Gregory Nazianzen] the Theologian. The *Catecheses* of [St. Theodore] the Studite.¹⁸ [John] Klimakos.¹⁹ The epistles of the holy apostle Paul with commentary. The one to the Ephesians with commentary. The Acts [of the Apostles] with commentary. Another book with the same. A book of Dorotheos also containing various chapters of Mark.²⁰ [p. 281] A book on “The Statues,”²¹ also including some discourses of [St. Gregory] the Theologian. Another book containing [John] Klimakos, the *Pandektes*,²² and the *Ascetical Treatises* of the great Basil. Another copy of [John] Klimakos. Another copy of the *Pandektes*. A book containing the life of the divine [St. John] Chrysostom. Another work of [St. John] Chrysostom containing various orations. A book of Barlaam.²³ Books by Saint Ephraem, two volumes. A book containing the life of Saint Mary [of Egypt] and various other writings. The *Gerontikon*, on paper. A Psalter with commentary. A book on paper containing various treatises including one on the revered icons. Five Psalters. A Psalter [donated by] Monomachos.²⁴ A book containing the entire service for [the monastery’s patronal] feast. Another book containing canons of certain saints. Another book with the life of Saint Euthymios and certain saints. Three copies of the liturgy of [St. John] Chrysostom.²⁵ Three more [copies of the liturgy] by the great Basil. [The liturgy of the] Presanctified. Another [copy of the same liturgy].

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[25.] Also: Seven white sets of vestments.²⁶ Another purple set. Two *epitrachelia*. Another one embroidered in gold.²⁷ *Epimanikia* embroidered in gold with [representations of] the Annunciation and the Resurrection. Two other pairs. Two pieces [of silk cloth] to cover the chalice. A gold *aer*.²⁸ Two silk cloths woven with gold [thread] and showing lions. Another one of gold and scarlet with a griffin in the middle. Another embroidered in gold. Another in white and gold. An inner cover for the altar.²⁹ Three altar cloths. Two pairs of candelabra. Other small ones for the entrance. Two more. Five sieves. Two *lamnai* for the *templon*. Another two for the archangels.³⁰ Three others for outside in the narthex. Another at the Sepulcher.³¹ Small metal crosses with a censer in the sacred dome. Two metal trays³² [for the *kollyba*]. A cauldron for the church.³³

[26.] Large icons for veneration. Five others on the *templon*. On the same *templon*, the twelve feasts, small icons for the feasts of the Lord. Two decorated images, one of Christ and one of Saint George. [p. 282] An ivory carving of the Dormition and the Nativity. Another small one of the Dormition with ornamentation. Another of [St. Michael the Archangel] the supreme commander [of the heavenly armies] fashioned in bronze.

[27.] In the dependency there is a volume of the *menaion* for September and October. Another one on paper comprising six months. Another for March. One for April. One for May. One for June. Another for July and August. Another for October. The Sunday gospels. An *Apostolos* without decoration. The *Propheteia*. A *Sticherarion*. A *typikon*. A *Euchologion*. A Psalter. A *Synaxarion* for six months. A *Triodion*. A liturgy of [St. John] Chrysostom. The monastery also has a book containing the *theotokia* for the whole year and the lives of the summer saints [by Symeon Metaphrastes]. In the dependency are a set of vestments and an *epitrachelion*.

[28.] In the dependency of Aulax are these items. A *Heortologion* on paper for six months. Another on parchment for the whole year. A *typikon*. A Psalter. An *Oktoechos*. A *Parakletike* with two canons. Another small one on paper with various canons. The *Propheteia*. The *Apostolos*. A liturgy of [St. John] Chrysostom. A set of vestments. Two silk cloths. An altar cloth and two *lamnai*.

[29.] These are the metal objects. Five copper pots, three large and two small. Two large standing pots. A tripod to hold cooking pots. Two basins. Four pitchers for serving wine, two of them large. One kettle. One water bucket. A copper jug. Two lamps. Three large water containers. Two cauldrons. Two table bells.³⁴ A tripod to hold cooking pots. An ironworker's shop.³⁵ Two anvils. And all the rest of the equipment for the workshop. Seventeen spades. Four axes. Seven *tziera*. Ten plowshares.³⁶ Four pruning hooks. Thirty old, large jars. Another thirty kettles (?).³⁷ Six storage chests. Various tables.

[30.] Items of cloth. Four pillows stuffed with cotton. Forty of wool. Four cotton quilts. One hundred heavy blankets. Four bedspreads. One rug. Two large towels. [p. 283] Sheets and face towels.

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[31.] At various times the following fields in the region of Aulax have come into my possession. The field which has the name of Rhymos³⁸ was acquired by me by purchase from Strateges. One in the region of Kyamites for thirteen sheep. Another field in the same region purchased from Grantales³⁹ for ten sheep. Another field belonging to Pelekanos in the same region. Another field by the imperial highway was purchased. For a payment of four *hyperpera* I acquired the field of Lentianos, which measures about twenty *modioi* in the same region. The field of Mazarina below the imperial highway in the same region. Another field belonging to Mazarina by the pond. Another one belonging to her in Balanidia. A field in the region of Kyamites which came to me as a gift from the priest Agapetos. Another field in the same region was acquired by purchase from the same priest. I acquired another field from Kalamoutzes and his father for four *hyperpera*. I acquired another field above the thicket of thorn bushes in the same region from Arbantinos for two *hyperpera*.

[32.] I also acquired some fields, which go by the name of Chenolakkos, beyond Aulax from the late lector Chamelos, the son-in-law of Proximos.⁴⁰ Another field belonging to him, called Saint Eustathios, extending from the old water conduit and going up as far as Bastagos. Another field of his which is called Makres Moires. Another field of his in the same place which is called Tou Philippou. Another field by the threshing floors. Another field near the dependency of the monastery. Another field which lies below Saint Prokopios. The field near Tou Philippou was purchased by me from the father of Kaloeides.

[33.] Another field by the Makres [p. 284] Moires below the water conduit and extending above it which I acquired by purchase from the priest Alexios. I acquired other fields called Stauriou by purchase from the wife of the ironworker from the city.⁴¹ Another one of Euphemes. I purchased another field in the hollow of the water conduit in the same region from Pothos. In the same region I acquired a field from Montokiklina. I acquired another field in the same region from Maedones. In the same place another field from the same person. I acquired a field by the village of Epizyga from the monk Isaac by way of an entrance gift, just as also from his father, the monk Gregory. In the same village I also bought from Nicholas Kazanes, the son-in-law of Amirasames,⁴² some irrigated fields, about a hundred *modioi*, for twenty gold *hyperpera*.⁴³ I also bought another field which is named after Saint George from Magoules for eighteen *trikephala* [*nomismata*], and a field of about eighteen *modioi* from the father of Chrysochoos. By exchange with Boures the son-in-law of Amirasames⁴⁴ I acquired all the fields in the region of Epizyga belonging to him, irrigated and waterless, giving to him a certain vineyard in the region of Tazinoi. Also I acquired a field with a mill from John Charakonites. From the same person another very small field below the dependency along with the old mill. I also bought the old mill belonging to Kazanes with its enclosure.

[34.] I acquired those fields in Aulax which lie opposite the dependency on the other side of the river from the priest Agapetos Exerdiopoulos, George Tridseas and Euphemes.⁴⁵ I acquired another field, called Saint Constantine, on the other side by purchase from Kallierges. I acquired another one by purchase from Moschonas with [p. 285] the other field of the widow which is joined to that of Branias. I also acquired by purchase a field with an old mill for six *hyperpera*.

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From the children of the late Monomachos I bought the houses which he had erected along the river in Aulax together with the field there near them for three *hyperpera*.⁴⁶ The dependency of Aulax which I erected from its foundations and in which the church of the great martyr Prokopios is also established. Along the river in Aulax I constructed three water mills with workshops.

[35.] There is another dependency of Saint Constantine. The dependency of Saint Constantine, as it stands, has its own enclosure with its vineyard, along with the rest of its territory and possessions. The waterless fields above Epizyga, which were called "Ta Kastellia," were divided into three portions. The monastery was in possession of one part, and acquired another from Kazanes for three gold *hyperpera*. This Kazanes, together with Charakonites and his brother, sold me the field belonging to them, called Kastella, above the dependency. So much for these matters.

[36.] Now, of all the arable land in Domenaki, that is, up to five plots, I possess, resulting from exchanges made with various related persons, one entire plot⁴⁷ for myself. I have also acquired by purchase from Tritides⁴⁸ a field right below Saint Constantine with the ruins of a mill for four gold *hyperpera*. In the same region I acquired a field from Mazizanes. In addition to the one plot I have in Domenaki, I have acquired one belonging to Rhomnos⁴⁹ Pegadiotes in Domenaki, that is, two *kokkia*, for eighteen gold *hyperpera*. From Kalimytos one *kokkion* and a half for ten gold *hyperpera*. From Alexios Amirasames one *kokkion* and a half for nine gold *hyperpera*, [p. 286] and from the son-in-law of Lavrentes Tzykandyles two garden plots close to the pasture for ten gold *hyperpera*. The monastery also acquired a workshop with a water mill by the river in Kobena from Mangaphaina. The small mill of lord Melachrenos is obliged to pay the customary fee of eight *trikephala* [*nomismata*] to the monastery each year and to do as much actual mill work in it as the monastery requires. Another water mill lower down belongs to the monastery.

[37.] In the village of Rhaos I acquired eleven olive trees by purchase from Axios. Another eleven olive trees belonging to Eudokia Kyminas are held in security by the monastery for seven gold *hyperpera*. The olive trees of Pyrouses Komnenos. I acquired some additional olive trees by purchase from Bastos. I acquired still more olive trees by purchase from Chazares the brother-in-law of Tourtours.⁵⁰ From Pasinales I bought fifteen olive trees for seventeen gold *hyperpera*, and at the same time the fifty-seven trees of Rhaos.

[38.] I acquired the field of Saint Peter by way of entrance gift from Abythianos.⁵¹ I also acquired a field in Kybaros from Kathras. In the region of Geranes I acquired another field by purchase from Hysterinos. I acquired a field in Mesotraphos from the late monk Kostomyres. In the region of Kardamon⁵² I acquired fields with all their appurtenances going under the name of Grammatike from the late monk Bartholomew Intres. Another field in the same region was donated to me by the late *sebastos*⁵³ Mytas. In the same region I acquired the field of Phoulanos by purchase. I also acquired a field which is called Kalamaritzi from Liberos. Along the river a field of about one hundred *modioi* was dedicated to the monastery by [p. 287] lady Irene. The salt marsh on the other side goes together with this. There is another of the holy Theologian. Another of Saint Akindynos. A field at Embole donated by Skrinas. Another field in the same place. I acquired a field of about

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eighty *modioi* from the children of Abythianos as an entrance gift. In Mesoglossion I acquired a field by purchase from the late Roseles Tyrannos, with another field which he had in Pantniza⁵⁴ in the region of Dryatos. I also purchased a field from lord Karseres.⁵⁵

[39.] On the mountain of Kissos there is a field where the imperial highway ascends and which extends as far as the place called Libaditzia, including everything off to the left after it comes down to the path coming from the fort and rises up toward the north. As for the other [path going] toward the threshing floor, all the arable land to the right of this belongs to the monastery. As one descends again from the imperial highway and heads toward the place where there is grazing land, and in which there are troughs, everything to the left and to the right belongs to the monastery. There, taking the path which goes off toward Kasilokome, what is down below to the left belongs to the monastery. I also acquired those fields of Boukolike as an entrance gift from the monk Niphon of Kasilokome. In the region of Melikoures another field of about ten *modioi* was donated to the monastery by the children of the late Komnenos. This is how these matters stand.

[40.] The boundary of the vineyards and other land about the monastery is as follows. It begins from the vineyard of Phagomodes, the one which had been sold previously by the late *protoallagator* Bardachlas, goes down the road to the left and comes up against the upper part of the vineyard of the monastery. From there it goes down to the possessions of the late Choneiates on a level with [p. 288] the rocks which form a border, abuts on the property of Saratzes, and comes to an end at the boundary of Kobena. From there it goes up toward the south taking in the vineyards and other lands there by the river, going on evenly to the vineyard of Karantene, of the priest Phlatoumes, also known as Akanthopates, of Botaneiotes, and of Sourmes, then it abuts on the possessions of Mangaphaina. The boundary turns and heads toward the East and comes to a stop at the vineyard of Phagomodes, which is where we began.

[41.] Within this boundary we have described lie the vineyards which were sold by the monastery: a vineyard in the region of Kobena along with some mulberry trees was donated to the monastery by the nun Mangaphaina; a field from Marzautes in which we planted a vineyard; a vineyard below the great martyr Saint Demetrios with all its appurtenances, with the houses in it, and all its territory and possessions; a vineyard in the region of the healing [waters] donated to the monastery by Tyrannina; another vineyard by the river in Aulax planted by us; another vineyard in the region of Prooikoi acquired from Mesopotamia by the revered monastery. On the whole, that is, four *kokkia* with [the proceeds from the sale of which] the monastery obtained some fields. In Keramareion it also has a field, and in Tria Bouna one was donated to it by the aforementioned lady Irene. At the Saints the monastery acquired a dependency from Kalambakes of blessed memory along with the vineyard around it.

[42.] These are the books in the dependency at the Saints. The gospel readings for Sundays. An *Apostolos*. An *Euchologion*. An *Oktoechos*. A *Parakletike*. A Psalter. A *Triodion*. The *Propheteia*. A *Sticherarion* with the old notation. A *Menaion* for September. Another one for September. One for October and for November. Another for March and for April. Another for May [p. 289] and for

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June. A *Sticherokathistarion*. A liturgy of the divine [St. John] Chrysostom and one of the great Basil. A *typikon*. A *Heirmologion*. A *Kontakarion*. A *Schematologion*. A book called “The Pearls.” There are also in this [dependency] eight icons. A set of vestments. Sacred [vessels]. A silver communion spoon. A paten and other things.

[43.] A cattle byre in Modi was donated to the monastery by the late *sebastos* Mytas,⁵⁶ as well as the fields about it, which come to two thousand *modioi*, just as they were divided up with the monks of the *Nea Mone*. In the area of Heliotopos some fields were obtained by the monastery from Mangaphaina. But these must be divided up absolutely evenly with the most noble *Vestiaritissa*.⁵⁷

[44.] Located in the monastery are nine wagons with yokes of oxen and buffalo, fifteen spare horses, eight mares, fifteen male and female donkeys. Two saddle horses. Three hundred pigs. A hundred⁵⁸ small and large cows. Spare buffaloes. Fifty-five pack mules.⁵⁹ About five hundred sheep and the full complement of those needed to take care of them.⁶⁰ About two hundred beehives in various locations. Then there are various other material possessions which I have not recorded. But the above should suffice.

[45.] In addition, the monastery acquired from lady Irene after her husband, the *allagator*, lord Phokas, departed this life, three pairs of draft animals (one buffalo and the other [two] of oxen) and two wagons with iron-rimmed wheels. This same lady Irene also had a church erected for the dependency of Aulax and dedicated to the holy, great martyr Prokopios. She also had it adorned with paintings on wood. She also constructed a water mill by the river in Aulax and planted a vineyard in the same place. She deposited two silk cloths and two *lammnai* in the church of Saint Prokopios. The same lady also paid for the decoration of the great refectory of the monks. She also saw to the construction of the cells for the monks out in front and those out in back. She [p. 290] added to this the two sections of the field she had purchased from Hyaleas and Amiras. She also bought another field from Syritianos Angelos. Lady Irene assigned to this monastery the vineyard belonging to her which is below Saint Demetrios with its appurtenances and its cattle byre. She also arranged for the adornment of the monastery’s gospel, [with] a silk cloth and [donated] a pair of large candelabra. She also had another water mill constructed below the monastery, and she donated one hundred and forty-four *hyperpera*.

[46.] Therefore, now that I have made this disposition, whoever should attempt to do anything contrary to this manifest testament of mine, be he an official or a subordinate, from the highest to the least, layman or ecclesiastic, whatever rank he may hold, if such a person should be bold enough to attempt to transgress its prescriptions, whoever he may be, not only will he alienate himself from God and the Christian faith, but he will call down upon himself the curses of the three hundred and eighteen holy, God-bearing fathers, and his lot will be with that of the traitor Judas and with those who cried out “Away with him, away with him, crucify” the Son of God (cf. Matt. 27:22). I want this present, manifest testament of mine to remain firm and absolutely undisturbed for all time.

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Written at my behest by the recording secretary of the most holy metropolitan of Philadelphia, the deacon Michael Paximades, in the presence of the witnesses listed below. In the month of November of the sixth indiction in the year 6756 [= 1247 A.D.]

+ Michael in Christ our God faithful emperor and autocrator of the Romans Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos + ⁶¹

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, George Dennis [GD], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

The two editions of this text by Gedeon (= G) and Eustratiades (= E) are both deficient, quite possibly due to a faulty original manuscript. Sentences are incomplete, verbs are missing, nouns are in the wrong case, and so forth. I have employed G as the basis for the translation, but have taken readings from both and have indicated the alternate ones in the notes. Since I have not been able to see the original, the correct readings frequently cannot be determined with any certainty. [GD]

1. The term means “somber” or “plunged in obscurity”; see Năsturel, “Recherches,” p. 72, and the description of the site in [4] below.
2. Cf. Herodotus 6.35.
3. Probably the well-known monastery on the island of Chios, for which see Anthony Cutler and Alexander Kazhdan, “Nea Mone,” *ODB*, pp. 1446–47.
4. September 14.
5. Possibly a reference to the monastery of *Kounin*, for which see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 164.
6. An officer in one of the corps of the imperial guards; cf. Pseudo-Kodinos 6, 9, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), p. 160. [GD]
7. The text is not clear; G reads *ho theòs*, which makes no sense; E. has *hóthen*, which is adopted here. [GD]
8. This could mean “hamlet,” but here it seems to be the name of a locality. [GD]
9. *tou aulakos*, literally “in the hollow,” but here and later it seems to be used as a proper name indicating a specific locality. See Năsturel, “Recherches,” p. 83. [GD]
10. Reading *allote* as in E. [GD]
11. *ton auton halon*, literally, “same salt.” [GD]
12. Feast of the Presentation in the Temple or Entry into the Holy of Holies.
13. See Ch. Papaioannou, “Hen cheirographon tou hypomnematos tou archiepiskopou Boulgarias Theophylaktou eis ta 4 evangelia,” *Theologia* 3 (1925), 243–55.
14. *neophonon*. According to G, this is the modern or “new” Byzantine musical notation. The dependency at The Saints had one in the old notation, *palaiophonon*: see [42] below and Năsturel, “Recherches,” p. 93. [GD]
15. The text seems confused here. Perhaps the scribe has mixed up this sentence with the next, and this one should be omitted. “Second book,” i.e., the preceding one with presumably the first fourteen days of November. According to G, the Greek reads *tou deuteroi*, “of the second,” whereas E reads it as *tou dekemvriou*, “of December,” which does not yield an improvement in the reading. [GD]
16. *Hoi Margarites*, a collection of ascetical texts by John Chrysostom. [GD]
17. Probably his *Homiliae in psalmos*, *PG* 29, 209–494. [GD]
18. See (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform, A.
19. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi*, *PG* 88, cols. 596–1209.
20. Dorotheos of Gaza, *Doctrinae*, *PG* 88, cols. 1611–1838, and Mark the Hermit, *Opuscula*, *PG* 65, cols. 905–1140; [GD] see also the citation of these authors in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith.

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21. John Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, PG 49, cols. 15–222. [GD]
22. *Pandecta scripturae sacrae* (PG 89, 1420–1856) by the seventh-century Palestinian monk, Antiochos.
23. *Barlaam and Joasaph*, a prose romance of uncertain date and authorship, ed. G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *Barlaam and Joasaph*, Loeb Classical Library, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). [GD]
24. *Psalterion monomach . . .*: E reads *monomachen*. A Monomachos (deceased) is mentioned later, see [34] below. Nästurel (“Recherches,” 92) suggests that he might have been the donor of this psalter.
25. *kondakion Chrysostomikon*. On this meaning of *kontakion* (“liturgy of St. Basil or St. John Chrysostom”), see Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.
26. E reads *hepta*, “seven,” whereas G has *epises*, “equal.” [GD]
27. *chrysoklabarikon*: “embroidered with gold thread.” See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 43.
28. *aer chrysos*: a large veil for the chalice and paten (cf. Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *aer*, B) woven with gold thread. On the so-called golden textiles, see Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 26.
29. *sarkesin*; most probably the *katasarkion*, first of the linen cloths laid on the altar. See Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *katasarka*, and Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *katasarkion*.
30. [missing text]
31. Apparently a representation of the sepulcher of Christ. [GD]
32. *apallareai*. See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *apalaria* / *apalarea*.
33. *anemomiliarion*: undoubtedly the same as *miliarion*, a large kettle for heating water; see Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 100.
34. G has *kondai*, whereas E reads *konía*. The reference is undoubtedly to *kontion* or *konti*, a small metal bell sounded by the superior at the refectory to announce the beginning and end of the meal. *Kontia* were also used in church during the liturgy and in religious processions. We are indebted for this information to Professor Constantine Pitsakes of the University of Komotina, who most kindly provided us with a copy of his recent article, “To ‘KONTION’: Nea stoicheia gia ten istoria mias amartyres(:) byzantines lexes (Actes de Saint-Pantélèemôn, ar. 7),” *IB Panellenio Istoriko Synedrio, Praktika* (Thessalonike, 1992), pp. 117–29.
35. *komodromikón*: not in the dictionaries. In Byzantine and Modern Greek *komodrómos* means a person who wanders about from village to village. In the demotic Greek of Cyprus it means an ironworker (so Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v.), which makes sense here, since ironworkers may have gone from one village to another to work. Ch. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (Lyons, 1688) also gives this meaning. [GD]
36. E reads *hendeka*, “eleven.” [GD]
37. *tzykalinaí*; *tzykaline* or alternatively *tzykalion* or *tsoukalin*, is another word for *chytra*, “kettle”; see Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 99.
38. For Rhymos, E reads Rome. [GD]
39. For Grantales, E reads Phrontales. Part of this sentence from “purchased” and the following sentence have been omitted by G, but have been transcribed by E. [GD]
40. E reads *gambros*, “son” or “brother-in-law,” whereas G has *pater*. The reading of E has been adopted here, since it is unlikely that the family name of the son differed from that of his father in several instances; see notes 42 and 44 below.
41. *polites*: in medieval Greek this most probably means a native of the city, i.e., Constantinople or possibly Philadelphia, which was the nearest large city. *Komodromos*, “ironworker” or “tinker,” could also have become a surname. [GD]
42. G reads *pater*.
43. Instead of *hyperpera*, G reads “fields,” here and subsequently. [GD]
44. G has *pater*.
45. E reads *pera*, on the other side; G has *para*, along the river. For Tridsea E has Trivea. [GD]
46. E reads thirty. [GD]
47. “Plot,” *stichos*, the latter denoted the “line-entry” on a tax roll or the property corresponding to it. See F.

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Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1927; repr. Hildesheim, 1960), p. 141.

48. For Tritides, E. has Tribides. Ruins of a mill, literally, a mill which has disappeared. [GD]
49. For Rhomnos E has Rhamnos. [GD]
50. Instead of *syngambros* “brother-in-law,” E has simply *syngenes* “kinsman.” [GD]
51. Abythianos. The spelling of this name follows E. [GD]
52. For Kardamon, E. has Mardymnon. G omits the name Bartholomew. [GD]
53. Instead of *sebastos*, E has a name, Gibestos. [GD]
54. For Pantniza, E reads Patnixa. [GD]
55. Instead of lord, E reads monk. [GD]
56. E reads *geros* instead of *sebastos*.
57. *Vestiaritisse*, as in E; G has <kyr> *Z. viririateses*. [GD]
58. E has seventy. [GD]
59. *aloga sagmaria bordonia*, as in E; these words are omitted in G. [GD]
60. According to G there were 1500 sheep. [GD]
61. Apparently Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282); for a discussion of his problematic endorsement of this document, see Năsturel, “Recherches,” pp. 73–74.

Document Notes

- [1] Meditation on death. Among contemporary documents, see also the reflections on this subject in (34) *Machairas* [1], (44) *Karyes* [1], and (45) *Neophytos* [2].
- [2] Choice of the site for the monastery. The account recalls Athanasios the Athonite’s foundation at Mylopotamos in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [9].
- [3] Foundation of the monastery by Maximos’ father Gregory. See the contemporary (44) *Karyes* [2] for another example of a monastic cell designed for “two or three brothers.”
- [4] Family members who joined the monastery. For another founder with many close relatives in religious life, see (31) *Areia* [T12].
- [5] Recruitment of a spiritual leader. For recruitment of leaders from other monasteries elsewhere, see also (32) *Mamas* [1], [43]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], [42]; (37) *Auxentios* [3]. (34) *Machairas* [148], however, effectively forbids recruitment for the superiority from external sources.
- [6] The spiritual leader’s personal qualities.
- [7] Maximos’ tonsure. An early tonsure is implied, despite disapproval expressed in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], [49], [50] and (34) *Machairas* [115]. (36) *Blemmydes* [9] ff. and (45) *Neophytos* [3] suggest a change in opinion on this issue, however.
- [8] Expansion of the monastery under Maximos’ direction. For the construction of another church by local subscription, see (17) *Nikon Metanoieite*, Foundation History.
- [9] Benefactions of Phokas the *allagator*. Phokas’ wife Irene was also a benefactor of the foundation; see [38], [41], and [45] below.
- [10] Foundation of the first two dependencies. Additional benefactions of Athanasia Mangaphaina are mentioned below in [36], [43], cf. [40]. [27] below may record the service books found at the dependency of St. Nicholas.
- [11] Foundation of the dependency at Aulax; bequest of Epizyga. The dependency, built [45], cf. [34] by the Lady Irene, wife of the *allagator* Phokas, was dedicated to St. Prokopios. There are also inventories of its movable properties [28] and landed properties [31]. Many of the foundation’s other properties were located in the vicinity, see [32], [34], and [41] below. For the bequest of Epizyga, see also [33], [35] below.
- [12] Regulation of liturgical services. Only a morning and an evening service are envisioned here; cf. provisions for the full sequence of the canonical hours in (34) *Machairas* [31] ff., (44) *Karyes* [8], [9], and (probably) (45) *Neophytos* [12], [C2], [C3].

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- [13] Requirements of the cenobitic life. For the hostility to non-cenobitic forms of monasticism, see (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26]; for equality in food, see (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents, most recently (34) *Machairas* [106].
- [14] Privileges of monks serving in the church. Foreshadowed by (28) *Pantokrator* [4] and (34) *Machairas* [81], [165].
- [15] Superior's attitude towards the monks; expulsion of disobedient monks. Evergetian attitudes seen in (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents seem to influence the exhortation to the superior, while the disciplinary procedure set down in (31) *Areia* [T9] provides a parallel to the provision for expulsions.
- [16] Superior's obligation to care for the monastery's properties; oversight and resolution of disputes by the metropolitan of Philadelphia. See also [21] below. Honest and conscientious administration of property, an early Evergetian concern (for which see (22) *Evergetis* [14]), was restated most recently in (34) *Machairas* [90], and here applies to the superior who, as in (34) *Machairas* [82], [85], is personally responsible for the oversight of the endowment properties.
- [17] Internal selection of future superiors; *sphragis* and installation by the metropolitan. Combines the traditional reform principle of internal selection with a ready concession of episcopal rights. On the latter, see the more ambiguous treatment in (34) *Machairas* [9], [17], [18], [120] and the outright rejection of these rights in (38) *Kellibara I* [15].
- [18] Obligation of hospitality. See similar enthusiasm for this duty in (34) *Machairas* [116], [118] and (45) *Neophytos* [10], cf. [20].
- [19] Patronal feast of the Mother of God; memorial service for the founders. The feast of the Presentation is also celebrated as the patronal feast in (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (34) *Machairas* [27]. Founders are commemorated in the following thirteenth-century documents: (34) *Machairas* [31], [44], [150], and [154]; (37) *Auxentios* [13]; (39) *Lips* [8], [30], [52]; (40) *Anargyroi* [6]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12].
- [20] Independence of the monastery; rights of the metropolitan of Philadelphia. As in [17] above, a traditional reform institution is combined with an acknowledgement of episcopal rights. For contemporary assertions of institutional independence, see (34) *Machairas* [21] and (36) *Blemmydes* [1].
- [21] Superior to rule collaboratively. See also [16] above. The support for collaborative rule is found earlier in (31) *Areia* [T10]. The provision for close administrative supervision by the superior finds a parallel in (34) *Machairas* [82], [84], [85], [97], [98].
- [22] Duties of the ecclesiarch, the cellarer and the treasurer. See the more elaborate post-Evergetian descriptions of these positions in (32) *Mamas* [8], [10], [11] and in (34) *Machairas* [93], [100], cf. [96].
- [23] No production for the market or sale of garments. Traditional restrictions in foundations like this one and those on Mount Athos based in large part on the labor of their monks, for which see (12) *Tzimiskes* [15], [24] and (15) *Constantine IX* [2], [6]. The regulation here may be related to the sentiment against sales of annuities in kind, for which see (27) *Kecharitomene* [53] and (34) *Machairas* [153].
- [24] Inventory of books in the main church. See [27], [28], and [42] below for books at other locations and also other inventories of books in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (45) *Neophytos* [12]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [INV]; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [3].
- [25] Sacred vessels and textiles in the main church. See [28] and [42], cf. [45] below for similar property at other locations and also inventories of consecrated objects in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 6], [INV 8], [INV 18]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix B; (31) *Areia* [T11]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [5], [6].
- [26] Icons of the main church. See [45] for icons at the dependency of St. Prokopios at Aulax and also inventories of icons in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [2].
- [27] Liturgical books of a(n unidentified) dependency. Probably composed when St. Nicholas [10] was the foundation's only dependency.
- [28] Inventory of movable property at the dependency of Aulax. Other properties associated with this dependency are listed in [29], [30], [31] (possibly), and [34] below.

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- [29] Cooking vessels and tools. See also the washing and cooking utensils mentioned in (28) *Pantokrator* [47].
- [30] Linens and bedding materials. See also the bedding supplies mentioned in (28) *Pantokrator* [37].
- [31] Properties in the regions of Aulax and Kyamites. For a general discussion of the foundation's properties here and elsewhere, see Năsturel, "Recherches," pp. 85–94. Note property acquired from a priest as an entrance gift, with further examples below in [32], [33], [38], and [39].
- [32] Properties beyond Aulax. Many of these properties were evidently donated to the foundation as entrance gifts by the lector Chamelos.
- [33] Properties in Makres Moires and Epizyga. These were primarily properties the author purchased for the foundation's endowment. For the bequest of Epizyga, see also [11] above and [35] below.
- [34] Properties in Aulax at the dependency of St. Prokopios. For this dependency, see also [28] above. Note that the author claims credit for the foundation here but attributes it to the lady Irene in [45] below.
- [35] The dependency of St. Constantine. The monastery's fourth dependency, probably associated with the bequest (entrance gift) of the monk Hilarion (Isaac) discussed above in [11] and [33] and other accessions in Epizyga.
- [36] Properties in Domenaki and Kobena. Many of the properties at Kobena came to the foundation from Athanasia Mangaphaina, including a vineyard [10], [41] and the workshop and mill mentioned here; cf. [40] for the proximity of her properties to the main monastery.
- [37] Olive groves in Rhaos. For olive groves elsewhere in our documents, see (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [10], (26) *Luke of Messina* [9], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [46], (39) *Lips* [49], (40) *Anargyroi* [4], and (48) *Prodromos* [3], [15]. Olive oil was a staple of the monastic diet, on which a great value was put: see (32) *Mamas* [11] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]; it could also be developed as a commercial commodity, as is attested in (15) *Constantine IX* [2].
- [38] Other properties in various locations.
- [39] Description of properties along the imperial highway.
- [40] Boundary delimitation of properties around the monastery. For other boundary delimitations in our documents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [80] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145].
- [41] List of vineyards; dependency at the Saints. This is the fifth of the foundation's dependencies, apparently a pre-existing facility. See also the scattered references to vineyards in [2], [10], [33], [35], [40] above and [45] below, as well as elsewhere in our documents: (4) *Stoudios* [A2]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [30]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [9], [10], [53]; (22) *Evergetis*, Appendix; (23) *Pakourianos* [32]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [79], Appendix A; (39) *Lips* [44], [47], [49]; (40) *Anargyroi* [4]; (45) *Neophytos* [10]; (48) *Prodromos* [3], [15]; (49) *Geromeri* [13]; (52) *Choumnos* [A17]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121], [122], [123], [124], [135], [142], [145], [159]; (58) *Menoikeion* [12]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [A6]. The increase in such references in documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is noteworthy.
- [42] Liturgical books at the dependency of the Saints. Cf. similar inventories for the main church [24], the dependency of Aulax [28], and an unnamed dependency [27].
- [43] Shared properties in Modi and Heliotopos. For the foundation's relations with the *Nea Mone*, see also [5] above.
- [44] List of wagons and beasts of burden. See also the list of animals in (23) *Pakourianos* [33C].
- [45] Benefactions of the lady Irene. For this benefactor and her husband Phokas, see also [9], [38], and [41] above.
- [46] Curse on transgressors of the *Testament*. For this traditional feature, see (8) *John Xenos* [2], (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [19], (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4], (19) *Attaleiates* [23], (22) *Evergetis* [12], (23) *Pakourianos* [18], (24) *Christodoulos* [B14], [C6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (30) *Phoberos* [33], (31) *Areia* [T12], (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (45) *Neophytos* [22], (49) *Geromeri* [16], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [24].