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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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37. *Auxentios: Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon

Date: 1261–1280/81¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Aleksei Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, vol. 1: *Typika*, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1895), pp. 769–94.

Manuscript: Codex 85, nunc 79, Theological School, Halki, now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul (1749)

Other translations: None

Institutional History

Mount Auxentios (modern Kayisdag) was located in the Asiatic suburbs of Constantinople, about seven miles southeast of Chalcedon.² It was the site of many monastic foundations since its namesake, St. Auxentios, a fifth-century Syrian monk, took up residence in a cave on the mountain during the reign of Marcian (450–457).³

One of the later foundations was a monastery of the Holy Apostles (Sts. Peter and Paul),⁴ whose superior, Leontios Theotokites, became patriarch of Constantinople in 1189.⁵ The present *typikon* states [1] that Michael VIII's grandfather Alexios Palaiologos, who was the son-in-law of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203), restored a monastery on Mount Auxentios that is usually identified with this foundation.⁶

A brief dedicatory poem addressed to the foundation's new patron, St. Michael the Archangel, indicates that the monastery was ruined during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61).⁷ The dating of the monastery's rebuilding in honor of this new patron and of the composition of the *typikon* is problematic. On the evidence of the *typikon*, both occurred after the Greek reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. While the *typikon* contains a number of references to Michael VIII's career up to this event, there are none to any later events, and the author's address [16] to an unnamed patriarch of Constantinople seems to presume the latter's recent restoration to his traditional see.

On June 29, 1282, Michael VIII's son, the co-emperor Andronikos II, and Patriarch John IX Bekkos (1275–82) assisted at the celebration of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (the previous patrons?) at the monastery.⁸ As Pargoire ("Saint-Auxence," p. 561) realized long ago, this event is the only fixed point of chronology for the monastery. Thanks to it, we know only that the monastery was in existence at that date, but not when it was rebuilt, much less when the *typikon* was written for it.

There is only one additional fact known about the foundation after the founder's death in 1282, namely that its superior continued to defend Michael VIII's unionist policy of reconciliation with the Roman church after it had been condemned by the Council of Blachernae in April 1283.⁹

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We do not know when the monastery was abandoned, but it is unlikely to have survived the Turkish conquest of Chalcedon in 1350.

Analysis

A. General Characteristics

1. Utility for Understanding Imperial Patronage

Despite Michael VIII's proclamation [2] of the monastery's independent status, the *typikon* provides some insight on patronal rights in a more traditional imperial monastery. Some other founders of the thirteenth century, like the authors of (35) *Skoteine* [20] and (36) *Blemmydes* [1], were also applying the "independent and self-governing" status as an utilitarian overlay on various earlier forms of organization for Byzantine monasteries without necessarily making the significant structural changes of the sort that once seemed necessary, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for the sake of ideological consistency.

2. Influence of Earlier *Typika*

The emperor follows [8], [10] the trend, observable in (35) *Skoteine* [12], (39) *Lips* [30], and (45) *Neophytos* [12], [C4], of simply incorporating an endorsement of a liturgical *typikon*, (usually of St. Sabas) in lieu of detailed treatments of liturgy, diet, or both. In other respects, this document could be said to be neo-Evergetian, given the large number of usages and even a few similarities of diction shared with (22) *Evergetis* though there are no actual quotations.¹⁰

3. Original Contributions

In terms of its new materials, the dissonant philosophical content of this document is remarkable, and forms a striking contrast to the precedent-centered outlook of those texts drawn up in the Evergetian tradition. We are told that "slavery is a violent intrusion of tribal law into our lives" [2], that the use of counsel and persuasion is preferable to the use of force [3], that the accumulation of wealth by monasteries is morally indefensible while others live in poverty [9], that it is "not a good idea" for a superior to rule arbitrarily [9], and that generations of rulers have a continuing obligation to honor their predecessors' pious benefactions [15]. Among the monastic *typika*, only (22) *Evergetis* dares to make a similarly bold defense of its author's program, and it is arguable that no other *typikon* challenges so many conventional Byzantine attitudes.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

There were to be [6] not more than forty monks at this foundation, including sixteen assigned to the performance of liturgy and twenty-four for other services. The latter were to be assigned at the superior's discretion to tasks both inside the monastery and outside in the fields. However, even those assigned to work outside were to attend liturgical services as much as possible, while those devoted to hymnody could also be assigned chores. The emperor rationalizes this unusually flexible deployment of monastic personnel thusly: "my majesty wants everyone to be exercised in obedience."

Aside from the superior himself, the following officials [7] of the monastery are identified: the steward, the ecclesiarch, the treasurer, the cellarer and the provisioner.

2. Liturgical Duties

The ecclesiarch was to supervise [7] the sixteen monks assigned [6] to liturgical duties. The daily and nightly psalmody was to follow [8] the Palestinian model (i.e., the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas) with the exception of the Sunday night vigils, “for it is not possible for those who have been working hard all day to spend the night singing psalms.” Perhaps the expectation that even monks dedicated to liturgical duties should perform [6] some manual labor obliged the emperor to make this concession. The patronal feast of the Archangel Michael, celebrated on November 8, was to be celebrated [14] in splendid fashion along with monks from neighboring monasteries. Memorial services [13] for departed monks were another important responsibility that the emperor interprets as a kind of intergenerational contractual responsibility of the existing monks to their predecessors. Records of those to be commemorated were kept in two sets of diptychs, one kept in the monastery’s library and the other by the ecclesiarch, presumably in the sacristy. The monks were also obliged to conduct daily and annual memorial services for the members of the Palaiologan family who had patronized the monastery over three generations.

3. Manual Labor

The twenty-four monks devoted to manual labors received [6] their assignments from the superior, but many worked [7] under the general supervision of the treasurer, who provided them with the materials needed for their work assignments and collected the products of their labor. Other agricultural laborers (some of whom may have been laymen) were under the steward’s supervision. Specific workers mentioned in the *typikon* include [7] cooks, bakers, farmers, gardeners, vine-dressers, cowhands, shepherds and gatekeepers. The emperor provides [7], cf. [12] for a periodic rotation of assignments, as his wife did later in (39) *Lips* [17]. Those undertaking heavy manual labors were to receive [7] extra allotments of clothing.

4. Length of the Novitiate

The emperor considers [12] a novitiate of six months to be sufficient to determine a candidate’s suitability for enrollment as a tonsured monk. This is a return to the short novitiate initially advocated by (22) *Evergetis* [37], but which had steadily fallen into disfavor during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as succeeding founders, even those in the Evergetian tradition, generally favored longer novitiates. Also, while documents in the Evergetian tradition usually instruct the superior to test applicants by assigning them to tasks suited to their abilities, the emperor here provides that they must be “exercised in every service in the community” regardless of their rank in secular society.

5. Coexistence of Cenobitic and Hesychastic Lifestyles

Although the emperor declares [11] that living in common is “the law of nature,” and that sharing is enjoined by God himself, he was willing to allow the superior to settle a number of monks as solitaries in their own cells in so far as the monastery’s resources should permit. Thus he endorses the recent trend (cf. (34) *Machairas* [152] and (45) *Neophytos* [17]) away from the indifference or active hostility towards non-cenobitic monasticism that was a feature of the Evergetian tradition

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in the twelfth century. The emperor and like-minded founders of the thirteenth century were returning, therefore, to pre-Evergetian conditions of the tenth and eleventh centuries during which time a monk's elevation to the status of a solitary was seen as a deserved reward for especially virtuous living. The emperor intended that the monastery should supply the hesychast solitaries with clothing and footgear, but that they should not be allowed to be a financial burden on the foundation.

For the rest of the monks, the emperor bans [5] private possessions and orders that they be content with the communally provided food and clothing. He announces [7] the termination of the previous practice in this institution of paying a stipend (*roga*) to each monk, which he denounces as "a craze for gold" and "at variance with the monastic manner of life" (cf. the clothing and bathing allowances in (32) *Mamas* [28]). As usual for most documents of this era (but cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B3]), there is no attempt to defend the cenobitic lifestyle as being morally superior to the alternatives. The emperor's specifications for the articles of clothing that the monastery would provide to each monk suggest [7] equal treatment for all. As in the Evergetian tradition, no new clothing was to be issued until the old items were returned.

6. Diet

The emperor refers [10] to the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas for the regulation of the monks' diet, for fast and non-fast days as well as for feasts of the Lord and those of the Mother of God. This may indicate he preferred to take a stricter approach to the interruption of fasts to celebrate feast days that was a common feature of Evergetian dietary provisions (cf. (36) *Blemmydes* [11]). Some of the emperor's supplementary regulations follow Evergetian usages, however, including his provision of discretionary authority for the superior to relax fasting for the old, the sick, (and here) hard laborers, and his injunction to observe silence at meals so that the readings can be heard. His encouragement of additional self-imposed dietary restrictions was in keeping with the increasingly rigorist spirit of the times.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The emperor proclaims [2] the independence of his monastery in a chapter that provides an updated list of threats to institutional autonomy, specifically the protectorate (*ephoreia*), supervision (*epiteresis*), and union (*henosis*) with another monastery (i.e., as a dependency) and all other forms of overlordship "which may [be made to] seem more respectable by being called 'solitude.'" Clearly the emperor's greatest concern was that future public officials, either of the church or the imperial government, might seize ("nationalize," to use a not inappropriate modern term) the foundation, supposedly for its own well-being.

The emperor provides a modern ideological justification for institutional independence on the grounds that "freedom ought to be greatly prized and is clearly the most important thing of all for intelligent people" while "slavery is harmful and oppressive." Joined to this ideological justification is the emperor's practical observation that "monasteries that are self-governing are more flourishing and self-sufficient than those that are subject to various individuals" who are said to siphon off their revenues and exploit the properties "as if they were their own."

2. Leadership

On the grounds that it is “customary and proper for those erecting monasteries and settling a community of monks in them to establish very capable protectors for them,” the emperor designates [16] the patriarch (unnamed) as the monastery’s guardian (*epitropos*). The emperor envisioned the patriarch and his successors upholding the monastery’s interests to his own successors on the imperial throne and seeing to it that none of the monastery’s properties was alienated.

For practical purposes, the monastery was to administer [2] itself under the direction of the superior and the leading monks selected for their age, learning, and piety. As a group they were to be accountable to no one except to God himself. Should the superior be remiss in fulfilling his obligations, however, these same monks were to admonish [5] him privately or, if a standoff should develop, bring the matter to the attention of the emperor for his aid in effecting a reconciliation.

In a passage that echoes some of the procedures and language found in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], the emperor provides [3] for the election of the superior “with the participation of the entire brotherhood,” provided that they can agree on one candidate. Orthodox beliefs, ordination, and modesty are included among the qualifications for office. As in (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], and (35) *Skoteine* [17] (though not (34) *Machairas* [148]), an outside candidate (a *xenokourites*) was eligible for election, but such a superior must uphold the *typikon* without change, seeing that “it is not uncommon that a man brought in from outside, once he has assumed authority, might like to change the regulations and substitute them with those he knows from previous experience.” Should the brotherhood lack a consensus candidate, it was to refer the election to the ruling emperor, who would designate a new superior on his own.

The superior was responsible [7] for appointing the other officials of the monastery. They were to be selected on the basis of their expertise in the management of the foundation’s movable and immovable properties. As in (22) *Evergetis* [32], they would enjoy lifetime tenure of office—unless promoted or removed for poor work or dishonesty. The monks were not to quarrel [5] over who was assigned particular positions.

3. Style of Rule

The emperor asserts [9] that “even though the superior is allowed to do what he wants without the consent of the others, still it is not a good idea.” Therefore, the superior should govern in consultation with the monastery’s senior officials, being particularly careful in this respect regarding matters of financial administration. Elsewhere, the emperor urges [4] the superior to adopt a benevolently paternalistic style of spiritual governance, lest he “exercises his authority by force rather than by counsel and persuasion.” He takes this same approach in (38) *Kellibara I* [18].

4. Patronal Privileges

The emperor reserves for himself and his successors a number of important patronal privileges such as might have been seen in traditional imperial or private religious foundations. As noted above, he was to select [3] the foundation’s superior if the monks were unable to make a unanimous choice on their own. The emperor was to conduct the installation of the new superior by granting him the rod and staff of office, which are said to be symbolic of his governing functions of punishment and support, respectively. The emperor also claims [5] the right to resolve disputes

between the superior and the leading monks of the community. Lastly, the emperor and his ancestors who had patronized the monastery for three generations were entitled [13] to memorial services.

5. Reading of the *Typikon*

Following the prevailing trend that had been established since the twelfth century to have more frequent readings of the *typikon* (cf. (32) *Mamas* [16] and (45) *Neophytos* [11]), the emperor insists [13] on a monthly reading of his foundation document.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The emperor declares [7] that it is necessary for the superior to rely on officials of proven competence to handle the monastery's financial administration "because it is too much for one man to deal adequately with such a variety of matters." Nevertheless, the superior was to take in [9] the annual (cash) revenues of the monastery (preferably in the presence of the steward, ecclesiarch and the treasurer), make payments on the monastery's fixed obligations, and be kept informed of occasional expenditures (presumably by the treasurer). The emperor warmly endorses the policy of open financial administration previously advocated by twelfth-century founders in the Evergetian tradition (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] and (32) *Mamas* [10]). There was also to be a monthly accounting of revenues and expenditures (another twelfth-century Evergetian institution) by the superior, the three officials mentioned above, and any clergy among the monks. Unlike the authors of (23) *Pakourianos* [26], (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94], however, the emperor did not want the superior to store up surplus money in the monastery's treasury. Any unneeded revenue was to be distributed for charitable causes instead.

The steward was to be in overall charge of property management and revenues in kind. He was responsible [7] for supervising agricultural workers, appointing (with the superior's approval) monks or laymen as property administrators, and increasing the value of the monastery's assets.

The emperor was aware that he was devoting state resources to support what was an essentially private religious foundation. He asserts [15] that "we have not emptied out vast sums from the imperial treasury, nor allocated populous villages nor fertile and fruitful fields, proving thereby that the imperial majesty rules and does what it wills" for fear that such allocations might well be canceled by one of his successors. He leaves vague, however, precisely how he made [1] "a more generous provision to supply the monks with the necessities of life" than that which his grandfather had granted the monastery at its foundation, and the inventory once included in the document as [17] is now missing. We can infer, however, that the emperor made annual cash payments from the treasury a more important component of this support than the traditional grants of landed property, and that the monks were henceforth to be self-supporting to some degree on the lands that they already had.

2. Inalienability of Property

As noted, the patriarch, in his capacity as guardian of the monastery, was to assure [16] that the foundation's properties were not alienated. The emperor seems to have been more concerned [15] about the termination of other support, most likely annual cash payments, by one of his succes-

sors. For the sake of argument, he lists and then dismisses possible alternative uses of the money. As a concluding argument, he reminds his successors of how he himself has confirmed the donations of his predecessors to ecclesiastical institutions and other beneficiaries. Therefore, he states, “we request that that principle [of intergenerational reciprocity] be observed regarding our own judgments.”

E. Overall Philosophy

1. Attitude towards Privileges

The document illustrates the emperor’s ambivalent attitude towards the recognition of aristocratic privilege in the context of monastic discipline. On the one hand, there is his requirement, unprecedented in these documents, that each novice be rotated [12] through a duty cycle in all the services of the community “no matter what sort of secular dignity or position he held.” On the other hand, one must reckon with the peculiar philosophy [4] behind his rationalization for the superior’s special treatment of monks based on their “former manner of life,” namely that “because of this, strange as it may seem, a certain wonderful equality comes from inequality, as in other matters one might find that inequality comes from equality.”

Servants and craftsmen are warned [5], on pain of expulsion, not to provide items to monks without the approval of the superior, which suggests that the emperor, even more so than the authors of (32) *Mamas* [34] or (34) *Machairas* [115], did not want to encourage the formation of servile relationships in the community. Also, in an echo of provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [42], the emperor warns [5] against “special friendships and company” which he thought not only cause “scandal and great suspicion” but “are harmful and destructive” in other ways.

2. Misogynist Tendency

The emperor takes [12] an even harder line than was customary in documents in the Evergetian tradition in his ban on access by women to the monastery, even for worship, whereas (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], for example, permits them to enter for this purpose, and even (27) *Kecharitomene* [80], written for a nunnery, permits men to make carefully supervised visits for the same reason. The only exceptions the emperor would allow in his foundation were women of the imperial family. In the absence of a provision for daily charity, the exclusion of women from participation along the lines of (22) *Evergetis* [38] was superfluous. Women, presumably benefactors, were allowed to be commemorated [13] in the diptychs along with departed monks, yet they could not be buried within the monastery.

F. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

The emperor carefully defines [2] the rights of the local prelate, the metropolitan of Chalcedon, and his successors: reverence due them “as shepherds and guardians of souls” (possibly but not certainly a recognition of the right of spiritual correction), commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy, three small honoraria (*kaniskia*) annually, and three pounds of wax. The emperor declares, “let him [the metropolitan] be content with these gifts alone and not put pressure on the brothers to make any further donation,” but the ruler also provides that a newly elected superior should re-

ceive the *sphragis* from the metropolitan as well. This is about as full a concession of ecclesiastical rights as might be expected of any founder acting in a private capacity, and it may be a response to the increasing assertiveness of the patriarchate in asserting its legal and canonical prerogatives (cf. (55) *Athanasios I*, with discussion below in Chapter Nine).

2. Institutional Philanthropy

There were traditional charitable distributions at the gate of this monastery on such special occasions as the patronal feast of St. Michael [14] and the annual memorial service for the founder [13], which were one day apart from one another in November. The superior was also to make [7] routine donations of worn clothing to the poor. The monastery's most significant philanthropic contribution must have been a result of the emperor's return to Studite practice (see (3) *Theodore Studites* [21]) in ordering [9] the monastery not to store up surplus wealth. The emperor alludes to a considerable anti-monastic sentiment in some circles of Byzantine society when he asks rhetorically, "How can they [the monks] enrich themselves while others in the world are poor and worn out by the deprivation of necessities?" Therefore any surplus revenues were to be donated at the end of the year for ransoming prisoners, supporting orphans, and providing dowries for destitute maidens.

Notes on the Introduction

1. The traditional dating is "around" or "before" 1280/81: see Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. xcix; Gedeon, *Typikon*, p. 14; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 48; and I. M. Konidares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens, 1984), p. 60; cf. Beck, *KTL*, p. 696. Internal evidence suggests an earlier date, however; see below, Institutional History.
2. Talbot, "Auxentios," p. 236.
3. For these foundations, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 44–50, and Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence."
4. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 47, and Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," pp. 448–58.
5. Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," pp. 452–53.
6. So Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 47, and Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," pp. 453–54.
7. Papageorgiu, "Zwei Gedichte," pp. 676–77; cf. Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," p. 454.
8. Pachymeres, 6.28, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymères, Relations historiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), p. 633.
9. George Metochites, *Historia dogmatica* 1.77, ed. Angelo Mai, *NPB*, vol. 8, p. 102.
10. Evergetian usages: [3] election of the superior, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]; [5] no "special friendships," cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]; [7] lifetime tenure of office, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]; [10] dietary discretion for the sick, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10]; [10] silence at meals, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [12] short novitiate, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [12] ban on admitting women, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [39]; [13] monthly reading of the *typikon*, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [43].

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Translation

Typikon of the imperial monastery of the supreme commander [of the heavenly armies] Michael on renowned Mount Auxentios in the eparchy of Chalcedon, founded by Emperor Michael, the first of the Palaiologoi

[1.] Prologue containing an expression of thanks to God on behalf of the emperor

“Be pleased to receive this prayer of thanks, and bless what we have begun, O Word of God.”

“I will give thanks to thee with my whole heart; I will recount all thy wonderful works” (Ps. 9:1). Now is the fitting time for my majesty to repeat this statement of God’s ancestor to the Lord, and to place it as a comely prologue to [p. 770] the composition of the present *typikon*. For he has multiplied his mercies toward me, and he has been resplendent in manifesting his wonders. Not only has he done this in former times, long ago, but up to the present, indeed every day and every hour he does even more. Each day he floods me with myriad outpourings of his ineffable great gifts. My king and my God first fashioned me as a living being and adorned me with reason. He then deemed me worthy to look upon the light of the sun. He diffused vast amounts of air for me; he poured out the flowing waters. All things, the most beautiful things on earth he has lavishly and graciously granted to me.

In the beginning this Lover of Mankind brought the world into being for the sake of man so that, as a result of the gifts he enjoys, through his sense perception by itself as well as through his higher intellectual apprehension of beings, he should sing praise to his benefactor and glorify him. In addition to other blessings he made me resplendent with earthly nobility. He decreed that I should be born of parents widely renowned for their virtuous and decorous conduct.¹ By his will we were related by blood to those famous and great emperors who preceded us. He made us prosperous with money, property, and other possessions. Through the years he brought us glory and honors in the palace one after the other. He rescued me a number of times through the ministry of the leader of the immaterial beings, Michael, whom, from God and after God, I have been

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fortunate to have as the vigilant guardian of my life in the midst of many dangers, many precarious and fearsome situations, some originating within [the empire] while others were due to external forces. He came to my assistance in time of war and gloriously took me to his side. Many times he led me to victory over both domestic and foreign foes. Why should I say more? If I were to enumerate these, as well as others like them, they would amount to more than the grains of sand on the seashore and the drops of rain, and they would outnumber the days of eternity. He has looked upon me with marvelous great favor, even upon me, last of all and as one untimely born (cf. I Cor. 15:8).

Surely he does this so that his infinite might and power may accomplish their purpose in my weakness. Even to me has he granted sufficient grace as he did to the great Paul, “the vessel of election” (Acts 9:15). He has lifted me up from the depths of my lowliness and has raised me up to my present exalted station. He has favored me with a name which is above every other earthly name (cf. Phil. 2:9). In an unexpected manner and for reasons he alone knows, he has placed in my hands the rudder of the imperial galley.² Ruling together with me up to the present he guides it and preserves it undamaged by any rolling waves or foaming surf of the world. Indeed may you continue to do your part ever more forcefully and show ever more kindness in guiding it, “King of kings, lord of lords” (I Tim. 6:15), O God.

How many tongues would I have to borrow to proclaim in worthy fashion all that the Lord has done for my soul [p. 771] since he first placed me in the imperial chariot of the ruler and autocrat? He hurled to the ground the immensely arrogant Italians, including their princes and counts.³ He dissipated the insolent power of the Persians [Turks]. He confined the Mysians [Bulgarians] to the narrow passes of the Haimos [Mountains]. Every foreign foe conspiring against the Romans he utterly crushed as [though they were] vessels of clay and “ground them to dirt” (II Kings 22:43) which the wind blows off the face of the earth.

There was the unexpected event which astounded all who heard and learned of it, that which emperors and patriarchs of old, senate and people, yearned for but were not allowed to see, I mean the recovery of the famous, the very queen of cities from Italian tyranny, its freedom and redemption from the yoke of slavery.⁴ But “Who shall tell the mighty acts of the Lord? Who shall cause all his praises to be heard?” (Ps. 105 [106]:2). This first occurred in these times when God placed the imperial scepter in our hands and without adding on new and laborious wars, without bloodshed and casualties. Now indeed this great city of Constantine, clothed like a queen in its ancient and splendid raiment, the New Jerusalem, built as a city, can utter the timely words of the psalm: “Its squares fill up, its quarters, its alleys, and its streets.”⁵ But it is not the confused accents of a half-barbarian people [that one hears], but that of the native inhabitants, all of them clearly and precisely articulating the polished Greek tongue and correctly pronouncing it.

Communities of monks and nuns adorn the convents and monasteries and dutifully run in them their course in the monastic stadium. Priests take pleasure in gathering in the holy churches and each day they offer their accustomed prayers and solemn worship to God with thanksgiving. Even greater, there presides in the illustrious temple bearing the name of God’s Wisdom not a patriarch of another race, an intruder, but a native son⁶ and of the same people, one who knows his own and in turn is known by his own.

This was indeed the way things were. Although my majesty has spoken of them in a brief and

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cursory way, other writers have described them in a more deserving manner and in greater detail. Every day my majesty was pondering over this, and it became a matter of intense and serious concern: How could I even briefly manage to acknowledge God's favor or even apportion some tiny recompense to him who had presented me with so many great and magnificent benefactions? Now then I knew very well that what one offers to God's genuine worshipers, he in his great goodness makes his own, and the honor shown to them is ascribed to him.

My majesty called to mind the justly celebrated mountain which bears the venerable name of the holy Auxentios and which was once a [p. 772] second Pelusium, Nitria, Tabennisi, or Sketis.⁷ On that mountain dwelt men dedicated to works pleasing to God, and of whom it may be said that they take the kingdom of heaven by storm (cf. Matt. 11:12). This blessed, illustrious, venerable monastery was founded by the revered grandfather of my majesty, the late *megas doux*, Lord Alexios, who by the great, holy, angelic habit had changed his name to the monk Antony.⁸ In the course of time, rather, because of constant reverses and being caught up in one thing after another, the monastery found itself in straightened circumstances and, as they say, was down on its knees. I would raise it up again, restore its strength, make its beauty shine even more brightly, and make more generous provision to supply the monks with the necessities of life. At the same time, as noted, I would offer some small repayment to God and perform a small act of kindness to my ancestors, if not actually carry out a serious obligation. In any event, my majesty brought it about that this desire, which had existed somewhat sketchily in my imagination, took shape and was translated into reality. My majesty restored this revered monastery to its present condition in all respects as may be seen and with a truly understanding and loyal disposition presented it to the great leader and supreme chief of the powers above, and through him to the all-powerful and exceedingly good God.

This is what my majesty has done. Now it is for you, my champion, my helper and my protector, commander of the heavenly and incorporeal armies, to see that the affairs of the monastery improve and prosper, and to contribute to its increase each day. See that these people of yours conduct themselves in a spiritual manner pleasing to God, being honored by men and admired for their virtues in this life, while in the life to come they may dwell among the just and find their repose in the undefiled fields of paradise. May my majesty then obtain pardon for my many sins and be placed on the right side in that fearful, impartial tribunal and be raised up again with the saved by means of your leadership and by the intercession of this entire holy community to our common Lord and Savior. More than anything else this is my majesty's earnest wish and prayer. I am totally confident of obtaining this by the grace and loving kindness for men of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ. Amen. [p. 773]

[2.] The monastery is to be free and self-governing

“Let those who bear the burden of the gospel be free of the heavy yoke of slavery.”

First of all my majesty which comes from God wishes and prays that this revered monastery should remain independent and self-governing. It should be free of all [external] rule in name and in fact, whether under title of *ephoreia* and supervision, union with another monastery or as an *epidosis*, and of all other forms of lordship, which may perhaps seem more respectable by being called “solicitude.” The monastery is to administer its own affairs and is to be under the direction

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of the superior at the time and certain members of the spiritual brotherhood selected because of their age, way of life and, it may be, surpassing the rest in learning.⁹ They are to be held accountable to nobody except God who alone knows the hidden thoughts of men and to whom they shall render an account of their leadership and administration. But if anyone should attempt to bring any force to bear against it or try to overturn its independence, my majesty subjects such a one, whoever he might be, to the most grievous curses of the holy fathers. For freedom ought to be greatly prized and is clearly the most important thing of all for intelligent people. God himself confirms this since once he had created man, he honored him with independence. It is said in the Old Testament in which divine revelation is communicated by the great Moses, “Cast out the slave and her son, for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman” (Gen. 21:10; Gal. 4:30).

The very fact and the name of slavery is a harmful and oppressive sort of thing and is a violent intrusion of tribal law into our lives. It must then be rejected, and one must hold tightly to freedom for the stability of the monastery and for its continued progress. Monasteries that are self-governing are more flourishing and self-sufficient than those that are subject to various individuals. For these enjoy what they possess without any diminution, whereas the others receive little or nothing of their revenues. All or most of their possessions are appropriated [by their lords] as if they were their own and they distribute them as their own property. That is enough of these matters.

Let the reverence which is rightly due to bishops be granted to the incumbent hierarchs in the holy metropolis of Chalcedon as shepherds and guardians of souls. Let the customary commemoration of them be made in the church in the regular liturgical celebrations and in the customary *synaptai* and *ekteneis*. For we ought to repay them with our prayers and in return for spiritual gifts give back to them spiritual graces. Moreover, each year let them [p. 774] present to this metropolitan three small honoraria worth about one *hyperperon* each and no more than three pounds of wax. He indeed in his turn will be content with these gifts alone and will not put pressure on the brothers to make any further donation. But this should be sufficient about these matters, for now I wish to continue by speaking about the selection of the superior.

[3.] The choice and installation of the superior

“I apportion the choice to the monks and the installation to the rulers of the Romans.”

What does my majesty desire as far as the superior is concerned? In the first place and above all else, he should hold the correct faith in the divinity. He should be of blameless life, adorned with the dignity of the priesthood, of firm judgment, either as the result of training, which would be better, or if not, as part of his nature, so that he may discern what is good and what is not good. He should be [endowed with] modesty, gentle disposition, and appropriate zeal. His speech should be suitable. His manner should be adorned with the most noble distinction of virtue. His own manifest virtue should make him appear as a light before men (cf. Matt. 5:15–16). He should be the perfect stamp upon which the entire assembly of monks under his authority may model themselves. They may thus make excellent impressions and, closely following his example, be imprints of virtue pleasing to God. For what the depictions of the archetype are to painters, so the superior should be to the monks.¹⁰

My majesty wishes the choice of the superior to be made according to merit with the partici-

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pation of the entire brotherhood. From the depths of their souls they should search out the one they want. As impartial as a stone let them conduct their scrutiny and pass on the one who shall preside over them. Let favor and friendship, which blind them in relation to the one they love, find no place here. Let any indication of ill will also be far removed. But let the truth speak out freely, and let it scrutinize and approve the deserving candidate. For it would be no small misfortune for those sitting here in judgment to bring about their own destruction by rejecting what is beneficial for souls, one of which is of the same value as this whole world (cf. Matt. 16:26; Mark 8:36).

If, therefore, all the brothers agree upon one man, all choosing him with one accord, this is pleasing to God, and is also what my majesty desires. It would be a great step toward that peace which is sweeter than pure honey. But if—my majesty prays this will not happen—[the monks] take sides during the election with some of them joining forces with other brothers, each one proposing a different candidate and supporting him on the pretext of friendship or any other convincing pretext which is generally used to conceal the truth, [p. 775] the choice of the superior should then be brought to the attention of him who, with God's assistance, then wields the scepter of empire. He, [after being informed about the matter] by delegates from the entire brotherhood, shall in person, if he is present in Constantinople, or by letter should he be away on a journey, select one who is clearly outstanding for intelligence and virtue and quite capable of governing people. The man so chosen shall without any reservations accept his election, and he shall be entrusted with the authority over the monastery. For in such situations inflexibility is not without danger.

Then shall follow the customary installation by the emperor. He shall be handed by the emperor the rod and the staff of office, with the first so that as a father he may chasten those who are acting in a childish manner and by fear turn them to the straight path, and with the other he may provide support for those who have grown gray with age or who may be failing in mind and those who have grown old laboring in the field of virtue. As best he can he shall encourage them as a good shepherd and not as a hireling. He shall guide his flock toward verdant pastures with abundant water (cf. Ps. 22 [23]:2–3), and he shall drive the wolves far away, quickly and effectively warding them off (cf. John 10:11–13).

After his installation by the emperor, the superior is also obligated to receive the accustomed *sphragis* from the prelate then presiding over the most holy metropolis of Chalcedon. This is what my majesty wholeheartedly wishes and approves. Then each one of the monks from the first down to the last shall genuflect in the monastic fashion and shall embrace the superior. All shall thus recognize their common shepherd and without hesitation submit themselves to his commands.

These instructions apply when the superior is a native and has been found there in the house, which my majesty considers very important. But—may it not happen—it might be necessary to select the superior from outside. A brother residing in the monastery may regard the exalted dignity with such awe that he refuses the leadership for himself. For indeed there is nothing more difficult than directing souls. Or there may be no one who is qualified, not because he lacks the vigor needed to concern himself with the monastic profession or because he does not care enough about virtue and serious guidance, but because in addition to these there is something else, which belongs here, and that is the charisma of governing. A proven soldier may not automatically assume command of an army, nor does a competent oarsman, no matter how expert, make a helmsman.

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If, therefore, we have to bring in a superior from another place, which is the second best way, we should not refuse. One must be careful, of course, to place a teacher of virtue in charge, not an exemplar of wickedness, one who will stand watch and not an enemy, a good shepherd and not a raging wolf. For not only is unalloyed virtue a major consideration in selecting a person who is to have higher authority, but also one must reject a staged appearance of a praiseworthy way of life. Such staging presents one man externally while concealing another man within. [p. 776] This man could reasonably be likened to the whitewashed sepulcher in the gospels which gives the false impression of beauty, but within is filled with clammy bodies and lets out a most disagreeable stench (cf. Mark 5:2–5; Matt. 23:27). In this connection one must therefore be on one's guard against being misled by deceptive appearances. For this can happen to those who are not very carefully on the lookout for such things. This is what happens to fish, for when their mouths are already wide open to take in food they are caught in fearful destruction.

Therefore, as said, let the superior from outside be proved. Let him produce clear assurance of his conduct and monastic way of life. For if evidence of these is lacking, [our monks] coming under his instruction will find themselves learning other things in place of what they had previously learned, and perhaps what seemed to be safe was in reality—rather because our powers of discernment fell short—destructive and unsure. A superior of this sort must sincerely hold fast to the customary order and constitution of this monastery in its entirety and without any change just as this regulatory arrangement of my majesty decrees. For it is not uncommon that a man brought in from outside, once he has assumed authority, might like to change the regulations of the monastery he is put in charge of and substitute them with those he knows from previous experience, thus overturning the ancient, established constitution.¹¹ Enough has been said about these matters.

[4.] To the Superior

“Before all else you who are superior of the monastery accept this counsel and for my sake master it.”

In the series of topics to be discussed my majesty next turns to address you directly, the superior, for there are a number of things I must say to you also. You must certainly be well aware that the governance of the monks is entrusted to you as their teacher and instructor. You have been designated from on high to shepherd the holy flock of Christ. By no means ought your position as superior be a pretext for repose, nor ought you grow slack in your spiritual, salvific labors, for which a reward many times greater is laid aside for you in the future. For if the superiorship had been presented as a prize for virtue, then all those authorities, once such authority had been conferred on them, would have a right to take their rest. But if labors commensurate with authority are also added on, and authority is nothing else than the test of virtue, then one must give proof, as on the sea of serious, straight sailing, so in the spiritual profession of salvific governance of souls. The helmsman in particular stands in need of great sobriety. For when a good helmsman slacks off even a little, he threatens the rest of the crew [p. 777] with great calamity.

Governance is in fact a single thing but becomes many-sided because of the diversity among those governed. The person who assumes such office may have to take various titles to fit each situation. Sometimes he is addressed as father, at other times as superior, at times of course as shepherd, helmsman, guide, guardian, teacher, salt, lamp, and light. As a father he ought to suffer

along with those who are weak. As a person in authority he ought to be a shield to those who are under attack. As a helmsman he ought to sail over the dangerous waves. As a shepherd he ought to settle his flock in verdant pastures and provide them with the water of spiritual repose (cf. Ps 22 [23]:2–3). As a guardian he ought to give timely warning to those he guards of the approach of something harmful. As a teacher he trains those whose understanding is like that of children. As salt he seasons what is lacking in spiritual flavor with virtues, or he causes what is frivolous and starting to decay to tighten up. As a lamp and a light he shows his flock the unencumbered path of virtue. In a word he “becomes all things to all men” (I Cor. 9:22), according to the holy apostle. A superior who is bereft of these may indeed govern but it will not be in a Christian or spiritual manner, but as the nations and the flesh do. He exercises his authority by force rather than by counsel and persuasion. Such a superior does the opposite of what the leader of the apostles Peter declares: “Tend the flock of God that is your charge, overseeing it not by constraint but willingly, not for shameful gain but eagerly, not as domineering over those in your charge but being examples to your flock” (I Pet. 5:2–4).

The office of superior over the brothers has been placed in your hands. Govern therefore in accord with the apostolic precept. Confirm those who are in good condition. Raise up as best you can those who are falling. With fatherly compassion take care of all of them equally. Provide what is required for each one according to his special needs, depending on his age, his physical condition, and his former manner of life. Because of this then, strange as it may seem, a certain wonderful equality comes from inequality, as in other matters one might find that inequality stems from equality. For what kind of equality would be found in the judgment of the superior if the young and the old, the man from the city and the one from the country, the healthy and the sick, all enjoyed the same thing? You have surely heard, superior of this monastery, what the Lord said to his chief apostle: If you love me, Peter, “Tend my sheep” (John 21:16). He said this not once, but three times, repeating it more than twice. Therefore, comprehend the burden of spiritual authority. Wholeheartedly imitate the model of the apostolic shepherds and carefully tend the flock of Christ. In this way you will prepare the “special people” (cf. Tit. 2:14) for the day on which you may boast with Christ: “Behold myself and the children whom God has given to me” (Heb. 2:13). In all these matters preserve yourself blameless in every respect. [p. 778] Free yourself of every bodily kinship and become attached only to your brothers and children in Christ.

My majesty then has now delivered this address, and desires you to know that you have a strict obligation to observe the regulations affecting the entire monastic order of life, and the duties incumbent on both superiors and subjects.

[5.] Address to the Monks

“If you carefully observe, O monks, the rules in force you will be saved, to my [joy].”

The prayer of my majesty for you, my brothers in Christ is that recorded of the believers in the Acts of the Apostles: “They were of one heart and soul, and no one said that any of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had everything in common” (Acts 4:23). Let this be the model for our own community. This union of souls with one another should characterize the monastic life and should be such as to unite in their hearts those who are different in body. With harmony of mind they should race together in the monastic struggles and contests. They should

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delight in one another's progress and improvement, and they should be saddened by those who go back on their promises and slouch in disarray along the road of the monastic life. They appropriate nothing on earth for themselves but, as the holy apostle says, are content only with the food and clothing provided from the common store (cf. I Tim. 6:8). Let no one ever turn back because he wants more, as the dog to his own vomit (Prov. 26:11; II Pet. 2:22). Do not adopt the attitude of the wife of Lot or of the man at the plow in the gospel, who because he turned back fell short of the kingdom of heaven (cf. Gen. 19:26; Luke 9:62). For what is most important and admirable is not making vows but fulfilling one's vows to God. As much as one who worships God even before making his vows to him is worthy of rewards, by so much is he who gives the lie to his profession and promise bound to condemnation. This is also alluded to by the wise Solomon. "It is better that you should not vow than that you should vow and not pay" (Eccl. 5:4). Again: "A snare for a man are his own lips" (Prov. 6:2).

The renowned apostle Paul recommends obedience to your superiors. "Obey your leaders," he says, "and submit to them" (Heb. 13:17). Adding the reason, he continues as follows: "For they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account." Listen to my Lord when he says: "I have come down from heaven, [p. 779] not to do my own will, but the will of the Father who sent me" (John 6:38). From this then learn the measure of ready obedience and follow along behind Christ, through Christ obeying your fathers in Christ. For he stated: "He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me" (Luke 10:16).

While originally addressed to the apostles, after them [they were also intended] for all those who have received the apostolic office of teaching and who profess their manner of life. In every respect, therefore, obey your fathers either out of genuine love, like sons who love their fathers, or out of respect. As servants of Christ all of you together give constant evidence of your obedience to them. Shove disobedience so far away from you that you can barely see it. Our forefather [Adam] himself bears witness as to how great an evil it is, since he was condemned for disobedience, and as a result brought upon himself and upon you the loss of the divine paradise and a wearisome and laborious life which you provide for by the sweat of your brow.

Among the many things which are possible, it might happen that the superior is remiss in one of his obligations. For it is only the divinity that is remiss in nothing. If this occurs, let the majority remain silent and be, as the holy David said, "like a man who does not hear, and in whose mouth are no rebukes" (Ps. 37 [38]:14). But let those who are distinguished in learning, virtue, and seniority gently remind the superior of his duty to correct the matter. This ought not to be done in a quarrelsome and argumentative manner but in a kindly and friendly one. For the superior ought to accept this admonition as a grace, and he should thank those who have brought this failing to his attention. By his deeds he should correct the unfortunate mistake. But if, which my majesty prays will not be, a standoff develops between the superior and the brothers, then the matter should be brought before the man who is emperor at that time. For the sake of the good itself and for our sake, the emperor should, by himself or by one of those men who have a special, spiritual relationship with him and who are experienced in discerning spiritual matters, reconcile the separated parties and put a peaceful end to the controversy, or in some other way, relying on his holy intelligence, he shall straighten out the unfortunate occurrence.¹²

But each one of you, my brothers, should certainly not seek to go beyond the position allotted

to you in the body of the community but gratefully observe its harmonious arrangement. Let nobody show any indignation toward another monk, even though he himself might have been assigned a position corresponding to that of the hand, or even to that of the foot, while another occupied a place [like that] of the tongue, or the ears, or the eyes. For God beneficently grants his favors to all according to their merits. He apportions our rank in accord with our conduct. This we learn from the distribution of the talents in the holy gospel (cf. Matt. 25:15). Let each one therefore [p. 780] willingly reckon himself among the least and give way to those above him. But if there be one who is not so wise and has an opinion he should not have and regards everyone as equal so that he, although the least, may number himself among the better; if he shall keep silence let him be pardoned, but if he continues in the same conduct, after being severely admonished, let him be cut off from the community, and let him also be expelled from the monastery, so he might not pervert the more simple and cause confusion within the community. “Bad company ruins good morals,” according to the holy apostle (I Cor. 15:33). A pestilential disease also causes injury to the persons it comes in contact with. In addition to other things affecting the community you will guard against particular friendships and company, for these not only cause scandal and great suspicion among the brothers, but they are harmful and destructive in other ways.

The servants and the experts in certain crafts should not provide anyone with anything, not even the tiniest amount, without the approval of the superior or of the steward. But if a person be apprehended doing this, first let him be admonished two or three times, then let him be punished. If he continues unabashedly in the same conduct and does not mend his ways, let him be expelled from the monastery as unable to assume the yoke of good order and ready obedience.

[6.] The Number of Monks

“The company of the monks should be fourfold ten, the number of days that my Lord fasted.”

At this point now my majesty recognizes that arrangements should be made concerning the number of monks. My majesty therefore decrees that the most revered brothers in Christ who have taken it upon themselves to lead the monastic life in this monastery shall never exceed the number of forty. Of these, now, sixteen shall continually devote themselves to the church and shall wholeheartedly concern themselves with the holy service of praise in the customary manner. The remaining twenty-four will perform all the duties of service within the monastery and in the fields. At various times they must be free for certain tasks both inside and outside the monastery, and there will be times when they will be assigned by the superior to service or work either individually or in a group, depending on the needs of the monastery and on each one’s expertise and competence. Those so assigned shall not delay, or grumble, or murmur under their breath, or dispute the decision of the superior. But they shall obey without hesitation and proclaim that which is so often sung by monks: “Bless.”

Still, my majesty does not wish those assigned to work to leave the [p. 781] liturgical services when it may not be the time for their work. But neither should those assigned to devote themselves to the hymnody in the church make use of their being occupied, perhaps even their excellence in singing psalms, as an excuse. But if the superior assigns one of them to do some chores, he shall heed the command of the superior without delay and shall readily carry out his orders. For my majesty wants everyone to be exercised in obedience. The holy, divine Akakios,¹³ the blooming

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and fruitful plant of the monastic meadow, is an obvious witness of the importance of obedience for the monks. Noted for his virtuous accomplishments, he specifically deserved to be called a child of obedience.

[7.] The appointment of officials

“Then, superior of the monastery, after inquiry make prudent appointments of officials.”

Let officials who are serious and qualified for their tasks be appointed by the superior in the accustomed fashion. They should share in the concerns and the labors of the superior. They should also have some expertise in the proper care and management of all the movable and immovable property of the monastery. It is too much for one man to deal adequately with such a variety of matters, doing his work amidst so many distractions, soon burning himself out, and not being able to get a firm grasp on anything.

First of all, then, a steward, reliable and intelligent, should be designated. He should be distinguished for his practical knowledge of many things and conduct all the material business of the monastery. He should involve himself and those under him in all aspects of the administration of affairs. They should struggle in every way to increase the assets of the monastery, secure what has not been secure, and make what is unsuitable become suitable. The steward, with the knowledge and support of the superior, shall enjoin upon the farmers and the vine-dressers the tasks belonging to their work. He shall urge on the shepherds of cattle and sheep to do better in their allotted tasks, and he shall frequently supervise and examine them. He shall select for himself monks, or otherwise laymen free of any suspicion, and, with the approval of the superior, he should place these in charge of the possessions of the monastery.

In addition to these let an ecclesiarch be appointed, well acquainted with the order of services in the church, and fervently devoted to them, a man of knowledge and virtue, watchful and sober. His vigilance and sobriety are to guide the rest in awakening and getting up so that day and night [the monks should], to speak in the manner of the psalm: “Bless God in the congregations” (Ps. 67[68]:26). [p. 782] He should apportion the time for sleep in relation to that for the holy psalter and he should determine the time for striking the wooden semantron for assembling. He shall regulate the measures of the voices for the liturgical services. He should take thought that the prayers be undistracted and undisturbed. In the psalmody he shall favor the clarity of voice which comes from slowness and he shall reject the confusion which comes from going too fast.

Together with these officials let a treasurer be appointed, trustworthy and of good reputation, to watch over and to give an account of the things entrusted to him. He shall take under his charge everything which might be useful or beneficial for the monastery, in addition to whatever else may be committed to him by the superior. Whenever the men are engaged in manual labor he shall provide them with the materials needed without even the slightest show of favoritism, and he shall receive back products of their labor. He shall make purchases as occasion demands and store what is customary and useful for the community, with the approval of the superior. Then at the time of distribution when they receive all their new things they may not find that they do not have enough inner and outer garments and shoes for the monks.

Each year they should be given one tunic, two undergarments which are worn right next to the skin and in popular parlance are usually called undershirts, every two years one vest and one

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cloak. They should not, however, put on any new clothing until each one has first handed in the old to the [common] store, even down to their footwear. The superior will then judge how to use these in a way which will meet some need. He may use them to clothe the poor in their nakedness or he may give them to certain monks who are burdened with heavy and laborious work. For to be furnished with extra clothing after their regular needs have been met may incline the monks to think of the love of possessions and lead them to be attached to the things of this life.

Thus does my majesty wish the affairs of the monks to be administered. At the same time we put an end to the so-called allowance among them, utterly rejecting it in the belief that it has nothing to do with management, but is a craze for gold and is a practice at variance with the monastic manner of life. For with the regular possession of gold their thoughts are never at rest, and we know that its use by monks descends into abuse.

Let a cellarer also be designated, who should be responsible for the daily food and drink of the monastic company, prudent, steadfast, fair in his distributions, doing everything according to the judgment of the superior, placing the same amount of bread on the table for everyone, and wine the same in taste and amount for everyone, cooked food and not cooked according to what is required each day, the same fare in common, except that in the case of some infirmity the superior may permit that something else be served to a person.

With the above-mentioned officials should also be numbered a provisioner, who shall guard the storage room in which are kept the grains, wine, oil, and the other edibles. [p. 783] At the required time he should provide the items needed to the cellarers and those needed in the bakery for the bakers. Let him be concerned not only with dispensing foodstuffs and drink but he should also plan ahead to have a secure and continual supply. He should dispense the supplies in an appropriate manner, measuring, so to speak, the amount by the need. For extravagance and inappropriate liberality inevitably result in prodigality.

This is what has to be noted about the leading officials. Those who work at the chores assigned to them shall do so throughout their entire lives, unless they advance to a higher position, or if one should be found who does poor work or who is dishonest, without question he should be removed. Those who are always occupied in services or laboring at their tasks such as cooks, bakers, farmers, gardeners, and gatekeepers, should be replaced by others at intervals. In this way, "Bear one another's burdens" (Gal. 6:2) as the holy apostle says.

[8. Psalmody]

"Let the *typikon* of the monks of Palestine provide the complete order of church service."

Let the service of daily and nightly psalmody which has from old customarily been observed in the monasteries of Palestine be carried out, except for the all-night vigils on Sundays. My majesty wishes that the monks must not be compelled to overburden themselves in such matters. While they should omit nothing that is within their capabilities, at the same time they should refrain from added burdens. For it is not possible for those who have been working hard all day to spend the night singing psalms, but either by day they should rest from the work of night, or at night they should rest from the day's labor. For [this body of] earth which we carry around cannot go without rest; it cannot be active continuously but only at intervals. Prayers must therefore be offered to God from the depths of the soul according to one's strength, for praying according to

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one's strength is pleasing to God, who is well aware of our natural weakness, and whose rich and abundant mercy comes to us with kindness and true preference.

[9.] The revenues of the monastery

“Next the regulation about the revenues of the monastery, including a monthly accounting of its expenditures.”

All the usual revenues of the monastery which are collected each year must be received by the superior, along with three prominent brothers, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the treasurer, if they are present, but if not [p. 784] then by someone else. Let the necessary payments be made by him and let them be kept informed of the expenditures. For if this is not made known, evil suspicions arise and a good deal of quibbling and murmuring against those directing the finances. This gets arguments started; factions rear their heads; accusations are made; and finally there is confusion, the terrible, dark night of dissension, and the sacrifice of the peace and quiet of the brothers. Besides, it is burdensome for one individual to be in charge of the common business without anyone else having knowledge of it. One of two things happens in such cases; either there are accusations of stealing or of contempt for the brothers, or very often both, which is an unwarranted cause of temptation to those with a weak conscience, and a not unreasonable pretext for scandal. Even though the superior, because of his authority, is allowed to do what he wants without the consent of the others, still it is not a good idea, for it causes problems for many.¹⁴ While such criticism [of the superior] often arises from suspicion rather than from truth, it is praiseworthy to avoid such suppositions, false though they may be.

My majesty commands that the accounting of revenues and of expenditures be made each month with the three prominent brothers meeting together with the superior, and in addition those who because they have ecclesiastical care and responsibility we are accustomed to call ecclesiastics. They should all receive an exact report of expenditures. In like manner my majesty commands that the superior should not be eager to store up money in the monastery. This is ascribed to the Mammon of iniquity, and it is a treasuring up not of money but of worms that do not die, not of gold but of burning fire that is not quenched (Mark 9:48). For getting involved with money even for those who carry on their lives in the world, who are all caught up in the snares of life, and who are constrained by the needs of a wife and children is forbidden as leading to eternal punishment.

Further proof of this is provided by that rich man in the holy gospel who was being fried in the insufferable fire. He had previously dismissed Lazarus as a disgusting object, but later begged for his finger to provide some relief for his burning mouth (cf. Luke 16:19–24). To those then who have renounced the world and those in the world and for this reason also the bitter ruler of this world, and who have promised to live on a higher plane and to partake of the angelic manner of life to the best of their strength, how much pardon would this practice deserve? Or what defense will those who, after their holy monastic promise, have engaged in such practices make to the implacable, fearsome judge? How can they enrich themselves while others in the world are poor and worn out by the deprivation of necessities?

For these reasons, my majesty wishes [p. 785] that at the end of each single year everything that remains in the possession of this revered monastery be given for the ransom of prisoners, for

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the support of orphans, for the lawful joining of destitute maidens in the bond of marriage, as the superior and the leading brothers shall determine. If things are done in this way, my majesty still trusts in God that in place of these moneys you shall receive a hundred-fold for each, my brothers in the Lord, and you shall inherit eternal life (Matt. 19:29; Mark 10:30).

[10.] The diet of the monks

“The ordinances of the monasteries in Palestine form the model for the nourishment of the monks for all time.”

Since it has already been made clear¹⁵ that the *Typikon* of Jerusalem is also in force in this revered monastery and it has been so decreed by my majesty above, one must attend to the diet of the monks as prescribed therein. This must be strictly observed on the other days and also on Saturday, on Sunday, on the feasts of my Lord and Savior Christ, of his most pure Mother, the ever virgin and Mother of God, my Lady, and of all his genuine servants, the continual allies and helpers of my majesty. Nonetheless the superior has authority to relax the strict interpretation, and there may be occasions when he has to excuse the monks. He will give way a bit to one who appears ill. He will cheer up another who is worn out by age. He will lighten the labor of another who has worked hard in one of the public services of the monastery. So much for these matters.

When the brotherhood takes nourishment all disturbance and all noise should be far removed while they are eating or performing their services. Let strict silence be observed, so that everyone may listen with understanding and be receptive and attentive to the reading as [if it were] a full-course spiritual banquet. As bread is to the body, so to the soul is the word of the God-inspired Scripture. My Lord Christ, the bread of life which came down from heaven, confirms this thought (John 6:35–41). “[Man shall not live] by bread alone,” he says, “but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God” (Matt. 4:4) Indeed, “let not him who eats abundantly despise him who abstains, and let not him who abstains pass judgment on him who eats,” as the holy apostle says (Rom. 14:3). But let both of them give thanks to God, the one because he has had his fill, the other because of the grace granted to him. As they leave the table, let all depart in silence. Let one go off to his own cell and his handiwork, and another to the duties incumbent upon him. The above suffices concerning the diet of the monks. [p. 786]

[11.] Solitaries and their dwellings

“The solitaries use force against what is on high; you, superior of the monastery, take care of their needs below.”

My majesty wishes the cells for the solitaries to be subject to the monastery and that they should always remain as cells for the solitaries. These should only be men eager for solitude, lovers of being alone, who have given proof of venerable conduct, of an excellent way of life, rejoicing in the simplicity of Christ. Let them not be crafty, full of guile, and keeping their disposition hidden, such as some who are found in irons and wearing sackcloth or wrapping themselves about with sheepskins, hiding as “the wolf in sheep’s clothing” according to the proverb.

For some of the solitaries in their cells it is recommended that they receive everything they need in the line of clothing and footwear from the monastery gratuitously, and without any sort of remuneration at all being accepted. As much as possible, therefore, the monastery will not be

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burdened by debts in their regard, nor will the solitaries be troubled at all on the part of the monastery. But the grace deriving from love will be shown to each other, and an excellent course of life and voluntary sharing. By the law of nature man is a being living in common, and by the Lord's command each one is urged to share what he has with the one who does not have (Luke 3:11). If, at any rate, these recommendations are followed, neither side will be troubled by any additional burden or scandal. It is possible for the superior to settle many monks in the solitary cells if the monastery prospers and possesses enough to be able to do this.

[12. Receiving laymen and women]

“Without trial let no one be tonsured. All women should be kept far from the monastery.”

My majesty is insistent that those who come from the lay state to the monastic manner of life and who have the hair they wore in the world cut off in this monastery ought not to be received straightaway and without strict probation. This is to prevent a mischievous man or one of evil ways from being received. Aided by the evil one, his very presence would introduce corruption among the brothers. This is indeed the way of Satan, to sneak evil into the good obliquely, as weeds among the wheat, as thorns among the vines, as a ravening wolf among the sheep. Just like these is a troublesome man in the spiritual assembly. [p. 787] Care must therefore be had in putting the [novice's] rags on anyone before getting to know what he is like by time and experience. Have him brought in with the brothers and let him remain, wearing his customary garments for a period of at least six months. In that amount of time a fairly good, if not complete, estimate of the man's character can be formed. He can then be clothed with the monastic habit or sent away in peace without being approved. He was hospitably received into probation; after his trial he was hospitably sent forth, but nonetheless separated from the community as a brother. The one who has been chosen must be exercised in every service in the community, no matter what sort of secular dignity or position he held. For all the precious things of the world are little or nothing compared to the magnificent poverty of Christ.

Women may not be admitted into the monastery at all in order to worship in the church or for any other reason, unless they are pious ladies who are related to the Christ-loving emperors who may succeed us in inheriting the imperial scepter, although they must leave the same day, by no means staying behind in the monastery.

[13. Commemorations]

“Let the commemorations for the blessed founders and for the monks be fervently performed.”

My majesty's blessed grandfather and grandmother, the late *megas doux*, Lord Alexios, who on taking the holy, angelic habit was renamed Antony the monk, and his wife, the Lady Irene Komnene, who on taking the monastic robe changed her name to Eugenia, and my majesty's revered parents, the late *megas domestikos* Lord Andronikos, who on taking the great, angelic habit was renamed Arsenios the monk, and my majesty's mother Lady Theodora Komnene, who after her monastic profession was called Theodosia the nun, shall receive now and in the future, as long as this revered monastery remains by the grace of God and the protection of his genuine servant, the supreme commander of the heavenly powers, the customary daily remembrance with the *trisagion* and the rest of the psalmody.¹⁶ On the ninth of November let the commemoration for

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these be celebrated together carefully and befitting the founders. Let there be candelabra with twelve candleholders and two large tapers. Let forty *hyperpera* be expended for these, for the purchase of wax and other necessities and for distribution. There shall also be a refreshment at table in the form of lighter bread than usual and choice wines. [p. 788] There should be distribution at the gate in the form of bread, wine, and coins as the superior shall decide and order.

A great proof of brotherly love is to hold annual commemorations for the departed. Not only ought the brothers to help and support one another while they are alive, but they ought to show similar favor to those who have died and to keep them in remembrance. This benefits the souls of the departed, as we have learned from various writings, and it is a pledge that we too shall share in the same remembrance and benefit. He who does not lie has said: "The measure you give will be the measure you get back" (Matt. 7:2; Mark 4:24).

Let the obligatory commemoration of the dead be celebrated first in connection with the funeral service for each one according to the prevailing custom, then on the third day, the ninth, and the fortieth. In the evening the commemoration should include the *kollyba* and the canon of the dead, and on the next day a more complete memorial service should be held with the *kollyba* and the liturgy.

Let two identical panels of diptychs contain the names of the brothers which have been inscribed thereon for the sake of remembrance by the various superiors or ecclesiarchs. Let one copy be kept in the library of the monastery and the other in the care of the ecclesiarch. No one will be permitted to add any other name at all to the list of brothers to be commemorated without the knowledge and approval of the superior. My majesty consents and agrees that a woman may be commemorated in the monastery, but prohibits and absolutely forbids that one be buried there.

We decree that the present *typikon* of my majesty be read twelve times in the year at table while the brothers are eating, that is, on the first day of each month except in November, when it should be read on the day the founders are commemorated.

[14. The patronal feast]

"Sing the hymn for the first of the feasts, the feast day of the angels, then for the strange wonder at Chonai."¹⁷

The principal feast is to be the splendid office of the supreme commander Michael and the other incorporeal powers. According to the prevailing custom this falls on the eighth of November. In the evening [before] the monks shall keep vigil all night performing the entire service harmoniously. Let candles be lit in a festive manner on the *templon* and [before the icons which] are to be venerated. In the middle of the nave set up four candelabra with twelve candleholders. In addition, have free-standing incense bowls giving off aromatic odors. A magnificent banquet, moreover, is to be prepared at table [p. 789] with fare corresponding to the feast, including bread lighter than the ordinary and choice wines.

On this feast too the superior ought to call the other brothers from the other monasteries.¹⁸ They ought to join together with the other psalm singers in the psalmody. In a spiritual manner they will concelebrate the holy feast with a joy pleasing to God. On this occasion, of course, they shall spend fifty *hyperpera* for the purchase of candles, of food, and of choice wine, and for the

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distribution at the gate. They shall keep all these in mind, as the superior may determine, and so do something dear to God, to the supreme commander of his immaterial forces Michael, and, speaking respectfully, also to my majesty.

On the sixth of September the miracle of the supreme commander Michael which took place in Chonai shall be celebrated. Not only should all the brothers present [in the monastery] come together to celebrate this feast, but also the solitaries of the monastery. On this feast twelve *hyperpera* should be spent on the purchase of candles, on food and wine, and on corresponding items for the distribution at the gate. These words are sufficient concerning the feasts.

[15. Allocution to future rulers]

“Princes crowned by God, listen to me and bring what I ask of you to its fulfillment.”

At this moment my words must be directed to you, Christ-loving emperors, who shall succeed and inherit the imperial scepters after us. It is our earnest request that you whom we love in Christ ought to listen to what we have to say and put it into practice, for it is just and pleasing to God. How many benefactions, therefore, my majesty has enjoyed from God through the supreme commander of his immaterial servants have already, although numerous, been rapidly summarized and written down in the preface as though on a tablet. Even in this document we have inscribed as on unerasable tablets only partial accounts, for if my majesty were to spin these out at greater length, time would fail us, and even the incentive to write. His many great gifts have enabled us to preserve undiminished what we have inherited from the blessed emperors before us and to acquire more which had not even been ours, all of which we, let it be said, with God’s help have transmitted to you. For these gifts we have offered extremely little in return to his highest power. Among these we have established the monastery [dedicated] to the leader of his immaterial ministers, adorned it properly to the best of our ability, and gathered together a company of revered monks, making provision for them to be self-sufficient. [p. 790] You too are obligated to take to yourselves this offering of ours to the divinity, to continue to foster it, and to improve it in a royal and truly fitting manner.

If then these things were begun in gratitude for God’s benefactions to me, and they have now been handed on to you, who are our successors and heirs in the imperial rule, then what we have dedicated to God is surely also to your benefit. Moreover, we have not emptied out vast sums from the imperial [treasury] for this revered monastery. We have not allocated populous villages to it, or extensive farm lands or fertile and fruitful fields, proving thereby that the imperial majesty rules and does as it wills, for in time some person might allege this as an excuse to begin to hack away at it and cause irreparable damage. But we have made thorough plans that it shall have solid possession of as much as an intelligent person might reasonably judge a fair return for a favor, or which could even be regarded as a recompense for our struggles and daily labors on behalf of Romania, those undertaken with God’s help before our imperial [accession] and those we continued after [attaining] the rule.

From the first hour, as they say, we were raised in the imperial court so as to obtain a good education, a matter not easily attainable, especially without intense and constant toil. But when we were well into our eighteenth year,¹⁹ as God furnished me with the strength—if I have to boast, according to the holy apostle, I shall boast in the Lord (cf. I Cor. 1:31), so that his works

may be magnified in me—we were clothed with a tunic of scale armor, we placed an iron helmet on our head, and we bent our arm to hold a long spear, and we put a warrior’s shield over our shoulder. I was appointed as commander and at various times, with God’s help, in both East and West directed an army of many men. There were battles against the Mysians [Bulgarians] and at other times against the Triballians [Serbians], as well as against our own fellow-Romans²⁰ whose hostile machinations against us knew no bounds. At other times we clashed with the Persians [Turks] and with the haughty Latins, the tyrants, [then] ruling over Constantinople. We then returned to the palace and eagerly and loyally continued to perform the various services imposed on us. I spent nights in deliberations, especially from the time when I was designated as chief of the senate. I spent days out in the sun so that what had been approved in the council might be successfully carried out in deed. Sometimes speed was required while at other times circumstances or the season of the year compelled [us to move] slowly.

But envy, which the ancients believed followed men as shadows follow their bodies, soon appeared and pulled taut its special bow, aiming at us to shoot bitter arrows in the dark (cf. Ps. 10 [11]:2). It would quickly have done something terrible, if the Lord had not [p. 791] become my protector and my refuge (cf. II Kings 22:3). God is my help; in him I have hoped. I must, as is fitting, sing the verse of the psalm. “I have not feared the terror of the night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor of the evil thing that walks in darkness” (Ps. 90 [91]:5–6). I had, therefore, to leave my native land, that of the Romans, I mean, and I fled to a foreign country.²¹ I entered Persian [Turkish] territory, facing many dangers along the way, it should be noted, from all of which I was rescued by God. I remained for quite a while with the ruler of the Persians.²² There I often led a contingent of our Persian enemies nobly into battle against the Attarioi [Mongols]. This people migrated from lands to the East not a long time ago. They have been raised to war, gladly shed blood, and are spirited like a herd of cattle. Borne along by the situation and yielding to necessity, I endured. What was accomplished there let others say. I feel no obligation to speak about such things myself. But I shall sum up everything by saying just one thing, and let the all-watching eye [of God] be witness to my words. During the time I spent in Persia I engaged in absolutely nothing, in word, in deed, in plot, or in attempt against the ruler of the Romans at that time, the blessed late emperor, my cousin [Theodore II Laskaris] or against the realm of the Romans. Rather, with God’s help, I intended and carried out in practice only what would benefit them. The spirit of envy soon dissipated and in a short time I left Persia and again returned to the land of the Romans, subjected myself to the ruler and again loyally performed the services he commanded. These things then happened before I became emperor.²³

What came after that as, guided by the Lord’s right hand, we attained the summit of imperial power? His might worked wondrously in me. Practically everyone who lives in these recent times, of various fortune, age, or dignity, are my most truthful witnesses in the Lord and my crown of boasting. “I did not give sleep to my eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, nor rest to my temples” (Ps. 131 [132]:4). I did not rest my buttocks upon the imperial bench until the time when, by a variety of actions, I had driven away from the Roman lands the lustful, greedy enemies raging with barbaric spirit and delusion, their head raised against us, their heel lifted up. They had eaten the bread of the Romans and lifted their heel against them (Ps. 40 [41]:10). Those Latins dashed out of Constantinople like the “progeny of flying asps”—for here too it is appropriate to quote the

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prophet (Is. 30:6)—feeding on the region near by and very close, as well as far away, inland and on the coast.²⁴ I shook [them] off as chaff from the [p. 792] threshing floor of the Romans in the summer. These men who drove my own people from their homes could find no place at all to dwell. Well done! Well done! Leading us and fighting on our behalf was the hand of God which Isaiah calls “mighty,” for the reason, I believe, that it strikes down the insolent.²⁵ With [the guidance of] God who connects bones and joints (cf. Ezek. 37:7), I made the empire strong and sound of limb. As much as was in my power I expanded its borders. Because of this it now enjoys peace, the nurse of children, within and about it, and right to the present it instills fear in all its enemies. May it always increase and grow stronger, God and Lord of mercy.

Since, therefore, it is I who have led the struggle on behalf of the Romans, I who because of human weakness bear the heavy burden of so many sins on my soul, for the expiation of which I have presented this small offering to God, I ask you too, God-loving emperors, to cherish it. I ask that you take care to preserve it inviolable, without making any innovations, whether in time it happens to prosper and increase or falls into decline and suffers deterioration and the last steps toward the worst. For what contribution could the monastery make to the public treasury or how could it augment the repository of imperial funds? For what nobleman’s upkeep would [its revenues] be sufficient or how would they increase the daily rations of the soldiers, or anything else of the sort? Even if there were such, it is still necessary that what has been dedicated to God be preserved in its entirety without any diminution, unless of course a person regards the charge of sacrilege as of small account, rather than harmful and dangerous to one’s soul.²⁶

Since we have assumed the imperial rule we have honored and confirmed the donations made in the chrysobulls of the revered emperors, our predecessors, to monasteries, churches, cities, rulers, and other persons in very similar terms.²⁷ With God’s help we have added to many of them. We request that that principle be observed regarding our own judgments which we have observed in dealing with those made by others. We ourselves have not wavered in observing the law which has come down to us, inasmuch as it is an excellent one and bears the profound venerability of age, and we recommend and we urge that our successors also observe it. We request that our small offering which we presented as a perfect sacrifice to God remain unaltered and unshaken, lest, as falling short of the law or as sacrificial animals which have lost their tails or ears and thus prove unacceptable, they may be disregarded by God (Lev. 22:23). Moreover, we desire this monastery which we have lit up as a lamp from the burning fervor of our heart to the supreme commander Michael, to the second and great light [p. 793] after the first and greatest light to remain forever, and such is our prayer from the depths of our soul, comforted by the oil of the good deeds of you our heirs and successors in the imperial rule, my sons as Scripture would have it. May this light, this brilliant lamp, escort my majesty and you to the tents of the just (cf. Luke 16:19) and illuminate the entrance to that most holy country, I mean the divine paradise. As “sons of the day” (I Thess. 5:5), and illuminated by the light of holy baptism as well as by our imperial anointing, may we be worthy to see that day which is not followed by night.

[16. Allocution to the Patriarch]²⁸

“Venerable excellency, Patriarch, with God’s help enforce the rule of the monastery.”

Now that my majesty has addressed all these words to the Christ-loving emperors, I direct my

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discourse to you who preside in the position of principal overseer, I mean the patriarchal throne of the renowned queen of cities. I place [these words] as a sort of holy confirmation upon the present document and even a most fitting conclusion to it. How many and what kind of benefactions God, the “king of kings” (I Tim. 6:15), has conferred upon my majesty, and how in return for so many good things we apportioned a small gift to him by raising up the revered monastery honored with the name of the supreme commander of the powers above, your virtuous self may learn about in detail from what we have briefly recalled in the preface and in the allocution to the emperors.

Since, therefore, it is customary and proper for those erecting monasteries and settling a community of monks in them to establish, in addition to other things, very capable protectors for them, which is exactly what my majesty is doing. Indeed, knowing full well that spiritual matters must by no means be referred to those who are concerned with bodily matters, it is to your virtuous self, to whom belongs spiritual authority, and whose constant care and aim is to be concerned about the salvation of souls, that my majesty makes this request. Please recall our struggles on behalf of the Romans which we recounted in the above chapters.²⁹ As from God, from whom everything comes, it was by our strenuous labors that you without trouble were seated upon the throne of Constantinople and that you are acclaimed by all, not only your own, but by strangers and foreigners, [p. 794] specifically and by name as patriarch of Constantinople. The patriarchs who preceded you outside the queen of cities were named by some as “Patriarch of Nicaea” and by others as “Patriarch of the province of Bithynia,” just as the most devout and truly blessed emperors who ruled before us were at times called simply “alleged rulers of Romania” or at times emperors, but not of all the Romans but only of those to the East. A person might not believe what we have been saying if he had no knowledge of the driveling of the Latins, their iron, unbending neck, if he did not know the terrible raging against us of the apostates who are of the same Roman race as we, all these faithless enemies, savage beasts, all but breathing destruction against Romania.

If not for other reasons, at least for those just mentioned, accord us this favor and protect this monastery and all its possessions in accord with the present decree of guardianship of my majesty. Indeed, not only this but, if necessary, recall these matters to the various rulers who shall be the heirs and successors of my majesty. Remind them of its founding and the contributions made to have the monastery prosper, and to guard all the possessions of the monastery as absolutely inalienable down to the smallest one which in any way has been included. In short, call upon them to show constant mercy to this monastery and to keep the monks from disturbance and distraction. Living in peace and solitude, therefore, they may pray on behalf of my soul and those of the Christ-loving emperors, for your virtuous self, and for the entire assemblage of people bearing the name of Christ.

You must know that if you do not carry out these matters as set down, you shall have to render an account to my majesty in the fearful day of judgment. You will have to explain why you did not choose to carry out the most reasonable request of a religious emperor and, by the grace of Christ, an orthodox one, who has also, as noted, bestowed great favor upon you. [But if you do carry out] everything, you will receive in return from the supreme commander of the powers above a substantial reward and a gift many times larger.

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[17. Inventory]

“Although few, nevertheless the monastery’s possessions must be listed here in detail.”

[Missing Chapter]

Notes on the Translation

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

1. Andronikos Palaiologos and Theodora Komnene; see [13] below and (38) *Kellibara I* [2].
2. A discreet allusion to the author’s successful usurpation of the throne in 1259. [GD]
3. The reference is to the battle of Pelagonia in 1259 in which Michael’s brother, the *sebastokrator* John Palaiologos, captured the Prince of Achaea, William II Villehardouin (1246–78), and other Latin nobles; see Deno Geanakoplos, “Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia—1259,” *DOP* 7 (1953), 99–141, and (38) *Kellibara I* [7].
4. A reference to the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins by Michael’s general Alexios Strategopoulos on July 25, 1261; see also [15] below and (38) *Kellibara I* [8].
5. Not in the Septuagint. [GD]
6. Impossible to identify with certainty in the absence of firm evidence for dating the *typikon*. If an early date is proposed, this might be Arsenios Autoreianos (1261–65); if the traditional dating of the document is preferred, this might be John IX Bekkos (1275–82); see also [16] below.
7. Sites of the heroic era of Egyptian monasticism in late antiquity. [GD]
8. For Michael’s paternal grandfather, see [13] below and Pargoire, “Saint-Auxence,” p. 455.
9. For *esti d’hon* read *esti d’hote*. [GD]
10. Cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [30].
11. Cf. (32) *Mamas* [43] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [42].
12. See the introductions to (12) *Tzimiskes*, (15) *Constantine IX*, and (59) *Manuel II* for the exercise of this imperial prerogative.
13. A sixth-century monk of Asia Minor cited by John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 720, as a model of obedience. [GD]
14. Cf. the same sentiment in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16].
15. In [8] above.
16. For Michael’s family, see Alexander Kazhdan, “Palaiologos,” *ODB*, pp. 1557–60.
17. For this miracle by St. Michael, see A. Weyl Carr and N. P. Ševčenko, “Chonai, Miracle at,” *ODB*, p. 427.
18. Cf. (31) *Areia* [T12].
19. 1242 or 1243; cf. (38) *Kellibara I* [4].
20. Probably a reference to Michael II Komnenos Doukas (1230–66/68), despot of Epiros, and his uncle Theodore Doukas, the former emperor of Thessalonike (1225–30).
21. 1256; see Geanakoplos, *Michael VIII*, pp. 26–32.
22. Perhaps Kilij-Arslan IV (1248–65), the Seljuk sultan of Rum.
23. In 1258.
24. A reference to the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins on July 25, 1261; see also [1] above.
25. Or “upraised”: Isaiah 5:25; 9:12; 14:27 et al. [GD]
26. Cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19] and related documents.
27. See Rouillard, “Politique.”
28. Impossible to identify with certainty; see [1] above with note.
29. In [1] and [15] above.

Document Notes

- [1] Founder's motivations; foundation history. See also [15] below and the even more elaborate autobiographical introduction to the author's (38) *Kellibara I* [1] ff.
- [2] Independent status; rights of the metropolitan of Chalcedon. Among thirteenth-century documents, (34) *Machairas* [21], (35) *Skoteine* [20], (36) *Blemmydes* [1], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], and (40) *Anargyroi* [3] also assert institutional independence. For the rights of the local hierarchy in documents of this century, see (34) *Machairas* [9], [16], [19], [20], [140]; (35) *Skoteine* [16], [17], [20]; (35) *Blemmydes* [1]; (38) *Kellibara I* [15]; (39) *Lips* [1]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12], [15].
- [3] Election of the superior. Cf. the language and provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] and related documents; see also contemporary provisions in (38) *Kellibara I* [18] and (39) *Lips* [5]. For the eligibility of outside candidates for the superiorship, see (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], and (35) *Skoteine* [17].
- [4] Exhortation to the superior. Cf. (38) *Kellibara I* [18]; for the form if not the content of this chapter, see (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents as well as (45) *Neophytos* [15]. For the rationalization of inequality, see also (39) *Lips* [14] and (52) *Choumnos* [B20].
- [5] Address to the monks: no private possessions; correction of the superior; no quarreling over positions or special friendships. Cf. similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [14], [16], [22], [42] and related documents.
- [6] Number of monks. See also discussions of limitations set in (38) *Kellibara I* [17], (39) *Lips* [4], (40) *Anargyroi* [6], and (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C16].
- [7] Officials of the monastery and their duties; communal wardrobe; equality in food and drink; lifetime tenure of office. See discussions of these officials in (34) *Machairas* [80], [96], [100] and in (39) *Lips* [24], [25]. For the communal wardrobe, see (34) *Machairas* [102], [103] and (39) *Lips* [36]. For the periodic rotation of work assignments elsewhere, see (20) *Black Mountain* [78] and (39) *Lips* [17]. For lifetime tenure of office, see (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents.
- [8] Regulation of psalmody. For the endorsement of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas in other thirteenth-century documents, see (35) *Skoteine* [12], (39) *Lips* [30], and (45) *Neophytos* [12], [C4].
- [9] Financial administration. Cf. arrangements in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], (32) *Mamas* [10], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10], (34) *Machairas* [100], and (39) *Lips* [22], [23]. For the prohibition on storing up wealth, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [21].
- [10] Diet of the monks. For the endorsement of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, see [8] above with cross-references to other documents; for refectory procedures, see (22) *Evergetis* [9]; for the superior's dietary discretion for the sick, see (22) *Evergetis* [10]; for additional self-imposed dietary restrictions, see (20) *Black Mountain* [72], (36) *Blemmydes* [11], and (45) *Neophytos* [C4].
- [11] Relations with hesychasts. Cf. arrangements for solitaries in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24]. For similarly tolerant sentiments towards alternatives to cenobiticism in other thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [152] and (45) *Neophytos* [17] (missing).
- [12] Length of novitiate; exclusion of women except members of the imperial family. For the novitiate, see provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents. For the exclusion of women, see (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39] and related documents; cf. terms for the exclusion of men in (27) *Kecharitomene* [80].
- [13] Commemoration of the founders and departed monks; no burial of women; reading of the *typikon*. For these commemorations in thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [154], [157]; (35) *Skoteine* [9], [10]; (39) *Lips* [30], [52]; (40) *Anargyroi* [6]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12]. For burial restrictions elsewhere, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [76], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [86], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2]; for reading of the *typikon*, see (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents, (39) *Lips* [8], (55) *Athanasios I* [8], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [120], (58) *Menoikeion* [9], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].
- [14] Celebration of patronal feasts. Cf. provisions in other thirteenth-century documents: (34) *Machairas* [27], [29]; (35) *Skoteine* [19]; and (39) *Lips* [37], [38].
- [15] Appeal to future rulers. For other arguments against the annulment of a founder's *typikon*, see (39) *Lips* [1] and (40) *Anargyroi* [1].

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- [16] Appointment of the patriarch as guardian. Cf. the much more limited patriarchal role in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [111] as well as the broad claims for patriarchal rights of oversight in (55) *Athanasios I* [9].
- [17] Inventory of landed properties. Missing, but cf. other such inventories in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 9], (27) *Kecharitomene* Appendix A, (28) *Pantokrator* [65], (35) *Skoteine* [31] ff., and (39) *Lips* [44] ff.