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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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38. *Kellibara I: Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople

Date: 1282¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Henri Grégoire, “Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua,” *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60), 447–76, with text at 447–74.

Manuscript: Moscow, State Historical Museum, graecus 363, fols. 440r–447r (14th c.)

Other translations: French ([1]–[14] only) by Grégoire, “De vita sua,” pp. 448–70; French ([2]–[12] only), by Conrad Chapman, *Michel Paléologue, restaurateur de l’Empire byzantin (1261–1282)* (Paris, 1926), pp. 167–77; Russian, by I. G. Troitskii, *Autobiographia imperatora Mikhaila Paleologa* (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 21–43.

Institutional History

A. Prior History of the Kellibara Monastery

The older of the two institutions being joined into one foundation in this document was the Monastery of the Mother of God *Acheiropoietos* “not painted by human hands” (probably a reference to its patronal icon) or Kellibara. It was located at the modern Jediler, close to medieval Herakleia and to the south of the summit of Mount Latros, site of the Monastery of the Mother of God *tou Stylou* for which Paul the Younger wrote (7) *Latros* back in the tenth century.² Kellibara’s origins are unknown, but the monastery was already in existence, supposedly populated by refugee monks from Mount Sinai, before Paul began his own community on Latros ca. 920–930. Kellibara was apparently a mixed community of cenobitic monks and solitaries, like Paul’s foundation and Athanasios’ Lavra monastery on Mount Athos.³

A certain Methodios was superior of Kellibara in 1049 when he assisted in a patriarchal inquest over the property rights of Paul’s Stylos monastery.⁴ In the thirteenth century, the superiors of Kellibara and Paul’s Stylos monastery hotly disputed the right to the archimandritical authority over the monasteries of the Latros confederacy.⁵ Patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1216/17–22) removed this honor from Kellibara and bestowed it on Stylos, but his successor Germanos II (1223–40) annulled this decision by providing that Kellibara should reclaim the archimandritical authority after the death of the current incumbent from Stylos. Yet Stylos seems to have provided the next archimandrite anyway. There was also an active scriptorium and library at Kellibara in the thirteenth century.⁶

The despot John Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII, is recorded [17] in the *typikon* as the donor of a property (location uncertain) on which the Kellibarene monks built a church and a monastic dependency. John represented the imperial government in this region of Asia Minor until his death in 1274.⁷ Janin (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 231) supposed that Kellibara fell to the

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Turks shortly after John's death, i.e., even before the issuance of the *typikon* in 1282, but the neighboring Stylos monastery is attested as late as 1360.⁸

B. Prior History of the Monastery of St. Demetrios

According to the *typikon* itself, a church of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi, the newer of the two institutions united in this document, was founded [12] by Michael VIII's prominent ancestor, George Palaiologos, a general of the early Komnenian era who played a major role in Alexios I Komnenos' seizure of power in 1081.⁹ His foundation of St. Demetrios, which is not otherwise attested, probably took place in the early twelfth century after the end of his military career. The *typikon* charges [12] the Latin occupiers of Constantinople with razing this foundation to the ground, supposedly out of personal spite for its founder.

C. Creation of the New Unified Foundation

Unlike the foundation described in (37) *Auxentios*, which Michael VIII apparently endowed with public resources, the new joint foundation of St. Demetrios-Kellibara probably received its support through the device of union (*henosis*) with the surviving assets of the old Kellibara monastery. That monastery's monks feared [13] the Turks would soon overrun the site of their original foundation, but they retained [17] a considerable number of dependencies in Constantinople and its vicinity as well as in Prousa (Bursa) and Nicaea. Their need for resettlement coincided with the emperor's plans to add a monastery to the church of St. Demetrios, and evidently they were able to trade their remaining assets through an administrative union with St. Demetrios for a new, more secure home in the capital.

D. Subsequent History

The foundation reappears in 1315, when the ordained monk Theodore, perhaps its superior, was condemned by the patriarchal synod and deposed.¹⁰ In a much later patriarchal act of 1400, the foundation is described as an "imperial and patriarchal" monastery.¹¹ Perhaps by then the foundation had lost the independent status that is claimed for it in the present *typikon* [15]; it might have become a public institution even before 1315. The administrative reorganization may have led to the issuance of (56) *Kellibara II* by Michael VIII's son and successor Andronikos II (1282–1328), as either a replacement or supplement to the present document.

On his visit to Constantinople, perhaps in 1349, the Russian traveler Stephen of Novgorod describes the foundation as an imperial monastery and records his veneration of the body of "the holy Emperor Laskariasaf."¹² Ihor Ševčenko has suggested that this is a corrupted form of Joasaph, a possible monastic name of the deposed emperor John IV Laskaris, who may have been buried at the foundation as part of a reconciliation between the supporters of the new and the old imperial dynasties promoted by Andronikos II in 1284.¹³ The names of two of the foundation's later superiors are known, both of whom served as ambassadors for John VIII Palaiologos: Isidore, the future metropolitan of Kiev, who is attested in 1433, and a Gregory, in 1448.¹⁴ This makes it likely that the foundation survived down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

Majeska (*Russian Travelers*, p. 267) locates the site of the foundation near the sea walls "between the port of Contoscalion and the Jewish Gate at Vlanga, near the old port of Eleutherius."

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No remains have been identified. At Kellibara's site in southwestern Turkey, however, Wiegand uncovered considerable ruins at the turn of the century that were as imposing as those of the neighboring Stylos monastery.¹⁵

Analysis

A. Importance of the Document

Previously, this document has attracted attention in the guise of the "Autobiography" of its author, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, but despite the unusually lengthy elaboration in the first eleven chapters of the personal element in the customary foundation history, this is in fact a founder's *typikon*, the manuscript of which abruptly terminates in the middle of [18]. It is important for its exposition of the hereditary obligations of patronage, which the emperor has acknowledged through his reconstruction of the church of St. Demetrios erected in Constantinople two centuries earlier by his ancestor George Palaiologos. This document, along with its predecessors (5) *Euthymios* [1] and (19) *Attaleiates* [12], is also useful for its illustration of the mechanism of union by which two monasteries or other religious foundations were joined—theoretically on equal terms—into one new foundation.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

The emperor fixes [17] the number of monks at the principal monastery of the new foundation at thirty-six, of which fifteen were to be literate monks devoted to performance of liturgical services while the remaining twenty-one monks were to provide the necessary supportive services.

In each of the foundation's seventeen dependencies, many of which were quite small, one of the monks was also a priest, except for the two which had sub-dependencies, which must have needed more priests to handle services. The total number of monks reported to be in the dependencies is eighty-one, which added to the thirty-six at the main monastery falls twenty-one short of the one hundred thirty-eight reckoned by the emperor himself; perhaps the refugee monks from Kellibara accounted for the difference.

2. Other Disciplinary Matters

Additional information about the daily lives of the monks of this foundation at a later stage of its existence can be found in (56) *Kellibara II*.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Free and Self-Governing Status

The emperor grants [15] the foundation free and self-governing status. Lest the same fate overtake the newly created foundation as the old Kellibara monastery, he takes the precaution of specifically exempting it from being joined to another monastery, a church, hospital, or home for the elderly.

2. The Protectorate

The emperor designates [16] himself as the monastery's guardian (*ephoros*) "so that the indepen-

dence of the monastery may be maintained and it may not be subject to harassment.” He provides that his successors on the throne will inherit “the care and responsibilities of a founder,” just as he himself has done from his ancestor George Palaiologos.

3. Leadership

The emperor declares [15] the monastery’s superior “together with the rest of the community” competent to administer all the material and spiritual affairs of the foundation, subject only to the regulations in the *typikon*. As he did also in (37) *Auxentios* [4], the emperor indicates [18] his preference that the superior should rule his community by “persuasion, not force.”

The monastery’s officials, including the treasurer, the cellarer, and the baker, were to be appointed [17] by the superior. The *typikon* was also to govern the lives of the monks in the 17 dependencies and the two sub-dependencies subordinated to the new foundation: the emperor instructs that they too “must bring themselves into line with it in every respect.”

4. Election of the Superior

The emperor leaves [18] the choice of the superior up to the community. The text breaks off as the emperor seems to be about to provide the protector with a role in either installing the new superior or, perhaps, resolving disputed elections (cf. (37) *Auxentios* [3]).

5. Patronal Privileges

As benefits of his patronage, Michael VIII asserts [16] that a future emperor will receive the assistance of St. Demetrios as a mediator with the Almighty and as a protector in combat; God will also be disposed to honor his requests and favor him with salvation. The implication then is that no material privileges were to be expected, but note the protector’s possible role [18] in the election or installation of the superior.

D. Financial Matters

There is no direct discussion of financial matters in the portion of the *typikon* that has survived, nor is there any in (56) *Kellibara II*. Presumably the Kellibarene dependencies had endowed properties that made them valuable bargaining chips for the reconstitution of the Kellibara community within the framework of the union with the St. Demetrios monastery.

E. External Relations

The emperor explicitly denies [15] the patriarch any rights of overlordship over the foundation, including any right of spiritual correction that he may have conceded to the metropolitan of Chalcedon in (37) *Auxentios* [3]. Instead, the patriarch was to be content with liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*) and registration in the sacred diptychs.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Since the *typikon* mentions the outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers against Charles of Anjou on March 30, 1282, in [9], it must have been composed between that date and Michael VIII’s death on December 11 of that same year; see Troitskii, *Autobiographia*, p. 45.
2. For the location, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 231.

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3. *Vita S. Pauli Iunioris* 8–10, ed. H. Delehay, “Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in monte Latro,” *AB* 11 (1892), pp. 34–37.
4. MM 4.315–17 (1049).
5. Act of Manuel I (1222), ed. MM 4.295–98 = Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1231, confirmed by John III Vatatzes, ed. MM 6.429–30 = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1712, and Act of Germanos II (n.d.), ed. MM 4.298–300 = Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1295, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 230.
6. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 230–31, and Volk, “Klosterbibliotheken,” pp. 163–66.
7. Pachymeres, 6.20, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymèrès, Relations historiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), p. 591.
8. See (7) *Latros* Institutional History.
9. See B. Skoulatos, *Les Personnages byzantins de l’Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 99–105.
10. Act of John XIII Glykys (1315), ed. MM 1.42 = Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2053.
11. Act of Matthew I (1400), ed. MM 2.325–26 = Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3091.
12. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 267.
13. I. Ševčenko, “Notes on Stephen, The Novgorodian Pilgrim to Constantinople in the XIV Century,” *SF* 12 (1953), 165–75, at 173–75.
14. Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 3430 and 3515.
15. Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Der Latmos* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 25–29.

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Translation

1. “Lord my God, I will glorify thee.” Now is the fitting time for my majesty to recite the sublime words of Isaiah: “Lord my God, I will sing hymns to thy name, for thou hast done wonderful things for me” (Is. 25:1). You have magnified your mercy toward your servant and you have been lavish with your compassion. Lord, is there even one of those things which your merciful heart had done for me that does not surpass the very notion of miracle? Right from my birth you honor me with your own hands. You create me from nothing, and you create me according to your image and likeness. Together with my soul you place within me reason and intelligence, capable of finding the noblest things and of guiding me toward knowledge of you. You honor me with free will and you order me to rule over all creatures on earth. You fashioned me, a man that is, as a

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sovereign nature truly in imitation of you, the only God and lord. But these benefactions are common to the entire race. Everyone partakes of them. Every human being is well aware of these and professes gratitude for these gifts and gives praise to the creator.

But to list what I in a special manner, apart from the others, have received from your providence, one could more easily count the grains of sand by the sea and the drops of rain than draw up such a list. For some men may boast of an illustrious family or wealth. Others may be admired because they have sired valiant sons, others because of their influence with emperors. Others have been outstanding because of their military leadership and trophies of battle. While some have been privileged to possess one of these qualities, others have sometimes possessed several. But [as] for me, why should I not speak [p. 449] the truth, for it is known to all? In talking of these matters I am not simply bragging about myself or being proud or ostentatious. I am not boasting as a man usually does, but I am doing it in the Lord so as not to hide in silence the great deeds of God. On the contrary I shall relate them fully not to praise myself but to glorify the creator. But for me God has heaped together all those things which individually would have made a person illustrious.

2. Let me begin straightaway with my parents.¹ My father can trace his family to ancestors who were related by marriage to emperors and empresses, whereas my mother traces hers directly to emperors.² From far back then God established our illustrious family and laid the foundations for my present rule. For the moment I pass over my maternal and clearly imperial ancestry. Concerning my father's side, the Palaiologos family, investigation shows that their ancient noble repute only increased with time, and that the fathers continuously handed on to their sons a greater repute than they had received. As to how the members of the family placed the prosperity to be found here below second to their concern about living in a manner pleasing to God which would lead them to inherit the life hidden in Him [God], we shall refer [the reader] to the discourses and books composed by the learned. For these give an account not only of their dignities and honors, the great influence they had with rulers, and how they accumulated vast riches, no less than of their combat in wartime, their generalship, and their valor, but they also inform us of their erection of religious houses, holy convents and monasteries, their donation of property, their aid to the poor, their concern for the infirm, and their protection of the indigent of all sorts, and all their pious deeds which bore fruit before God. By proclaiming the donor of these, at the same time they purchased goods in heaven in exchange for ephemeral and perishable ones.

3. This good reputation as well as the piety, which increased greatly, as mentioned, with the contributions of each succeeding generation, were inherited by the *megas doux* my grandfather and the *megas domestikos* my father.³ Even if their abundant hope in God and their love [of him], as well as their prominence, their glory, and their unswerving constancy in all circumstances cannot be read about in books, there may still be many people alive [p. 451] who have seen these with their own eyes, while many have also heard about them from witnesses. Thus, our account of them is not without corroboration, and what we say is by no means wide of the mark. It is not right, moreover, to make up stories on such subjects, because we have recalled them in recognition of the benefactions of God to us in the past and up to the present, and not because of some conceit or the need to triumph or show off.

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4. Now that I have given an account of this great and noble heritage, how much I have enriched it—this is your gift, Lord God, from your goodness and not from me—indeed how much I have enriched it the very facts proclaim. Before I had completely outgrown my infancy my uncle, the revered emperor John [III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–54)], introduced me to the palace. He had me carefully raised and instructed as though I were his own son. He was anxious that I should be well educated in all subjects and endeavors, and he seemed more loving than a father in my regard. If indeed I derived profit from being initiated by that great spirit and proved myself a worthy disciple of that master, let others judge. As for myself, from adolescence as soon as I was capable I was called to bear arms.⁴ I was judged suited for command by the emperor himself, not to mention that I was selected over those who had followed such a career for many years. I was indeed assigned to command and found myself posted to the West.⁵ With God’s help I overcame the hostile forces arrayed against us, overcoming no less the expectations of the emperor who had sent me. There was nothing that did not deserve to be recounted, and at that time the emperor listened with pleasure to reports of my achievements. Then, as though through multiplying proofs of love and desirous of attaching me to himself by all sorts of ties, he became my father-in-law by betrothing to me his own niece whom he loved as his daughter.⁶ She in turn became the mother of my children, the mother of emperors.

5. Then I was again placed in command, and again there were battles. Once more God granted me victory and complete success. At that time I was entrusted with the war against the Latins for whom, to its misfortune, the queen of cities served as a fortress.⁷ From my camp on the Asiatic side opposite the city I can say that, with God as my ally, I drove them to the last extremities. On all sides I prevented them from landing, I repelled their assaults, and I cut off their vital supply lines. All this took place [p. 453] while that man [John III Doukas Vatatzes] was still alive. We advanced “from glory to glory” (II Cor. 3:18) and from great beginnings became ever greater, with God guiding us along the path of prosperity. But when the government of the Romans passed from him to his son [Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58)] our time came to be tested by the arrows of jealousy which have tested many others.

How did God deliver us at that time and how from such oppression did “He brought me out into a wide place” (Ps. 17 [18]:19)? To put it succinctly, he saved me [by sending me] to the Persians [Turks].⁸ There he took me by my right hand and gloriously added to what he had given me. Even now one can still hear them singing the praise of our battle line as it faced the Massagetai [Tatars], its morale as it charged into battle, and its great victory over warriors who were up to then regarded as invincible. This was achieved in the midst of Persian territory, not by us but by God working through us. After this, therefore, a vast number of delegations and letters were sent to us from the emperor, recalling us to our fatherland and to our family, who were also entreating us to return. This would please the emperor as nothing else I can think of, for he knew that while I was with the Persians in body, I was (I swear by God that this is true) with him and the Romans in spirit. This would also please the dignitaries and all of ours. But since my discourse has other goals, I think I should hasten to attend to them and leave these topics.

6. Thus we returned home. “Come hear and I will tell all ye that fear God what great things he has

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done for my soul” (Ps. 65 [66]:16). Then came the consummation of God’s many and great benefactions; then came the conclusion of his interventions, the gold crown of the good things received from him. What transpired? After a short time the autocrat Theodore [II Laskaris] passed on, bringing his allotted span of life to a happy end.⁹ “Who shall tell the mighty acts of the Lord; who shall cause all thy praises to be heard?” (Ps. 105 [106]:2). I was raised up to be emperor of your people.¹⁰ The proof of this is clear and unambiguous. For it was not the many hands coming to assist me or their frightening weapons which elevated me above the heads of the Romans. It was not any highly persuasive speech delivered by me or by my supporters which fell upon the ears of the crowd, filled them with great hopes, and convinced them to entrust themselves to me. No, it was your right hand, Lord, which did this mighty deed. Your right hand raised me on high, and [p. 455] established me as lord of all. I did not persuade anyone, but was myself persuaded. I did not bring force to bear on anyone, but was myself forced.

7. This then is what happened up to the present, to select a few things from many as typical. Such have been the graces of God. There are many, I believe, who would like to write about subsequent events, but the very number of them should overcome their eagerness. For we accomplished mighty deeds in you our God, and it was you who reduced our enemies to naught. Just as I was beginning my reign I was victorious in Thessaly over those¹¹ who had been in rebellion against Roman rule for many years and who had developed more hostility to our interests than had our natural enemies. Along with them I overcame their allies who were under the command of [William II Villehardouin (1246–78)] the prince of Achaia. Who were these allies? Germans, Sicilians, Italians, some who came from Apulia, others from Iapyges [Calabria] and Brindisi. There were also some from Boeotia, Euboea, and the Peloponnesos who joined them on campaign not so much in observance of their alliance as motivated by their own ambition to set themselves up as masters, so they intended, of the situation in the region.¹² There was a large number of them, more than could be easily counted, and greater than their number was their strength. Even more [impressive] than these was their arrogance, their insolent and outrageous audacity, and more than these, their terrible hatred toward us. Trusting in you, my king and my God, I counterattacked and was victorious, and drove all of them together into bondage.

With the army under my command I then went and subjugated Akarnania, Aetolia, and the region about the gulf of Krisa.¹³ I also forced the one and the other Epiros to submit, and brought Illyria under my control. I advanced to Epidamnos [Durazzo], and then from another direction I attacked all of Phokike. I then ravaged the country of Levadia and moved against that of Kadmeia [Boeotia]. Our forces encamped in Attica and enjoyed themselves as though it were their own land. I passed through Megara and its strait. I coursed through the entire Peloponnesos, pillaging some areas and forcing the submission of others. The remnants of the tyrant’s rule in that land, those who had escaped battle and the Roman manacles, I convinced that they must of necessity prefer to fix their dwellings in the sea rather than on dry land.¹⁴ [p. 457]

I think it well to pass over the vast number of deeds effected at that time by the right hand of the most high [God] through us both in Greek lands and elsewhere. At that time in fact the Mysians [Bulgarians] in Europe tried to put us to the test, and so did the Scythians [Mongols]. The former found that we were allies, helpers, and to sum it up, saviors, whereas the latter found us to be the

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opposite as we defeated, scattered, and destroyed them. The Persians [Turks] also had some experience of us, for while our gaze was on the West, they decided not to keep the peace, but considered it a golden opportunity. What did they find? We destroyed them, took them captive, and made those evil men depart this life in an evil way. But there is no need to dwell on these topics. All those things must be put aside, and we must turn our attention to what came next and which it is impossible not to call to mind.

8. Constantinople, the citadel of the inhabited world, the imperial capital of the Romans, had, with the permission of God, come under the control of the Latins. By God's gift it was returned to the Romans through us.¹⁵ All those who had previously attempted this, even though they made their attempts with noble enthusiasm and with faultless military skill, appeared to be shooting arrows straight up into the sky and to be attempting the impossible. All the peoples surrounding us, instead of being struck with astonishment at this and living in peace and realizing that this deed had not been accomplished by the hand of men but was a triumph of God's great power, struck by envy set themselves in motion. We attacked the Persians in the region of Karia and the sources of the Maeander and the nearby region of Phrygia. Even if we refrained from utterly exterminating these upstarts, we reduced many of them to slavery to us. In the other direction, the Bulgarians, in return for having been saved by us acted in a senseless manner by granting the Massagetai (Tatars) passage, thus allowing them to overrun the part of Thrace under our rule. They rose up themselves to join in the attack, but not many days later we gave them back sevenfold.

We purged the sea of its pirates by sending our triremes into the Aegean, where they had not been seen for many years. In this manner we liberated the islands which had been tyrannized by the tyranny [of the pirates] and at the same time we made it safe for people to sail anywhere on the sea. We brought all of Euboea, which possessed large [p. 459] land and naval forces, over to our side, except for one very small area. We won a brilliant naval victory over a huge fleet of triremes from Euboea, leaving only one ship to bring back news of the defeat.¹⁶

9. [Charles of Anjou (1266–82)] the king of Sicily who ruled over that part of the mainland opposite Sicily and who also ruled over Italy from Brindisi to Tuscany including Florence and as far as Liguria, had already made an attempt on Greek territory and had rendered assistance to the Latins in Euboea as well as to those in Thebes. He fought valiantly and without stint on behalf of the remnants of his race in the Peloponnesos, coming to their aid with a force one could not treat lightly, and dispatching his soldiers all over Greece. Twice and even three times we defeated his troops when they were all assembled together in Euboea on orders to concentrate their forces there for the purpose of recovering that place from us. Several times, moreover, we were victorious in the Peloponnesos against those who wanted to regain that land.¹⁷ One of our naval squadrons gained a victory over the rulers of Thebes and Euboea when they had assembled their armies together. Our men disembarked from the ships and engaged them in a cavalry battle, with the result that one of the rulers died and that the other one trying to escape did not, being led [instead] in chains before us.

With God as our ally we destroyed that king whom we mentioned [Charles of Anjou], as well as that force advancing toward the Illyrians with the intention not so much that they would engage

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large numbers in battle and would overcome all those they encountered, but that their forces were strong enough to gain a victory over ten times that number. But this army destroyed itself along the sea coast. Well inland in that region another much larger and more impressive army fell apart and was given over into our hands by God. The barbarian king grew more insane and intensified the war against us. All the hostility which a person might feel against another would be much less than that which he, outdoing his hostility, displayed against us. Although defeated at every encounter, he did not give up, and the continual disasters only made him more quarrelsome. Each new army he sent was stronger than the one before it. Surely it was God who drove him on to the fatal blow. [p. 461]

The result was that he sent this very last army. Most impressive it was with a large number of elite fighting men, with no expense spared, with an abundance of horses, weapons, and all the equipment for war. This army, vaunting its obvious superiority, marched inland a day's journey from the sea and began a siege of a city that was still Roman. A palisade was erected all around and the siege began. The king refused to lift the siege until God had taken his camp by siege and delivered it to us. That is what happened to his army.

As far as the rest of his forces were concerned, the Sicilians scorned them as though they did not exist. They boldly took up arms and freed themselves from slavery.¹⁸ If I were to say that their present freedom was brought about by God, and were to add that he brought it about by means of us, I would be saying only what confirms the truth. But if I were to list our other victories such as those we gained in Europe against the Triballians [Serbians], after having defeated the Bulgarians in Mysia, and in Asia against the Persians, defeated these peoples several times, my words would be transformed into a discourse much longer than the present one.

10. With the aid of the above, therefore, and with many others of the same sort God made my life a happy one. In addition he has granted me a gift of fine children, something which surpasses the prayers of all men. "Kings have come forth from me" (Gen. 17:6). Now, my God, I gaze upon my son who is emperor and upon his son also an emperor, seated upon my throne (cf. Ps. 131 [132]:11).¹⁹ The valor of the one has gained many victories, and he is concerned about the salvation of his people rather than his own life, which is indeed what I most desire, and he makes this the object of all his cares, study and labors. His son furnishes us with noble hopes that he will soon arrive at the same lofty goal.

11. There are so many proofs of the great mercy of God to me, and I owe them to the supplications of all my holy patrons, but especially to those of my great defender, I mean Demetrios [whose body] exudes scented oil. As an ambassador he is always, I am certain, presenting my case to God. I know too that from long ago and up to the present God has sent him as a shield to protect my life and the empire, and I have no doubt that he bestows his own favor on me. [p. 463] Of all the things I have done as emperor, particularly those which were truly imperial inasmuch as they affected the common good, there is not one in which when I called upon him to come he did not immediately give me the sensation of his actual presence and assistance. Because he has so often and in such significant ways come to our aid, we have continuously been mindful of him and have expressed our gratitude to the Martyr of Christ. But one thing was still lacking, and that was for us to trans-

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pose our good disposition into deeds and to express in a more substantial manner the great love we nourish in the depth of our heart for the divine Demetrios. In the same way as his acts of intercession, so should our thanksgiving when put into deeds “bear fruit for God” (Rom. 7:4). For whatever one does out of reverence to his servants, that veneration obviously passes on to him.

12. Now then, in times long past the blessed George Palaiologos²⁰ was preeminent because of his burning religious zeal and great love of God, as well as because of his intelligence, courage, and military experience which he displayed in the conflicts and wars of that period and which earned him abundant honors from the emperor and covered him with glory. He was the first to erect from its very foundations a venerable, holy house dedicated to this Martyr of Christ inside this imperial city. This [saint whose body] exudes scented oil appears to have been the ancestral patron of the house of the Palaiologoi. But the tyranny of the Latins, directly opposed to what he had built, razed it to the ground and reduced it to fine dust so one could barely make out a few faint traces of what it had once been. With the grace of God and the aid of the divine martyr Demetrios my majesty raised up again this building which had fallen and was lying there in ruins, and with a liberal and generous hand restored it to its former splendor. We also established a monastery and settled monks therein to [perform service] pleasing to God. We allocated property to them and sources for adding to their income so they could meet their expenses and provide for the rest of their bodily needs.

What we accomplished was most praiseworthy for two reasons. We satisfied our love for the Martyr by glorifying God, which after all was what had motivated my majesty in the first place. The second result was that we renewed the memory of the blessed founder, our ancestor, which men had already consigned to oblivion. To add a third, my majesty established this new monastery which would permit [p. 465] many to come together in it to lead a religious life which would be most pleasing to God; the number of those praying for us would increase, and in return our reward and recompense would be the greater. For if a person who gives even a glass of cold water does not lose his reward, according to the truthful words of my God and Savior (Matt. 10:42), then by providing those who love the ascetical way of life with the opportunity of doing something pleasing to God and by so arranging matters that they might more conveniently attain their chosen goal, how shall this go unrewarded by him who said that the whole world is not worth as much as one soul (cf. Matt. 16:26). For these reasons, therefore, my majesty has built up again this shrine to God and to his martyr Demetrios. By the intercession of this gloriously triumphant saint may it become a veritable paradise, filled with monks who, like magnificent, ever blooming plants, every day produce in great abundance the fruit of virtue, to the glory of the one God, to the glory of the great Martyr whose name it is privileged to bear, and for the expiation of my many failings, for it should be no surprise that I too have sinned inasmuch as I am human and thus of a quickly changing or fluctuating nature.

13. My majesty has now acknowledged its gratitude to God, and has recounted God’s loving kindness toward it, faintly perhaps but as best we could. Now it is time to pass on to our real purpose, and that is to set forth for this monastery erected by us in honor of the holy martyr Demetrios in Constantinople the directives and regulations according to which you who shall run

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the ascetical race in it shall conduct your lives and shall administer your, that is to say, the monastery's affairs and possessions.

Before beginning this subject, however my majesty has decided to make one thing very clear. Let everyone know and hold for certain that with this monastery of the renowned martyr Demetrios my majesty, for reasons to be explained later, unites and makes one the very great and revered monastery of Kellibara in Asia, which in ancient times was built and was venerated under the title [of the icon] of the most holy Mother of God "not painted by human hands." As a result of this union its entire [community] is brought to settle in this one and so changes its abode. All the monks of Kellibara earnestly desired this and so beseeched my majesty. Nor was my majesty at all unwilling, [p. 467] but was most anxious to effect such an act of union between these monasteries. For I was fearful that, in addition to other difficulties, the monks of Kellibara might suffer something terrible which could easily lead them into the worst of dangers, for they were dwelling on the limits of the Roman border and exposed to all the barbarian assaults. The result is that there is no longer one monastery of Kellibara and another of the great martyr Demetrios in Constantinople, but there is only one and the same monastery from the present through all the years to follow. Even if our enemies now on the offensive should be scattered to the ends of the earth by the protection of the most holy Mother of God, and Kellibara should find itself in the middle of the Roman dominion, the [two monasteries] should not for this reason be separated or divided.

14. To achieve this my majesty declares and proclaims that its rule, which is given below, made for both monasteries will be regarded as really the rule for one monastery, and the Hagiodemetrite monks and the Kellibarene monks will be equally subject to it. From now on the latter are no different from the former, and these no different from those. My majesty orders and desires that there shall be no difference among them even in their names. But one and the same monk, whether he resides in the monastery of Kellibara or in that of St. Demetrios here, shall be considered as a Kellibarene and likewise as a Hagiodemetrite; the appellation of either monastery shall be applied to him indiscriminately. My majesty has also decreed that all their possessions are held in common, movable and immovable. This does not belong to Kellibara and this to the monastery of St. Demetrios, but everything belongs to the monastery of Kellibara and everything to that of St. Demetrios.

There shall be one superior for both, and he shall be put in charge of the two as though they were one. The same person shall be spoken of as superior of Kellibara and when necessary he shall so affix his signature, and he shall also be spoken of as superior of St. Demetrios in the same manner, and shall so sign. He shall use the name of either monastery or of both together when and in the circumstances he wishes. For these reasons indeed my majesty orders this rule which we are about to promulgate as common to these monasteries. Even if the name of one is given, for example, if I speak of the monastery of St. Demetrios, nonetheless the regulations shall be received by the monastery of Kellibara as though they were addressed to it, [p. 469] and shall carefully be observed by it, for it is not a different monastery.

May these regulations be observed by you as exactly as possible, which will benefit both of you and what you have, and may they never be neglected by anyone. Observe these so that you may stand by yourselves in all sincerity and free of danger before the great tribunal of Christ

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(Rom. 14:10; I Cor. 5:10), and so that my majesty may be able to justify such standing by reason of your good reputation. May this come about by the mercy of our great God and Savior himself, by the intercession of his all holy Mother, and by the entreaties of Demetrios who shed his own blood for him and to whom the aforesaid monastery erected by my majesty is for a second time dedicated.

15. The monastery ought to be free and self-governing. "Render to Caesar," says my Christ, "the things of Caesar, and to God the things of God" (Matt. 22:21). My majesty has established this holy shrine, by the grace of God, as an abode for men who are making every effort to free themselves of the things here below and to attach themselves solely to the Powerful One. My majesty therefore consecrates it to the gloriously triumphant martyr Demetrios. Through him this monastery is further offered to God by my majesty and from now on becomes sacred property. As a result, it ought to be free from servitude here below, clearly having as lord he who is the Lord, and not acknowledging any lords on earth. Let it be self-governing and exercising authority over itself, not dependent on men. Nobody has a right to impose the yoke of constraint upon it. For this reason nobody shall exercise any lordship over it, certainly not anyone who knows and fears God. Nobody shall subject to himself either the monastery or anything belonging to it, nor shall he place it under the control or authority of another. Neither, in truth, shall he add it or join it to any person, secular or spiritual, not to a holy monastery, not to a church, not to a hospital, not to a home for the elderly, absolutely not to any one of these. But it will be itself alone and by itself for all time. It alone will be lord of itself. It will administer its own affairs, spiritual as well as temporal, by reason of its having authority over itself. It shall accept no person coming from the outside and giving orders or examining its affairs, not even the most holy patriarch then in office. The patriarch shall not have any claim whatsoever to lordship here, nor shall he enter the monastery to inquire into its affairs, not [p. 471] even in spiritual matters. He shall be content with what is due to him, that is, the commemoration and proclamation of his name in the holy diptychs. We are obliged to grant him such acknowledgment in all our holy and sacred rites.

The man who has been appointed as superior of this monastery, together with the rest of the community, shall be competent to give directions in every aspect of the administration. As their norm for what must be done, both [superior and community] have at hand the regulations given by my majesty in this *typikon*, and they shall deal with small matters as well as with those of greater importance. In their desire to serve God alone they shall submit to its [prescriptions], so that their freedom may be preserved unsullied and secure. For truly it is only submission and service to God that gets rid of every form of human constraint, and makes those who practice it completely free. May you embrace it for all time and may you appear as servants of God, as by nature, so also in your mind and in every movement of your free will.

My majesty then establishes this monastery and erects it as free and subject to nobody. May it be so preserved forever, and let no one attempt to take away its dominion over itself. If anyone dares to take such a step my majesty is unable to call down curses. Instead it does offer special prayers that all men may find themselves worthy of experiencing God's loving-kindness. Still, even if we should spare him, that person, whoever he might be (may there be no such person!) should know that he is subject to the condemnation of those who fight against God. If this does not

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appear to frighten him, let him be bold, let him stretch out his hand against what is sacred, let him act like a tyrant toward God by appropriating the monastery to himself and choosing to enslave it.

16. The *ephoreia* of the monastery and the person who should be its *ephoros*. So that the independence of the monastery may be maintained and that it may not be subject to harassment, my majesty does not refrain from taking thought and making arrangements for human protection and *ephoreia* of the monastery. For if all men, just as they know God and call upon his name, also feared him and dared to do nothing except what they have been commanded, perhaps it would not be necessary for us to provide help for the monastery from our resources here below, since it is surely an offering to the God of all. However, those living according to the divine laws are few, while the majority [p. 472] behave otherwise. Because there are those who would act unjustly, it is necessary for my majesty to come to this decision and to seek for some assistance from men. But who is there capable of repelling every onslaught against it? Assuredly there is none other but the emperor. God has made him more powerful than all because he has placed him over all.

The emperor therefore will be the *ephoros*, and with a mighty hand he will rescue it from all harm. He has endowed the monastery with a certain power to enable it to keep out of harm's way. Rather he has lent it to God from whom he received the greater power. His assistance will be effective, for he knows that these men of God will bear fruit to God. Not only that, but with this very purpose in mind the emperor will be doing the right thing by caring for it under the title of *ephoros* and preserving it. For if we as emperor according to the good pleasure of God have become its builder, [our son the emperor] has become by God's [grace] our heir and successor. Just as he has inherited all else, so let him inherit the care for the monastery and the responsibilities of a founder. Let him sincerely take his stand as though he were the one who first erected it. In this way he might have the great athlete of Christ, Demetrios, as his legate and intermediary to attain those other things that men stand in need of, especially an emperor, and he might have him as a protector in his combat with the foe, and he might have God himself rewarding him and bestowing gifts on him, granting his other requests, and favoring him with the salvation of his soul, which is, after all, more important and what we pray a man may attain above all else.

17. Just as my majesty believes it necessary to make regulations about the other things pertaining to the monastery, so we should do so about the actual number of monks who shall dwell in it. For the community of these monks should not be allowed to be unlimited [in size]. Since it would not be well to let it be in disarray and out of order, sometimes containing a larger number than is fitting, at other times reduced to a very small number. But the whole body must comprise a certain fixed number, so that its good order may assure that it will also be in good condition. Beings which have no limits know no moderation and do not keep themselves from doing what is not good. For [p. 473] these reasons my majesty commands that the brothers who are monks in the principal monastery shall be thirty-six, and this number should never be exceeded. Of these, fifteen should know letters and psalmody. In place of any other type of communal work, they should be occupied in performing the service in the church and shall be the church monks [choir monks]. The remaining monks, twenty-one in number, shall minister to the corporal needs of themselves and the church monks. They shall perform the tasks of treasurer, cellarer, and baker, according as the superior shall decide and shall assign each one. So much for these monks.

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There is the dependency near the gateway, the monastery, that is, which is called Lykos after the ancient name of the place, but which is privileged to bear the great name of my Savior Christ. In this and in its dependency of *Kyriotissa* my majesty decrees that there be twenty-four monks.²¹ Seven should be church monks, including three priests, so that two may celebrate the liturgy in the monastery and one in the dependency. Seventeen should perform all the services, inside and outside, carrying them out by themselves.

In the dependency which is called that of the Despot, since the dearly beloved brother of my majesty, the most fortunate despot of blessed memory, the late Lord John, had donated it to the monastery of Kellibara in memory of the parents of my majesty. The Kellibarenes have also constructed a church and a monastery on the site. In this monastery and in the dependency of Phlethra belonging to it there shall be nine monks, two of them priests. One shall sing psalms and celebrate the liturgy in honor of the Mother of God in the [church] of the Despot, and the other in honor of the great martyr George in that of Phlethra. In the dependency of Tzympha there shall be four monks, one of whom shall be a priest. In that of St. George the Kouperiototes likewise four including one priest. In that of the Theologian,²² which is within the town of Vizye, two monks, one of whom is a priest. Another monk who is a priest in the dependency of *Makariotissa*, which is situated near Vizye. In that of Chenolakkos two monks, one of whom is a priest. In that of Raiktor six, one of whom is a priest. In that of Tima six, one a priest. In the dependency of Patras, which is in Pylopythia, six monks, one of whom is a priest. In that of *Hexapterygon* within Prousa [Bursa] one monk who is a priest. In that of the Holy Trinity within [p. 474] Nicaea two monks, one of whom is a priest. In the dependency of Kabalos near Prousa three monks, one of whom is a priest. In that of Manikophagos two monks, one of them a priest. In that of St. Nicholas four monks, one of them a priest. In that of the holy Theologian three monks, one of them a priest.²³ In the one near [the place] of Manias two monks, one of whom is a priest.

My majesty orders and decrees that all those listed above are monks of this monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara. (Because of the union between them they should be referred to in this fashion.) All together they should total one hundred and thirty-eight monks, and they shall all owe obedience to the one superior of St. Demetrios-Kellibara, and they shall follow the one *typikon* of my majesty, for its prescriptions are to be observed by all our subjects both high and low. The *typikon* must be read to the brothers in the dependencies, and they must try to bring themselves into line with it in every respect.

18. Different men have given different definitions of the science of sciences.²⁴ But one of the blessed men inspired by God who thought and spoke the truth said. "This would undoubtedly be," he said, "to guide a man, the most complicated of beings, by virtue and a more spiritual way of life."²⁵ Persuasion, not force, is called for. This may be realized if one's words and way of life run along the same course, for when these are joined with one another they are most efficacious in persuading. Whoever is going to be the superior will need to be competent in this science and will lead men by virtue. You must, then, brothers, seek out and choose such a man as your superior, one who possesses both qualities, way of life and words. Following his teaching, you may also look to him as a model. He may readily instill in you a love of what is good and attain his goal. My majesty requires that the search and the choice of your superior is up to you and not to others. If

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you act in this fashion, then the one to whom God has allotted the task of piously governing the empire, the heir and successor of my majesty, and your *ephoros*. . . .

Notes on the Translation

1. See Alexander Kazhdan, "Palaiologos," *ODB*, pp. 1557–60, and V. Laurent, "La généalogie des premiers Paléologues," *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 125–49.
2. Michael's parents were Andronikos Palaiologos and Theodora Komnene; see also (37) *Auxentios* [1], [13]. His paternal grandfather Alexios (for whom see [3] below) married Irene, a princess of the Komnenian dynasty, while his maternal grandmother Irene was the daughter of Alexios III Angelos.
3. Michael's paternal grandfather Alexios, who was responsible for rebuilding the probable predecessor institution to the monastery for which (37) *Auxentios* [1] was built, and Michael's father Andronikos.
4. In 1242 or 1243 at the age of eighteen, according to (37) *Auxentios* [15].
5. At Vodena in 1253.
6. Theodora Doukaina Komnene Palaiologina, actually the granddaughter of John III Vatatzes' brother Isaac Doukas, and author of (39) *Lips* and (40) *Anargyroi*, who was married to the future emperor in 1253–54; see Alice-Mary Talbot, "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992), 295–303, at 295.
7. Presumably in 1253–54.
8. For Michael's flight to the Seljuk Turks, see (37) *Auxentios* [15].
9. On August 16, 1258.
10. He was crowned co-emperor with John IV Laskaris (1258–61) sometime after January 1, 1259.
11. An allusion to the battle of Pelagonia (1259), in which Michael's brother John Palaiologos beat a Latin coalition led by Michael II Komnenos Doukas, despot of Epiros (1230–66/68), and William II Villehardouin, prince of Achaia (1246–78); see also (37) *Auxentios* [1].
12. On all these people and events, see Deno Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
13. Present-day Gulf of Itea, south of Delphi. See P. Soustal, F. Hild and J. Koder, *Hellas und Thessalia, Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1976), p. 195. Actually Michael's brother John Palaiologos marched into Thessaly after the victory at Pelagonia and his general Alexios Strategopoulos invaded Epiros, capturing Arta.
14. After the battle of Pelagonia, the despot Michael II and his son Nikephoros were forced to seek refuge with Matthew Orsini in Kephallenia.
15. On July 25, 1261, thanks to its occupation by Alexios Strategopoulos; see also (37) *Auxentios* [1], [15].
16. Euboea was regained for Byzantium by the Italian-born grand duke Licario, ca. 1277.
17. Conquered by Michael VIII's brother Constantine with an army of 5,000 Seljuk mercenaries.
18. Starting on March 31, 1282, with a revolt in Palermo; see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1958).
19. Andronikos II Palaiologos, Michael VIII's son and co-emperor from 1272, and Michael IX Palaiologos, his grandson and co-emperor from 1281.
20. Michael VIII's great-great-grandfather, husband of Anna Doukaina, younger sister of Irene Doukaina, author of (27) *Kecharitomenē*; he is commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
21. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 293, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145].
22. Either St. John the Evangelist or St. Gregory Nazianzen.
23. In this section of the manuscript a number of words are not clear or are missing.
24. See Ammonius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, ed. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Berlin, 1891), p. 6, where the reference is to philosophy.
25. Quotation not identified

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Document Notes

The first eleven chapters of the *typikon* are autobiographical; cf. equivalent discussions in (37) *Auxentios* [1], [15]. They are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [1] The founder's indebtedness to God.
- [2] The founder's illustrious ancestry.
- [3] Piety of the founder's grandfather and father.
- [4] The founder's upbringing, military career, and marriage.
- [5] Exile among the Turks; his recall.
- [6] His elevation to the emperorship.
- [7] Early military accomplishments of his reign.
- [8] Recovery of Constantinople from the Latins.
- [9] Successful war against Charles of Anjou.
- [10] The founder's son and grandson.
- [11] His devotion to St. Demetrios.
- [12] Rebuilding of the ancestral church of George Palaiologos. For this individual, who in his day was a supporter of the reformer Leo of Chalcedon, see (28) *Pantokrator* [8] and P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantokrator," *REB* 27 (1969), 254.
- [13] Declaration of the union of the two monasteries. See discussions of such unions in (5) *Euthymios* [1] and (19) *Attaleiates* [12]; our author himself forbids the imposition of a union in (37) *Auxentios* [2].
- [14] Terms of the union. The provisions of (19) *Attaleiates* [12] are similar.
- [15] Free and self-governing status. For assertions of institutional independence in other thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [21], (35) *Skoteine* [20], (36) *Blemmydes* [1], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (39) *Lips* [1], and (40) *Anargyroi* [1].
- [16] Role of the emperor as guardian. For a contemporary imperial guardianship, see (39) *Lips* [3], cf. the patriarchal guardianship in (37) *Auxentios* [16] and the private protectorate in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [18], [19].
- [17] Number of monks; list of dependencies. See also discussions of limitations set in other thirteenth century documents in (36) *Auxentios* [6], (39) *Lips* [4], (40) *Anargyroi* [6], and (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C6]. For a similar list of dependencies intended to support a large foundation, see (28) *Pantokrator* [27], cf. (35) *Skoteine* [10], [11].
- [18] Rule by persuasion rather than by force; internal choice of the superior. For the former, see (37) *Auxentios* [4]; for the latter, see (37) *Auxentios* [3].