

This is an extract from:

Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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45. *Neophytos: Testamentary Rule* of Neophytos for the Hermitage of the Holy Cross near Ktima in Cyprus

Date: May 9, 1214¹

Translator: Catia Galatariotou

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Other translations: None

Institutional History

*A. Background to the Foundation*²

The founder Neophytos provides a considerable amount of autobiographical detail in the *typikon* translated below (in [3] ff.). He was born to a poor family in the village of Lefkara in south central Cyprus in 1134. Fleeing marriage, he embraced [3] a monastic career at the monastery of St. John Chrysostom on Mount Koutzovendis, where he was tonsured in 1152. After six years of service there, Neophytos left [4] in 1158 for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but his attempt to find a suitable spiritual master there was unsuccessful. Returning to Cyprus at Paphos, he hoped to sail on to the famous monastic community on Mount Latros, but was arrested as a fugitive. After his release, he sought out a suitable site in the vicinity of Paphos to live as a solitary ascetic. In 1159, he determined [5] upon a site in the mountains, northeast of Paphos. By 1160, he had excavated a natural cave, which he dedicated to the Holy Cross.

*B. Patronage by the Bishops of Paphos*³

In 1166, Bishop Basil Kinnamos of Paphos began to take an interest in Neophytos. Four years later, Neophytos accepted [5] ordination as a priest, took on a disciple for whom Kinnamos provided a subsidy, and (probably with the bishop’s financial assistance) began the construction of a more formal monastery. In 1177, he drew up [1] his first *typikon* for this foundation, parts of which may be preserved in the later edition of 1214 that is translated below. Basil Kinnamos ratified [22] this first *typikon*, probably in 1190, as did his successor Bakchos four years later, probably in 1194. This suggests that Neophytos’ foundation may have been a diocesan monastery at this time, though the critical chapter [6] that probably would have made this determination certain is lost.

C. *Neophytos' Foundation under Latin Rule*

The Latin conquest of Cyprus under Richard I the Lionheart in 1191 was one of the factors that made it necessary for Neophytos to add [10] certain landed properties to the monastery's endowment for the first time. The foundation prospered during these years, gaining a dependency in 1203/1204,⁴ and playing host to pilgrims who may have come to venerate the relic of the True Cross that Neophytos had located [5] for his monastery soon after its foundation. Neophytos drew up [24] the final version of his *typikon* in 1214, when the holy man must have been approximately eighty years old. In addition to the *typikon*, Neophytos was the author of a substantial number of other literary works, not all of which have been edited.⁵ It is thought that he did not long survive the composition of his second *typikon*.

In his final *typikon*, Neophytos designates [16] his nephew Isaiah as his successor. Apparently the founder's idea of having the monastery led by a recluse was abandoned and the foundation soon became a regular cenobitic institution.⁶ The monastery fared well both under Cyprus' Lusignan rulers and during the era of Venetian rule (1489–1571). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, another monk Neophytos († 1512) conducted a restoration of the foundation and was titled the "new founder" (*ktitor*). Mango and Hawkins ("Hermitage," p. 129) reckon that the *katholikon* was built at this time too.

D. *History of the Foundation under Turkish Rule*⁷

After the Turkish occupation of Cyprus, the foundation lost its landed properties (1585). Its energetic superior Leontios saved it from extinction, however, obtaining a *stauropegion* for it from the archbishop of Cyprus ca. 1611 and a recognition of its institutional independence from the local bishop of Paphos through a synodical letter issued by Cyril Loukaris, patriarch of Constantinople, in 1631. Hard times in the middle of the seventeenth century forced the monks to sell nearly all the monastery's manuscripts to agents of the French crown; many are still in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale. When visited by a Russian pilgrim in 1735, the monastery reportedly had lost its records and its monks were ignorant of who their founder might have been.

This knowledge had evidently been recovered by 1756, when the founder Neophytos' relics were translated from their original resting place in the hermitage to the sixteenth-century *katholikon*. The *typikon*, evidently still preserved in the monastery's library, was published at Venice in 1779 at the expense of the steward Joannikios. The foundation suffered severely during the Greek Revolution after 1821. One of its superiors, Joachim, was impaled at Nicosia by the Turkish governor. The number of monks was reduced to ten by 1875, shortly before the British took over the administration of Cyprus in 1878.

E. *Neophytos' Foundation in Modern Times*

Neophytos' monastery still exists. Mango and Hawkins carried out conservation and restoration of the wall paintings of its component facilities in 1963 in collaboration with the Cyprus Department of Antiquities. The Department then undertook structural repairs to the original cave complex and erected an arcade in front of it to protect it from further deterioration.

Analysis

Neophytos' founder's *typikon* is a complex document, consisting of his *Testament*, in twenty-two chapters, followed by a twenty-third chapter consisting of twenty canons, [C1] through [C20], chiefly disciplinary in nature, twelve penal canons attributed by the author to Basil of Caesarea, [CB1] through [CB12], and a twenty-fourth chapter of the author's burial prescriptions appended at the end. Neophytos refers to an earlier version of his *Testament*, actually cross-referencing it in [9] and [10]. Though he also cross-references the *Testament* in canons [C2] and [C18], an internal inconsistency betrays the fact that the canons were actually written before the *Testament*,⁸ though they too seem to have been re-edited from an earlier version (cf. [C19]). There was also once a separate liturgical *typikon*, now lost, which is referred to for its discussion of liturgical services [12] and the regulation of diet [C4]. The text of Neophytos' surviving founder's *typikon* is unfortunately defective, often in critically important places: there are gaps in [5], [7], [18], [22], and [C14], while two chapters [6], [17] are missing altogether.

*A. Formal Analysis of the Typikon*1. Use of Neophytos' Previous *Testament*

The author indicates [1] that this document is a revision of an earlier testament written eighteen years after the foundation of his hermitage, i.e., by calculation, in 1177.⁹ He claims that "certain things shall be removed from the old one, and necessary things inserted into the new one, narrating usefully and harmoniously both a testament and a sequence of expedient things," that is to say, that the present text was intended to serve as both a testament and a founder's *typikon*. The only definite information provided on the content of the earlier testament is that it provided for only "a very small number of monks" [9] and that the acquisition of landed property was prohibited [10].

2. Evergetian Influences

As it now stands, the document is a kind of "junior" member of the Evergetian reform tradition by virtue of its incorporation of many institutions and principles popularized by (22) *Evergetis* more than a century earlier.¹⁰ These include the author's preference [9] for quality over quantity in the selection of his monks, the reading of the *typikon* [11], the daily celebration [12] of the liturgy, the inalienability of consecrated objects [12], the election and installation of the superior [14], the exclusion of women from charitable distributions at the gate [19], the restriction of confession to the superior or his designee [21], the prohibitions of personal property [13], [C10], [C19], secret eating [13], [C11], and unauthorized correspondence with relatives [CB5], and the inspection of the monks' cells [C11].

Like the authors of (28) *Pantokrator* and (31) *Areia*, however, our author does not quote directly from (22) *Evergetis* as his contemporary Neilos of Tamasia does in (34) *Machairas*, except perhaps in [18], cf. [11] which at least echoes the language of (22) *Evergetis* [38]. This is the most solid indication that our author may have been aware of the existence of (22) *Evergetis* or a related text. Yet the long passage of time since the famous reform *typikon*'s creation and the continuous development of Byzantine monastic institutions since then practically assured that that there would be many differences in our author's approach to problems in the early thirteenth century. As we have seen, even in his own lifetime in the interval between 1177 and 1214, he changed his mind on the very basic matters of the size and means of support for his community.

Also noteworthy are the incorporation, particularly in the author's canons, of many distinctly non-Evergetian rigorist observances in diet [C4], bedding [C9], bathing [C9], the practice of manual labor [C6], and penal discipline [C19].

3. Juridical Quality

The author's generally very careful, and unprecedented, cross-referencing of the various texts governing his foundation can be seen as a culmination of a long trend among patrons to invest their foundation documents with the aura of binding legislation rather than letting them be seen as essentially ephemeral expressions of patronal preferences subject to revision by their successors. Fearing the latter, our author notes [22] "I have indeed known that, after the death of certain founders, some of those in the monastery dared to adulterate certain rules of the *typikon* and to cross out whatever they wished." Perhaps the inexorably evolutionary nature of the *typika* in the Evergetian tradition actually promoted a dismayingly fluid notion of the *textus receptus*, motivating more traditional founders like our author here to seek the security of an independent documentary foundation for their monasteries.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of the Monks

The author had provided [9] for only a small number of monks in his previous *typikon*. Both his own monks and various lay benefactors urged him to accept an increase to from twenty to twenty-five monks (to be funded by the latter) but the author counterproposed a new limit of fifteen to eighteen monks. There is another, probably earlier treatment of this issue in the author's canons, in which he recounts [C16] his unhappy experience with raising the number of monks to fourteen, four of whom he was compelled to expel for bad behavior. His declaration here that "God does not want a multitude of monks, crawling in sin" recalls the language and principle of (22) *Evergetis* [23]. Instead, the number of the monks was to be kept "small."

Like (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], this community was divided [9] into those monks who were responsible for the liturgical services (here called the *ekkleusiastikoi*, "church" monks) and those who served them (the *diakonetai*, "attendant" monks). Moreover, as in (34) *Machairas* [102], the monks here were also distinguished by their dress, as an incidental reference [15] to the "great habit" (*megaloschemon*) makes clear. The author himself, originally illiterate, had begun [4] his own monastic career working in the vineyards at another monastery, then after five years of study he received a promotion to a position as an assistant ecclesiarch (*parekklesiarches*), which shows that it was possible for an individual monk to move up in the ranks.

2. Liturgical Duties

A daily celebration of the liturgy and at least some of the canonical hours is implied in [12]. Here also the author declares that it is unnecessary to discuss the church services since these have been explained in the *typikon*. In his canons, he reiterates [C3] the monks' obligation to perform the canons faithfully and provides [C2] for a shortening of the midnight office in summertime.

3. Manual Labor

According to one of his canons, the author considered [C6] physical labor "useful to all" based on his personal experience. In the testament proper he instructs [15] the future recluse (anchorite) to

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

“practice simple handiwork” but not to seek “base profits.” A garden serving as a courtyard to the hermitage was to be set aside [18] as a place for the monks to practice manual labor. In another of the author’s canons, the monks were prohibited [C13] from having their own private, profit-making occupations. Specific pursuits are not mentioned, but a bakery, a kitchen, a storehouse for produce, and places for stabling animals and storing hay that formed part of the foundation suggest [20] some possibilities.

4. Reception of Postulants

Newcomers were to be read [C17] the author’s canons and accepted into the community if they demonstrated their capacity for living according to their provisions. No specific term for the novitiate is set.

5. Sacramental Life

The author prefers [21] the practice of (22) *Evergetis* [15] which obliged monks to confess only to their superior or his designee; he rejected the alternative tolerated in (32) *Mamas* [29] of allowing the monks to have another confessor “because a foreign father does not care much about foreign children.” Yet even the superior was not to hear [15] confessions until he had gained “spiritual mastery,” been tonsured with the great habit, and received the necessary permission from the local bishop. Confession was a prerequisite [21] for communion, but there are no other guidelines for its reception.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Although there is no outright assertion of the superiority of the cenobitic lifestyle, the document endorses many Evergetian regulations designed for its support. According to one of the author’s canons, the monks were [C10] not to have their own money (cf. [13], [C19]) or keep personal supplies of food lest their cells “stink like taverns.” Secret eating is condemned both in the canons [C11] and in the testament [13] proper. The leading monks (rather than the superior as in the Evergetian tradition) were to inspect [C11] the monks’ cells to remove any food and surplus items. A chapter that is now missing from the manuscript of the testament originally regulated [17] the hermitage’s relations with kelliotic monks, suggesting a tolerance towards alternative forms of monastic life also seen in the contemporary (34) *Machairas* [152].

7. Diet

One of the author’s canons provides [C4] for a diet of uncooked food on all of the weekdays in Lent and on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays during ordinary weeks. As in (20) *Black Mountain* [72] and a generation later in (36) *Blemmydes*, monks were encouraged to impose more rigorous dietary observances upon themselves but were not required to do so in view of the hot climate. A full discussion of the monks’ diet is omitted [C4] in favor of a reference to the liturgical *typikon*. The author also implies [C13] that the monastery’s provision of food to the monks entitled it to all the products of their handicrafts. Neither the recluse [15] nor the monks [C12] were to complain about the food and drink provided to them. There is no advocacy of the Evergetian principle of equality and food and drink.

8. Clothing

Observing that virtue is the adornment of the monk, Neophytos prescribed very modest clothing for his flock: grey rather than black outer garments made of inexpensive material [C15].

9. Bathing

Rejecting the ever more lenient trend among the monasteries in the Evergetian tradition towards allowing monks to bathe on a regular basis, our author prohibits [C9] all but the sick and infirm from bathing. He thought bathing especially dangerous for young monks, considered to be like adding “fire to fire.”

10. Relations with Relatives and Other Lay Persons

Visitors, both monks and laymen, were expected [C17] on feasts of the saints and on days of commemoration. Considering his monks to be like fish out of water once they were outside the monastery, the author orders [C5] that they should not leave it except for a “most pressing need.” They were not to become unduly attached [C14] to their lay relatives, at risk of suffering [C19] excommunication.

11. Fear of Homoeroticism

The author is especially concerned to suppress homoerotic tendencies in his monks. He imports [CB6] a canon from the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential* that provides for the excommunication of a monk found in private with another at night. In one of his own canons, he bans [C6] “playful embraces,” particularly between younger monks. In another canon, he offers [C7] forgiveness after confession and punishment for monks led astray into “carnal sin,” but the unrepentant were to be expelled “so as not to spread the disease to the rest of the monks as well.” The author’s fear may also lay behind his ban [9] on the instruction of lay children, said (incorrectly!) to be “an indecent thing and foreign to the tradition of the fathers.”

A fear of homoeroticism was often coupled with a concern about the possibility of bestiality (cf. (30) *Phoberos* [58]). On this subject our author returns to the Studite-Athonite tradition in banning [19] female animals: donkeys and mules are said to be “blameworthy, indecent, and unbecoming, especially for those who are still morally unstable.”

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Constitutional Status

The essential details on the constitutional status of this foundation were lost in the gap found in the text of [22], a transcription of a confirmation of the author’s rule issued by Bishop Bakchos of Paphos. Our author, who at a low point in his monastic career needed to be released [4] from jail through the intervention of “some pious persons,” may also have received possession of his hermitage from them. After several years on his own, he was patronized [5] by one of Bakchos’ predecessors, Basil Kinnamos, who seems to have intended to make the hermitage a diocesan monastery. To confuse matters further, there are also appeals to the Byzantine emperor [8] (probably originating in the earlier version of the *Testament*) as well as to the Lusignan King of Cyprus, Hugh (1205–18) [7]. The latter is described as an administrator (*epitropos*) and a benefactor of the monastery. Our author seems to have been willing to accept patronage from any available source, yet he managed to keep his foundation essentially under his personal control.

2. Leadership

As noted above, our author acknowledges [7] Hugh, the Lusignan ruler of Cyprus, as the foundation’s administrator. The author envisioned the monarch playing a circumscribed, support-

ive role like that of the protectors seen in monastic *typika* of the twelfth century: (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (28) *Pantokrator* [70], (32) *Mamas* [3], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3]. The effective ruler, as in independent foundations, would have been the superior, here titled the recluse (*enkleistos*), who was to be [16] the author's nephew Isaiah, then serving as the foundation's steward and evidently still a young man. The author's designation of a relative as his successor betrays the essentially private nature of the hermitage, whatever its precise legal status might have been. He felt sufficiently self-conscious about the choice to assert that he made it "not out of a feeling of family affection, but because he was raised here from a tender age and I have had great hopes for him." Isaiah was entitled to choose another successor if he himself did not wish to accept the honor.

Elsewhere in the document, the author provides [14] for the election of the recluse by the community in a chapter that echoes the procedure and language of (22) *Evergetis* [13]. The apparent conflict with the hereditary right of appointment implicit in [16] is not resolved. If [14] is not in fact an awkwardly integrated survival from the author's earlier *Testament*, he may have intended that the determination of the foundation's leader be opened up to the choice of the community eventually.

Since the recluse was necessarily cloistered [14], it was essential that he have assistance in the daily management of the hermitage. Accordingly, the author provides [9] for the appointment of a steward and a treasurer.

3. Patronal Privileges

In keeping with the spirit of the times, conditioned as it was by more than a hundred years of reform ideology, patronal privileges were relatively few. The King of Cyprus was to receive [7] perpetual commemoration in gratitude for his services as the monastery's 'administrator.' There were [12] also daily prayers in the liturgy and at matins and vespers for the emperors, other government officials, bishops, and the foundation's monks past and present.

As we have seen, our author exercises the right to choose [16] his nephew as his successor, and concedes the same right to him. Also, he makes [24] provision for his own burial in the hermitage and requests [12] the benefit of a commemorative offering at each liturgy.

4. Reading of the *Typikon*

In another provision that echoes the content and language of its distant Evergetian prototype, the author provides [11] for a reading of his testament and the canons three times a year "so that the reading of the rules provokes the brothers into preserving them." As noted above, the canons were also to be read [C17] to postulants for their assent before admission.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The only officials of the monastery mentioned [9] in the document are the steward, then the author's young nephew Isaiah [16], and the treasurer. In contrast to the administrative presuppositions of (34) *Machairas* [84] where the superior was intimately involved in overseeing all the financial operations of the monastery, here presumably another model applied in view of the recluse's enclosure. The author declares [10] his extreme reluctance to acquire landed property and states that he had actually forbidden such acquisitions in his first *Testament*. The Latin conquest, hard

times, the increase in the number of monks, and the expenses of entertaining many outside visitors required a change of policy.

This suggests that previously the hermitage, like some other foundations originating during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (e.g., (33) *Heliou Bomon*, Prologue), had originally been supported with annual subventions derived from external sources of patronage rather than relying in the more traditional way principally on income from its own landed properties. Donations of visiting pilgrims (see [10], [20]) may also have played a part in the financing of this monastery's activities. Be that as it may, the author later decided to acquire some arable land, a vineyard, and livestock to meet the basic needs of his monks though he declares that he should not be held responsible for the negative consequences he foresaw.

2. Inalienability of Property

Just like the author of (32) *Mamas* [37], our author was more concerned [12] about the protection of his foundation's movable property—the sacred vessels, books and icons—rather than for its more recently acquired landed properties. The author refers [20] to a separate inventory (not preserved) for details on the movables as well as on the thirty relics in the foundation's collection. A shorter inventory of sixteen books is appended to [12].

3. Other Sources of Income

The author's reluctance to acquire landed property is not the only way in which he displays his hesitant attitude towards increasing the foundation's income. While he wanted to build a new church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, he instructs [20] his monks to hold off on this project “so that you may not be begging and annoying certain people,” unless perchance some substantial support were to be forthcoming from either the imperial government or local officials—neither being a likely prospect under the difficult political circumstances at the time of this document's composition.

E. Overall Philosophy

There seems to have been a return in the early thirteenth century to strict disciplinary provisions with accompanying punishments (cf. (34) *Machairas* [122] ff.) recalling the resort to monastic confinement seen in the much earlier Studite-Athonite documents (4) *Studios* [25] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]. Even in (32) *Mamas* [24] in the twelfth century, there are unmistakable indications of the rising popularity of the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential*, from which our author makes citations (not always accurately) in [CB1] through [CB20]. Strictly interpreted, these had the effect of making the superior the arbitrator of all of the comings and goings of his monks and of their relations with the outside world. Of particular relevance (and irony, given the author's personal history) are the provisions punishing monks who leave the monastery without the superior's consent [CB2], help others to flee the monastery [CB3], fail to try to persuade them not to [CB1], or simply do not inform the superior of those who hoped to make an unauthorized departure [CB4]. Considering that the author himself was tracked down [4] through the efforts of the officials at the monastery of St. John Chrysostom and jailed as a fugitive, the evidence suggests that the personal freedom of individual monks was coming into question.

The author himself states [C19] that he had previously cited disciplinary canons without

punishments for transgressors “so as not to make the canons burdensome,” but in this present document he instructs his successors to apply appropriate punishments. A key to the penal system was the sanction of excommunication, the terms of which the author had had inscribed [13] in the narthex of the church and which he provides should be read out each Sunday after the catechetical instruction in the liturgy, thereby visibly excluding and humiliating offenders.

F. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Unlike many founders, our author seems to have enjoyed cordial relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Not only did he receive [5] crucial support from Basil Kinnamos, bishop of Paphos, for some four years at the beginning of his residence at the hermitage, but good relations continued during the tenure of Bishop Bakchos, who confirmed [22] his predecessor’s ratification of the *Rule*. Even the document itself was drawn up by a diocesan notary. Moreover, our author had accepted ordination as a priest from Bishop Basil early in his career. Accordingly, our author was willing to concede to the local bishop liturgical commemoration [12] and the right to grant permission [15] to hear confessions, minimal recognitions though these were of the hierarchy’s claims to spiritual authority over the foundation.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

The hermitage was to provide [C18] charity at the gate to beggars, except, as usual, to women (cf. [19]), on the grounds that “it is indecent and wrong for women to sit by the gate and the enclosure and look inside with dainty eyes”—the first explanation of the basis for the *topos* found in (22) *Evergetis* [38]. Nevertheless, since our author does not neglect to provide [19] a punishment for women who disregard the ban and enter the gate, it appears that there were women living in the vicinity, perhaps as tenants on the hermitage’s properties. Hospitality to visitors “who daily come and visit the hermitage on account of its fame,” perhaps to venerate the relics described in [20], is cited [10] as one of the monastery’s greatest expenses though the document provides no information on specific philanthropic provisions.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Revised second edition of a lost first edition, drawn up ca. 1177.
2. See Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 13–14; Kazhdan, “Neophytos,” p. 1454; and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 122–24.
3. Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 15–16; Laurent, “Typicon,” pp. 52–55; and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 124.
4. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 127, n. 25, based on a note in Codex Parisinus graecus 301, fol. 315.
5. For an exhaustive list, see Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 261–81; cf. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 128.
6. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 122, n. 5.
7. See Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, pp. 351–54, and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 129–32.
8. Cf. [C6] and [9] on the number of monks permitted at the foundation.

45. NEOPHYTOS

9. For the chronology, see Mango and Hawkins, "Hermitage," pp. 122–26, with dating of the first *Testament* at p. 124.
10. (22) *Evergetis* [5], [9], [13], [15], [19], [22], [23], [27], [38], [43].

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THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Translation

Table of arrangement of the *typikon* with [the help of] God.

Chapter

1. Concerning the drawing up of the *Rule*.
2. Concerning remembrance of death.
3. Concerning my own reflections and flight from the world.
4. Concerning what followed these and of my establishment in the hermitage and certain mysteries.
5. Concerning the construction of the hermitage and bishop Kinnamos and certain mysteries.
6. Concerning the Paphians.
7. Concerning the King of Cyprus and administrator of the present hermitage.
8. Memorandum to the emperor.
9. Concerning the number of brothers and prohibition of instruction of children.
10. Concerning poverty and the economic remedy.
11. Concerning the reading of the *Rule* and the canons.
12. Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the priest and the holy vessels and the books of the recluse.
13. Exhortation to the brethren and remembrance of excommunication.
14. Concerning the election of the recluse and prayer for the recluse and the hermitage.
15. Specific exhortation to the recluse.
16. Concerning my own successor and nephew, the ordained monk Isaiah.
17. Concerning the *kelliotai*.
18. Concerning the garden of the hermitage.
19. Concerning the hermitage's inaccessibility to women, and concerning female beasts.
20. Concerning the buildings erected at the hermitage and consecrated to God and concerning the church.
21. Concerning repentance and confession of sins in deed and thought.
22. Concerning the authorization of the *Rule* by bishop Kinnamos and ratification by bishop Bakchos. [p. 72] Then an excommunication against removing or adding anything to it.
23. Concerning the recluse, twenty ascetic canons to the brethren, and twelve from the epitome of canons of Basil the Great.
24. Concerning my own passing away and concerning the older hermitage and the tomb, and a final prayer for the brethren. [p. 73]

Testamentary *typikon* of Neophytos, priest, monk and recluse with [the help of] God. Concerning my own hermitage in the eparchy of the Paphians in the island of Cyprus, the one also called the New Sion, being a godly watch-tower through the goodwill of God. Father, bless.

+ Neophytos, worthless monk, priest and recluse of the Holy Cross, signed with my own hand at the beginning of my testamentary *typikon*. + + + + +

First Chapter: Concerning the drawing up of the *Rule*

The greatest of all good things is reverence for God (Rom. 3,18) and remembrance of death. Amazed by [the latter's] thieving and secret nature I, after eighteen years of my enclosure in the hermitage, made dispositions, such as the needs of those times demanded of me. But since the provider of life extended the span of my life and fifty-five years have already gone by, the need also arose for another testament. So that certain things shall be removed from the old one, and that the necessary things shall be inserted in the new one, so that they shall be found not to be extraneous and strange, but familiar and relevant, narrating usefully and harmoniously both a testament and a sequence of expedient things.

Chapter Two: Concerning remembrance of death

No mortal has escaped the arrow of death. Wherefore I certainly cannot possibly escape it either. But Christ, you who have died willingly for us, do not will that death should meet me like an arrow, but rather as if in good sleep in your grace.

But being still alive, I think it proper and useful to put in lasting form all about my circumstances, lest what happened and was said to the lazy servant who hid the talent uninvested happens to me (cf. Matt. 26:25). Since I too received this hermitage from the Lord God like a talent. For he offered it to me in a deserted state and he embellished it for me, as he willed. I again laid it upon his all-powerful [p. 74] hand, so that, both while I am alive and after I shall be gone, he shall preserve it and those dwelling in it from invisible enemies, in his grace.

Chapter Three: Concerning my own reflections and flight from the world

Having just reached the chapter bearing the same number as the Holy Trinity, it seems right to me to intimate briefly certain of my circumstances for those desiring [to know them], and thus incite the souls of certain God-lovers towards glorifying God, who not only prevented me from becoming bound under the shackle and yoke of laborious life, but who further acquainted me almost from birth with its difficulty, and with perceiving its sudden changes. For, one lamented for the loss which had suddenly come upon him, while another wailed that his child had met with untimely death. Another was afflicted by poverty because he had many children. Another, while he was rich and admired by all, suddenly fell into poverty, or, death, having suddenly come, deprived him of every happiness, and glory suddenly turned into ingloriousness, filling with wails and lamentations the house which a little while earlier was cheerful. Another fell from honor and dignity into worthlessness. Another was greatly oppressed by the cruelty of heartless tax-collectors. Yet another lamented upon the affliction which unexpectedly befell him.

But perceiving these, I thought to myself that, no doubt, I myself shall suffer the same, once I become entangled in life, and it shall be impossible to escape their difficulty. But even if one can escape such difficulty and revel in all the world's good fortune, what will his gain be since death lies ahead and, as I heard, another world awaits us?

But these thoughts and ponderings were not of my youth and boorishness but the work of certain divine grace and providence. This I artlessly assert in writing and in speech, and "God is my witness; I am telling the truth, I am not lying" (Phil. 1:8; I Tim. 2:7). For upon reflection, I was telling myself that, even if I utterly disappear from this life, God will certainly make me reappear

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

in future life, and I shall again be found. But also, that which I shall now say, I shall truly say in the Lord: that, if some poor vagabond dressed in rags came to my father's house begging for bread, I counted his life as being enviable and blessed, and, had it been possible for me, I would have directly followed him.

But no one knew of these thoughts of mine, except for God who bestowed them on me. For which reason my parents earnestly wanted to join me in matrimony, [p. 75] I being then a son of eighteen years of age. For seven months earlier they had confirmed the customary contracts of marriage and the betrothal, and while they were hotly pursuing the things concerning the marriage, I was hotly pursuing ways and means of escaping. Why then, with God's most excellent goodwill and help, having departed secretly from the paternal home, I made my flight's way to the monastery of holy [St. John] Chrysostom on the mountain of Koutzovendis,¹ [believing] that place to be inaccessible to those who were bound to [try to] track me down. There is no need to tell what lamentations took place amongst parents and neighbors and acquaintances, and what searching through every eparchy of the island. I do not bear to speak extensively about how, having apprehended me, after two months, they brought me back again under the yoke, and after what fight and battle and deliberation I dissolved those marriage contracts, but this I shall briefly say, that, as the Lord wanted, so it happened.

Chapter Four: Concerning what followed these and of my establishment in the hermitage and certain mysteries

I deem it necessary also to narrate briefly what followed these, so as not to distress those who love to hear [the story], through interrupting the sequence of the narrative. It is as follows:

Having been deemed worthy of my own beloved tonsure, no bridal ornament, I believe, ever charmed any bridegroom as much, as did me the vesture of the monk's dress with [the help of] God. For I filled with kisses the tips of its cuffs, and I begged the Lord to preserve it pure and unblemished for me until the end. Because I had not been given over to even one day's studying of lessons by my parents, so that I was ignorant of even the first letters of the alphabet, I was thus permitted by Maximos the superior of the monastery to tend the vineyards at the so-called Boupai.

Having served there for five years, and having acquainted myself with the rudimentary elements of letters, and having learned with [the help of] God the Psalter by heart, I was transferred upon the command again of the aforementioned superior from there to the holy church of the divine [St. John] Chrysostom, forthwith holding the office of assistant ecclesiarch. Having clung to this service for two more years, I was greatly vexed by night and by day by love for the contemplative life, which vexed me even when I devoted myself to the services outside the monastery. But I was prevented from this by the superiors of the monastery because of tender youth. [p. 76]

Henceforward then, departing from the monastery, I arrived at the Holy Land of Jerusalem, both for the sake of worship, and in the hope of encountering in those deserts some solitary and eremitic man and follow him. For which purpose, having first searched out the region of Tiberias, even as far as the desert in which Christ blessed the loaves (cf. Matt. 14:17), and the hills of Magdala and Mount Tabor, and then, after venerating the holy and life-possessing tomb, and having searched the desert of Souka, the torrent of Saint Sabas and the regions of the Choziba and of the Jordan, searching the caves like a hunter of bees, and having failed in my aim, I was distraught.

But having spent six months there, I was told through a vision, by God's mercy, that I had to go, not in that desert, but to another place, upon which the King too, it said, shall descend and there stamp the bread. Henceforward then, departing from there, I sailed to Cyprus to the holy monastery of my holy father [St. John] Chrysostom, lest, I thought, my divine call concerning solitude is realized on the slopes of that mountain.

Because the Lord who foresees all did not will this, the heads of the monastery did not will it either, for which reason, immediately departing from there too, I arrived at the fort of Paphos, wishing to sail towards Mount Latros,² expecting to encounter on it some solitary man and serve him. But having been detected by the guards of the harbor and been seized by them as a fugitive, I was put in jail for a night and a day. They deprived me even of the two *nomismata* which I had for the fare. In their mistaken belief that they would find something more on me, the workers of greed even searched the very seams of my clothes. And injustice belied itself (Ps. 26 [27]:12), finding nothing more. But having been released by the guard through the mediation of some pious persons, I was at a loss, not knowing which was to be my ordained place of promise and rest.

I was forced to say all this, wishing to show how I came to possess the place of this hermitage, of which I was completely ignorant in the past. Now wishing to bypass the length of the story, I shall briefly say that instead of the renowned Latros God gave me this precipice and this smallest of caves. Which was deserted and a resting-place of various birds, but to me it appeared desirable because of the solitary nature of the place, and in hope I settled in it alone. [p. 77]

Chapter Five: Concerning the construction of the hermitage, and concerning the bishop and certain mysteries

In the year six thousand six hundred and sixty seven [= 1159 A.D.], of the seventh indiction, on the twenty-fourth of the month of June, on the birth-day of the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner, having resorted to the said cave, I was twenty-five years old, yet I searched out the solitude of the place even until the month of September. But having discovered that the place was quiet and undisturbed, I started hewing the cave and widening it, and breaking down its unsound parts, and I worked thus throughout all that year, up to and until the following September and the [feast day of the] Exaltation of the Holy Cross.³

Having also fully carved out a tomb deep inside the cave, I told myself: "You shall possess nothing more than this, even if you come to rule the whole world." I called the cave by the name of the Holy Cross, having fixed an altar for the holy rites, so as not to distance myself from the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ.

Five years having passed by, I was also aroused in a laborious search for [relics of] the Venerable Cross and, as always, he who said that "everyone who asks receives and he who seeks finds" (Matt. 7:8) was proved right. For I too found what I was looking for. Then also after some time, my unworthy mind's ear heard a certain honey-dropping strange and unusual voice, saying thrice, "Remember," that is to say "your prophesied profession in the desert," namely "Go to another place, in which the King too, descending there, shall stamp the bread." Together with this there are also certain other [things], but what need is there to reveal those too, as if my honesty would be observed from these? But let these be for the glory of God.

Moreover, after a few years, by means of a vision, I thought I was going up the mountain of Olympos, facing Lefkara [and] my native city of Amathous, as if to venerate the Cross of Christ,

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

and lo, a voice saying to me “After fifty days” and anew for the second time “After sixty days.” [p. 78] The fulfillment of this saying still remains obscure.

During those years, the see of Paphos was vacant, and in the seventh year of my sojourn in the hermitage it was wedded to that blessed man Basil Kinnamos. For led by God, he showed great favor and faith towards my humbleness. He did not cease to incite me for an entire four-year period: on one hand he himself constantly visited me, and on the other, he exhorted me through his officials, until he placed me under the yoke of priesthood and persuaded me to take up a disciple to live with me, having also drawn up a *sigillion* for the sufficient living allowance.

Thereafter the structures of the hermitage began to be extended and adorned, and the entire length of the cliff was thoroughly hewn out for the construction of cells. In the twenty-fourth year of my enclosure, the hermitage was painted throughout, and the cliff next to it, hewn out, was consecrated as the church of the All-Holy Cross . . . [gap in text]

[Chapter Six: Concerning the Paphians] [Missing chapter]

Chapter Seven: Concerning the King of Cyprus⁴ and administrator of the present hermitage

[Gap in text] . . . but also, I implore you to attend to this my holy hermitage, as an administrator after God. Whenever because of some greed wrong is committed against it by one of the more cruel persons to the affliction of the brothers, with [the help of] God vindicate this quickly, as a man having power from God, and let your reward, from God, be the salvation of your soul. Thereupon, as benefactor, as administrator and as brother, you shall also have eternal commemorative services in my holy hermitage. If for a certain most urgent need the brothers think fit to send one of them to the emperor, [p. 79] co-operate with this and speak up for the brothers so that their request shall be met, and the mercy of God shall be upon you for this favor. Amen.

Chapter Eight: Memorandum to the emperor

We often see how a stone runs headlong down until [it reaches] the plain. I too, Lord emperor, with feet moving on their own, rushed to your noble [majesty], with this present writing. For I have heard that “a king loves justice” (Ps. 98 [99]:4) and I was convinced that you too, God-guarded from above, shall not overlook my memorandum, but shall fulfill, whichever is the request of my disciples and your servants who are praying for you, who persevere in this my holy hermitage and who officiate in the church of the Venerable Cross in it. Christ, “the king of glory” (Ps. 23 [24]: 7–10), shall reward by recompense your divine rule and shall strengthen and protect and make your reign mighty for long years. Amen.

Chapter Nine: Concerning the number of brothers and prohibition of instruction of children

In my previous testamentary *Rule* I had regulated for a very small number of brothers. But noting this provision in the rule, not just the brothers about me but also some of the learned laymen came together and they meekly requested that the number of brothers be raised up to twenty or even twenty-five, having also precisely calculated the sum of money necessary for such a number of church and attendant monks, “lest,” they said, “some of the good people may desire to live here and, if they are held back by the rule, you shall be found to be the cause of grief and faintheartedness both to them and to us.”

45. NEOPHYTOS

I answered these by saying that I had not so regulated out of hatred for the salvation and communal living of the good and many, but because I was taught by experience, both of the cenobitic systems and of what I expressly wrote about in my sixteenth chapter, that communal living of the many and ignorant and knavish and unruly and querulous breeds much noise and scandal. If certain such good men resort here for the glory of God and their salvation and their number is raised, as you said, I myself would certainly be no obstacle to those in whom God delights. Let the number then be raised to fifteen or even eighteen. [p. 80] He who feeds and provides for the few, shall have no difficulty in feeding also the many, and especially if [they are] good. Let the most God-fearing and prudent among them be steward, and another of similar qualities, be treasurer, so that the recluse shall always remain quiet and undisturbed.

I neither agree with nor urge the instruction of lay children in the hermitage. For this is an indecent thing and strange and foreign to the tradition of the holy fathers. For which reason I too properly forbade it. "Remove not," it is said, "the old landmarks which thy fathers placed" (Prov. 22:28).

Chapter Ten: Concerning poverty and the economic remedy

I hold that of every material possession none is better than the estate of poverty, as it always accompanies holiness. For it was thus that those who shook off their own property cleaved to the apostles, as the book of their acts plainly describes (Acts 2:45). Having at all events, brethren, acquired this most precious estate of holiness, do not also acquire wealth and a pair of oxen and arable land and the disturbance of cattle, so as not, having approached the world, to lose solitude, harm greatly your soul, and place the public servants above your head. For behold, fifty-five years have gone by since this hermitage was constructed, and, possessing none of the things pertaining to life, the Lord deprived us of none of his goods.

These I had regulated fittingly and well in my first testament. But our country having fallen to the Latins⁵ and all the people having been deprived of every necessity, it was obviously natural that we would also fall into hard times, both because of the superabundance of the brothers and because of the increased expense, not simply because of our needs, but also because of the outsiders who daily come and visit the hermitage on account of its fame.⁶ But because great expense at all events needs certain income and expenditure, and the brethren with good reasons disturbed me with these, I myself submitted to their desire, that is to say to acquire a little arable land and a vineyard and moderate numbers of sheep, to serve their very basic needs. You, brethren, I implore the Lord God to preserve unharmed from their soul-harming effects, and me in His mercy to judge innocent of this action. [p. 81]

I exhort you, brethren, to hasten to be shown, with the help of God, as being disposed towards these acquisitions piously and wisely and without passion, seeing that I too, shrinking from their soul-harming effect, renounced their possession for fifty-five years. If now upon their acquisition you become enslaved to sin, let the Lord pronounce me innocent of such illness. For it is better to be dead to sin and alive to justice, than dead to justice and alive to sin. Let my witness be the Lord Christ. "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his own life?" (Mark 8:36). To him who has been enslaved in sin, many lands and numerous herds shall be of no benefit whatsoever. Better, it is said, "a pittance honestly earned than great gains ill gotten" (Prov. 16:8).

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Chapter Eleven: Concerning the reading of the *Rule* and the canons

But in order that all these are not submerged into the depths of forgetfulness by the lethargy-prone mind, we command you, brethren, to read out this present rule and the canons thrice a year on an important day, when none of the brothers is absent. Let then the first reading be on the eighth of the month of September because of the birthday of the Mother of God, and the second on the feast of Christmas, and the third on the Annunciation of the perfectly pure Mother of God,⁷ so that the reading of the rules provokes the brothers into preserving them.

For thus God also commanded in the old times through Moses, to read frequently the law (Deut. 31: 11). As long as the law was read frequently, the wickedness of the people was also more moderate, but when the reading of the law ceased, they fell into myriads of unlawful and impious acts. Thence forward, having proceeded little by little into total forgetfulness and contempt of the law, they neither observed Passover nor offered sacrifice to God, but lived as the rest of the “Gentiles who do not possess the law” (Rom. 2:14).

But in the days of Josiah the King, a certain archpriest (called) Hilkiah, having found the book of the law in the temple of God, presented it to Josiah the King. Josiah, realizing that the law had been rejected for many years and the people were lawless, “rent his clothes” (II Kings 22:12), and begged the priests and the prophets to appease God in his and his people’s favor, and he himself, inflamed by divine zeal, destroyed “pillars” of idols and sacred groves and “altars” and every abominable rite, and Josiah the King utterly destroyed those pagan [p. 82] temples “which Solomon had” built “for Ashtoreth” and “for Chemosh” (cf. IV Kings 23:13–15), for his foreign wives, Moabites and Ammonites, and he slaughtered the priests of the idols, and “ordered all the people to keep the Passover to the Lord their God, for no such Passover had been kept” since “the Judges were ruling Israel” (IV Kings 23:21–22). There was then great displeasure in God because of the abolition of the law, and God commanded that the entire people be delivered to captivity. But appeased by the King’s zeal, he again commanded that he end in peace all the remaining time of his reign, and so it happened.

During the reign of King Jehoiakin, Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon and Nebuzaradan his chief minister, coming up, destroyed the city and that famous temple, and led the people to captivity in Babylon, where they were enslaved for seventy years (IV Kings 25: 8–12).

I recollected this story very briefly, wishing to show how good it is to listen to and preserve salutary laws, and that we are justly delivered to afflictions and captivities for the overstepping of commands. Of which I do not wish to say more. But I shall only briefly say the wise proverb, that “He that keeps the commandment keeps his own soul” (Prov. 19:16). I, placing my trust in the Lord, say that he who shall keep what has been laid down in this book, shall be saved with the grace and help of God. Amen.

Chapter Twelve: Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the priest and the holy vessels, and the books of the recluse

Since the *typikon* of the church explains about the daily church service, I consider it unnecessary to talk at length about it. But I shall briefly say this, that this command of the *typikon* must not be overlooked and the reading of the Psalter must not be touched on cursorily, and that you must not neglect reading the liturgical books in time, nor be lazy in reading the catechism, for the glory of God and the benefit of those desiring it.

45. NEOPHYTOS

You must observe daily during the vespers and the matins and the holy liturgy the prayers for the emperors and magistrates and bishops and for the ministers [of God] past and present. You must not neglect the services for the Saturdays and Sundays and feast days and of the great saints. [p. 83] If this is not a burden to you, present God with an offering for me too at every liturgy.

Let the officiating priest be pure and unblemished with [the help of] God, so that his sacrifice would be welcomed by God. For, if according to the divine Paul, the unworthy layman “falls under judgment” (I Cor. 11:29) for partaking of the mysteries of Christ, so much more does the sacrificer and celebrant of the body of Christ. If you carry on with [the help of] God according to our instructions, I trust that, as obedient, you shall also enjoy in greater abundance God’s protection and salvation of the soul, by Christ’s grace.

The holy vessels and the books and the holy icons, as having been consecrated to God and to the holy hermitage once and for all, no one should remove any of them, either by authority or as a gift, lest both the giver and the receiver be subjected to the curse and excommunication from the church. Beware!

There are with [the help of] God also the writings of the recluse, sixteen small and large books, of which the three larger are *panegyrikai*.

Two other books of many letters very beneficial to the soul, in which are also four hundred ascetic chapters and twenty-four *Telonia*.

A book in fifty chapters, containing also a commentary on the Song of Songs.

Another, [The book] of the *Divine Sign*.

Another, a commentary on the *Hexaemeros* in sixteen homilies.

Another, a commentary on the Psalms in twelve homilies.

Another, a commentary on the canons of the twelve feasts of the Lord.

Another [book] in twelve chapters, the notebook of the recluse, referring to [the events] of forty and fifty years and to natural phenomena.

Another [book] in twenty chapters, contains clear and concise commentaries on the Lord’s commandments in the Old and New Testaments.

Another, the book of catechetical instruction.

Another small [book] of penitential *stichera*.

Another, this present testamentary *Rule*.

Yet another, the so-called Last [Book].

Sixteen books altogether, which, being new, must not be overlooked at all events by those who love virtue and God. But having perceived that the writings are not of human wisdom or subtle verbiage but of the grace of the Holy Spirit, they shall glorify the Triune God. Amen. [p. 84]

Chapter Thirteen: Exhortation to the brethren, and remembrance of excommunication

Let us hurry, brethren, God helping, to be detected by the all-cultivating God as being clean soil, fruit-bearing and receptive of spiritual seed, so that when the summer of our life comes we shall fill our bosom with the sheaves of eternal life.

Let us know a time for fasting and a time for eating, a time for sleep and a time for waking, a time for rest and a time for labor.

Let no discord and envy, strifes and knavish rivalries settle in your midst.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Do not work at covert and improper errors. For God sees everything. Basil the Great commands eschewing the sin of secret eating, even that of merely licking and tasting.⁸

Having hated the grievous illness of covetousness, be healthy in poverty. For those who fell ill with that illness died while still living. As for you, acquiring no money of your own, be content with what God provides the monastery.

Let us hasten to achieve a humble spirit before God and men.

But before all these comes a sacred and pure life. Do not forget the excommunication which I have inscribed in the narthex of the church that does not permit him who has fallen into sin to dwell here, unless he quickly rises through confession and sincere repentance. For God loves the pure and uninhabited desert more than the soiled world. This excommunication must be read out every Sunday, after the reading of the catechetical instruction, without fail, so that the brothers are incited to safe-conduct, with the help of God.

Chapter Fourteen: Concerning the elections of the recluse and prayer for the recluse and the hermitage

When, brethren, the incumbent passes away and departs from this life, do not strive against each other who shall first grab the seat of the hermitage. For such wretchedness is a mark of love of glory and conceit. For he who sits in the hermitage vaingloriously and heedlessly, shall be found out to be more of a simpleton than the one who dwells in virtue outside it. Since it is not the place but the manner [of living] with [the help of] God which saves man. For if the place on its own and without the manner saved man, the angels would not have fallen from heavens, our forefathers would not have fallen from paradise, Judas would not have become a traitor from the apostolic company. [p. 85]

Although I can mention a great many examples of this sort, I shall not because I prefer above all to speak briefly. Thence I shall briefly say that, avoiding every intrigue and envy, you shall elect him who in word and deed is worthy of the life of a recluse, and, when you will have carried out the forty [days'] commemorative services for the past recluse praising God in a vigil, then, after the end of the holy liturgy, you shall bring him with [the help of] God up to the hermitage, the New Sion, and after the customary *trisagion*, read out to him also the prayer which I wrote for the recluse and the hermitage. You, on the one hand, must come down immediately, and let him, on the other, begin resolutely the life of enclosure, with the help of God.

I do not advise him against well-timed spiritual talk to the brethren, and especially if he is blessed with the art of speech and knowledge. Talk is better than silence. For silence only benefits its own laborer, while the word also benefits many others. Christ the Lord also taught this in deed, on some occasions habitually visiting and teaching the crowds, on other occasions spending his time on the mount in solitude and prayer. If we also do likewise, we shall reap the benefit of both.

Prayer: "Christ our God, the cause and provider of everything good through the goodwill of thy Father and the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, thou who strengthened and shed thy grace on Elijah of Tishbe in the old days and more recently upon John thy Forerunner and Baptist so that they led the solitary and eremitic life and achieved the angelic life on earth (emulating their life and following on their footsteps were Antony, Euthymios, Onouphrios and their companions). Thou, O Lord, the giver of good things, shelter, preserve, sanctify, hold steadfast and strengthen

45. NEOPHYTOS

this slave of thine, too, who has forsaken everything by his own free will and chosen the life of a recluse and a solitary, so that, strengthened by thy might, he may follow in the footsteps of thy aforementioned saints and the holy men who shone forth [from the top of] pillars. By thy mercy make also this hermitage inaccessible to invisible and visible foes, through the intercessions of thy perfectly pure Mother, thy all-venerable Cross and all thy saints. Amen.”

Chapter Fifteen: Specific exhortation to the recluse

This exhortation is laid down not just for one recluse, but for each one from generation to generation.

You, brother, who have chosen the life of a recluse, acquire [p. 86] above all remembrance of death and prepare your actions for your life’s end. Acquire freedom from care, the best foundation of solitude. Live with the chanting of psalms and prayer and reading, through which many came near God.

Practice simple handiwork, not wracking your brains for base profits. Alleviate the sickness of covetousness with the medicine of poverty. Preserving meditation and mastery over your thoughts, do not engage from the beginning of [your life as] a solitary in conversation with many [people] and especially stupid ones.

Do not hear the confessions of some [of the brothers] before you acquire spiritual mastery. For this caused many to fall into the pit of perdition, as I have found out from them, and instead of uplifting others they themselves fell and instead of healing [others] they were invisibly wounded. But when you avoid passionate thoughts and pleasure-loving inclinations through the divine inclination leading to the love of God, and are tonsured in the great habit and receive the official blessing of a bishop, as the Fathers prescribe,⁹ then you shall not be lacking anything to be proclaimed a spiritual father. For they say of him who receives confessions without [having received] this blessing that neither his censure has any force nor is his release considered a release. For it is said: “What have you that you did not receive?” (I Cor. 4:7).

Have “a broken heart and a humble spirit” (cf. Ps. 50 [51]:17) before God, patience with everyone, and practice as much fasting as your strength permits.

In all your affairs appeal for help with all your heart to Christ our God, the helper of the helpless; and, brother, take courage leaning on good hopes. For it is said: “Did ever any trust in Lord and was confounded?” (Eccl. 2:10) or “Did any abide in His fear and was forsaken?” (Eccl. 2:10) and “Will God forget to pity?” (Ps. 76 [77]:9) or “Will a woman forget her child, so as not to have compassion upon the offspring of her womb? But if a woman should even forget these, yet I will not forget thee, saith the Lord” (Isaiah 49:15, 8). Even if “the gate is narrow” at the beginning for want of experience and “the road is hard” (Matt. 7:14) for our want of strength, yet with the passage of time, the “yoke is easy to bear” and “the burden” is found to be “light” (Matt. 11:30).

Staying within, “go forth” like a man to your spiritual “work and to your labor till the evening” (Ps. 103 [104]:23) of your life, so that you may say rejoicing: “How great are thy works, O Lord! In wisdom hast thou wrought them all” (Ps. 103 [104]:24) even with regard to me.

Refrain from discontent and muttering that you may not be found onerous and troublesome about your food and drink and the [p. 87] lighting up of your cell, but gratefully satisfied with what is easily available. For if self-control and contentment with little is praiseworthy in every

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

man, it is even more so in the case of a monk leading the anchoritic and solitary life. For although I, too, many times wished to have just ten grains soaked in water during the public festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, they were not given to me nor did they remember me. Yet, I reckoned that this was not done out of contempt but because of the multitude of people and because I was hidden away and not easily seen. This happened not once but at different times during public festivals, seeing that I did not touch anything softened by fire. I did not want to mention this, but mention it I did, brother, in order to incite you to patience.

Thus when you have finished the race well and arrived well at the end, by the grace of Christ, you will have certainly glorified by your good deeds the Father together with the Son and the Holy Spirit. He promised to glorify in turn those who glorify him (cf. John 17: 22–24).

Whosoever wishes must not come up to the upper hermitage unimpeded, so that there may not be confusion and disturbance [in the upper hermitage] as there is in the lower one; unless, of course, a few and pious men request to come up out of faith.

Chapter Sixteen: Concerning my own successor and nephew, the ordained monk and steward Isaiah

Firstly I entrust this place of my holy hermitage and those settled in it to Christ my God and his undefiled Mother and his divine Cross, and then to my nephew, the ordained monk and steward Isaiah. I place the holy hermitage and all that accrues to it and the spiritual and physical protection of the brethren under his authority and power, with the help of God, not indeed out of a feeling of family affection, but because he was raised here from a tender age and I have had good hopes for him. If perhaps a malicious and envious man, motivated by the workings of the Devil, annoys and offends him, causing him to run away from here, let the “wrath of the Lord” (Zach. 7:12) be his just adversary and let him have the Lord’s Cross as his implacable enemy. Heed this warning! [p. 88]

But if he, by his own free will, departs from here in some mad thirst for fame, or if he is seen to be disposed of carelessly, neglectfully and contemptuously towards what has been imparted and entrusted to him, he himself will certainly reap the benefits of his labors, for “a man reaps what he sows” (Gal. 6:7) as both experience and the divine Paul teach. Pay attention also to what Solomon advises: “Son,” it is said, “if thou be wise for thyself, thou shalt also be wise for thy neighbor; and if thou shouldst prove wicked, then thou alone will bear the evil” (Prov. 9:12).

Let these be sufficient, child, for your safety. But if you decline the appointment, either because of your still flourishing youth, or because of your continuous ministration as steward, you do not have the strength required for the enclosure of the hermitage, elect another, with God’s goodwill, only one virtuous and greatly experienced and fittingly dignified for this service, for the sake of his own abundant good repute and salvation, and the strengthening of many, and God’s glory. Amen.

Chapter Seventeen: Concerning the *kelliotai* [Missing chapter]

Chapter Eighteen: Concerning the garden of the hermitage

[Gap in text] . . . the deepest seasonal river cutting through the middle of this garden. Against the cells hewn on the precipice of the hermitage, the depth and the length of the ravine has been filled and covered with earth, and (the bed of) another seasonal river was forcefully cut through against the opposite side.

Whenever it overflows more violently and deviates into the garden and buries it with sand and stones and utterly covers it, who is capable of describing how much tormenting labor is required of the brethren in order to clean it up? However, because, as we have already said, it has four-fold authority from divine providence, and serves as a courtyard of the hermitage and as a place of manual labor for the brethren, let no one hinder its use in the hermitage so as not to find God as his avenger, for having hindered God's providence. [p. 89]

Chapter Nineteen: Concerning the hermitage's inaccessibility to women and concerning female beasts

Safety [from danger] and [from] the unforeseen is always good. "All things are lawful for me," it is said, "but not all things are helpful" (I Cor. 6:12) and, "let all be done decently and in order" (I Cor. 14:40). For this reason I too command that the bounds of the holy hermitage be inaccessible to any woman. If any woman, out of depravity, enters inside the outer gate, she shall fall under the punishment of feeding on dry food for forty days, and of carrying out the same number of genuflections throughout these days, so that both she is taught and she teaches others not to cross boundaries of discipline and not to overstep salvific rules. We have decreed thus, not because we loathe our fellow-human beings,¹⁰ but we wrote thus in order to preserve the discipline of the place. For it is unbefitting for the shipmaster to permit causes of scandal and shipwreck to enter the harbor. For the region of the hermitage being separate from the world and solitary, it ought to preserve also the likeness of a haven of salvation.

But together with these we also command this, that it is unbefitting to have for service in the monastery of the hermitage a female donkey or a mule. For such a thing is blameworthy and indecent and unbecoming, and supportive of "the devices of the devil" (Eph. 6:12) towards evil, and especially for those who are still morally unstable and lacking in the fear of God.

Let Christ my God, the master of all, steer also this hermitage and all those in it towards harbors of salvation by his grace. Amen.

Chapter Twenty: Concerning the buildings erected at the hermitage and consecrated to God and concerning the church

It is not unbefitting that the buildings at the monastery of the hermitage would appear to be built by God, for there was no intention on my part to build. For this reason, I had built some small enclosure against the edge of the cliff from the beginnings [of my sojourn]; this and only this existed for eleven years, and I did not wish to build anything more nor to accept cohabitation with any disciple.

However, the fifth chapter has intimated briefly about the hermitage and the hewing out of the nearby cliffs for the building of cells, and so this chapter shall briefly speak about the following buildings. These are as follows: [p. 90]

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Far from the hermitage we laboriously built a big gate, having seats and recumbent benches, affording an adequate resting place. But having ascertained that a certain mischief and pollution had taken place therein, I said “Hateful repose, cause of hell,” and requested the brothers to demolish it to its foundations, and to rebuild another gate at some distance from it farther up, constructing neither a broad roof nor seats in it: which stands to this day with [the help of] God free from any mischief.

Then [there are] a bakery, a kitchen, a store-house, with its upper storey for putting away produce, various cells, and two more [cells] in the garden. Likewise the cells by the fountain, those of the lower floor being for stabling animals and storing hay, while those of the upper floor, for habitation. Then, the steward’s office and above it the portico with its five arches, and within these arches hewn in the precipice the refectory for midday meals.

Then, the narthex and its upper storey [which is] the sacristy. Again above this, my sanctuary and holy chapel, wherein I am sanctified by partaking of Christ’s sacraments and by the chanting of the holy hymns. Again, above the aforementioned sanctuary, [is] the new hermitage of the New Sion, the work abounding in God’s providence. And another cell, the one called the cell of [St. John] the Forerunner, hewn in the precipice.

Then again, the very great building by the seasonal river, which was very laboriously built with many arches. Upon these arches, if and when God wills it, there shall be built another church in the name of the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity.¹¹ I neither agree nor urge that you begin this building while you lack the funds and are unable to meet its expenditure and costs, so that you may not be begging and annoying certain people because of lack of necessities: unless a rich and imperial right hand is extended to you by God’s guidance, or some magistrate’s support is providentially forthcoming. For holy and very great works are also in need of [great] expenditure. But if however such assistance does not materialize and your hand remains poor, you shall be satisfied with the church of the Holy and all-venerable Cross of Christ which I myself have hewn out of the cliff. So much about these.

Concerning the divine icons and the holy vessels and the precious woods of the Cross and the holy relics of martyrs and holy men, whose number is thirty, and which I embellished in longing desire and faith as well as I could, the inventory [p. 91] expands on these in greater detail. These were furnished here not through my power, but through the providence and sanction of God, in whose all-powerful hand I have entrusted piously all these and this place and those living herein.

Chapter Twenty-One: Concerning repentance and confession of sins in deed and thought

It is written that “they were baptized confessing their sins” (Matt. 3:6), and “He that covers his own ungodliness shall not prosper” (Prov. 28:13). For this reason I too exhort my brothers in Christ, those staying in the monastery of my holy hermitage from generation to generation, to confess readily their mistakes and their wretched thoughts either to the recluse father or to whosoever he shall promote [as confessor] from those here. For the fathers do not advise having as spiritual father a monk in an alien monastery, because an alien father does not care much about alien children. To triumph over sin through pure confession is proof of repentance and abstinence from evil. For he who still retains evil also hides it. Thence I command such a person not to partake in communion of the awesome sacraments of Christ. For of those enslaved in sin “no one

will see the Lord” (Heb. 12:14), without repentance and confession of sins. The Lord Christ is the true witness saying “Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand” (Matt. 4:17). Of which may he deem us worthy in his mercy.

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning the authorization of the *Rule* by Bishop Kinnamos and ratification by Bishop Bakchos

[Gap in text] . . . I command that none of the superiors or of the monks, or simply any other person whosoever, shall alter or overturn something from the rules of the said recluse, or shall cause any distress to the brethren staying in the hermitage, unless he happens to be a lover of injustice and a stranger to goodness, and wishes to bring upon himself the curses of the three hundred and eighteen God-bearing holy fathers, and to be subjected by our mediocrity through the Holy Spirit to excommunication from the holy church and from communion of the holy body and blood of Christ.

Let those who ratify in deed the rules and are well-disposed towards everything concerning the hermitage [p. 92] have from God the blessing of the patriarch Abraham and the support of the Cross of Christ.

I wrote these in my own hand in the presence of many witnesses and with great confidence, and, knowing well about the said recluse, I ratified this his rule on the sixth of the month of January, of the eighth indiction.¹²

+ Basil by the mercy of God the lowly bishop of Paphos +

The copy of the signed ratification of lord Bakchos, bishop of Paphos.

Our lowliness having read the present *Rule*, and having ascertained the rules herein to be good and to God’s liking, I signed it in my own hand for further assurance and confirmation, in the month of May, of the twelfth indiction.¹³

+ The worthless sinful monk Bakchos and, even though unworthy, bishop of Paphos. +

This then is the testimony and signature and confirmation of the aforementioned bishops.

Then an excommunication against either removing or adding.

I, having composed this *Rule* of twenty-four chapters, deemed it right to secure it by means of an excommunication, so that no one shall dare to add or remove anything from it. For I have indeed known that, after the death of certain founders, some of those in the monastery dared to adulterate certain of the rules of the *typikon* and to cross out whatever they wished, as if they had not heard: accursed is he who “removes the ancient landmark” (cf. Prov. 23:10) and “Remove not the old landmarks which thy fathers placed” (Prov. 22:28).

I therefore write for security thus:

If someone contrives to destroy this present rule or to add or remove anything from the rules of mine laid down by me with [the help of] God, [p. 93] let him firstly fall under the above-mentioned curse, and then be excommunicated from God’s glory and the holy church and the sacraments of Christ.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Chapter Twenty-Three: Concerning the recluse, twenty ascetic canons for the brethren, and twelve from the epitome of canons of Basil the Great

+ Table of Twenty Ascetic Canons [C]

- Ch. 1 Concerning the purpose of the canons
- Ch. 2 Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the midnight service
- Ch. 3 Concerning the need to run quickly to church
- Ch. 4 Concerning eating dry food for three days and concerning the holy fasts
- Ch. 5 Concerning staying out of the monastery and poverty
- Ch. 6 Concerning monks playing, and that physical labor is also useful
- Ch. 7 Concerning a brother fallen into sin
- Ch. 8 Concerning grievous slavery
- Ch. 9 Concerning bath and bed
- Ch. 10 Concerning not having one's own money nor food in the cells
- Ch. 11 Concerning secret eating, and of the need to inspect the cells of the brothers
- Ch. 12 Concerning no complaints over food
- Ch. 13 Concerning self-control and handiwork
- Ch. 14 Concerning separation from secular relatives
- Ch. 15 Concerning clothing and the madness of vainglory
- Ch. 16 Concerning the number of brothers
- Ch. 17 Concerning invitations and concerning the newcomer
- Ch. 18 Concerning beggars at the outer gate
- Ch. 19 Concerning the punishments, and the recluses
- Ch. 20 Concerning love, and a summary in verse [p. 94]

+ Twenty ascetic canons of Neophytos, ordained monk and recluse, to the brethren of the hermitage

Father, bless.

[C1] Canon One: Concerning the purpose of the canons

In my desire, brothers, that you be ascetics in word and deed, I imitate the painstaking toils of painters, who, desiring to complete a drawn image, are liberal in their application of colors, and then by applying varnish¹⁴ over it, they brighten up the painted image, and bind the colors together. Just like them, I too mixed together many colors in the form of words through panegyric writings, through catechetical instructions, through epistles, through punishments, through the rule. Then, in place of varnish, I also wrote the present canons, so that, with the help and grace of Christ, we shall return again to our original beauty in God's image, from which we fell.

[C2] Canon Two: Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the midnight service

Concerning the ecclesiastical office we have already written in the twelfth chapter of the rule. But concerning the midnight service we say this, that it is unbecoming for a monk to lie [sleeping] as if dead until the striking of the semantron but one ought to have already gone to the church and

45. NEOPHYTOS

be singing “At midnight I rose to give thanks to Thee” (Ps. 118 [119]: 62) and so on. During the summertime, because of the length of the day and the very short duration of the night, he who does not have the strength to sing the usual midnight service in its entirety should not miss the whole service, but he should sing at least half of it. For the half-withered is preferable to the completely dried-up, and the one-eyed is better than the entirely blind.

[C3] Canon Three: Concerning the need to quickly run into church

Once the wood [semantron] is struck, one must quickly hasten to church, in the same way that, when the wood [semantron] is sounded for meals, everybody hurries towards the refectory, lest they miss any of the food served. They are distraught if something has already been consumed and they were not there in time. Yet one ought to be far sadder if one sleeps uncaringly or in some other way neglects and does not partake in the inexhaustible food of divine doxology. But he who is truly ill or with good reason otherwise busy, is worthy of forgiveness.

[C4] Canon Four: Concerning eating dry food for three days and concerning the holy fasts

On Monday, Wednesday and Friday of each week, [p. 95] the brothers living the ascetic life in the hermitage must eat dry food, except when engaged in heavy labor or commemorating one of the great saints. But during the great and holy Lent one must eat dry food on five days of each week. Those who wish to and are capable of more [than this], shall also reap more of the fruits of goodness. But the days of fasting during the fast of Christmas and that of the Holy Apostles¹⁵ must be kept without fail according to the command of the *typikon* of the Church, and we demand no more than that, because of the hot weather and the length of the daytime.

[C5] Canon Five: Concerning staying out of the monastery and concerning the safety of the monks

Unless there is a most pressing need, an ascetic of the hermitage must not stay out [of the monastery], and especially in the company of laymen. For such a thing is improper and truly dangerous. But, just like a fish cannot bear to stay on dry land, fearing death, but eagerly seeks the water, likewise the true monk does not bear staying out of his cell.

[C6] Canon Six: Concerning monks playing and that physical labor is also useful

Secret and unattested is the fall of two monks who playfully embrace each other, especially if they are younger [monks], as I heard from those who suffered this. But it is necessary to punish and stop those who playfully embrace thus.

We know that physical labor is useful to all. This little I myself know from experience. For one who labored wisely and harvested, shall say: “God see my humiliation and my labor” (Gen. 31:42), and forgive all my sins. He shall be confident that this shall come to pass.

[C7] Canon Seven: Concerning a brother fallen into sin

If one of the brothers is led astray to a carnal sin, which I pray may not happen, if his soul is wounded and with confession he hastens towards repentance, let him be allowed [to remain here], and let him carry out the work of the punishment relative to the sin, so as to make sure that he shall

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

not sin again. As for the one who is not so inclined, let him be ousted from here like a diseased sheep, so as not to spread the disease to the rest of the monks as well. For it is easier to participate in evil than to partake in goodness.

[C8] Canon Eight: Concerning grievous slavery

Our country having been terribly enslaved to a Latin nation, and divine providence having preserved us free, we, brothers, have a duty to preserve ourselves free from sin, [p. 96] with [the help of] God, and to thank and glorify God our benefactor as he so deserves, so as to attract even more of his divine providence.

[C9] Canon Nine: Concerning bath and bed

A monk of the hermitage, and especially a young one, must not bathe and add fire to fire, except in case of illness or infirmity due to old age. Neither must a monk lie down to sleep on a bed, but on a mat, just as the angel of God enjoined godly Pachomios.¹⁶ But he who uses a bed because of illness or old age is not to be blamed.

[C10] Canon Ten: Concerning not having one's own money nor food in the cells

To have one's own money or food in one's cell is the clearest proof of covetousness and gluttony and a dissolution and transgression of community order. He who is not content with the provisions of the monastery is condemned as greedy. For the cells of the brothers must not stink like taverns, but must smell sweetly as places of prayers.

He who acquires his own silver or copper is at all events led by his increasing passion to recklessly commit sacrilege, stealing and selling and appropriating the property of the monastery. Such petty cash then also incites one to desert the monastery.

He who keeps food in his cell and is not content with what is offered in the refectory is doubly condemned, both because he was a glutton and because he became a bad example to the brothers. Such a monk must be punished, until he learns to conduct himself like a monk.

[C11] Canon Eleven: Concerning secret eating, and of the need to inspect the cells of the brothers

The gluttonous disease of secret eating caused the fall of many, and caused the first-formed himself to be utterly cast off from paradise. I therefore beseech you, brothers, not to be defeated by this passion, like the "poor man devouring in secret" (Hab. 3:14), as it is written, so that you shall enjoy the manifest delights of paradise when the time comes.

The leading monks of the hermitage must examine the cells of the brothers and, if any food or any other superfluous thing is found, they must remove it, and urge the brother not to do anything like that again. This is not simply a new rule devised by me, but one which has been laid down by the God-loving scriptures and by many of the holy fathers¹⁷ [p. 97] for the correction and safety of the more gluttonous of the brothers, in order that they shall be saved.

[C12] Canon Twelve: Concerning no complaints over food

They say "Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not, lest thou be hated" (Eccl. 33:16). For the true monk does not complain in the refectory nor does he

45. NEOPHYTOS

say why this or that food or drink is not offered, but “gives thanks to God” (Rom. 14:6), “content with what he has” (Heb. 13:5), and they become his salvation and flesh and blood, and his spoon like a two-edged sword slaying complaining thoughts. But if they eat their fill and complain, “when their food was yet in their mouth,” they say “the indignation of God rose up against them” for their ungratefulness “and slew the fattest of them” (Ps. 77 [78]:30–31). But we have an obligation, brothers, to thank God, whether for richer or for poorer. For we did not promise God to “fatten” ourselves like pigs for “the day for slaughter” (James 5:5). Instead, we promised to walk “the straight and narrow road” (Matt. 7:14).

[C13] Canon Thirteen: Concerning self-control and handiwork

The greatest wisdom for the monk is the control of tongue and belly. For they say that “every athlete exercises self-control in all things” (I Cor. 9:25). But those who, against the advice of the superior, occupy themselves with handiwork for their own profit, have their hands truly plunged into injustice, eating the bread of the monastery and pursuing their own profit at the same time. But the holy fathers offered their handiwork at the same place as fed them with bread. For, according to Basil the Great, the ascetic must not have private occupations.¹⁸ I also give this advice to my monks in the hermitage, not to be distracted by anything outside your own monastic life, nor to get entangled in machinations, so as not, having lost the call of obedience, to reap the fruit of following one’s own devices.

[C14] Canon Fourteen: Concerning separation from secular relatives

It is improper to be attached to secular relatives . . .

[Gap in text] . . . [p. 98] relatives, so as not to appear to God that we betrayed our promises of renouncing the world.

[C15] Canon Fifteen: Concerning clothing and the madness of vainglory

I do not approve that the brothers of the hermitage wear a dark-dyed or black or double-woven outer garment, but one that is battered, grey and shabby, as befits true monks. For adornment is superfluous to the monk. For a layman in the world adorns himself, as perhaps when he is about to enter into marriage. But the monk must also adorn himself with virtue, as he too is about to enter into heavenly union.

But one must also be on his guard against the madness of vainglory. For this embellisher, being the beginning of the fall and the foremost evil, accompanies not only fine array but also squalid rags and coarse clothing.

[C16] Canon Sixteen: Concerning the number of brothers

Suffice what I wrote in the ninth chapter of my regulation as to the number of brothers, and [only] if they are found to be good. But if not, it is better for a shepherd to have ten sheep rather than fifty goats. God does not want a multitude of monks, crawling in sin.

For I once decided, following the exhortations of many, to admit certain [monks] for the sake of [their own] benefit. The number was raised to fourteen, who, instead of deriving any benefit, were harmed and their discord threw us into disarray. For four of them, getting together in bad

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

company, held drinking sessions and secret conversations, not listening to my words of warning, were complaining, and everything that they had “said in the dark” was “proclaimed” not only “from the housetops” (Luke 12:3), but even outside the monastery due to the violence of the upheaval. Divine providence allowed none of that disorderly group of four to remain here. Whose sin may the Lord forgive, and as for me, I learnt from experience that it is a mistake to dwell with many and wicked [people]. I therefore advise that a small number [of monks], peaceful and contemplative, must remain in the monastery of the holy hermitage.

[C17] Canon Seventeen: Concerning invitations and concerning the newcomer

If some laymen or monks have invited a monk of the hermitage [to celebrate] feast days and commemorations of saints, [p. 99] I do not permit [the monk] to follow him who extended the invitation, so that he does not, having returned to his cell like a prisoner, stand in need of toil and trouble and many days to free his mind from the fantasy of what he heard and saw.

When some newcomer requests to be admitted in the hermitage, these canons must first be read by way of preface to him, and, if he undertakes and is capable of living according to their content, well and good, and let him be admitted, but if he stumbles, let him be ousted.

[C18] Canon Eighteen: Concerning beggars at the outer gate

I praise and urge that you do as much good as you can, to those arriving at the outer gate and begging for some of the necessities, but in no wise to women, as I have also commanded in the nineteenth chapter of my rule. For it is indecent and wrong for women to sit by the gate and the enclosure, and look around inside with dainty eyes. For the Lord loves almsgiving, as a great almsgiver [himself], but he also hates almsgiving causing sin. Therefore I too have forbidden such almsgiving without hesitation.

[C19] Canon Nineteen: Concerning the punishments and the recluses

It was necessary for us to define also the punishment, in accordance with the custom of the old canons, for those who might in future transgress. But I readily passed this by, on the one hand so as not to make the canons burdensome, and on the other so that, if the canons are kept not through force but through free will, those who keep them shall be seen to be more praiseworthy. For “He that keeps the commandments,” they say “keeps his own soul” (Prov. 19:16).

However, those who hold the office of recluse at any time shall have the authority, with [the help of] God, to punish in moderation and humaneness the transgressors. For example: Has someone stayed out? Let the cause be interrogated, and, if it is a reasonable one, let him be forgiven, but if it is unreasonable, let him be punished accordingly. Does another, having affection towards worldly relatives and having been advised, disobey? Let him be excommunicated from the church, and debarred from the refectory, until he corrects himself. Likewise, for the one having silver or copper. Likewise and for the rest of the canons, those who clearly transgress them, shall be punished with the purpose of salvation, for whose sake I myself have drawn up these canons with [the help of] God.

45. NEOPHYTOS

[C20] Canon Twenty: Concerning love

“Love” is the “wholeness of knowledge and prophecy alike” (cf. 1 Cor. 13:8–10), through which God himself, becoming a man, [p. 100] suffered death, and, having decreed love to be the sign of his teaching, he said: “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35).

For hatred is compared to a most wild sea, while love to a most calm haven. Which I pray, brother, you shall carry as most blissful money and purse in the bosom of your heart, so that, according to the divine commandment, you shall live in peace and “love one another” (John 13:34). For which reason I too, like a key of pure gold together with a precious seal, placed love as the end of the canons, safely keeping out the foe of love.

“Then the peace of God, which passes all understanding, will keep” (Phil. 4:7) the hearts of all of us in his grace. Amen.

+ Summary in verse.

Pay attention, brethren, to the laws of God, for “the words that I say to you I do not speak on my own authority” (John 14:10).

One, I painted an august picture of virtues.

Two, I gave counsel to chant psalms in the middle of the night.

Three, I provoked you to run willingly to church.

Four, I laid down a rule for passion-killing fasting.

Five, I forbade staying out and excessive possessions.

Six, It is bad for monks to play, and good to labor.

Seven, He who is wounded by sin should lament.

Eight, To be enslaved to sin is foreign to monks.

Nine, It is necessary to abstain from bathing and bed.

Ten, Do not usurp money or food.

Eleven, Do not eat in secret, and search the cells.

Twelve, One must thank, not moan when eating.

Thirteen, Self-control and communal labor are noble.

Fourteen, Affection for relatives turns the heart towards the world.

Fifteen, Comely clothing is a sign of conceit.

Sixteen, Better a few than a bad multitude of men.

Seventeen, It is good to flee harmful fairs.

Eighteen, It is good to give alms to those from whom no harm will accrue.

Nineteen, The recluse must punish with compassion.

Twenty, The apex of all good things is possession of love. [p. 101]

God shall preserve for those who preserve these [canons] an undecaying and eternal life. Amen.

+ A selection of benefit for those who wish it from the *Epitome* of Canons of Basil the Great, twelve canons. [CB]

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

[CB1] Canon One: He who knows of a brother contemplating flight from the monastery, or, having conversed with him, agrees with him and does not denounce his plans, shall be excommunicated for one week.

[CB2] [Canon] Two: If one, contrary to the superior's opinion, goes out of the monastery without the blessing and full consent of the superior, he shall remain without holy communion.

[CB3] [Canon] Three: If one conspires with another to depart from the monastery, he shall remain without holy communion.

[CB4] [Canon] Four: If one knows of a brother contemplating to depart secretly from the monastery and does not impart this to the superior, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB5] [Canon] Five: If one is found writing to someone or accepting a letter without the superior's knowledge, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB6] [Canon] Six: If one is found in the night in private with another, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB7] [Canon] Seven: If one, being in good health, remains asleep, while there is chanting of psalms at church, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB8] [Canon] Eight: If one, who has a quarrel with a brother, is about to receive holy communion, before he is reconciled with him, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB9] [Canon] Nine: If one exacts vengeance on another, chastising him over an error, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB10] [Canon] Ten: If one, without having been commanded, gives out or receives something, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB11] [Canon] Eleven: If one, contrary to the superior's opinion, sends to or receives a gift from someone, he shall be deprived of the gift [of blessed bread].

[CB12] [Canon] Twelve: If one is deprived of the gift [of blessed bread] and, being annoyed, does not accept this, he shall be excommunicated for one week.

This dozen of canons then gathered from the canons of Basil, the wise in the things of God and great illuminator and our father, was added to ours like a divine relish for embellishment inspired by God, since "the inferior is always blessed by the superior" (Heb. 7:7). Yes indeed, but also for the embellishment and salvation of such souls as choose to preserve saving commandments. Because it is said that "he that keeps the commandments keeps his soul safe" (Prov. 19:16), and that he who transgresses them shall be known. What shall he be known as? [p. 102] It is clear that he shall be known as a willing transgressor and a man contemptuous of his own salvation.

45. NEOPHYTOS

+ Next concerning a request and memorandum for release of the excommunicated.

+ By Neophytos, priest, monk and recluse to the brothers of the monastery of [St. John] Chrysostom in the Queen of Cities¹⁹ a memorandum concerning . . . [gap in text]

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning my own passing away, and concerning the older hermitage and the tomb, and for the brothers, and a last prayer

Father, bless.

“O incredible miracle!” it is much more fitting to say: “O incredible death.” For “death succeeds all these.” So that “even if a man should live a thousand years they are as yesterday” (cf. Ps. 89 [90]:3) to him, and even if he rules all the lands and all the seas, from all that infinite and great power, he is found to be the ruler of only one rod of earth, in which he was buried.

But I do not bear to go on philosophizing about these. But rather, having discussed some brief thoughts about the sunset of our lives, I shall end the road here.

If I then am found worthy upon that hour to be called before God—for all die upon God’s beckoning, but not all are called to ascend towards God. For how can those who came to pass all their life in impiety and uncleanness and greed, then go up to all-holy God? For “light can not consort with darkness” (II Cor. 6:14). When God-fighting kings, tyrants and men alienated from God die, does God call them to him? Will he not rather say: Away with all sinners so as not to see “the glory of the Lord?” (cf. Ps. 96 [97]:6). But concerning these also I do not wish to say more. But if, as I said earlier, I am found worthy to be called towards God and Jesus Christ our Lord, do not, brothers, weep for me profusely, for you shall be seeing nothing foreign to any mortal nature, but instead, having carried out the proper prayers for me and having glorified the all-pitying God and having sent upwards to him the customary hymns, bury my humble corpse in the tomb which I have hewn out in the cliff of the hermitage, having dressed it with the burial rags which I put together long ago and placed in a coffin made of pine, cedar and cypress wood.²⁰ Bury it that way with the mercy of God the Father and pray be with it also the grace of his only-begotten and beloved Son, who willingly suffered for us and was buried and resurrected after three days through the power of his divinity, [p. 103] and the great gift of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit. May the Triune God save it together with my soul, to its praise and glory, through the intercession of the sacrosanct Mother of God and the all-sacred Cross and all the saints.

But having destroyed the wall of the tomb in order to insert the coffin, and again rebuilding it afterwards, do not let there be a little door as there was before, but enclose it completely, and outside, where the little door stood before, paint an icon, whichever the Lord brings to your mind. Thus build up the place, so that many of the strangers will not know that a tomb lies inside it.

But do not let this complete enclosure be a cause of grief to you, nor disobey, so as not to fall into the sin of disobedience, but rather [act] so that the Lord shall furnish you with the reward of obedience. Because, just as, while alive, this frail body embraced solitude as a gift from God, likewise, having died, it chose to preserve [solitude] until the common resurrection, when “all who are in the grave shall hear the voice of the Son of God and all who hear shall come to life” (John 5:25, 28) and they “will rise to meet the Lord” (I Thess. 5:17) and venerate him.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

But let me make this also known to you, brothers, that this older and presiding hermitage,²¹ because of the holy and august icons painted in it, maintains the full measure of a holy place of prayer. That is why certain men, having rushed once and twice to sit down in it, were unable to do so. For it seems to me that no one has so far been able to sit down in it. For if the Lord treasured it for some other use, who is he who has the power to disagree? and if some insolent man wants to simply sit down in it as if in a common cell, this is unholy and repugnant, and he shall be seen to be a foe of his own self and plotting against himself.

Last prayer for the brothers

May God the father, “who” through his only-begotten and beloved Son and our Savior Jesus Christ “called” us “in his eternal” kingdom and “glory, establish and strengthen” all of “you” (I Pet. 5:10), brothers, in his all-holy and saving will, and grant deliverance of sins, through the intercessions of the all-blameless Mother of God and the all-sacred Cross and all the saints. Amen.

+ +

+ of Neophytos, priest, monk and recluse

+ The hand of Neophytos the recluse after prefixing [his signature] has presently sealed this book, having placed his own signature as a fence. +

My present testamentary *typikon* with [the help of] God, [consisting] of twenty-four chapters, was written by the hand of worthless Basil, priest, teacher, and notary of the notaries of the most holy bishopric of Paphos, the son of the catechist, on the month of May the ninth, of the second indiction, in the year 6722 [= 1214 A.D.]. + + +

Notes on the Translation

1. For this foundation, see Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, pp. 356–58.
2. The famous monastic settlement near Miletos, for which see (7) *Latros*, Institutional History.
3. Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.
4. This would have been Hugh (1205–18).
5. Cyprus was conquered from the usurper Isaac Komnenos by the crusader King Richard I the Lionheart of England in 1191.
6. Perhaps to venerate the relic of the Holy Cross mentioned above in [5]; cf. discussion of the public festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in [15] below.
7. Feast of the Annunciation of the Mother of God, March 25.
8. Basil of Caesarea as quoted in John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 14, *scholion* 20, PG 88, col. 733C.
9. See the discussion of this issue in (28) *Pantokrator* [120].
10. Cf. the language of (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. line 1185.
11. The monastery’s *katholikon* was not actually built until the early sixteenth century; see Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 129.
12. Probably 1190 A.D.; see Laurent, “Typicon,” p. 54, endorsed by Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 124, n. 13.
13. Probably 1194 A.D.
14. *beronike*: not in the dictionaries. The context indicates that it is here synonymous with the modern Greek *berniki*, “varnish.” See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *berniki(on)*.
15. The Christmas fast or fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas; the fast of the Holy Apostles is from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.

45. NEOPHYTOS

16. See the *Regula monastica ab angelo allata* 32, ed. C. Butler, *Lausiaca History*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1904), p. 89. On the word for “mat,” *charadriou*, see Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.
17. See (22) *Evergetis* [27] and related documents.
18. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 41 ([LR 41]), *PG* 31, col. 1021BD.
19. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 271–72.
20. See Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 197.
21. See Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 129.

Document Notes

- [1] Discussion of the need for another testament. See other examples of revisions of prior testaments in (24) *Christodoulos* [B], cf. [C]; (25) *Fragala* [B], [C], cf. [A]; and (51) *Koutloumousi* [B], [C], cf. [A].
- [2] Meditation on death. See also the other reflections on this subject in (5) *Euthymios* [3]; (6) *Rila* [2]; (7) *Latros* Introduction; (10) *Eleousa* [1]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B1]; (25) *Fragala* [A6], [B6]; (30) *Phoberos* [1]; (34) *Machairas* [1]; (35) *Skoteine* [1]; (41) *Docheiariou* [1]; (44) *Karyes* [1]; (48) *Prodomos* [1]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; (50) *Gerasimos* [1]; and (51) *Koutloumousi* [A1], [C1].
- [3], [4], [5] Founder’s autobiography. See Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 13–18, and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 122–29; cf. the accounts of contemporary foundations in (34) *Machairas* [6] ff. and (35) *Skoteine* [2] ff. For a subsequent allusion to the role of Bishop Kinnamos and his successor Bakchos, see also [22] below.
- [6] Concerning the Paphians. A missing chapter, perhaps specifying the relationship of the foundation to the local diocesan authorities; cf. [5] above and [22] below.
- [7] Designation of the king of Cyprus as trustee. See also a possibly similar arrangement suggested in (34) *Machairas* [147], [161], cf. [160].
- [8] Memorandum to the emperor. Perhaps, like [12] below, a holdover from the first edition of Neophytos’ *Testament*; see also a similarly anachronistic reference in (34) *Machairas* [160]. For the author’s political outlook, see Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 205–25.
- [9] Increase in the number of monks; ban on the instruction of lay children. For the number of monks, see also [C16] below and (22) *Evergetis* [23]; for explicit divisions of the community into church and attendant monks, see also (28) *Pantokrator* [19], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], (35) *Skoteine* [9], (37) *Auxentios* [6], and (39) *Lips* [4]. (34) *Machairas* [115] also forbids the instruction of lay children, but (36) *Blemmydes* [9] argues otherwise; even our author was evidently willing to make an exception for a close relative, for which see [16] below.
- [10] Utility and dangers of landed property. For the latter, see also (34) *Machairas* [111], which permits alienation of distant properties whose administration might involve the risk of “spiritual harm.”
- [11] Provision for reading the *Rule* and canons. See also (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents, (32) *Mamas* [16], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (58) *Menoikeion* [9]. For reading of the canons to postulants, see [CB17] below.
- [12] Importance of performing the office; required commemorative and liturgical observances; moral character of officiating priest; inalienability of consecrated objects; inventory of books. Cross-referenced in [C2] below. For the daily celebration of the liturgy, see (22) *Evergetis* [5] and related documents; for the inalienability of consecrated objects, see (22) *Evergetis* [19] and related documents. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 128, discuss the contents of the foundation’s library; the existence of a longer inventory is noted in [20] below.
- [13] Exhortation to the monks; no secret eating, ban on personal possessions; threat of excommunication. For the ban on secret eating, see also (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents. For the ban on personal possessions, see also [C10], [C19] below and (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents.
- [14] Election of the recluse. See also the original governing role of the recluse in (22) *Evergetis* [13].
- [15] Exhortation of the recluse. For the recommendation of manual labor, see also [18], [C6] and [C13] below; for hearing confessions, see also [21] below.
- [16] Designation of a successor. For use of a testament to designate a successor, see also (1) *Apa Abraham*

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- [1]; (10) *Eleousa* [11]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B3], [B5], [C1]; (25) *Fragala* [A7], [B7]; (41) *Docheiariou* [4]; (48) *Prodromos* [6]; (49) *Geromeri* [14]; (50) *Gerasimos* [3]; and (52) *Choumnos* [A3]. Note that in (22) *Evergetis* [13], there is also a presumption that the steward will be advanced to the superiorship.
- [17] Relations with *kelliotai*. A missing chapter; cf. comparable chapters in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24], (34) *Machairas* [152], (37) *Auxentios* [11].
- [18] Maintenance of the hermitage's garden. For monastic gardens in other documents, see (23) *Pakourianos* [32]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [79]; (34) *Machairas* [22]; (35) *Skoteine* [36]; (39) *Lips* [44], [49]; (40) *Anargyroi* [4]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [124], [145], [157], [159]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C4].
- [19] Ban on women and female animals. Cross-referenced in [C18] below. For similar bans on women, see (22) *Evergetis* [38] and related documents, (53) *Meteora* [7], (58) *Menoikeion* [14], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2]; for the fear of bestiality, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], and (30) *Phoberos* [58].
- [20] Description of new buildings at the hermitage. See discussion of these structures in Mango and Hawkins, "Hermitage," pp. 133–35. The inventory mentioned here is not preserved, but see the list of books in [12] above.
- [21] Confession exclusively to the recluse or his designee. See also [15] above, with (22) *Evergetis* [15] and related documents; cf. alternate arrangements tolerated in (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29].
- [22] Episcopal confirmations of the *Rule*; curse on transgressors. For the role of the bishops of Paphos in the foundation of the hermitage, see also [5] above; there was probably a further discussion of their rights in [6]. For other thirteenth-century curses on transgressors, see also (35) *Skoteine* [46] and (37) *Auxentios* [2].
- [23] Introduction to the ascetic and Basilian canons. There is a mostly different set of the pseudo-Basilian canons in (34) *Machairas* [122] through [134].
- [C1] Purpose of the canons. For reading of the canons to the monks and to postulants, see respectively [11] above and [C17] below.
- [C2] Regulation of the midnight office. See also other regulations for this office in (20) *Black Mountain* [15], [16], (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents, and (44) *Karyes* [9].
- [C3] Prompt response to the summons to the offices. For the use of the semantron, see (4) *Stoudios* [2], (11) *Ath. Rule* [1], and (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents.
- [C4] Diet for fast days and other periods of fasting. For diets for fast days, see also (7) *Latros* [8]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [30]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [43]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]; (30) *Phoberos* [16] ff.; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34) *Machairas* [77]; (36) *Blemmydes* [11]; (39) *Lips* [32]; (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [5]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. For the regulation of the Lenten and other fasts, see also (4) *Stoudios* [29], [30]; (7) *Latros* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [23], [24], [25], [26]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38R], [54], [56], [62] ff.; (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [9], [10]; (44) *Karyes* [7]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [82]; (58) *Menoikeion* [8]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [17].
- [C5] Only exceptional absences from the monastery permitted. See also similar provisions in (3) *Theodore Studites* [10], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], and (55) *Athanasios I* [6].
- [C6] Playful embraces banned; commendation of manual labor. For fear of homoeroticism, see also [CB6] and (possibly) [C7] and [C9] below. For manual labor, see also [15] and [18] above and [C13] below.
- [C7] Treatment of carnal sin. Possibly a reference to homoerotic behavior; see [C6] above and [CB6] below.
- [C8] Reflection on the Latin conquest. See Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 219–20, and Mango and Hawkins, "Hermitage," pp. 126–27.
- [C9] No bathing or use of beds. (30) *Phoberos* [46] also forbids bathing; for the use of mats in place of beds, see the Pachomian *Praecepta* [87], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), p. 38; trans. A.

45. NEOPHYTOS

- Veilleux, *Pachomian Chronicles* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), p. 160: “For sleeping . . . one must always use the reclining seat allotted to him.” with *Praecepta* [88], ed. Boon, p. 39, trans. Veilleux, p. 161: “And no one shall spread anything on his reclining seat except a mat.”
- [C10] No money or food in cells. See also [13] above, [C11] and [C19] below, and (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents.
- [C11] No secret eating; inspection of the monk’s cells. See also [13] and [C10] above, [C19] below, and (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents.
- [C12] No complaints over food. In a more specific case, see also (22) *Evergetis* [41] and related documents.
- [C13] No pursuit of handiwork for profit. For manual labor, see also [15], [18], and [C6] above.
- [C14] Impropriety of attachment to secular relatives. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32], and (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents; the penalty of excommunication is prescribed for violators below in [C19].
- [C15] Clothing to be very modest. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [19], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [104].
- [C16] Number of monks. See also the discussion of this issue in [9] above.
- [C17] Reception of postulants. See also (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], (34) *Machairas* [60], and (55) *Athanasios I* [8].
- [C18] Charitable distribution at the gate except for women. See also [19] above, with (22) *Evergetis* [38] and related documents.
- [C19] Authorization of moderate punishments. See [13] for the sanction of excommunication inscribed in the narthex of the church.
- [C20] Scriptural lesson on love; verse summary of the canons. Cf. table of contents in [23] above.
- [CB1] Punishment for not betraying a monk planning to flee. Cf. [CB4] below and *Poenae* 40, PG 31, col. 1312B.
- [CB2] Punishment for unauthorized departures from the monastery. Cf. *Poenae* 12, PG 31, col. 1308C.
- [CB3] Punishment for conspiring to leave the monastery. Cf. *Poenae* 14, PG 31, col. 1308C, and the author’s personal experience as a fugitive from his original monastery in [4] above.
- [CB4] Punishment for not betraying a monk planning to flee the monastery. Cf. [CB1] above and *Poenae* 40, PG 31, col. 1312B; also found in (34) *Machairas* [122].
- [CB5] Punishment for unauthorized correspondence. Cf. *Poenae* 59, PG 31, col. 1313C; also found in (22) *Evergetis* [22] and (34) *Machairas* [131].
- [CB6] Punishment for spending the night with another monk. Cf. *Poenae* 23, PG 31, col. 1309B, and [C6] and (possibly) [C7] above.
- [CB7] Punishment for sleeping during chanting of psalms. Cf. *Poenae* 1, PG 31, col. 1305C.
- [CB8] Punishment for those receiving communion before reconciliation. Cf. *Poenae* 38, PG 31, col. 1312A.
- [CB9] Punishment for those exacting vengeance. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*.
- [CB10] Punishment for unauthorized distributions or receipts. Cf. *Poenae* 49, PG 31, col. 1312D.
- [CB11] Punishment for unauthorized donation or receipt of gifts. Cf. *Poenae* 60, PG 31, col. 1313C.
- [CB12] Punishment for not accepting deprivation of blessed bread. Cf. *Poenae* 29, PG 31, col. 1309C.
- [24] Burial prescriptions and the founder’s tomb. The tomb was later reported to have miraculous powers; see discussion and description in Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 129, 183–85, 197–98.