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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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54. *Neilos Damilas: Testament and Typikon of Neilos Damilas for the Convent of the Mother of God Pantanassa at Baionaia on Crete*

Date: Testament: ca. 1400; *Inventory:* April 22, 1417

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Editions employed: Testament: S. Pétridès, “Le typikon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baeonia en Crète (1400),” *IRAIK* 15 (1911), 92–111, with text at 95–109. *Inventory:* Sp. Lampros, “Das Testament des Neilos Damilas,” *BZ* 4 (1895), 585–87.

Manuscripts: Testament: Parisinus graecus 1295, fols. 108–117v (15th–16th c.); *Inventory:* Oxford, Codex Baroccianus 59, fols. 226v–227v (15th c.)¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

The convent of the Mother of God at Baionaia is known almost exclusively from the author Neilos’ *Testament* and *Typikon* translated below. A note in a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, records that the construction of the convent began on May 9, 1399.² The *Testament* and *Typikon*, which is undated, is assumed to have been composed shortly thereafter.³ Turyn (*Manuscripts*, p. 138) identified the site with the modern village of Vainia, about 3 miles northeast of Hierapetra in southeastern Crete, based on the fact that Neilos is himself identified as an ordained monk of the monastery of *ton Karkasion* in Hierapetra in the Moscow manuscript of his treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*.⁴ The founder, a hesychast (so von Lilienfeld, “Zeugnis,” p. 361), was an associate of Joseph Bryennios, a partisan of Greek Orthodoxy in Venetian-occupied Crete who later took up residence (1416–27) in the Charsianeites monastery in Constantinople for which (60) *Charsianeites* was written.⁵

There is also another self-described testament preserved under Neilos’ name, dated to April 22, 1417, which is actually an inventory of the author’s books.⁶ This document, quite possibly but not certainly associated with Neilos’ convent at Baionaia,⁷ has been translated here as an appendix to the founder’s *Testament* and *Typikon*. Neilos also authored several other theological works that have remained unedited.⁸

Analysis

This document is the latest in date of those in our collection written for a convent. Like (21) *Roidion*, it illustrates a foundation’s difficult transformation from an idiorhythmic to a cenobitic constitution. The convent enjoyed friendly relations with the author’s neighboring male monastery of *ton Karkasion* (cf. [8]), close enough to worry the author Neilos Damilas about the canonicity of his arrangements for their cooperation. Indeed, not since (20) *Black Mountain* have we seen a document whose author was as concerned as this one to quote canonical precedents to justify his regulations, to which Neilos Damilas adds here a reference [8] to a novel of Emperor

Justinian (527–565), whose legislation was being rediscovered in the Byzantine world during the Palaiologan era.

A. Internal Evidence on Composition

The document shows signs of careless composition, perhaps due to an adaptation from a lost *typikon* for the author's male monastery. The role of the spiritual father is addressed twice, [9], [15], and seems to be essentially the same as that assigned to the priest [14]. The text of the prescription on reading [13] also turns up in the wrong place in the manuscript in the middle of [15].

B. Lives of the Nuns

1. Liturgical Duties

The performance of as many penitential prostrations as possible is joined [10] to the usual requirement of the divine office. A series of progressively severe punishments is laid down for nuns (except for the sick and the elderly) who miss parts of the divine office. Like the author of (36) *Blemmydes* [13], Neilos Damilas disapproved [12] of the increasing influence of secular music on the performance of the office, specifically the “use of undignified tunes varied in modulation, and excessive variety of hymns and trilling of odes which are more fitting for actors on a stage than for a church of God.” Instead, one nun was to take the lead (unless a priest happened to be present) with the loudest voice, and the rest of the nuns would follow her singing with softer voices. In addition to common services, the author urges [11] his nuns to pray privately “day and night.”

2. Manual Labor

Before the institution of cenobiticism, the founder had permitted [6] each nun to work on her personal handiwork in her own cell. Even later, manual labor remained [10] an important part of the daily lives of the nuns. The author was unwilling [7] to allow the nuns' previous practice of producing goods for their children and other relatives to continue, but he alludes to the permissibility of supervised sales to other outsiders, monks and laymen. The nuns and their male counterparts in the monastery also manufactured [8] articles of clothing for one another: the monks made habits and shoes for the nuns, while the nuns made habits for the monks. Most nuns were also expected [16] to assist with watering and guard duties in the convent's garden and vineyard. Hired secular laborers (like those anticipated in (52) *Choumnos* [B22]) were to handle certain tasks, presumably those thought too arduous for the nuns to do themselves.

3. Sacramental Life

The convent's spiritual father was responsible [9] for celebrating the liturgy on request and for hearing confessions in the narthex of the church. If the weather happened to be cold, he could hear confessions in the convent instead. This officiating priest was not to be changed [14] until absolutely necessary. Ordained monks (presumably those resident in the neighboring monastery) were not permitted to substitute for him in performing the liturgy.

4. Length of the Novitiate

Novices were assigned [6] older nuns as sponsors. There is no discussion of the length of the novitiate except for women with children who wished to join the monastery, who were obliged [5]

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to serve a year's trial period. No woman was admissible against the wishes of her husband, and none could bring a daughter into the convent with her unless the child was at least ten years of age and willing to become a nun also. Such a child would become a novice at age thirteen.

5. Cenobitical Lifestyle

Professedly because he had no older nuns to serve as sponsors for his novices, the founder originally permitted [6] them to live and work separately (i.e., on an idiorhythmic system). Once he found an adequate number of sponsors, however, he obliged the nuns to live cenobitically, subject to the authority of their superior. "Comprehensive abstinence" in food (including aromatic spices and oils), drink, and sleep and "humility" were the ideological foundations [3], cf. [4] of our author's vision of cenobitic life. Two nuns, a mother and her daughter who served as the convent's gatekeepers, continued [16] to live apart from the community in a cell at the outer gate of the courtyard, and were excused from sharing some of the common responsibilities of the other nuns.

6. Importance of Reading

With an enthusiasm not seen in the other documents in our collection, our author, who was himself a bibliophile, asserts the importance of reading for his nuns. He obliges [20] the superior to teach the other nuns how to read, which he terms "a fine and admirable deed." Also, the young daughters admitted to the convent with their mothers were to be taught [5] no other skill than how to read until they began their novitiates at age thirteen. The author even makes bold to declare [13], on patristic authority, that reading aloud (at least twice a night) was more important than the performance of psalmody. His requirement that the nuns not lend [20] their books outside the convent on the grounds that "if they are damaged, you have no one to restore them" is also consistent with his respect for book-learning, as is the list of some forty-one books found in the founder's inventory.

7. Personal Possessions

The author is reluctant to endorse a ban on personal possessions for the nuns. His opinion is [2] that "It is not the mere possession of something for maintenance of life and the needs of the body that harms us, but having a soul enslaved to these possessions." Indeed, it seems [7] that the nuns were engaged in certain unspecified entrepreneurial activities with outsiders, both laymen and monks. The author specifically mentions [20] certain books that were the personal property of the superior (but she was not to bequeath them to anyone outside the convent).

8. Servants

Citing canon law, the author rules [5] that female servants could not be admitted to the convent or even lodged overnight without the knowledge of their master.

9. Relations with Family

Nuns were not to show [7] "passionate attachment" to their children or relatives by giving them money earned from their handiwork or anything else, except food such as fruit, with permission of the superior. Their entrepreneurial activities, conducted in the presence of the superior and one or two elderly nuns, might be transacted with relatives. The superior was required to be present for all conversations with relatives and strangers.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Constitutional Status

There is no discussion of the constitutional status of this convent, but to all appearances it was a traditional private foundation. However, except for misbehavior (for which see [17]), the resident nuns did enjoy protection from expulsion from the convent, at the hands either of the spiritual father [15] or anyone else [14].

2. Leadership

The author designates [21] the Mother of God herself as the protectress (*prostatis*) of the foundation. The role of the spiritual father is carefully limited (unlike (39) *Lips* [10]) to sacramental functions and tonsuring the nuns. The spiritual father was to have no authority to expel [15] nuns or to alter [9] the founder's instructions, which the latter set down so that there would be no need for "anyone to remind you [the nuns] about them or to make different rules from the ones I have made." When absolutely necessary, a new spiritual father was to be chosen [15], cf. [14] by all or a "majority" of the nuns.

As in contemporary independent foundations, the nuns are put [15] under the authority of the superior and the *typikon*. The superior was to govern [18] in association with two stewards. Upon the death of any of these officials, the entire body or a majority of the nuns would elect a replacement. The nuns were also responsible [16] for choosing new gatekeepers when the present ones died. The election of officers (and not just the superior) by the community contrasts with the more typical practice of allowing the superior to make these appointments on her own.⁹

3. Style of Rule

The superior was responsible for exercising a tight control over her nuns. The gatekeepers were to grant [16] entrance to and exit from the convent only with her permission. Nuns who fled or left without permission were to be excommunicated [17] for as many years as days absent. Nuns could be expelled for refusing to be subject to the *typikon*, but not for any other reason unless she was found to be a procuress or "wanton, a troublemaker, or malicious, and is unwilling to make amends."

D. Financial Matters

The author has little to say in his *typikon* about the financial administration of the convent, presumably because these matters were covered [18] in more detail in the "officially registered document" (composed in Latin). This document, said to be unintelligible to the nuns, also contained a "comprehensive" list (i.e., an inventory) of the convent's property. A separate listing "by name" was once to be found in the *typikon* at [19] but is now missing. A later testament, included here in our edition as an appendix, has a list of some forty-one books (mostly service books, but also some ascetic and even secular literature), certain consecrated vessels, and liturgical vestments.

E. External Relations

1. Relations with Monks and Secular Laborers

As noted above, the convent exchanged manufactured goods with a neighboring monastery and

employed outside laborers for certain tasks. Our author, a keen student of canon law, was well aware of the hostility of the canonical tradition to double monasteries, therefore his defense of these external relations [8] is anxious, convoluted and unconvincing. Essentially he pleads that the circumstances of the convent's construction required certain canonical irregularities, i.e., his own lodging and that of others (laborers?) at the convent, that were not to be repeated.

2. Relations with Secular Authorities

The author discusses [20] relations with the secular authorities, the Venetian government of Crete, in his instructions to the superior. She was to grant admission [20], cf. [8] to government authorities and nobles, both local and foreign (perhaps from Venice itself), and to entertain them as best she could, "for where there is government authority, there is no disorder." But a noble coming without the proper authority who misbehaved was to be denied admission and reported to the local officials or to "the highest authorities," if his offensive behavior persisted.

3. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Like the most traditional of private benefactors, our author completely ignores the local ecclesiastical hierarchy in this document. This may be a reflection of his belief (said to be based on a Justinianic novel) that founders (*ktetores*) like himself were free to do [8] what they wanted in their foundations "so long as they do not contradict the divine and holy commandments, but are in agreement with them."

Notes on the Introduction

1. For details, see Legrand, "Nil Damilas," pp. 178–80, and Pétridès, "Nil Damilas," p. 93.
2. Ms. Barocci 69, for which see Mercati, "Demetrio Cidone," p. 226, and Turyn, *Manuscripts*, p. 137.
3. See [8] below for an indication of the gap between the initiation of construction and the issuance of the founder's *typikon*.
4. Ms. State Historical Library, Moscow (former Synodal Library), fol. 10 (17th c.), transcribed in Pétridès, "Nil Damilas," p. 93. Neilos' own monastery is titled somewhat differently in his other extant works; see Tomadakis, *Ioseph Bryennios*, pp. 90–91.
5. See Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bryennios, Joseph," *ODB*, p. 330.
6. Edited by Legrand, "Testament," pp. 180–81, and more accurately by Lampros, "Testament," pp. 585–87.
7. See [20] below, and Talbot, "Damilas," p. 581.
8. For details, see Tomadakis, *Ioseph Bryennios*, pp. 90–91.
9. For the selection of a monastery's officers by the superior, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], [24], [31]; (28) *Pantokrator* [34], [64]; (31) *Areia* [M9], [T7]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [14]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [14]; (34) *Machairas* [91], [100]; (45) *Neophytos* [9]; but cf. (39) *Lips* [21].

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Translation

The *Testament* and *Typikon* which the most blessed ordained monk lord Neilos Damilas has set down for the nuns in the venerable convent of our most holy Lady the Mother of God and eternally virgin Mary, Queen of All, which was built by him at Baionaia.

[1.] Exhortation concerning preservation of the orthodox faith

First of all, my sisters, I exhort you to maintain the confession of orthodox faith unchanged and without innovation, as it was transmitted to us by the first holy and ecumenical council, assembled at Nicaea, of the 318 inspired fathers, that is, "I believe in one God." For whoever deviates from this faith is estranged from God. For all the saints and the most holy fathers who illumined the seven holy and ecumenical councils condemn to anathema those who dare to alter this [creed] or to take away or add even one syllable.

[2.] Concerning love

In addition to the confession of orthodox faith, you have the obligation to obey the commandments of the Lord; the most important of them all and the uniting bond is pure and honest love for one's neighbor. For he who loves his neighbor can also love God, as the Lord said in the Gospel: "If you love me, you will keep my commandment"; (John 14:15) and "this is my commandment, that you love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life." (John 15:12–14) Again, "You are my friends, if you do what I command you" (cf. John 14:15). Again, [p. 96] "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another" (John 13:35); and again, "A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another" (John 13:34); and you will find the rest in the holy Gospel according to John.

Also the blessed Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians said many things about love for one's neighbor; for when he enumerated all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, hear how he placed them second to love, and says, "And I will show you a still more excellent way. If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal. If I have pro-

phetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. If I give away all I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing” (I Cor. 12:31; 13:1–4). Do you see? Not even witnessing on behalf of Christ profits us if we do not have love for one another. Recounting its characteristics, the blessed Paul spoke as follows: “Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful; it is not arrogant or rude. Love does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful. It does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right. Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love never ends” (I Cor. 13:4–8).

Therefore since love has all these advantages, strive to achieve it, so that through it you may achieve all the virtues. If then you desire to possess it like an ancestral inheritance and inalienable fortune, read constantly [and] insatiably the ascetical treatise of St. Maximos which begins, “A monk questioned an old man, saying, ‘Tell me, Father, what was the purpose of the incarnation of the Lord?’”¹ Also [read] the four hundred chapters on love of the same St. Maximos.² In addition and together with these [read] the treatise of St. Zosimos which is at the end of [the works of] St. Makarios.³ From all of these you will learn that, if man does not despise honors and dishonors, and renounce every attachment to ephemeral things, as well as his love for his own flesh, he cannot attain spiritual love. For in the beginning of the first hundred of the chapters on love, St. Maximos says precisely as follows: “Love is a good condition of the soul, as a result of which one prefers nothing to knowledge of God; and it is impossible for anyone attached to earthly things to achieve this love.”⁴

Heed; he did not say, “He who has any earthly possession cannot attain love,” but “He who is attached to any earthly possessions cannot have [p. 97] spiritual love.” So that it is not the mere possession of something for maintenance of life and the needs of the body that harms us, but having a soul enslaved to these possessions. For the blessed Job had riches and great wealth, but he was not enslaved by them. For there was in him no trace of greed. Wherefore when he was deprived of these things, he remained free from grief. Not only did he have no passionate attachment to or irrational love for these things, but he was also not unduly attached to the love of his children. For he did not love them more than God, as events showed. For when he heard that terrible news that his house had fallen on his children and they all perished together, he neither said nor did anything displeasing to God. But arising from his royal throne, he “rent his robe” and sprinkled ashes on his head, and falling to the ground worshipped the Lord, saying: “Naked I came from my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return; the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away. This has happened in accordance with the Lord’s will, blessed be the name of the Lord” (Job 1:20–21).

Do you see his attitude towards God? Neither the loss of so many possessions, nor the sudden death of his children could sway him from his love of God. This is the attitude all we Christians, and especially monks, ought to have in the face of adversity. For as has been said before, he had great wealth, but he had it as if he did not possess it. For when he had it, he shared it with all the needy. For he believed that he and the poor were children of one Father, and the wealth belonged to a common Father, and he and the poor all lived in common off the wealth of his Father. When the wealth was lost and destroyed, he thought to himself, “Neither did I possess anything, nor have I lost anything. For it belonged to my Lord and, when he wished, he took it, and blessed be his name.”

I have made these remarks so as to demonstrate from the Holy Scriptures that, if only we are willing, we can all have possessions without being attached to them, like the monk who had the cabbage, about whom St. Zosimos writes at the beginning of his treatise.⁵

[3.] Concerning virginity

I wish to speak to you concerning virginity and to safeguard you from danger, for without it no one will see the Lord, according to the blessed Paul; for he says in his epistle to the Hebrews, “Strive for peace with all men, and for the holiness without which no one will see the Lord” (Heb. 12:14). He says that peace is love for one another, holiness is self-control and virginity; a lawful and honorable marriage is also called virginity, but even more honorable is life without marriage, for this is properly called virginity. [p. 98] Virginity is truly an angelic life; for in this men are likened to angels. Our Lord, wishing to honor virginity, was born of a holy virgin. From that time virginity has been honored in the world and is envied by everyone. Why do I speak at length? “Virginity is a desirable house of God and a terrestrial heaven of the heart,” according to John Klimakos. “Chastity is extraordinary denial of nature and a truly incredible struggle of the mortal and corruptible body towards the incorporeal.”⁶ These are the praises of virginity, and there are countless others.

The first foundation of virginity with God is said by all the holy fathers to be restraint in food, drink and sleep, since virginity cannot be attained by anyone except through comprehensive abstinence and humility; by comprehensive abstinence I mean abstention from the many aromatic spices and oils, from drinks, sleep, hearing, the tongue, the eyes, hands and feet; for the orderly and discriminating deprivation of all these makes comprehensive abstinence.

The second and finest foundation of this [virginity], its base and structure and roof and consummation, is holy humility; so that man may truly believe that however long someone fasts, and is abstinent and maintains vigils and thirsts and toils and prays and lives in poverty and strives for every good deed, without the help of God, which comes to us as a result of sobriety and heartfelt prayer, through the grace of the all-holy Spirit which is given to us mystically in holy baptism, it is impossible for us to achieve freedom from the passions, since faith is born of humility, and from faith comes fear of God, and from fear of God results avoidance of sin; [and avoidance] of sin is the beginning of repentance; and the beginning of repentance is the beginning of salvation. By freedom from passions I mean the mortification of the spirit and of desire, which it is impossible to attain without God’s mercy. The mercy of God is granted to us at the time when we repent of our sins and despise them in the depths of our souls and grievously sigh and seek God; and this is the result of the fear of God. This is humility. For since we are blinded by pride and disregard God and commit sins, it is clear that, when we abandon evil deeds, we have humbled ourselves and begun to fear him; and this is called repentance, this is the opposite path to the first, or a backward movement of the mind. For as long as the soul loves sin, it descends down into Hell with the devil; but when it despises sin, it leaves the devil below and ascends to heaven, seeking God with much toil. When the merciful God sees it approaching him, he has compassion on it and sends it his mercy, to cleanse [p. 99] it from the filth and impurities of its passions, to be united with him through purity. For if it is not first of all purified by contrition and shedding of tears, it cannot be united with God and become one spirit with him in the words of Paul; for in the first [epistle] to the Corinthians he says, “But he who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him” (I Cor.

6:17). He who is not united with him in this life through tears of repentance cannot achieve salvation.

[4.] Concerning repentance

Since man is united with God through tears and repentance, listen to the words of St. John Klimakos in his treatise on humility: "Anxious repentance, and sorrow purified of every blemish, and the holy humility of the novices are as different and distinct from each other as leaven and flour in bread. For the soul is worn down and attenuated by manifest repentance, and is somehow united and, so to speak, kneaded together with God through the water of genuine sorrow, by which blessed humility which is unleavened and not puffed up, baked by the fire of the Lord, is made into bread and made firm."⁷

Again, so that you may learn that without the aid of God no one can achieve virtue, hear the words of the Lord who says, "Apart from me you can do nothing" (John 15:5). But also the divine John Klimakos, in his treatise on chastity, says as follows: "He who wishes to master his own flesh or fight it on his own strives in vain; for unless the Lord destroys the house of the flesh and constructs a house of the spirit, he who wishes to destroy it has labored and fasted in vain. Entrust to the Lord the weakness of your nature, recognizing your own frailty once and for all, and you will receive imperceptibly the gift of self-control."⁸ Abstinence quenches desire, love calms the temper, prayer presents the very mind to God. Why should I speak at length on these matters? For if you wish to be relieved of and liberated from all evils, strive to achieve abstinence and love and prayer. I have said enough on these matters; now I wish to give you certain instructions, which you will find beneficial and advantageous for your souls if you follow them. But if you disregard them and do not follow them, eternal punishment lies in store for you.

[5.] That you should not admit anyone's female servant into monastic life without the knowledge of her master

Take great care not to admit anyone's female servant into your convent to be tonsured; for I forbid her to remain in the convent even one night, not only [p. 100] because of the resulting difficulties with her master, but because the holy canons do not permit this. For the third canon of the council at Gangra condemns to anathema anyone who advises a slave to adopt the monastic habit without the knowledge of his master.⁹ In the same way you [should] not [admit] a married woman against the will of her husband; and then [you should admit her] only if she is childless. If she does have children, you must on no account admit her until you have given her one year's trial, still wearing secular dress, to see if she can endure the loss of her children. Under no circumstances should you admit a woman with a little girl under the age of ten; but even then only if the child wishes to learn her letters and become a nun; for I forbid her to learn any other skill until she dons the novice's habit at the age of thirteen.

[6.] That you should not tonsure anyone without a sponsor

The second canon of the so-called first and second council [of Constantinople (861)] states that we should not tonsure anyone and dress him in monastic habit without a sponsor who will be responsible for him and train him in the monastic way of life. He must render utter obedience to

his sponsor, such as he owes to God and the superior of the monastery.¹⁰ Therefore from this moment and henceforth it is my wish that in this convent you clothe no nun in this sacred habit without a sponsor. For I no longer permit the practice which I have followed up to now: that is, tonsuring [the nuns] and giving them the superior as a sponsor, and then permitting each one to be established according to her own wishes, in a private cell and with her own personal handiwork, for I did this previously out of necessity, because I did not have any experienced elderly nuns.

From now on I want all of you, young and old alike, to obey the superior and render her every honor as to the Lord; and in the future, when nuns are tonsured, let the superior give them sponsors who have the obligation to live in a cenobitic manner until the end of their lives. Both the novices and their sponsors should be subject to the authority of the superior.

[7. External relations]

From this moment on, any nun who is found to have a passionate attachment to her relatives or children and wishes to give them money from her own work, even one *grossa*, in accordance with previous custom which you wrongfully followed, is to be excommunicate for one year; or perhaps in proportion to the amount which out of friendship she has given her relatives from her work, for the same number of years let her be excommunicate, unless she should fall gravely ill; in that case, in accordance with the tradition of the Fathers, [p. 101] let her receive holy communion on her deathbed. But if she should happen to survive, then she is to be deprived of holy communion until the years are accomplished which we set for her sin.

Nor do I permit the nuns to give anything to their relatives except food. If one of the nuns wishes to give one of her relatives some local fruit, she may do this only with the permission of the superior; and if permission is not granted, she may not give [the fruit]. If one of her relatives or a stranger wishes to buy or sell anything, whether they are laymen or monks, let the purchase or sale take place in the presence of the superior and one or two elderly nuns; for henceforth I forbid a nun to have any private conversation, either with her own brother or child, or with a stranger, except in the presence of the superior.

[8. Relations with the monks]

I also forbid any work to be done inside or outside the convent by a monk; [it may be performed] only by secular laborers. For I do not permit monks to stay or sleep in the place even one night, now that I myself have departed from the convent. For previously, when there were necessary chores at the convent, I had to stay with you and be a burden on you. But now, through the grace of Christ, the most necessary tasks are finished, and it is not right to be a burden or “stumbling-block” for you; for the brother or son of one nun is a “stumbling-block” and cause of “hindrance” (cf. Rom. 14:13) for the others. I am not alone to say this; for the twentieth canon of the seventh holy ecumenical council [of Nicaea II (787)] states as follows: “From now on we do not wish there to exist double monasteries and for nuns to live next to monks. For this is a cause of hindrance and a stumbling-block for many. But whoever choose to retire with their own relatives, let the men go to monasteries and the women to convents. As for the double monasteries which have existed until now, out of respect for our¹¹ holy father Basil who decreed that they be thus,¹² let them be administered as he ordains; but it is not right for monks to live and associate with nuns,

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since it is harmful and unlawful, neither should they approach [the nuns] freely or speak with them, nor eat alone with them. As for the necessary provisions brought to the nuns by men, let them be received by the superior together with another elderly nun. If a monk deems it extremely important to see a female relative for some necessary matter, let him say a few short words to her in the presence of the superior and leave immediately.”¹³

The canon makes these statements about the double monasteries for which the great Basil drew up a rule in his lifetime, [p. 102] only in the region of Caesarea, in his district, that is. “We do this,” they say, “out of respect for the great Basil, but we do not permit this to occur in another province, since the rule which the great Basil set forth is not obeyed, but is disregarded and the situation becomes a cause and excuse for disorder and confusion.” But you can offer no good excuse that there is need for people to come constantly into your convent and attend to your needs, for you do not live communally with any men. For if, in cases where there existed communal monasteries of men and women, the canon does not permit the monks to perform any other service in the convent except to bring the [provisions] sent to the [nuns] by the superior [of the male monastery], [to deposit them] outside the gate of the convent and leave, how much more does it apply in this case where there is no such need? When it was necessary, monks and laymen did perform tasks at the convent. But now, through the grace of Christ, as I have already said, the necessary common work is finished. Moreover, the work took place in my presence and with my knowledge and consent, as is permitted by the thirty-eighth canon of the council at Carthage. For it says, “We rule that no monk or cleric is to visit virgins or widows who are consecrated to God, except with the permission of the bishop, or, in the absence of the bishop, the priest. But even then they should not meet alone with them, but in the presence either of other clergy or of honorable and pious Christians, so as to remove any suspicion.”¹⁴ The apostle says, “Give no offense to the Jews or to the Greeks or to the church of God” (I Cor. 10:32), since we have been commanded to avoid wicked reputations, even if they are false. Therefore we advise you to give no offense and bid you observe proper behavior in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The forty-second canon of the sixth council [of Trullo (691–92)] and the twenty-second canon of the seventh council [of Nicaea II (787)] lay down the same regulations and prescribe deposition for clerics who transgress, and threaten with excommunication impious monks and laymen, that is, those who enter female convents without the knowledge of their shepherd and teacher.¹⁵ Therefore, so that you may not be subject to excommunication, we authorize you to have all your work inside and outside the convent performed by virtuous laymen. Nor do we permit them to enter within the convent except in great necessity, unless government authorities come and local officials and likewise other officials, whom we cannot oppose; but we forbid monks to do any work within the convent, except what they can make for you in their cells, that is, a habit, shoes and other handiwork. In the same way you [p. 103] should make nothing else in your cells for monks except their habits. I say this, not because the monks are wicked, but so that there may be no cause for them to linger with you. For the divine and holy canons do not wish this to occur except in the presence of another person, as has already been said. As for the laymen, they should work all day, and in the evening depart for their own homes, nor does the canon permit them, whether they are relatives or strangers, to have private conversations with the nuns, except in the presence of other [nuns]; and I wish this to be your practice, as I have previously written.

When I was building the convent and the church and the other [buildings] which I had constructed in your convent, I did not have my lodgings nearby; for this reason I and the other [laborers] associated and lodged with you. For if my lodgings had been as close as a mile away, as is the case for bishops in the cities where there are female convents, neither I nor anyone else would have imposed upon you; but this situation occurred because of the pressing necessity of circumstances, since I did not have my lodgings nearby, as has already been said. So that this may not occur again under any circumstances, for this reason I lay this charge on you, citing the testimony of the divine and holy canons to support my commandments. For according to the one hundred thirty-first novel of Justinian, the commandments of the founders have authority in their own monasteries, as long as they do not contradict the divine and holy commandments, but are in agreement with them.¹⁶

[9. Role of the spiritual father]

Since I wish to provide every spiritual comfort and benefit for you, therefore I am setting these regulations down for you in writing, so that you will not need anyone to remind you about them or to make different rules from the ones I have made. As for the spiritual father whom you should have, I do not want you to have him as a teacher in everything, so that he can, God forbid, alter my instructions (for this I do not permit), but so that you may summon him to come to your convent when you wish to partake of the divine mysteries. As he sits in the narthex of the church, or inside the convent, if the weather is cold, each of you should confess to him your thoughts with piety and fear of God; and after he rests in my cell, you should dismiss him again with honor and provisions to return to his own cell.

[10. Performance of the divine office]

Living in peace with one another, you should perform your divine office, that is, the church service, and as many prostrations as possible with the knowledge and permission and approval of the superior. Those who are able and so choose should perform 200 in 24 hours, others 100, others 60, others 50, others 40, others 30, others 25, mindful of the words of the apostle, "Each shall receive his wages according to his labor" (I Cor. 3:8), and again, [p. 104] "God loves a cheerful giver" (II Cor. 9:7). For just as with regard to charitable works, he sees not only the gift but also the purpose and the means [of the donor], so with regard to prayer he sees not only the words, but also the strength and the zeal [of the suppliant].

Any nun who does not get up for the divine office because she is ill, and is neither eating nor able to stand, should not be subject to any reproach or regulation; but when she is healthy and does not rise for the service out of laziness and lethargy, if she misses the midnight service, she is not to eat cooked food that day, but only bread and water, no matter what day it is, and should prostrate herself before the superior and all the nuns to receive their forgiveness. If she gets there for the recitation of the psalms or the fourth [hour], let her eat only half a [portion] of bread; but if she does not get up at all, she is to eat nothing at all that day, even if it should be Sunday. If it should be Sunday or Saturday and she wishes to eat, she should make 200 prostrations on Monday. I make these rules for the young and able nuns who are negligent; I am not talking about the elderly and ailing nuns.

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These are the punishments for those who are absent from the divine services, which I have learned from the ascetical treatise of our great father Basil.¹⁷ If you do not want to be subject to them, recite the psalms in the evening both winter and summer. In winter when you are sitting at your handiwork, sing all your service; and then leave and return to your cells to sleep, until you have had sufficient rest; and again at dawn, if you wish, get up and do your handiwork, as long as you wish.

[11.] Concerning prayer, or “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me”

In all these matters and above all and in everything you should strive to have prayer in your hearts night and day; for it does not require physical labor, but only silence and peaceful conditions. No person can be peaceful without humility; for the humble person does not blame anyone, does not rail at anyone, does not judge anyone, does not hate anyone, even if he is injured by him, but rather does the complete opposite, condemns himself and registers all his own faults, whatever they may be. How then will such a person find cause to be stirred to anger against anyone? This is the great work of the monk; this is the mark of the disciples of Christ; for thus he spoke to them in his advice after the Last Supper before his honorable passion: “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35). [p. 105] For such is the marvelous and lovely fruit of blessed humility, but it is found in few men. For no one can find love in his soul without humility. Since then prayer cannot be kept in the heart and be effective without peaceful conditions, this is “the door and the way” (John 10:9; 14:6) by which we can approach spiritual paradise, that is love, as St. Isaac testifies, saying: “Retirement [from the world] precedes prayer, and the purpose of retirement is prayer. We pray so that we may attain the love of God; for on account of prayer God has reason to love us; and prayer is strengthened and confirmed by a peaceful condition of the soul; and peaceful conditions are not found in the soul without humility.”¹⁸ It is clear that love is generated by humility, as St. John Klimakos tells you in his treatise on obedience, saying as follows: “From obedience comes humility, from humility freedom from passions.”¹⁹ Freedom from passions is the healthy condition of the soul; and the first and distinguishing mark of a healthy soul is love for everyone. So much for this topic, now let me turn to the next.

[12.] Concerning good order in church and how the service should proceed

I wish to instruct you about the psalms which you sing in a bodily fashion, how you should perform them so as to profit therefrom, and not labor in vain. For you cannot profit therefrom unless your mind pays attention to the words of your mouth. I could cite many testimonies on this matter; but on account of their number I will set all of them aside and cite the seventy-fifth canon of the sixth holy ecumenical council.²⁰

This [canon] enjoins “those who pray in church and recite the psalms not to utter undisciplined and high-pitched sounds, but to make their prayers and recitations of the psalms with contrite heart and sedate character and attentive mind, so as to attract God’s mercy on your sins by your internal character and external appearance. For as the book of Leviticus says, ‘Thus you shall make pious the sons of Israel’ (cf. Lev. 15:31). Nor should you make use of undignified tunes varied in modulation, and excessive variety of hymns and trilling of odes which are more fitting

for actors on a stage than for a church of God. These [practices] have been forbidden many times by many patriarchs with severe penalties, and it has been ordained that one should use simple and unadorned [music] in the singing of the psalms for night offices and services for the departed, as was the old custom dear to God. But this does not happen any more,"²¹ since the desire of the multitude prevails over divine commandments. But do not you appear disobedient, [p. 106] lest you receive the curses of the fathers. For if those who know how to chant accurately are restrained by the fathers, how much more [would this hold true] for you [nuns] who do not know how at all, but rather cause laughter for those who hear you, and despondency and misery for others.

If the canon forbids laymen from chanting with melody and loud voices, how much more [would this apply] to you, who have been summoned to grieve for your own souls? As St. John Klimakos says in his seventh oration, "We are not here invited to a wedding, by no means; rather he who summoned us here summoned us to grieve for ourselves,"²² and again, "Like a widow who has lost her husband and has her only son as her sole consolation after the Lord,²³ thus when the soul dies there is no other consolation at the time of death like utterances of the throat and tears. Such people will never sing, nor shout aloud in hymns by themselves; for such practices are destructive of grief. If you make it your business to invite grief through these, your goal becomes more inaccessible,"²⁴ and again, "My friends, at the time of the departure of our soul we will be charged, we will be charged not because we have not performed miracles, nor because we have not taught about God, nor because we have not become contemplative, but we will rather render an accounting to God because we have not grieved unceasingly [for our sins]."²⁵

Therefore I want [you to do] everything laid down by the holy fathers, so that you will perform your entire service according to the ordering of the recitation of the psalter, slowly, rhythmically, in a dignified manner. You should say it in a voice loud enough to be heard by all the nuns; and you should not all recite with equal volume, lest your ears and the ears of the listeners be deafened, but let one nun lead the service with the loudest voice, and let the rest follow her with quieter voices, so that there is no confusion and disorder. Let her lead from the beginning of vespers until the completion of the ninth hour and the select verses from the psalms and beatitudes of the following day; then let another take the lead, of the entire service that is, or of the recitation of the psalter, of the hymns called *prosomoia*, the *kathismata*, the canons and everything else; chant with melody the [canons beginning with the words] "the more honorable," and the "Christ has risen," the canon of Easter, and the psalms called *ainoi*, the liturgy of the entire year. When your priest happens to be present, let him chant according to his order, and you follow him in your chanting, as best you can. So much for the order of your service.

[13.] Concerning reading²⁶ [p. 107]

I say this, too, that every night you should read aloud at least twice, if not more; for prayer and reading are like two eyes; and St. Isaac sets reading before psalmody with the following words: "If possible, honor reading even more than assembly for prayer."²⁷

[14.] Concerning the priest [p. 106]

It is my wish that you make no change in the priest who ministers to you as long as he lives, even if he so wishes. But if it is absolutely impossible for him [to continue], bring in [p. 107] another secular priest who is pious and God-fearing, who is to be selected by all [the nuns] or the majority

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of them from the province of the local authority; for not until this world stands still will I permit an ordained monk to conduct services in this convent while it is inhabited by nuns. Nor do I permit any other men to dwell therein until the end of this world; but if anyone at all, whether one of our own people or a foreigner, wishes to cause the nuns to depart from this convent, let him be excommunicated from the body of Christians, and let his portion be with the devil. But I have said enough on these matters.

[15.] Concerning the spiritual father

Concerning the spiritual father whom you should have, it is my wish that he, too, be elected by common consent of all or the majority [of the nuns]. Concerning your spiritual father, you must pay attention to this, too, that he not have permission to remove from the convent any nun whom he tonsures therein. For they are not under his authority, but should render obedience to their superior and the rules of the convent; but let him have the rights appropriate to a spiritual father over all; for this is the case in all the venerable female convents which are subject to the authority of the Roman Empire and also in male monasteries. If the incumbent superior happens to be expelled from his position, he does not have the right to remove from the monastery all those he tonsured or appropriate for himself anyone; for all are subject to the superior who succeeds him and to the monastery.

[16.] Concerning the gatekeeper

I wish to give you instructions about the gate of the monastery which are not my own, but those of the pious laws; for the fifteenth [*sic*] Novel of Justinian ordains as follows: "We command that there not exist many entrances to the monastery, but only one or two, and that elderly and prudent men should stand at the gate, who will not permit the monks to leave the monastery without the knowledge of the [p. 108] superior, nor allow anyone from outside to enter the monastery night or day."²⁸ Therefore, in accordance with this law I order you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to guard the gate of the convent as the previously cited law ordains. Since lady Makaria wishes to assume this salutary duty and asks to build a cell at the outer gate of the courtyard, so that she may live there with her mother, this is pleasing to me and it is my wish that this occur. Therefore let her undertake this divine task as long as she lives or is able. After her death you should choose from among you two pious and trustworthy elderly women who are God-fearing, and appoint them to live in that cell to guard the gate. Let them not open the gate to anyone without the permission of the superior; and not only should they refuse to open [the gate] to outside visitors without the permission of the superior, but also for nuns leaving the convent, unless they are going out with the consent of the superior, as the above-cited law ordains. Therefore the gatekeepers should always stay there throughout the day, and if one should happen to be absent because of pressing need, then the other one should stay there. They should not be liable for duty in the vineyard or garden, that is, to keep guard over them and water them, but they should only be assigned to the gate next to them.

[17. Grounds for punishment and expulsion of nuns]

I think these instructions are sufficient for you; and if you follow them, you will have honor and

eternal glory, but if you disregard them and do not follow them, on the contrary dishonor and eternal punishment await you. However, if in this present life any one of you is found who does not wish to be subject to these rules, she is to be expelled from the convent by the others. But I do not permit you to expel a nun from the convent on any other account, unless she be found to be a procuress, or if she is wanton, a troublemaker, or malicious, and is not willing to make amends. “For,” as St. Mark the ascetic says, “one should not be patient when the fault of one spreads to many, but should seek that which is expedient for the majority, so that they may be saved.”²⁹ If any of you should flee from the convent on account of meanness of spirit, she is not allowed to partake of communion until she returns to the convent which she wrongly left. If one of you should leave the convent without authorization, for as many nights as she sleeps [outside the convent] without permission, for so many years is she to go without communion after her return, unless she is in danger of death.

[18.] Concerning the superior and the two stewards

Concerning the superior and the two nuns who have responsibility for the administration of the affairs of the convent, I am recording in the officially registered document how there [p. 109] should always be three of them, and if one of them should die, the entire body of nuns or a majority should elect another one who is able to undertake her duties with fear of God and in all humility. But since that [document] is in Latin, which you do not know how to read, for this reason I will write it [also] in our language [Greek]; and moreover since the items which I am bequeathing to you are not all listed there by name, but comprehensively, I wish to list them here by name.

[19. Inventory]

Here I record the possessions of the convent . . .

[Missing]

[20. Additional instructions to the superior]

I give you this instruction, too, that when the government authorities or nobles come to the convent, not only local nobles but foreigners, you, the superior, should go out with other elderly nuns to welcome them with all honor, and entertain them as best you can with what provisions you have. If they wish to enter the convent, open [the gates] to them with joy. For where there is government authority, there is no disorder. But if one of the nobles should come without authority and misbehave toward you in any way, do not open [the gates] to him if he comes again; and if he troubles you, inform the local authority; and if he does not correct the matter, go to the highest authorities.

I also lay this charge on you, that on no account you lend your books outside the convent and church; for I do not want you to lend them to anyone; for if they are damaged, you do not have anyone to restore them.

I lay this further charge on you with regard to the books which are your personal property, that you not bequeath them to anyone outside the convent after your death. Strive to teach other nuns their letters, so that this may be to your eternal memory. This is a fine and admirable deed; for you ought to fear the punishment that befalls anyone who conceals the talent of his master (cf. Matt. 25:14–30).

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[21. Punishment of transgressors]

If anyone dares to transgress this present *Typikon* of mine, which was written by the notary lord George Delagronda, may he find the most holy Mother of God, the protectress of the convent, as his opponent and enemy on the Day of Judgment, and may he be subject to the curses of the 318 divinely inspired fathers of the Council of Nicaea, and may his lot be with that of the traitor [Judas].

[p. 585]

[Inventory]

[INV] On the twenty-second day of April, 1417. I, the ordained monk Neilos Damilas, make my confession and write this testament. I have the following books:

The holy four gospels in paper³⁰ in my own writing.

A *Praxapostolos* in parchment with commentary, one volume.

An *Oktoechos* in paper in my own writing, two volumes.

A *Triodion* on paper, copied by myself and the priest Daniel, one volume.

A *Pentekostarion* in paper in my own writing, one volume.

A book of the *Propheteia* in paper, copied by the priest Daniel, one volume.

A Psalter in paper in my own writing, one volume.

A *Typikon*³¹ on paper, one volume. [p. 586]

A *Menaion* for September and October, copied by the priest Daniel, two volumes.

[A *Menaion* for] July and August in paper, copied by the priest Daniel, one volume.

[A *Menaion* for] December and January on parchment, one volume.

Gregory the Theologian, on parchment, [one] volume.

[John] Klimakos,³² in paper, one volume.

A *Nomokanon* on paper compiled by the priest lord Matthew [Blastares], copied by Grimbilas, one volume.

The Book of Job, in parchment, one volume.

The Dogmatic Writings of lord Theophanes of Nicaea,³³ in paper, one volume.

A *Neptikon*³⁴ in my own writing, one volume; it also has different chapters.

[Symeon Metaphrastes], the month of September, one volume.

Photios, patriarch of Constantinople, parchment, one volume.

The *Antirrhetics*³⁵ and *Hexameros*³⁶ of Basil the Great, parchment, one volume.

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The *Hexaemeros* in one book.

A second book of [St. John] Chrysostom, in parchment, one volume.

The *Ascetical Treatises*³⁷ of Maximos the Monk, and the *Treatises*³⁸ of Basil the Great, one volume.

St. Makarios, in paper, one volume.

Boethius and Cato, and the chronographer Manasses, one volume.³⁹

A *Dogmatic [Treatise]* by the holy [Gregory] Palamas and the lord priest Matthew [Blastares] *Against Barlaam and Akindynos* and *Against the Jew*, one volume.⁴⁰

The theological works of St. Maximos and of [Anastasios] the Sinaite and of St. Thalassios the African, twenty-eight quires.⁴¹

One Lexicon.

One little book containing 400 chapters on love and philosophy by [St. John of] Damascus.⁴²

One *Schematologion* which also contains the prayers for Pentecost.

A *Mega Apodeipnon* and the sorrowful canon⁴³ of the Mother of God.

The *Erotemata*⁴⁴ of Anastasios of the Holy Mountain, and the *Logoi* of the great [St. John] Chrysostom, one volume.

A first *schedos*,⁴⁵ one volume.

A [service book for] Communion.⁴⁶

Two liturgies by [St. John] Chrysostom.

Chalices and patens with a spoon and *asteriskos* and three veils and two stoles. [p. 587]

Logoi on the translation of our holy father John Chrysostom which has parchment pages.

St. Dorotheos⁴⁷ in parchment, one volume.

A *Paradeisos*⁴⁸ in paper, one volume.

One book which has *synaxaria* of [Nikephoros Kallistos] Xanthopoulos,⁴⁹ and other items.

One *Menaion*: a collection.

All together, forty-one volumes.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot, who has provided most of the notes to this document.

1. Maximos the Confessor, *Liber asceticus*, PG 90, col. 912.
2. Maximos the Confessor, *Centuriae de caritate*, PG 90, cols. 960–1080.
3. Zosimos (6th c.), PG 78, col. 1680.
4. Maximos the Confessor, *Centuriae de caritate*, PG 90, col. 961A.
5. Zosimos, PG 78, col. 1681.
6. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 880D.
7. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 989D.
8. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 884B.
9. *C. Gangrensis*, c. 3 (R&P 3.102).
10. *C. Const. I et II*, c. 2 (R&P 2.654).
11. Read *hemon*.
12. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 33 ([LR 33], PG 31, cols. 997–1000; *Regulae brevius tractatae* 108–11, 154, 220 ([SR 108]–[SR 111], [SR 154], [SR 220]), PG 31, cols. 1156C–1157A, 1184B, 1228CD.
13. Cf. *C. Nicaen. II*, c. 20 (R&P 2.637–38).
14. Cf. *C. Carth.*, c. 38 (R&P 3.402).
15. Cf. *C. Trull.*, c. 42 (R&P 2.406); *C. Nicaen. II*, c. 22 (R&P 2.642–44).
16. *NJ* 131.
17. Not in Basil; cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae* 1, PG 31, col. 1305C.
18. See Isaak [the Syrian], *Tou hosiou patros hemon Isaak ta heurethenta asketika*, Greek translation by N. Theotokes (Leipzig, 1770), p. 200.
19. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 709D.
20. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 75 (R&P 2.478).
21. Matthew Blastares, *Comm. ad C. Const.*, c. 75 (R&P 6. 297–98).
22. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 805A.
23. Read *meta kyrion*; cf. PG 88, col. 813A.
24. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 813A.
25. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 816C.
26. This passage on reading was erroneously placed by the manuscript's scribe in the middle of the discussion [15] of the spiritual father; cf. Pétridès, "Nil Damilas," p. 107.
27. *Tou hosiou patros hemon Isaak ta heurethenta asketika*, p. 215.
28. *NJ* 133.
29. Mark the Hermit, *De lege spirituali*, PG 65, col. 961C.
30. *kolynos*; not in the dictionaries; probably a diminutive of *kolla*, a demotic word for sheet of paper. See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *kolla*.
31. Perhaps the *typikon* for the convent at Baionaia.
32. His *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, cols. 631–1164, to which repeated reference is made in [3], [4], [11], [12] above.
33. An unedited or unknown work of Theophanes III, metropolitan of Nicaea (14th c.); cf. his *Epistulae*, PG 150, cols. 279–356.
34. Read *Neptikon*, a book on spiritual vigilance.
35. Read *Antirrhethika*, his *Antirrhethica contra Eunomium*, PG 29, cols. 497–774.
36. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, PG 29, cols. 2–207.
37. Maximos the Confessor, *Liber asceticus*, PG 90, cols. 911–58.
38. Perhaps the Basilian *Praevia institutio ascetica*, PG 31, cols. 619–52, *Sermones ascetici*, PG 31, cols.

- 869–88, the *Regulae*, PG 31, cols. 905–1305, or the Pseudo-Basilian *Constitutiones asceticae*, PG 31, cols. 1321–1428.
39. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*; Cato, *Origines*; and Constantine Manasses, *Breviarium historiae metricum*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1837), a historical synthesis in verse covering the period from the Creation to 1081.
40. Matthew Blastares' unpublished "Oration against the anti-Palamites" (Athos 3701) and "Oration against the Jews" (Codex Bodleianus Seldenianus 44).
41. Maximos the Confessor; Anastasios the Sinaite (7th c.), PG 89, cols. 9–1288; Thalassios the African (7th c.), PG 91, cols. 1423–80.
42. John of Damascus, excerpts from the *Sacra Parallela*.
43. Read: *ton lyperon*; "sorrowful canon of the *Theotokos*." There are two canons of supplication addressed to the Holy Virgin known as *Mikros parakletikos kanon* and *Megas parakletikos kanon*. They are sung in time of sorrow. See M. Saliveros, *Mega Horologion* (Athens, n.d.), p. 541.
44. Anastasios the Sinaite, *Quaestiones*, PG 89, cols. 311–824.
45. A book containing the rules of grammar in accordance with the "schedographic" method.
46. *Akolouthia tes theias metalepseos*; cf. *Horologion*, 565–87.
47. Dorotheos (6th c.), PG 88, cols. 1609–1844.
48. A collection of monastic epigrams attributed to John Geometres (10th c.), cf. Paul Speck, "Zur Datierung des sogenannten Paradeisos," *BZ* 58 (1965), 333–36. Collections of sayings of early ascetics were also called *Paradeisos*.
49. Nikephoros Kallistos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PG 145–47.

Document Notes

- [1] Exhortation to preserve orthodoxy. See similar professions of faith in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith, (7) *Latros* [1], [2], (10) *Eleousa* [2], and (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.
- [2] Rationalization of institutional wealth. Cf. the opposite idea that the accumulation of wealth by monasteries is morally indefensible while others live in poverty, see (37) *Auxentios* [9].
- [3] Disciplinary foundations of virginity. Cf. the treatment in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [127].
- [4] Importance of abstinence. For use of John Klimakos elsewhere, see also (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith; (20) *Black Mountain* [53]; (21) *Roidion* [B8]; (22) *Evergetis* [4], [7]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], [17]; (30) *Phoberos* [9], [14]; (34) *Machairas* [52]; (35) *Skoteine* [24]; (37) *Auxentios* [6]; and (39) *Lips* [12], [13].
- [5] Restrictions on eligible postulants. For the education of girls who wished to become nuns, see (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [148]; it may also be implied in (39) *Lips* [17], [18]. For the admission of infants and children, see also (39) *Lips* [18].
- [6] No tonsure without a sponsor; nuns to live cenobitically. For the pairing of monks with sponsors elsewhere, see (22) *Evergetis* [24], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51], and (30) *Phoberos* [43]. For the injunction to practice cenobiticism in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [3], [51], [55]; (40) *Anargyroi* [2]; (47) *Philanthropos* [1] ff.; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46], [154].
- [7] External relations. Note the much more restricted relations envisioned in other convents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [80]; (39) *Lips* [15], [16]; (47) *Philanthropos* [2]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [75], [76]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B13].
- [8] Relations with the neighboring monks. Note the much more restricted relations envisioned in (27) *Kecharitomene* [69] and (31) *Areia* [M6]. For use of lay workmen, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], [A13], [A14], and (52) *Choumnos* [B22].
- [9] Role of the spiritual father. See also [15] below, and similar discussions of roles in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], (39) *Lips* [11], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [111].
- [10] Performance of the office and penitential prostrations. See also (52) *Choumnos* [A16], [B14]; (53) *Meteora* [11]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [59]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17].

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

- [11] Importance of continual prayer, humility. For private prayers, see also (39) *Lips* [52].
- [12] Instructions for performance of the psalter. See also (36) *Blemmydes* [13] for another example of apparent hostility to the influence of secular music on liturgical services.
- [13] Readings more important than psalmody. See also [20] below; for the importance of reading elsewhere, see also (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [30], [66], [120], [132].
- [14] Qualifications, selection and tenure of the priest. See also similar provisions in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [15]; (39) *Lips* [6]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [111].
- [15] Selection of the spiritual father; his restricted authority. See also [9] above, with cross-references.
- [16] Instructions for the gatekeepers. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29]; (32) *Mamas* [12]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12]; (34) *Machairas* [116]; (39) *Lips* [9], [15], [16]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; (52) *Choumnos* [A14]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [72], [75], [76]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
- [17] Grounds for expulsion of nuns; punishment of nuns who flee or are absent without leave. See also (34) *Machairas* [123] and (45) *Neophytos* [CB2].
- [18] Election of the superior and the two stewards. See also similar provisions in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], [14]; (39) *Lips* [5], [25]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [26], [54], [55].
- [19] Inventory of the convent's property. Missing, but see [INV] below.
- [20] Additional instructions for the superior. For reception of visiting officials elsewhere, see (21) *Roidion* [B5], [B7]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], [8]; and (34) *Machairas* [116], [117]; cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [20], [23] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], [35]. For the storage of books and the value placed on them in other documents, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [B7], [C6], [C7]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37].
- [21] Curse on violators of the rule. See also similar provisions in (35) *Skoteine* [46]; (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (39) *Lips* [2]; (45) *Neophytos* [22]; (48) *Prodromos* [16]; (49) *Geromeri* [16]; (50) *Gerasimos* [5]; (51) *Koutloumousi* [A15], [B20]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [17]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22].
- [INV] Inventory of books. For other inventories of this sort, see also (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (34) *Skoteine* [24], [27], [28], [42]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [3].