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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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56. *Kellibara II: Typikon* of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara in Constantinople

Date: 1315?–28¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Ph. Meyer, “Bruchstücke zweier *typika ktetorika*,” *BZ* 4 (1895), 45–48, with corrections by G. N. Hatzidakis and Ed. Kurtz, “Zu den Bruchstücken zweier *Typika*,” *BZ* 4 (1895), 583–84.

Manuscript: Iveron codex 593 (1540 A.D.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

See (38) *Kellibara I*, Institutional History

Analysis

Like its contemporary (47) *Philanthropos*, this document is derived from excerpts from the original text compiled by the Athonite monk Pachomios Rhousanos in the middle of the sixteenth century. Like the former document, this one fulfills the excerptor’s evident purpose of illustrating the classic institutions of cenobitic monasticism, including various egalitarian usages on diet, clothing, care of sick monks, and prohibition of private property, that had long been part of the Evergetian monastic reform tradition.

The relationship of these excerpts to the partial text of (38) *Kellibara I* is problematic. Janin wondered if the attribution of the excerpts to Andronikos II might be incorrect.³ Yet the authorship of a second *typikon* for the St. Demetrios-Kellibara monastery by Andronikos II is not implausible, particularly since in (38) *Kellibara I* [16] his father clearly intended that the office of the monastery’s protector (*ephoros*) should be inherited by his successors. Moreover, external evidence suggests that the monastery, which had been granted “free and self-governing” status in (38) *Kellibara I* [15], had been taken over by the public authorities by 1315, at which time one of its monks, a certain Theodore, was condemned by the patriarchal synod.⁴ Thereafter, it became known as an “imperial and patriarchal” monastery.⁵ The present document, therefore, may have been drawn up as part of the administrative reorganization of the monastery.

The excerpts that make up this document address themselves exclusively to disciplinary matters from an aggressively pro-cenobitic perspective later adopted in (60) *Charsianeites* as well. At least in so far as its present state of preservation indicates, (38) *Kellibara I* was concerned primarily with matters of organization and governance. Perhaps disciplinary matters were not treated fully in that document, which led our author to remedy the deficiency in the present document, or, as in (37) *Auxentios* [11], there may have been a toleration of non-cenobitic monasticism in his

father's *typikon* that the public authorities were no longer willing to countenance after they assumed control of the foundation.

A. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Liturgical Duties

As in most contemporary *typika*, the author endorses [1] the "Rule of Jerusalem," i.e., the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, for the regulation of liturgical services as well as the monks' diet: "Those who need to find out something should open the book containing that rule and read it, and they will certainly be able to find what they are looking for in it."

2. Manual Labor

There is no specific discussion of manual labor, but the author mentions [2] in passing a shoemaker, a gatekeeper and a baker among the monks in the monastery entitled to an equal share of food and drink.

3. Cenobitic Lifestyle

In an implicit endorsement of (22) *Evergetis* [26], the author instructs [2] that the same food and drink should be served to all the monks (manual workers not excluded), regardless of rank. There was to be no variation in quantity or quality either. A discussion of the perils of tolerating dietary inequality follows [3]. It is blamed for secret eating, drinking bouts, and even a tendency to idiorhythmism. Evergetian usages also inform [4] the author's regulations for the refectory. The monks were also to share [7] a common supply of clothes; the alternative of providing the monks with an allowance to purchase shoes and clothing (as in (32) *Mamas* [28]) is explicitly rejected.

4. No Personal Possessions

As his father did with stipends (*rogai*) in (37) *Mount Auxentios* [7], the author bans [9] the gratuities which are here called "blessings" (*eulogiai*). These he asserts to be "in reality just the opposite," and deserving of condemnation "in the strongest terms." The monks are admonished not to "chase after money and be eager to live in a worldly fashion."

5. Diet

As noted above, the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas was to be [1] authoritative for the regulation of the monks' diet. Dietary concessions were to be allowed [5] for the truly infirm, here defined as those confined to bed (suggesting a looser definition elsewhere), in accordance with the recommendations of their doctors (cf. (39) *Lips* [33]).

6. Clothing

There is a list of articles of clothing to be supplied [8] to the monks, comparable to that found in (37) *Auxentios* [7].

7. Care of Sick Monks

The monks are instructed [5] to "spare no expense" to help the sick regain their health, including paying for doctors, purchasing medicines, allowing special diets, and conveying the patients frequently to baths as required. In support of this mandate, the author cites [6] scriptural justifications and stresses the reciprocal nature of this responsibility to care for the sick: "The solace you

now bring to the one, you yourselves will surely soon be requesting from those in good health as an appropriate sort of reward.” Elsewhere, there is evidence that some monks preferred to retain control over personal assets so that they would not need to rely on their communities in sickness and old age (see (60) *Charsianeites* [B13]).

B. Constitutional Matters

The preserved excerpts of this document do not include the usual sections of the *typikon* dealing with constitutional matters. The author does mention [2] in passing the superior, the steward, and the ecclesiarch as well as [7] the treasurer as being among the monastery’s officers.

C. Financial Matters

Similarly, there is no formal discussion of financial matters in the excerpts. In [7] the author alludes to the (landed) properties and incomes he has donated to the monastery so that the monks might live the monastic life “absolutely undistracted,” just as his father had done previously (see (38) *Kellibara I* [12]). There was also a treasury for cash receipts from which the superior, through the treasurer, made [7] disbursements for needed items like footwear and clothing.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2053 (1315), a record of the trial of Theodore, an ordained monk of this foundation, provides a possible *terminus post quem* for its reorganization as a public institution; see above, (38) *Kellibara I*, Institutional History, D.
2. See Meyer, “Bruchstücke,” p. 50.
3. *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 231, n. 2; cf. Meyer, “Bruchstücke,” pp. 51–52.
4. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2053 (1315), ed. MM 1.42.
5. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3091 (1400), ed. MM 2.325–26, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 92.

Bibliography

See the bibliography for (38) *Kellibara I*

Translation

From the *Typikon* of the most faithful and holy emperor Lord Andronikos [II] Palaiologos, founder of the revered monastery of the holy and great martyr Demetrios [also called] Kellibara.

[1.] The Rule of Jerusalem,¹ which you agreed to observe and my majesty has clearly ordered [that you should observe], not only sets forth the order of service in the church but also lays down regulations concerning meals. Those who need to find out something should open the book containing that Rule and read it, and they will certainly be able to find what they are looking for in it. But if something is not covered in that Rule, then it is appropriate and it is incumbent upon my majesty to call it to your attention. Indeed, that is what we shall do here.

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[2.] What is this subject? It is that there shall not be any inequality or disparity as far as diet is concerned among you who are brothers in Christ. For those living in community this almost invariably gives rise to scandal. It shall not be permitted that one has some special and richer food while another has poorer or less. Neither shall good wine, full-bodied and with a nice bouquet, be given to this one to drink while that one is given the opposite, like vinegar, foul smelling, and hostile to one's palate and one's stomach. But the same bread should be given to all the brothers to eat, whether you are talking of the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, or whether it be the shoemaker, the gatekeeper, the baker, or whoever it may be. Everyone shall drink the same wine and, in addition to their bread, all the provisions and food given them to eat shall be of the same quality and shall be served to each in equal portions.

[3.] All gradation, such as first and second, shall be done away with. In this regard my majesty expressly removes from their meals any idea of greater or less, large amounts or small ones, better or worse. These words denote inequality, which has introduced into the life of the monks everything which is foreign to their vows. The love of material things and indifference have come to triumph over the venerable and angelic way of life. Whence come secret meals for monks, not to mention stealing off for meals and for drinking bouts with friends? Whence come avarice, appropriating things by stealth, and having one's own possessions? So I do not have to list each one, whence come all the rest? Do they not derive from this very inequality? Do they not stem from the fact that this one has something to eat [p. 46] while that one does not? This one has something to drink while that one has nothing at all? This one is stuffed full while that one is dying of starvation? These things have stirred up murmuring, given rise to evil reports, and brought forth envy and hatred. This is why monks become unstable and go wandering about to no purpose. My majesty now puts an end to these things and insists on equality of diet, reminding you of the words of the apostle: "Pursue what makes for peace and for mutual upbuilding" (cf. Rom. 14:19). How do you make peace with one another and build up one another? You do so by observing what he says: Do not eat any one thing that causes someone to stumble or be scandalized (cf. Rom. 14:21). Do not let what you eat bring about the ruin of your brothers (Rom. 14:15).

[4.] For these reasons let there be only one table, one sort of food, one sort of drink. Let there be one time to partake of them, not some at one time, others at another. No one should eat in a special place or be served special fare. This equality brings peace and calm of soul. This is the bond of love and unity in Christ. This is what indicates progress in community life. In addition, while you are eating let there be reading from the sacred books. This provides nourishment for the soul as the food before you does for the body. Let silence be observed so you can listen, and may the words you hear enter into your soul. Let there be no curiosity in how one's neighbor reaches out to the food,² but let all offer thanks for what is placed before them as well as for the other gifts from God which we enjoy.

From the same rule

[5.] In general, then, this is what my majesty has to say about the healthy and able-bodied monks. Blessed is he who has the wisdom to understand these things and who at the same time will

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observe them (cf. Luke 11:28). But for the infirm, those who are truly infirm and confined to bed, not simply pretending to be ill, for “the law,” they say, “is not laid down for them” (cf. I Tim. 1:8). Indeed, the infirm shall not be subject to the above prescriptions until they shall have recovered from their illness. But they shall be allowed to eat as required by their treatment which shall be administered under the direction of a doctor. For my majesty wishes a doctor to be called and a brother assigned to assist with the needs of the sick among you, indeed several such assistants if several are needed. You should spare no expense in your efforts to have the sick regain their health. You should make payments for them to doctors, purchase medication, see that they get healthy food, convey them to the bath when they need to bathe, and do so frequently if it becomes necessary frequently.

[6.] Do all this with mercy and sympathy with the genuine feeling of Job, who said: “I wept over every helpless man; I groaned when I saw a man in distress” (Job 30:25). You should not grumble, murmur, and take it ill, but realize that by performing such service for your brothers you are [p. 47] being kind to your own selves. It is true that you are members of one another, and you are all one in Christ (Rom. 12:5). There is a need, which nature has as it were made into a law, to labor on behalf of one another because of your unity, for a healthy member does not take it amiss to care for another, but is sympathetic and devotes his best efforts to it. More importantly, though, by the special kindness you show to them you are kind to yourselves since you are of the same nature and subject to the same sufferings. The solace you now bring to the other one, you yourselves will surely soon be requesting from those in good health as an appropriate sort of reward. You will ask them to behave in such a way toward you as you did toward them. You must be concerned about the sick, manifesting greater concern in proportion to the gravity of the illness and the intensity of the person’s suffering.

From the same rule

[7.] My majesty knows this and knows it well, that, above all else, it is necessary for those who have promised to lead the monastic life to be absolutely undistracted in the pursuit of the goal proper to them. My majesty, therefore, has arranged that its brothers in Christ residing in the monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara should not have to worry about their sustenance and has granted them possessions and incomes. In addition, my majesty has already seen to it that they need not be anxious about clothing and shoes. Consequently the superior shall not give any of them even one coin, no gold or silver, from the common treasury to purchase shoes or clothing, and thus enmesh them again in distractions and cares. My majesty places an immeasurable value on drawing them away from these and leading them to God. The superior, along with the treasurer, should take thought for these things and should provide them with their footwear and clothing. Thus they need have no concern in this regard.

[8.] My majesty does not wish to leave this matter unregulated. Each year, therefore, the superior shall provide each one of the brothers with two white tunics, the kind worn right next to the skin under everything else. At the same time he shall provide each with one black tunic, larger and more ample than the others, and this garment will be worn over all the others. Each year he will

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also give each one shoes for his feet, a pair for winter and for summer. Every two years as the above items are furnished to each monk from the storeroom he shall in addition receive one black cloak and a vest thick enough to provide protection against the cold. This is how such matters will be arranged, and nobody will have any cause for anxiety.

[9.] In your holy community my majesty prohibits in the strongest terms that distribution of money which goes by the name of “blessing,” but is in reality just the opposite. It is our wish that you be content only with what has been set forth, [p. 48] and that you be persuaded by him who said: “If we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content” (I Tim. 6:8). “Do not be conformed to this world” (Rom. 12:2). Do not chase after money and be eager to live in a worldly fashion. Do not try to replace faith with disbelief or firm hope with uncertainty. To what else does gold condemn those who possess it if not dragging the hopes of men from heaven down to earth? My majesty has not brought you together and given you this residence because you are lovers of money. “If wealth should flow in,” says the divine David, “set not your heart upon it.” (Ps. 61 [62]: 11). Be constant in not loving material things, and place your hope solely in the Lord, that you may be an abundant source of blessing and heavenly mercy to yourselves as well as to us who have brought you together for this purpose. “Blessed,” it is said, “is the man that trusts in thee” (Ps. 83 [84]:13), and “Him that trusts in the Lord, mercy shall compass about” (Ps. 31 [32]:10).

Notes on the Translation

1. The liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 1–508.
2. The meaning is: “look at your own plate and don’t turn around to see how your neighbor eats”; cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [86].

Document Notes

- [1] “Rule of Jerusalem” to regulate liturgical services and diet. For other endorsements of this document in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [8], [10]; (39) *Lips* [29], [30], [31], [32], [33]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78], [80]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [16].
- [2] Same food and drink for all. For the principle, see (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents; for endorsements in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (53) *Meteora* [3], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [83], (58) *Menoikeion* [106], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [3] Discussion of the perils of tolerating dietary inequality. See also the similar discussion in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [83]. For the condemnation of secret eating, see (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents, and, in Palaiologan times, (39) *Lips* [29], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [84], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3]. Drinking parties are also condemned in (55) *Athanasios I* [4] and (58) *Menoikeion* [22].
- [4] Refectory procedures. See also similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, as well as the relevant regulations in Palaiologan documents: (39) *Lips* [29], (52) *Choumnos* [A16], cf. [B20], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [85], (58) *Menoikeion* [8], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [5] Dietary concessions for and care of the sick. See also similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [10], [26] and related documents, as well as the relevant regulations in Palaiologan documents: (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [29], cf. [33], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (53) *Meteora* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [84], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3]. For another reservation of concessions to the “truly sick,” see (39) *Lips* [33].
- [6] Justification of care for the sick. See also the discussions of the obligation to provide lifetime mainte-

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nance in (32) *Mamas* [33], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [36], (55) *Athanasios I* [7], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [91]; cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B13].

[7] Communal supply of clothing. For the principle, see (22) *Evergetis* [25] and related documents; for endorsements in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [97] ff.; cf. the different approaches taken in (53) *Meteora* [8], (58) *Menoikeion* [12], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B20].

[8] Articles of clothing provided. See also the lists in (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [98], [99].

[9] Distributions of money to the monks prohibited. See also (37) *Auxentios* [7]; for similar gifts and allowances elsewhere, often for specific purposes, see (19) *Attaleiates* [33], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [12].