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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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57. *Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent
of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople*¹

Date: 1327–35²

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Editions employed: H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 18–105, supplemented by Ch. Baur, “Le Typikon du monastère de Notre-Dame tes bebaias elpidos,” *RHE* 29 (1933), 635–36.

Manuscripts: Oxford, Lincoln College, Ms. Graecus 35 (14th c.), supplemented by Berlin, State Library, Phillippicus 1489 (1640 A.D.)

Other translations: None

Institutional History

This foundation is known exclusively from the document translated below. The author, Theodora Synadene,³ was a niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos, himself the author of (37) *Auxentios* and (38) *Kellibara I*, who served [8] as her guardian after the early deaths of her parents. She married into the Synadenos family,⁴ a prominent Byzantine aristocratic clan, taking the *mezas stratopedarches* John Angelos Doukas Synadenos as her husband. After a military career of some distinction, he became [116] a monk under the name Joachim, probably shortly before his death. Theodora then decided [8] to embrace the monastic life herself under the name Theodoule (ca. 1295–1300, according to Hutter, “Geschichte”); she was joined [10] by her only daughter Euphrosyne. The convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* (Sure Hope) in Constantinople for which this document was written evidently dates from Theodora’s profession, though her husband John Synadenos is also honored [116] as its founder (*ktetor*).

Theodora’s original *typikon*, probably composed circa 1300, is preserved at Lincoln College, Oxford, in an illuminated manuscript, and is frequently referred to as the “Lincoln College *Typikon*.” A gap in this manuscript at [144] was resolved by Chrysostom Baur by using another manuscript of the *typikon* now in Berlin. This latter manuscript was a copy of the original made in Constantinople in 1640 at the request of Jacques Sirmond (Baur, “Typikon,” p. 635). The first twelve folios of the Lincoln College manuscript contain miniatures of the founder and her husband, her parents, her three children, and four granddaughters and their husbands.⁵ Subsequently, Theodora’s daughter Euphrosyne drew up a second, supplementary *typikon* that is attached to the main document and also translated here. In 1392, it was necessary for a later benefactor, Xene Philanthropene, to undertake [158] the restoration of the convent to prevent its collapse. After her death, the convent benefited from the patronage of her daughter Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene in the last years of the fourteenth century. A note of her death in 1402 is the last mention of the convent.

Based on the description [145] of the properties neighboring the convent, it appears that

Bebaia Elpis was located in the Heptaskalon quarter of Constantinople, in the south central part of the city.⁶ No remains have been identified.

Analysis

This document reflects the patronage of the foundation for which it was written over the course of three generations. The bulk of the document is the founder's *typikon* [1] through [145], including an appendix on commemorations for the founder Theodora Synadene's relatives ([134] through [144]) and boundary description [145]. In the next generation her daughter Euphrosyne Palaiologina composed the foundation's second *typikon* [146] through [154], actually a series of revisions to her mother's earlier *typikon* rather than a free-standing document in its own right, as (56) *Kellibara II* is, for instance, with respect to (38) *Kellibara I*. There follow various later appendices down to the early fifteenth century recording other liturgical commemorations, [155] through [159].

Therefore, we have here our most extensive documentation of continuous family patronage of a religious institution.⁷ In addition, many of the original author's relatives ([135] through [143]) chose to become monks and nuns, the women among them probably here in this foundation, though some of these may have been only deathbed tonsures.

A. *Model Typikon*

As was the case with the author of (39) *Lips*, (22) *Evergetis* or (more likely) some intermediary text in the Evergetian tradition was in the mind of our author here as she composed this document.⁸ While this model text is not specifically identified, the author was aware of her dependence on earlier tradition and the process of its transmission, for she describes [12] the purpose of this document as setting down a rule prescribing "the exact regulations and authorized observance of all behavior and every situation therein, which our teachers received from their elders long ago." The former are said to have "preserved them themselves well" and to have "handed them on in an exact fashion to their successors," a reasonable approximation of what we know actually to have taken place in the transmissory chain from (22) *Evergetis* in the eleventh century down to Palaiologan times.

B. *Lives of the Nuns*

1. Number of Nuns

The author originally set [23] the number of nuns in the foundation at thirty; subsequently her daughter Euphrosyne increases [146], cf. [147] this to fifty, professedly following her mother's wishes as she expressed them before her death. As in many other foundations of this era, the community was formally divided into choir sisters [56] and those charged with the various communal offices [58].

2. Liturgical Duties

Under the leadership of the ecclesiarchissa [49], the convent's ranking officer after the superior, the choir sisters were devoted [56] exclusively to the performance of church services. These nuns were to perform [78] services, vigils, fasts, and genuflections in accordance with the prescriptions of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas of Jerusalem, which the author hails [79] (like

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the author of (39) *Lips* [30]) as the “middle path,” avoiding “superfluity and deficiency.”

Qualifications set by the author for the ecclesiarchissa required [50] that she be able to sing and chant in tune (the first citation of professional singing ability for this office) and be familiar with the ecclesiastical office and ritual. The author was also concerned with such matters as correct performance [50], appropriate deportment [62], and avoiding carelessness in prayers [58]. Nuns assigned to other duties should nevertheless “season their work” with prayers [60], cf. [96] and attend church services whenever they had free time [61]. Illiterate nuns attending services were to pray [62] with “those short but powerful phrases which are accepted by God in place of any other prayer.” Neither they nor anyone else was to tend [62], [63] to their handiwork during church services. All this suggests an intense concern over the possible inefficacy of endowed prayers.

The *raison d'être* for this foundation was the performance of commemorations for the souls of the foundress [117], her parents [113], [114], [134], her husband (hailed as the “founder”) [116], their children (also to be considered “founders”) [119], and their descendants [136]. These were to be performed as a matter of patronal rights. Other members of the imperial family endowed their own commemorations, including the author’s brothers [137], [138], her sister [139] and brother-in-law [140], two of her nephews [141], [142], her son’s father-in-law [143], and a daughter-in-law [135]. Both the author [144] and her daughter Euphrosyne [145] admonish the nuns not to neglect funded commemorative services even should the foundation encounter financial difficulties. Should that occur, the nuns were to conduct these services to the extent of their resources and capabilities. The *typikon* also includes [112] prescriptions for the patronal feast, the Dormition of the Mother of God.

3. Manual Labor

Even though she clearly considered church services to be more important, our author advocates [95] manual labor as a defense against idleness. The nuns were to receive [96] materials for work from the storeroom supervisor and return the finished products (presumably articles of clothing, cf. [97]) to her afterwards; holding anything back is condemned as theft or sacrilege. Private work projects [66] were also not allowed.

4. Novitiate

There is no discussion of a novitiate, though there is a provision [148] by the author’s daughter Euphrosyne for the education of girls who wished to become nuns. [9] implies that the author recruited orphans to staff the convent.

5. Sacramental Life

A priest was to celebrate [79] the eucharist at the foundation’s church four times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays (i.e., the non-fast days). The celebrant was to be a pious, married man of mature years (but not a eunuch as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]). He was also responsible for conducting both the morning and the evening services of the daily office.

The author also exhorts [111] the community to choose a spiritual father to hear confessions. Several chapters in the *typikon* [105] through [111] are devoted to a discussion of the indispensability of confession and its benefits. Since the author believed [105] it was only human to sin

hourly (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15]), she recommends [109] summoning the confessor whenever he was needed; daily confession [105] was advisable.

6. Cenobitic Life

The author strongly endorses the basic components of cenobitic monasticism, as does [154] her daughter, who was certainly aware [149] of the idiorhythmic alternative. In a section that echoes some of the language of (22) *Evergetis* [42], the author takes [46] a hard line on private property, declaring that “everything private, every personal possession, will cease to exist.” There was also to be a common table, time and place for meals. The author endorses [83] the notion of “equal and fair” portions of food popularized long ago by (22) *Evergetis* [26], declaring that otherwise such evils as secret eating will result. Even gifts of food from a nun’s family were to be divided [84] up among all the rest of the nuns if possible, or if not, given to sick nuns or served to the designated beneficiary at the common table. Refectory procedures [85], including a dinner-time reading, are similar to those found in (22) *Evergetis* [9]. The author extends [66] the Evergetian mandate against frivolous talking to something approaching a rule of silence by banning conversations with other nuns without the mother superior’s permission (cf. [65]). The author’s daughter Euphrosyne adds [154] her endorsement of the essentials of the cenobitic life: observance of the church office, good order in the refectory, tranquility and diligence in the cells.

7. Servants Permitted to Members of the Nobility

Despite her allegiance to most cenobitic institutions, our author was willing to allow [94] a noble woman to have a single servant, though she is at pains to make clear that this concession applied “only for those women who come here from a life of privilege.”

8. Relations with Family

Although she asserts [75] the need for her nuns to “have hate without hatred” for their parents and relatives in the world, the author actually permits a fairly lenient visitation regime. Blood relatives could visit [76] a nun occasionally with the permission of the superior. They would meet their relative in the company of an old nun in the area between the foundation’s inner and outer gates. A younger nun, accompanied by two other nuns, could even visit [77] her relatives at home “for the sake of a little relaxation” on rare occasions, but had to return to the convent by evening and be interrogated by the superior afterwards. In general there was a greater access to the convent by visitors of both sexes (see [55], [72]), which shows that this foundation was much less a cloister than the Komnenian convent described in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], where nuns were allowed to leave only to visit a dying parent or as in (39) *Lips* [15] for “dire necessity” only.

9. Importance of Reading

The author pays some attention to reading in regulating the lives of her nuns. Literate nuns are urged [66] to read (as well as to pray and recite the psalter) during their free time in the cells. Twice she endorses [30], [132] hagiography, particularly the lives of female saints, so that “like a skillful artist, you will make your own way of life an accurate model of them.” She preferred [120], however, that the convent’s *typikon* should be read more than any other book, it being “the finest and most valuable of [her] possessions” offered to her nuns in lieu of “great wealth and any other rich inheritance.”

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10. Diet

As in most contemporary institutions, the *typikon* of the St. Sabas Monastery in Jerusalem was to regulate [80], [81] the nuns' diet, both during fasts [82] and on ordinary days. As elsewhere, this decision relieved our author of the necessity to make detailed dietary prescriptions, as many founders chose to do up through the twelfth century. Generally speaking, the nuns were to practice [86] moderation, defined as stopping eating "when one is still a little hungry," and not to make [87] eating "a pleasurable end in itself, but only a means of survival." Food, including fresh fish and other seasonal items, was to be purchased [88] outside the convent three times a week. An allotment of three gold coins is provided [112] for the especially costly and plentiful patronal feast, and of two *nomismata* for the "elegant and costly meal" associated [114] with the commemorative service for the author's parents. These are among our only indications of the actual expense of feeding a monastic community in these documents.

11. Clothing

The superior and storeroom supervisor were responsible [97], cf. [68] for supplying the nuns with clothes and other essentials. Many items of clothing were distributed [98] to the nuns yearly, while others (principally outer garments) were handed out [99] every three years. Shoes were repaired [98] at a workshop in the convent as they wore out. The nuns also received [100] a monthly allotment of nitre to wash their own clothes. The author professes to take [102] a very utilitarian view of clothing. Nuns were not to seek to imitate [103] worldly women of rank, but should prefer a habit that was [104] inexpensive but dignified and modestly adorned.

12. Bathing

The author permits nuns who choose to do so to bathe [101] four times a year, as in (39) *Lips* [34], but considerably less frequently than the once-a-month baths allowed in (29) *Kecharitomene* [58]. The regulation suggests that certain nuns in this foundation were foregoing bathing as a rigorist observance. Sick nuns could bathe [90] more often as their doctor prescribed.

13. Care of Sick Nuns

The author instructs [90] that a "skilled and pious" doctor should be summoned to examine sick nuns. The cost of treatment would be borne [91] by the convent. The doctor's recommendations for food, medicine and bathing should be observed [90], and other nuns should not begrudge [92] this special treatment.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The author formally declares [14], [15] the freedom and independence of her convent. To guard against the favorite devices of her contemporaries for seizing control of private religious foundations, she explicitly states [15] that it was not to be added (i.e., through *epidosis*) or united (through *henosis*) to any other convent, church, hospice, or old age home. She denounces [14] any violator of the foundation's independence as an enemy and traitor deserving of capital punishment.

Elsewhere, however, there is evidence of more traditional proprietary attitudes towards her foundation, as in [124], where she asserts that her daughter Euphrosyne is "mistress and heir of

this convent and all my property,” and in [159] where her daughter refers to it as “her ancestral convent.” Also, although the foundation was clearly the beneficiary of an endowment [121] separate from that the author intended to bequeath [124] directly to her daughter Euphrosyne, the description of the convent’s boundaries shows [145] that the convent was hedged in by adjoining private residences belonging to the author and to her relatives, from the ranks of whom the foundation’s protectors would be chosen (see below).

2. Leadership

The author piously hails the Mother of God herself as the true owner [14], [123] and guardian [13] of the foundation. However, in a passage which indicates that she was aware that it was a controversial institution, our author nevertheless provides [18] for a protectorate over the convent. After asserting that “the frail nature of women” requires male guardianship and protection, she designates [19] her eldest son as the first incumbent of the office, to be followed in turn by her next oldest son and other suitably powerful and pious relatives. Their responsibilities included [20] defending the *typikon*, providing for the material needs of the nuns, and repelling their enemies.

Like most founders of professedly independent monasteries, our author was hesitant to grant explicit recognition to the superior as the foundation’s effective governor; like many others, she prefers to emphasize [13], cf. [127] ff. the supremacy of the *typikon*, which is said to be a “reminder of pastoral administration and supervision” for the superior and “a law of genuine submission and a lesson in pure obedience” to the nuns.

In any event, the superior was to be selected [25] internally by the community, a procedure said to be “in accordance with the tradition of the fathers.” The author’s list of qualifications [25] for the office does not restrict the choice to any class of individuals—as (39) *Lips* [5] does to choir sisters—but her vague prescriptions for the election provide [26] no clear idea of how the new superior was actually to be chosen.

As far as the convent’s other officials are concerned, the ecclesiarchissa outranked [49] the steward, an uncommon order of precedence, professedly because the former official more closely resembled the essentially spiritual character of the superior. There was also to be a disciplinary official [67], a storeroom supervisor [23], [68], a gatekeeper [72], and a cellarer [69]. The last-named official was aided [70] by various assistants, including the cook, the baker, and a food server.

In an unusual democratic provision, the author orders [73] that the monastery’s officials were to be selected for their offices by a general election and voting lest she “appear to do anything improper and contrary to the apostolic tradition.” In actual fact, the author is making an important break with administrative absolutism, e.g., the usual reliance on the superior alone (as in (37) *Auxentios* [7]), or the superior’s joint responsibility with the spiritual father (as in (39) *Lips* [21]) for making these appointments. After election, there follows the ceremonial [74] for the installation of officials which resembles that found in (22) *Evergetis* [13].

The *typikon* is not entirely consistent, however, on this important matter of the community-wide election of officials. Elsewhere, the superior and the “leading nuns” are said [67] to choose the disciplinary official, and in [23] the superior chooses nuns for certain other (possibly minor and menial) offices, again with the advice of the “preeminent and leading” nuns. These same nuns are said [55] to play a role along with the superior in the financial oversight of the foundation.

3. Style of Rule

The author sketches out an unusually bold and confident role for the superior, exhorting [27] her to “forget feminine weakness” and govern “if not ‘like a man’ (Job 38:3), then at least in manly fashion.” While the author warns [35] the superior not to be arrogant and to consider [34] herself to be in fact “a worthless maidservant,” she also exhorts her to project “an air of solemnity and awe and respect” so that the nuns would not scorn her authority.

Features of authoritarian rule attested elsewhere are combined into a model of absolute obedience to the will of the superior. This has few parallels elsewhere in Byzantine monasticism. Nuns are said [126] to owe obedience to her when she forbids rigorous voluntary fasting (so also (23) *Pakourianos* [15]). Nuns were forbidden [9] to leave the convent, to receive anything from outside (even a remedy for a disease), or do anything else without the superior’s permission (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22], (32) *Mamas* [24]). She is authorized [32] to correct the nuns’ faults, although not in a “passionate” manner (cf. (32) *Mamas* [48]: “you must be angry without anger”), and forgive and pardon “whatever is permitted to a male superior who is not a priest,” hinting at a kind of para-sacramental disciplinary authority exercised by non-ordained superiors of both sexes. She is to remedy [33] deficiencies like “a physician, not being angry at those who are afflicted with illness, but combating the illness alone” (again, cf. (32) *Mamas* [48], [29]). A regime of punishments is set down [65] including genuflections, fasting, a water-only diet, and standing vigils as well as “other remedies” the superior might think “appropriate to the fault” (cf. penal codes found in (34) *Machairas* [122] ff. and (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] ff.). In an extreme summation, the author declares [44] “Everything that is ordered by the superior, even if it seems reprehensible, is completely free from condemnation as being irreproachable.” This is quite apart from the mainstream Byzantine tradition since the monastic reform, which assumed that a superior was fallible, and to some extent relied on the community (usually the “preeminent monks”) to check excesses and even instigate his or her removal in extreme cases (cf. recently, (37) *Auxentios* [5], (39) *Lips* [10]).

4. Patronal Privileges

As noted above, the performance of memorial services was the central function of this foundation. Those conducted for the foundress [117] herself as well as those for her parents [113], [114], [134], her husband [116], their children [119], and their descendants [136] fall into the category of patronal privileges. Reflecting the contemporary anxiety about entitlement to these privileges in the absence of actual contributions to the foundation in question (for which see (46) *Akropolis* [6]), the author insists upon an expansive definition of the term “founder” so as to include both her late husband [116] and her children [119]. Interestingly, her daughter Euphrosyne initially refused [118] the honor of commemoration although subsequently she changed [153] her mind.

Various donors from the author’s family received commemorative services too, but in exchange for various donations of icons, lamps, other valuable movable property, vineyards and other immovable properties, and large sums of cash (see [134] through [143]). The author, again reflecting contemporary sensitivity on this subject, orders [136] commemorative services for one of her granddaughters “even though she made no donation to the convent” since her father had made “abundant contributions and will make further donations.” Additionally, at least one family member, one of the author’s nephews, was to be buried [142] in the convent.

Aside from these, there is no discussion of any other patronal rights that the author and her family might have exercised in the foundation. This in itself is a reflection of the substantial curtailment of patronal privileges in Palaiologan times, especially from the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹ Even as far as the mostly inoffensive surviving rights of liturgical commemoration and burial were concerned, it is evident that contemporary opinion was hardening to a position that no one, regardless of his or her family ties to a founder, was entitled to any patronal right in the absence of a personal donation to the foundation. In this document, the author's daughter Euphrosyne is even self-conscious about her provision [149], cf. [150], [151] of a joint commemoration for the nuns of the foundation itself. It is defended on the grounds that the nuns have no personal assets of their own (and therefore could not be expected to pay for their own commemorations). Aside from special exceptions of this sort, the benefits of patronal rights were becoming increasingly indistinguishable from the rewards traditionally accorded generous external benefactors unrelated to the founding family.

5. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author implicitly endorses [120] the Evergetian practice of reading the *typikon*, which was to take place in the refectory at mealtime at the beginning of each month. Also, the superior was to teach and transmit [129] the precepts of the *typikon* to the nuns through the incorporation of them into her own life.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

As elsewhere, the convent's chief financial officer was the steward, here evidently a nun (unlike (27) *Kecharitomene* [14] or (39) *Lips* [25], which require or prefer a eunuch), who was required [54] to be past middle age, with "great experience in practical affairs," and able to resist temptation when visiting the convent's estates. There is a detailed list [55] of the steward's responsibilities that shows her involvement in a whole range of administrative activities that would surely have been thought inappropriate for a woman in Komnenian times, if not a few decades earlier when (39) *Lips* was composed. The steward was obliged to keep careful records, a commonplace of financial administration since the reform monasteries in the Evergetian tradition of the twelfth century, and hand these over to the superior and the "leading nuns." The storeroom supervisor was likewise required [68] to keep "precise accounts" of the articles of clothing, bedding, etc. in her charge.

The author chose to donate [121] half of her ancestral estate to the convent, while retaining the other half for her own "maintenance and modest comfort" and that of her daughter Euphrosyne. She and one of her sons also donated the village of Ainos in which they each owned half shares. Other relatives had entrusted the author with additional properties [122] to be donated for the support of the convent. The author is careful to identify [124] the parts of her estate that she chose not to donate to the convent. Overall, especially compared to the Komnenian convent described in (27) *Kecharitomene* [Appendix A] or even (39) *Lips* [44] ff., the patronal endowment of this foundation was based on just a few key properties rather than a long list of scattered holdings. The foundation may also have been more dependent than earlier ones on outside benefactions.

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2. Inalienability of Property

Like most of her predecessors since the monastic reform, our author was considerably concerned about the wrongful alienation of her foundation's assets. In addition to demanding [14] capital punishment for transgressors, she identifies [72] the prevention of theft of (movable) monastic property as one of the responsibilities of the convent's gatekeeper, which suggests an entirely new angle to the traditional problem of curbing speculation.

3. Entrance Gifts

There is no discussion or regulation of entrance gifts on the traditional Evergetian model or any other, but at the end of the *typikon* there is a reference [159] to another benefactor, the (new) "foundress" Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene, who is said to have been tonsured in the convent at an early age and to have spent "all her fortune" on it until her death.

4. Other Sources of Income

Evidently the foundation's assets increased over the years to the point where the author's daughter Euphrosyne was able to support [146] an additional twenty nuns, a two-thirds increase in the number of positions since the original endowment (cf. [23]). Some of the increase came to the foundation thanks to outside donations. Two donors unrelated to the author's family were accorded [156] commemorative services in exchange for their substantial gifts to the foundation, the bishop of Ephesos, who was the author's spiritual father, and the bishop of Mytilene, both presumably absentee prelates resident in Constantinople. Later on, Xene Philanthropene and her daughter Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene [158], who were the author's granddaughter and great-granddaughter respectively [159], made donations to the convent after the death of the original founder. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the nobleman John and his wife Maria Asanina donated [157] a substantial gift of cash for the purchase of property to endow posthumous commemorative services. As the Turkish grip on the city of Constantinople tightened, the nuns evidently lost much of their traditional income and became increasingly dependent on the money accruing to them from these commemorative endowments.

5. Building Maintenance

Thanks to the generosity of benefactors, the foundation was able to arrange for building maintenance. This seems to have been a special responsibility of the founder's hereditary line. The author's daughter-in-law paid [143] for the repair of the convent's cells in exchange for a commemoration of her father, while the author's granddaughter Xene Philanthropene [158] paid for the restoration of the convent itself "which was threatening to collapse in several places," beginning in 1392. In 1400, the author's great-granddaughter paid [158] for the restoration and repair of the church and its bell tower.

E. Overall Philosophy

As we have noted above, there was the special privilege awarded [94] only to nobly born nuns of being accompanied by a personal servant in the convent. This was part of the author's general policy, following the tradition of (32) *Mamas* [26], to allow [93] the superior to make similar concessions to and treat more sympathetically noble women who were "accustomed to a luxurious life in the world." That our author was somewhat self-conscious about these concessions

seems evident in the fact that she has placed them in a chapter dealing with treatment of sick nuns. Her declaration [92] that the rest of the nuns should not be envious of the special treatment of the latter is not repeated, however, in conjunction with the concessions awarded to the nobility.

F. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Unlike her counterpart in (39) *Lips* [7], our author instructs [26] her nuns to take their newly elected superior to the patriarch who will give her “the customary blessing and grace” (i.e., *sphragis*) and bestow the pastoral staff. Yet as far as other rights were concerned, she makes [16] the bold though—for a private founder—hardly uncharacteristic declaration that the patriarch should take “only what he is commanded to take by the holy canons and keep his hands off the rest,” an injunction that should be considered against the contemporary background of the reassertion of patriarchal rights.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

Like other convents, such as that for which (27) *Kecharitomene* was written (though not (39) *Lips*), our author’s nunnery had only a minimal, ritualistic commitment to institutional philanthropy. This was fulfilled principally through distributions of bread and wine at the gate to the poor on such occasions as the commemorative service for the author’s parents [115] and for the convents’ nuns [149], [150]. The commemorative endowments of other family members and external benefactors generally did not include provisions for charitable distributions (but cf. [142]). In a revealing provision the author instructs [89] the nuns to distribute leftovers at the gate on a daily basis, since “with these small surplus morsels of yours, you will alleviate to a degree their great poverty” and be certain of being repaid a hundred-fold in the convent’s storerooms. This suggests an essentially perfunctory form of philanthropy with a self-centered rationale, as does the author’s daughter Euphrosyne’s provision banning [148] the education of lay children except for those girls who might wish to become nuns, who were allowed to “learn lessons which contribute to the monastic rule” (cf. the later (53) *Meteora* [6]).

Notes on the Introduction

1. With a second *typikon* by the author’s daughter Euphrosyne Palaiologina beginning at [146].
2. See Hutter, “Geschichte,” forthcoming; cf. Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 198, Postscript, for whom the range of possible dates is 1327–42.
3. She is portrayed three times in miniature illuminations in the manuscript of the *typikon*, fols. 2r (as Theodora), and 7r, 11r (as the nun Theodoule); see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” pp. 185, fig. 1 (fol. 2r), 186, fig. 6 (fol. 7r), 187, fig. 7 (fol. 11r), and 193.
4. For the Synadenoï, see Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoï,” pp. 125–61, and Alexander Kazhdan, “Synadenos,” *ODB*, p. 1990.
5. See Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” pp. 192–94, with illustrations, pp. 185–87, and Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 190–206.
6. See Laurent, “Kyra Martha,” pp. 306–11, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 160.
7. See Paul Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*,” in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 92–11, esp. 103, reprinted in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (London, 1992).

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8. Echoes of (22) *Evergetis* and related documents: [9] restrictions on outside contacts, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22] and (32) *Mamas* [24]; [32] correction of nuns without anger, cf. (32) *Mamas* [48]; [33] appropriate remedies for faults, cf. (32) *Mamas* [29], [48]; [46] ban on personal possessions, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]; [74] elections without rivalry and contention, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], and investiture of officials, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [85] refectory procedures, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [105] human nature to sin hourly, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15].
9. For this development, see Chapter Eight, Historical Context, 4.

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Translation

[First *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene]

With God's help, an index of the *typikon* divided into 24 chapters.

[I.] Concerning the freedom and independence of this convent of mine.

[II.] Concerning the *ephoreia* and guardianship of the convent and who should be its *ephoros* and guardian.

[III.] Concerning the number of nuns, and what sort of person the superior should be, and how she is to be elected to the office of superior.

[IV.] An admonitory and advisory discourse to the superior.

[V.] A hortatory address to all the nuns, inspiring them to obedience.

[VI.] Concerning the ecclesiarchissa and her duties.

[VII.] Concerning the steward and her duties. [p. 19]

[VIII.] How the choir sisters should perform the church services when they assemble in church, and what their duties are.

- [IX.] Concerning the attitude towards the daily church offices of the nuns assigned to other duties outside the church, and how they should attend [the offices].
- [X.] How the superior should punish negligent nuns, and through which nun she will strive to eliminate apathy.
- [XI.] Concerning the keeper and supervisor of the communal storeroom and her duties.
- [XII.] Concerning the cellarer and her duties.
- [XIII.] Concerning the guard and gatekeeper of the convent and her duties.
- [XIV.] How the election of these officials should take place.
- [XV.] How the imperfect and weak nuns are to see their relatives in time of need.
- [XVI.] That all the doxologies to God and vigils and fasts and genuflections should be performed in accordance with the *typikon* of Jerusalem.
- [XVII.] That all the nuns should have the same daily diet.
- [XVIII.] How the superior should treat nuns who are ill, and what care she should provide for them.
- [XIX.] That all the nuns should do their work in common and not privately, and how they should be clothed.
- [XX.] That daily confession is obligatory.
- [XXI.] How the feast day of the Mother of God should be celebrated annually.
- [XXII.] How to celebrate the commemorations of the parents of eternal memory of the foundress, as well as the commemorations of the blessed founder of this holy convent, and of its foundress [and their children].
- [XXIII.] [Enumeration of] property dedicated to the Mother of God for the support and maintenance of her handmaidens. [p. 20]
- [XXIV.] A hortatory epilogue to all the nuns and the superior to abide by the *typikon* and not to transgress [it] in any way.

1. It seems to me that there are many fine and great ways to show our pure love for the Creator and our ardent passion for him; but nothing, I think, is better than to construct for him from the foundations divine sanctuaries and holy dwellings, sparing no [expense], and to demonstrate attentive eagerness and generosity “with all one’s soul” (Matt. 22:37) and hands. If in addition one should build holy monasteries and workshops of virtue for the salvation of souls who choose to live in accordance with God, this would be to an even greater extent the clearest manifestation of that [love]; [but to engage] in both these undertakings is the greatest achievement, surpassing all other virtues.

2. For in that manner the first and greatest of the commandments is realized; and moreover “the second” in order and “like” the first in its power, which clearly bids its true disciples “to love one’s neighbor as oneself” (Matt. 22:39). For they are always linked together by the Lawgiver, as the sum of “the law and the prophets” (Matt. 22:40), and they cling to each other, and each supports the other, and each introduces the other. For the first is the beginning and root of the second, and the second naturally depends on the first as being its very cause. Again the second clearly completes the first; and the second, through some divine reason, makes the first complete; and through

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the first zealous people totally accomplish the second, and through the second return again to the first in a most marvelous fashion, since he who truly loves God also really loves his neighbor as a consequence. For [p. 21] Christ said, “He who loves me will keep my commandments” (cf. John 14:15). Also “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you” (John 15:12). However, he who genuinely loves his neighbor can without any doubt fulfill his love for the divine, because God transfers this act of grace to himself, and accepts it and considers it [as his own]. For “as you did it to one of these my brethren, and if he was hungry and thirsty, naked and a stranger, sick or in prison, you fed him, gave him drink, clothed him, welcomed him, visited him and ministered to him, you did it to me” (cf. Matt. 25:35–40).

3. So that he who carries out the first and greatest of the commandments together with the second is shown to be not only a lover of God, but a lover of his brother and of his fellow man. Rather in accordance with correct and accurate reasoning, when the second returns to the first, of necessity, as has been said, he who loves his brother and God is inferred to be totally a lover of God, by certain physical attractions and ineffable bonds. For he depends upon the Creator as his creation, and always instinctively stretches out to him, and clings to him with passion, and is able to sing with the Holy Scriptures, “I am wounded with love, and my soul has kept very close behind thee” (Cant. 2:5; Ps. 62 [63]:8–9); and “my soul thirsts and longs for thee, the living God, as the harts,” inflamed with extreme burning thirst, “long for fountains of water” (Ps. 41 [42]:2–3). Thus the lover of God clings ardently to the divine, not only because he was brought by God in the beginning “from non-being into existence,”¹ but because having his origins from God he is maintained and supported by him. Therefore the eminent theologians and explicators of the Holy Scriptures do not celebrate divinity only as the creative and essential cause of everything, as we have been taught, but also as [p. 22] the ultimate desirable object, and as “the peak of everything desirable,” for which “every rational nature yearns, and towards which only the mind of the perfect [person] looks and ascends,” and for whose lovers, according to the theologian Gregory [Nazianzen], “there is repose from every other sort of spiritual contemplation.”²

4. Since in some obscure fashion I conceived in the womb of my heart and gave birth to this truly good and holy and divine love and desire, I decided to construct a holy dwelling for my all-pure Lady the Mother of God, and in addition to build from the foundations a convent. It was to be a secure refuge for women who have chosen the ascetic way of life, and it was also for me and my dearly beloved and most true daughter, whom I consecrated not only from infancy, but almost from the moment of her very birth to the all-holy Virgin and Mother of God, and through her to the God of all, just as Anna of old [dedicated] Samuel (1 Kings 1: 10–28) before his birth. Like a welcoming harbor [this convent] was to receive her some time later, as she fled the storms and waves of this world. I have now accomplished this task, and brought to light and realization that deep-felt and old desire of mine. I have repaired and restored this divine church for my great hope and protection, our common and sole Mistress of us all, and I have constructed this holy convent from its foundations as best I could in this place, to her greater glory and in accordance with my primary purpose.

5. I have done this as a small repayment of my great debt, in thanks for the protection and great blessings, beyond all reckoning and number, which I have received from her all my life. For example, leaving aside the rest of her blessings which are more numerous than the sand of the sea and drops of rain, straightaway from the beginning, as a result of her favor, I had admirable parents distinguished for their noble lineage, [p. 23] fine reputation, lofty honors, extreme wealth, physical courage and incomparable beauty, spiritual virtue, genuine piety towards God, and every other blessing with which man is endowed, possessing every [attribute] in themselves and taking pride of place in all respects, just like the sun which is brightest of all the stars.

6. My father³ belonged to the most noble family of the Palaiologoi, and was honored and glorified with the great honor and rank of *sebastokrator* by his brother the emperor.⁴ As for his distinguished campaigns and deeds of valor, and the victories which he won in east and west, with the help of the mighty and invincible strength of God, when he led the Roman armies against the foe, defeating every enemy and opponent throughout the empire and slaughtering them from the youth upwards, let others speak of them who have the leisure and freedom to speak of such matters. For my ties of kinship and natural great affection for this father of mine and piety encourage me to keep silence in the end and not say anything further. But such a man was my father and of such lineage.

7. My mother⁵ was also most noble and distinguished among all women, tracing her golden lineage to that extremely famous and celebrated Branas family. She was endowed with all blessings analogous and equivalent to the magnificence of her husband's family. She surpassed the distinguished and great women of that time in all respects, as much as my father took precedence completely over the superior and distinguished men of his time.

8. Alas, both my parents died when I was very young; but straightaway, through the providence of the Mother of God, I was deemed worthy [p. 24] of the concerned guardianship of my uncle the emperor. Shortly thereafter I was married to a man who was distinguished in all external and physical aspects, and could not endure to be second to anyone in authority, but was even more distinguished for the internal characteristics which adorn and beautify his very soul. He traced his lineage clearly to the families of the Komnenoi and Synadenoï, and before his marriage was splendidly exalted by the emperor with the rank of *stratopedarches*.⁶ Why do I need to tell how this man, just like my father,⁷ was treated compassionately and supported and honored by my all-merciful and all-powerful uncle, the emperor, and what an alliance he achieved thereby, and how much time he spent waging war against every enemy and fighting nobly on behalf of his kindred people, the Romans, both before and after his promotion? For I am restrained on all sides and forced to keep silence even now by the same factors as before, when I was narrating a few facts about my parents. But everyone who knows him and his deeds in great detail⁸ is aware [of his character], and surely does not require any further description.

But when my husband died (such are the inscrutable judgments of God!), I was left alone in life, anchoring my hopes on one daughter,⁹ who is exceptionally dear to me above all others, and on my two young sons.¹⁰ I then decided not to remain any longer in the world, nor to live in a

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worldly fashion, nor attach myself to its dreams, nor struggle in vain with its shadows and fantasies, but with the help of God rather to break loose from the world and be mortified to all life, and to adopt this monastic yoke, and to live here on earth “the life hidden in Christ” (cf. Col. 3:3) through the great guidance and assistance of the [Holy] Spirit.

9. Therefore, disregarding all delights and abandoning from my heart all the beguiling pleasures of this enjoyable and delightful life, I brought myself [to this convent], and I also brought [p. 25] my only daughter who is good and fine in all respects, the pleasant and charming light of my eyes, my sweetest love, the flame of my heart, my breath and life, the hope of my old age, my refreshment, my comfort, my consolation. With joyful and leaping soul I dedicated her to the Mother of God and through her to Christ, her only-begotten Son and the God and King of all. As I said, of old I had promised with all my heart to give and dedicate to him this sacrifice of mine, to him I had vowed of old with all my soul to marry this dearly beloved daughter of mine, the adornment of all her family, and to betroth her to the purest and true and only Bridegroom who is “more beautiful than sons of men” (Ps. 44 [45]:2), and who loves and feels affection for the souls who genuinely love and are beloved of him because of his great compassion and incomparable goodness. If she who is mystically wed to him should prove fit to please and satisfy and refresh the Bridegroom, this will be a great mercy for me in accordance with my hopes and prayers to the Mother of God, this will be the chief of her blessings on me, this will be the height of her many great instances of succor.

10. Not only did I thus bring and dedicate myself to God, and also brought my cherished daughter, but I also enclosed in this convent a few virgins who have the same purpose as I do in all things and whose souls are afflicted with the same desire and love, and who agreed, with God and the angels and the Church as witnesses, to live with me always. I have cast all my thoughts, all my hopes, all my anxiety, all my concern for myself and my orphaned children upon the Lord, the Father of orphans, the protector of the defenseless, the great hope and succor of those in despair, from whom every blessing and gift and favor comes to [p. 26] mankind, and who opens his hand most generously and fills everything with contentment and goodness (cf. Ps. 144 [145]:16).

11. But in this way and for these reasons the entire convent together with this divine church was constructed from the foundations and established in honor of the Mother of God. Through her powerful intercessions and protection may it be fruitful as a vineyard, having virgins and nuns within like flourishing and beautiful vine branches, teeming with numerous large and excellent bunches of grapes, to the glory of Christ, and to the glory of his wholly undefiled Mother, and for the eradication of my unspeakable sins, which I have committed inasmuch as I am human and of changeable and fallible nature, and therefore I incited and provoked my Creator to anger (would that I had not!). I think I have said enough about how and why the convent was originally established.

12. It is time then for me to turn to my purpose towards which I was eagerly hastening. This is for me to set down a sort of rule for this convent, prescribing the exact regulations and authorized

observance of all behavior and every situation therein, which our teachers received from their elders long ago. They preserved [these regulations by observing] them themselves well and in a manner pleasing to God, and handed them on in exact fashion to their successors as was fitting in word and deed, and they transmitted them just as the inhabitants of famous cities [transmit] the local, original and indigenous laws, or, if you prefer, as the leaders of great peoples [transmit] their native and ancestral [customs]. My dear women, if you follow these rules and regulations in the conduct of your lives and in your behavior, I know well that first of all you will act in accordance with the approval and good will of my Lady who is praised by all, and you will then act in accordance with my wishes, and in accordance with what I do and strive for most eagerly and desire. Thereby you will receive [p. 27] a great reward from God above, and you will also receive from men ineffable blessings and public praise. For you have chosen to live according to God, and you strive always to set yourselves forth as a good example of virtue for your successors, not undermining your angelic way of life by apathy and daily deficiencies in good behavior, but rather reinvigorating it with good words and deeds, and through your disciplined behavior preparing its most pure light to shine forth abundantly.

13. This set of rules and regulations is to be a kind of reminder of pastoral administration and supervision for your superior and common teacher, and for her disciples a law of genuine submission and a lesson in pure obedience. The Mother of God herself is to be the guardian of her rules, and, as she knows best, is to wisely inspire spiritual perfection, and whatever guides and leads to the promised blessedness.

I. Concerning the freedom and independence of this convent of mine.

14. Above all else it is my wish that this convent built by me for the Mother of God be autonomous, and be and remain for all time completely free and unenslaved of any power and authority here on earth. For it is neither just nor pious nor holy for [a convent] which has become once and for all a holy dedication to and possession of the Lady of all, and through her of the eternal and incorruptible King and God, ever to come under another human rule and corruptible authority and power, and for [a convent] which was entirely dedicated to one lord and master, [p. 28] the true Lord and Master, to have human masters. For this is a cause of great damage and unspeakable danger, not to say spiritual death, for those who would dare to do this against the holy and sacred [institutions]. If a man with bold spirit and daring hand should attack this ephemeral government and empire here below, and wickedly attempt to appropriate as his own that which has been dedicated to this [empire] alone and wickedly to use it as his own property, in the judgment of the laws and truth itself he is considered a man deserving capital punishment, and is condemned to execution as an enemy¹¹ and disaffected traitor. How then will he not rightly pay the penalty and be condemned to even worse than death, if he raises up impious hands and not only seeks to rebel against God himself, but impiously takes for himself that which has been consecrated and dedicated to God alone, and is really anxious to enslave that which is truly free.

15. As I have said, the convent is to be independent and autonomous, completely rejecting human enslavement, and in no way recognizing earthly masters. For thus will be maintained inviolate

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[the commandment], “Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s” (Matt. 22:21). Wherefore no one at all who truly fears and is in awe of God will be able with impunity to lay tyrannical hands on it, nor to oppress it in any way, nor will he ever try to subordinate and subject [the convent] or any of its property to himself or anyone else, nor will he add or unite it, to any person either lay or ecclesiastical,¹² to any other convent, or church, or hospice, or old age home, to nothing else at all. Rather [the convent] is to preserve its independence, and control, manage and administer itself and all its property; and it is to manage and administer just as I have set forth now in this document. [The convent] is to love, honor and abide by [these rules] unceasingly, and preserve them all its life, and subject itself to them in its heart, and obey them unquestioningly, striving to serve God alone and ardently to worship him alone, which [conduct] alone is able truly to liberate the man who is truly noble and free by nature. [p. 29]

16. Even he who is most holy patriarch at the time should take only that which he is commanded to take by the holy canons, should be content with these things alone and perforce keep his hands off the rest, that is whatever does not lead to the edification and support [of the convent], but to its ruin and destruction. The word of truth knows that this is not the work of pastors who herd voluntarily the flocks of Christ, the Chief Shepherd, but rather [of those who herd] tyrannically and by force and for base gain. But it is my wish that this holy convent of mine be thus independent and adhering to its original form, and I ordain this above all else. May it thus be preserved in perpetuity and may no one ever be found who would take away its freedom with tyrannical and violent force.

17. But if any truly malicious and greedy and unjust person should dare to take this step, and should wish to nullify and transgress these regulations, let him know for sure that, whoever he may be, he will be guilty of a most serious and unforgivable sin, and will be subject to the worst curses, and will greatly provoke divine hostility, and will find the Mother of God herself opposing him, as an avenger of such injustice and boldness. And because he obviously did not fear to commit sacrilege and thus dared shamelessly to appropriate the property of God, for endless ages he will suffer that revenge which is the special punishment of those who attack Christ, and who impiously crucified the Lord of glory, and who bear the guilt for his blood and the frightful sufferings of [his body].

II. Concerning the *ephoreia* and guardianship of the convent and who should be its *ephoros* and guardian.

18. On occasion the frail nature of women requires the *ephoreia* and guardianship of men, to drive away to the best of their ability the insolent and [p. 30] greedy people who are likely to attack them from time to time, through the envy and rage and cooperation of the devil who is always indignant at and envious of the good, so that [the nuns] may be completely liberated from troublesome and bothersome people. Therefore I do not prohibit this [*ephoreia*] in my convent, rather I approve and encourage it, to preserve for the convent its status as untroubled and unharmed and completely liberated.

19. But who should be the *ephoros* for the convent, who would be a guardian most nobly disposed toward it, who else than someone who is always very close and dear to me, and labors on behalf of my affairs and strives on their behalf with all his heart? Who else is dearer and closer and, as I have said, is better disposed to me than my dearly beloved sons, who, just as they are the heirs and successors of the family and of [my] other possessions, are also the heirs of the things which I have strived to accomplish to the glory of God and the salvation of souls? Therefore let the eldest of my sons be the first *ephoros* and first guardian; and after him, my second son. Then whoever of their descendants is abundantly endowed by heaven above with grace and foresight and succor, and thus by far surpasses his other relatives in power and titles, and in all other ways of prosperity appears much more distinguished and notable than the others.

20. Therefore the *ephoros* of the convent will be this man whom I have appointed to its *ephoreia* and guardianship. But he is to do only those things for the convent which I [do]. Thus this *ephoros* will be nobly disposed toward the convent, just as I am, or rather as this book of regulations explains and sets forth in accordance with [the teachings of] the Fathers and the Church. Above all else he should treat [the *typikon*] reverently and [p. 31] strive first of all to carry out its instructions. Sometimes he should deem worthy of mercy and compassion the nuns who strive to live in accordance with God, giving to them freely of his stores, to the extent of his means, and thus buying that which is stable and incorruptible through the transitory and corruptible. At other times he should serve as their guardian in another way, on the one hand repelling once and for all those who wish to wrong the [nuns], on the other eagerly driving away those, who as the result of satanic influence and attack, rise up against them. His most important concern should be to have the Mother of God as a guardian and intercessor, who rewards and recompenses greatly, and perfectly fulfills his other petitions, and above all else provides the salvation of the soul which is the greatest [blessing] of all, and whose attainment is the worthy task of the highest and first prayer.

III. Concerning the number of nuns, and what sort of person their superior should be, and how she is to be elected to the office of superior.

21. After I discuss the number of nuns and to what number they should be limited, I should then speak of the sort of woman to be their superior, and how she is to be chosen, and how she is to be elevated to her lofty position of authority and leadership by patriarchal blessing and installation.

22. The number of nuns who are going to live in the convent should not be limitless, nor should their number be imprecise. For their [affairs] will not prosper if they are thus disorganized [p. 32] and disorderly, since this will be the usual result of imprecision, and they will go far astray from the proper and obligatory [course of conduct], sometimes uselessly increasing to an unprofitable and excessive number, sometimes being reduced to lesser numbers and falling far short of the required [size]. Therefore the entire group of nuns should be limited to a definite and fixed number, so that as an excellent and beneficial result there is good behavior and order, and, thirdly, neither wrongful excess nor deficiencies in the necessary and appropriate affairs.

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23. Therefore the whole group of nuns should number three times ten, and they should be thirty in all. This number should never be exceeded nor diminished and reduced. For this number is sufficient for the demands of a cenobitic community, and does not require any increase which would be superfluous and useless. Some of the nuns are to perform their pious duties at church offices and services, each in accordance with her knowledge and age and piety and discipline, with one of themselves as their leader. Another [nun] will be assigned as a prudent and faithful steward of their common property, and to care for physical necessities, another will be entrusted with the important charge of the storeroom. As for the others, the superior will assign them with much care and testing to different duties for the common good, with the cooperation and advice of the pre-eminent and better nuns here, not to say all of them, just as the fathers of old have taught us.¹³

24. Such is to be the number of nuns in the convent. It is fitting that their superior be capable of instructing the others in the noble teachings of divine philosophy, and to guide them in good works and lead them along the path of virtue. She should persuade them, not force them, teaching them a little [p. 33] about virtue through her words, but teaching them much more with good actions, wondrously matching her words to her deeds, thus guiding and leading her followers steadily towards salvation. One of the holy men, indeed, defined this as the “art of arts, the science of sciences,”¹⁴ to lead and guide toward God this most diverse and varied animal which is man.

25. Such should be the woman who leads the others; such a woman you must all seek and choose from among yourselves, one who is able, as I said, by speech and action to instruct her disciples in the fixed word of truth and the holy lessons of piety, and to instill zeal for the truly good, and to kindle your souls with fine love for this, and thus in no way whatever fail to attain the goal. She should provide herself¹⁵ as an example to you and model of the good, and whether speaking or silent present herself to you as an exhortation. For heeding and obeying the traditions of the fathers in this matter, too, it is my command that the search for as well as the selection of the superior should be conducted by you alone.

26. This is the way you will appoint her: all of you are to go together to the holy church. Then all of you together should pray in your hearts that you will have God to assist you in the serious task at hand, through the intercession and support of the Mother of God. After your supplication, you will choose the nun who is superior to the others in all respects, and the one who, as a result of her fine obedience and tutelage, knows well how to rule and control others, [a nun] who has provided, in the past, much evidence of her innate piety, prudence, and qualities of leadership. After choosing her in this way with the help of God, next you should take her and go to the most holy patriarch; and she is to accompany you. Then, after she has received from him the blessing and grace of authority as well as the pastoral staff, as is customary for the patriarch at such installations, you should return to the convent with great joy [p. 34] and cheer, and with God’s assistance you will behave towards each other in the prescribed manner. She will teach according to the commandment, and will explain what can prepare us and lead us to God and make Christ to dwell in our hearts, and you are to obey her just as beasts of burden obey their masters, or as the lifeless tools of a craft [obey] the craftsman. For thus you will certainly be able to demonstrate faultless and unflinching obedience, and will receive from God the full reward for obedience.

IV. An admonitory and advisory discourse to the superior.

27. Therefore, most honorable superior, you who are pleasing unto God, who have been preferred to the others, and thus lawfully elected, you have been appointed to this great and truly difficult task, that is, to supervise human souls, and snatch them away from the world and give and assign them to God, and to make Christ to dwell in them through contemplation and action, and to “be-troth” them to him alone as the One most pure Bridegroom, and to “present chaste” and holy brides and pure “virgins” (cf. II Cor. 11:2) to him, together with Paul, the church’s great “escort of the bride.”¹⁶ As you are taught by Holy Scripture, “Awake, awake, put on the strength of thine arm” (Is. 51:9). Forget our feminine weakness, and for the most part “gird thy loins,” if not “like a man” (Job 38:3), at least in a manly fashion. Assume a manly and masculine temperament, brace up yourself as best you can. Expound that which is necessary and leads to salvation, not only through your teachings and instruction in accordance with the commandment, but through your actions and deeds. Surpass the others in virtue, thereby giving sure pledges and guarantees to your followers, that the achievement of virtue and the good is by no means impossible. Say confidently and boldly to your subordinates, [p. 35] “Look at me, and do as I do.” “For we are not contending against flesh and blood,” as the holy apostle says, “but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places” (Eph. 6:12) and on account of the heavenly places.

28. Therefore, my spiritual mother, do not labor only to teach and instruct your charges all the time about this frightful war, and after arming them securely and fortifying them on all sides lead them forth to the fierce battle against demons; you should also strive to fight in their front ranks, to protect and shield them. Make this your most important task, smiting these unseen and dangerous enemies as with “arrows” shot “from the hand of a mighty man” (Ps. 126 [127]:4), through psalmody, prayer, vigil, abstinence, contrition, tears, all the other weapons of the [Holy] Spirit. Thus you will defeat the enemy with all your strength and utterly vanquish them, and will render your [disciples] invulnerable to the wounds of arrows, and make them completely safe, and totally remove them from all danger.

29. This, then, is a great charge and truly important responsibility which has been entrusted to you; and for this reason it will require much anxiety, much concern, much exertion, much toil, much zeal, much vigilance and alertness on your part, lest the devil suddenly attack you unawares, like a “roaring lion” (I Pet. 5:8), and accomplish his goal, and lest “the blood” of the lost soul “be required” (cf. Luke 11:50) from the hands of the superior, because she neither gave warning about the justice and judgment of God, nor did she explain how to repent and make amends after a spiritual lapse.

30. In any case, like a skillful and master artist, “you should look often at the lives of the” most blessed and “holy” female saints, as if they were “living images” and “efficacious and inspiring [p. 36] figures,”¹⁷ and examine them very clearly; thus you will make your own way of life an accurate model of them, and will adorn it with all the imperishable flowers and colors of the virtues, and thus you will make their goodness and their fair beauty your own through exact imitation.¹⁸

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31. In the same way the [nuns] under your direction should look at and regard your steadfast and orderly conduct and your dignified way of life as the perfect archetype, and should scrupulously transform their own conduct, and model their own images after the original character of your goodness and virtue. Thus the many different types of conduct will resemble each other, and thus in a similar fashion the good character of life will shine upon the entire community, just as, if several artists were to paint the representation of one model, all the images would resemble each other. For of whatever nature the leader and ruler, for the most part such is likely to be the subject, and in the words [of the Bible], “As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein” (Sir. 10:2).

32. “Be urgent in season, and out of season,” said the holy apostle; “convince, rebuke, and exhort, be unfailing in patience and in teaching” (II Tim. 4:2). Thus you should at all times and in every way be urgent and reprove the [nuns] who are examined [by you] and caught in error, but you should reprove them with patience, with teaching, with the compassion of Christ, in a spirit of gentleness. You should not only reprove them, but also subject them to penitential discipline for their benefit. You should also chastise them in like manner, gently and sympathetically, with love, with exhortation, calmly. For if you apply these remedies to the ailing [nuns] in a passionate manner, overcome by wrath and anger, not only will you fail to rid them of their illness, but you may perhaps subject yourself to an even more serious disease. For we have been taught “to correct those who oppose” the teaching and commandments of Christ “with gentleness” (II Tim. 2:25), [p. 37] rather than with wrath and anger. We have learned to instruct those who are ignorant and go astray rather than chastise them, just as we guide blind people, but in no way punish them. You will be irritated and angry, without being at all irritated or angry within yourself. Moreover, you should overlook sins with discretion, and forgive and pardon whatever you are permitted to forgive and pardon. You are permitted to forgive and pardon whatever is permitted to a male superior who is not a priest. And you should grant forgiveness in moderation, recognizing the limitations of human nature, and accordingly yielding to the habits and weaknesses and differing qualities of people, as long as no harm will result either to you, the superior, or to the sinner.

33. On the one hand you should strive for the glory of God, since he is dishonored by the transgression of his commandments, but you should also sincerely show the compassion of sisterly love for the salvation of the [nun] who thus dishonors God. You should both lament and mourn, and also shed tears for the nun who is in peril because of her sin, or bitterly dying. For as the Scriptures say, “the soul that sins shall die” (Ezek. 18:4). You should prescribe remedies for the [nuns] who fall subject to passion in exactly the same manner as a physician, not being angry at those who are afflicted with illness, but combating the illness alone, and battling the causes and origins of the diseases, and thus healing the affected members of the community. For physicians say that “opposites are the remedies of opposites.”¹⁹ As it were, vanity will be corrected by the demands of humble behavior, idle talk by silence, excessive sleep by psalmody and prayerful vigils, laziness by physical labor, immoderate eating by fasting, grumbling by expelling the grumbler for a few days from the church and the common table of the [nuns] who are grateful. In short, the superior will correct every sin by its opposite behavior. [p. 38]

34. Thus the dignity of authority is great and lofty is the honor of leadership. But let not this dignity puff you up, or the honor exalt you. For this puffing up and exaltation prepares the one who has thus puffed up and raised herself to fall from the blessing of humility, and makes her to fall into the sin and trap of the devil because of her arrogance and pride. Therefore in the disposition of your heart and the secret [recesses] of your soul you should consider yourself a worthless maidservant and lowly slave granted by God for this purpose to the servants and daughters and brides of Christ himself, but by your external physical appearance you should show the distinction of the total authority and power which you have over them all. You should always preserve about yourself an air of solemnity and awe and respect, so that your authority will not be contemptuously disdained and scorned by the [nuns] in your charge, and so that well-honored humility may be taught by your praiseworthy condition.

35. Furthermore, in the conviction that authority over the majority and concern for them makes you rather their slave and servant, and that you will have to give a greater accounting to God on behalf of the majority, do not make this a cause for pride or fill your heart with much anguish and fear and unspeakable terror. Do not be arrogant because of your authority, but be humble because of the great concern and thought about the defense [you will have to make]. Thus you will set yourself forth as a fine example for your subordinates, not only of humility, but also of love, the love which is truly lofty and the peak of all the other virtues. You will set forth [this example], if you love and cherish the entire assembly of nuns equally and like your own limbs, as if they were your organs. As is reasonable, you should show more honor to the nuns who are the most useful and distinguished; but you should radiate your love and sympathy equally, like the rays of the sun, not more or less, since [p. 39] we naturally love the limbs of our body equally, but we consider some to be more honorable than others. For we love our eyes and feet equally, but we do not deem them both worthy of the same honor, nor do we protect them in the same way, although the pain of both affects us in the same way. Therefore, in accordance with this line of thought, you should care for and watch over these [nuns] as a true mother looks after her own daughters, and cares for them like her own limbs and organs. You should compassionately consider the needs of each of your charges, and treat them without fail as is appropriate for their need, and to the best of your ability you should sustain and strengthen and refresh the truly ailing member of your community with the kindness appropriate for a mother.

36. You, the superior and teacher, should undertake the supervision in this manner which my discourse has briefly expounded; for I have omitted a great deal, so as to avoid showing off, and at the same time have shunned excessive length because of my dislike for surfeit. Thus you should lead the nuns, calling upon the heavenly power of the Bridegroom with spiritual and ceaseless cries, so that it may support you in all things, lightening the burdens of your ministry through its own goodness and helping you to endure its labor and toil, if you desire to fulfill worthily the purpose of your profession, and not to bear the name of superior unworthily or in vain.

V. A hortatory address to all the nuns, inspiring them to obedience.

37. As for you, my dear daughters and maidens and brides of Christ, who are a joy and crown for

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me, and glory and pride, you should remember almost hourly how you [p. 40] were called or received by God, and the vows you made to God after this vocation and reception, and what you have renounced and to whom you were betrothed, and with whom you made a covenant, and to whom you trust and hope to be joined ineffably as to a Bridegroom; and thus endure with all pleasure and joy every toil and trial and every other hardship of your ascetic or angelic way of life. Endure on account of your shared great hopes, on account of the pure and undefiled love and desire which you ought always to nurture and cherish in your heart for our Lord Jesus Christ and God, your true lover and beloved. "For his sake you have" willingly "suffered the loss of all things, and count them" all "as refuse," in the words of the apostle, "in order that you may gain" (Phil. 3:8-9) as your Lord the one who is greatly desired, the truly beloved, the truly insatiably adored. Above all stoutly enduring, struggle through the great contest of the truly blessed submission and obedience, obeying and submitting to your superior unhesitatingly in all things, as if she were Christ, your Lord and Bridegroom and Savior. For "he who receives you receives me" (Matt. 10:44), as he says in the gospels. The great apostle calls upon everyone in exhortation, "Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account" (Heb. 13:17).

38. Therefore, as I have said, obey your guide and teacher, and submit to her in obedience, in no way whatsoever opposing her, in no way questioning her commands, in no way thwarting them. Obey your superior, and obey her as true daughters obey their mother, or as simple slaves and humble maidservants obey their true lady and mistress. Indeed [you should obey her] just as animals obey their shepherd, turning whichever way the herdsman guides them. Obey your superior, because you have been called for this purpose, that is for obedience, for compliance, for renunciation, for total denial of your own will; and obey in fear of God, with much reverence, with contrition of the soul, in the spirit of [p. 41] humility, always striving to assume the good and sweet yoke of obedience, always bending your necks to the holy hands of your teacher. For "she will keep watch over your souls" (cf. Heb. 13:17), she will carry your burdens, she will be your judge, your leader, your guide, your corrector, your steward, your guardian, she will be everything to you, she will substitute for your father, your mother, your brothers and sisters, your other relatives and acquaintances and friends, she will substitute for everything else; she will be your teacher, your counselor, your doctor, your consolation, your exhortation, your cure, your refreshment, your encouragement; and perhaps I should mention the greatest and most important [point], that she, in imitation of Christ, "will lay down her life for you" (cf. John 13:37) and on the Day of Judgment she will give an accounting for you to Christ who judges all our [actions] impartially.

39. Your obedience will have no contrary result, nor will it result in any harm or damage, indeed it will be the salvific foundation of everything fine and good. What are these? Remission [of sins], freedom, spiritual kinship, immortality, life. Remission [of sins] because once and for all it will relieve you of all your sins, if the psalmist says truly, "Look upon my affliction and my trouble, and forgive all my sins" (Ps. 24 [25]:18). Freedom, because it will completely release and deliver you from the most bitter slavery of your passions. Spiritual kinship, because it will make you worthy of divine grace, because it will make you true daughters of God. Again immortality and life, because it will provide you with immortality and eternal life.

40. A witness to my words is the great and obedient Akakios. For when he was questioned after his death, he replied from the grave, “‘A man who is truly obedient’ will never die.”²⁰ Through obedience you will easily be led back to paradise whence we originally fell because of our disobedience; rather [p. 42] you will be led up to the very heavens, since as we have heard, “our commonwealth is in heaven” (Phil. 3:20). For wherever is Christ himself, there of necessity will be the women who, like you, have followed him and truly imitated his obedience and humility. For “if anyone serves me,” say the Holy Gospels, “he must follow me; and where I am, there shall my servant also be” (John 12:26).

41. Through obedience the original goodness of our nature and its nobility will again be restored to you, and the sin of disobedience of our foremother Eve will be veiled over by your obedience. You will be true disciples of our Savior and God, and you will truly strive to emulate the way of life of the incarnate Christ and his apostles, the Savior because he obeyed his own Father “even unto death” (Phil. 2:8), the apostles again, because in the same way they obeyed Christ and imitated his shameful death.

42. This virtuous and holy obedience has been called a martyrdom and confession by the early Fathers. Therefore it will also crown you as martyrs and make you worthy of the glory of confessors. I dare say it will also procure for you the radiance of the angels. You will show true and perfect obedience to your superior, not only by renouncing that which is improper and contrary to divine law, in accordance with her advice and counsel, but also by not doing those things which are pleasing and dear to God without her encouragement and permission. For a nun who does not obey her superior when she gives advice on this, that is, on what is pleasing to God, and who does not submit to obedience, offends against God. This is a grievous offense, so grievous that she may justly be considered by God to be resisting him. For, as the apostle says, “Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment” (Rom. 13:2). Christ says, “If any man comes to me, let him deny himself” (cf. Matt. 16:24). [p. 43]

43. You will not be able to achieve this self-denial, unless you divorce yourselves once and for all from your previous worldly habits and from your own desires. For it is completely forbidden by the Fathers and teachers for any of you to follow her own wishes and, in accordance with her previous habits, to fulfill her own desires and pleasures. In any case, if a nun who has taken the vows of obedience does something in accordance with her own wishes, not only does it simply not seem good in truth, but it seems dangerous and destructive for the soul, since it is clearly contrary to the teachings of Christ, who said, “I have come down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of my” Father “who sent me” (John 6:38). It is also [contrary to] the apostle who said this, “to prevent you from doing what you would” (Gal. 5:17).

44. Therefore a nun who is motivated to do something for her own pleasure and on her own responsibility suffers from the affliction of pride, but, in the words of Holy Scripture, “what is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God” (Luke 16:15). If it is condemned as sinful to rely totally on oneself, it is very clear that everything which is approved and ordered by the superior, even if it seems reprehensible, is completely free from condemnation as being irre-

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proachable. Therefore, do not do anything at all without the approval and permission of the superior, since a tool cannot do any work on its own, if the craftsman is resting and idle, nor can any limb of the body be moved involuntarily, unless the soul which inhabits the body stimulates the limb to move.

45. You should behave towards your spiritual superior and teacher and obey her, as I have indicated. How should you behave towards each other? As the blessed and great apostle wisely taught, “outdo one another in showing honor” (Rom. 12:10), and “through love” of the Spirit minister unto and “be servants of one another” (Gal. 5:13), [p. 44] openly through your deeds observing the words of the Gospel, “Whoever would be great among you must be the slave of all and last of all and servant of all” (cf. Matt. 20:26–27). For “the Son of man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many” (Matt. 20:28). “Love one another with brotherly affection” (Rom. 12:10), and grieve and lament when some of your dearly beloved sisters fall into sin and damage their souls by certain harmful actions, for theirs is truly a risk “full of horror”;²¹ but, on the other hand, you should rejoice and be glad if certain of you achieve the good works of virtue, whose benefit is incomparable, according to the commandment which bids us, “Rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep” (Rom. 12:15), and in accordance with [the words], “if one member suffers, all the members suffer together,” by reason of your love and spiritual disposition in Christ, and “if one member is honored,” that is, by acting in a manner pleasing to God, “all the members rejoice together” (I Cor. 12:26). For if you are not thus most purely affected towards each other, you will be accused of being²² everything else except lovers of your sisters.

46. Banish from your midst every rivalry and dispute, whispers and slanders and jealousies and the evil fruits of envy and hatred. Preserve with great care the most perfect communal life, in which all private property will be abolished, and every disagreement will be banished, and private friendships will be meaningless. Meaningless, too, will be the expressions “mine” and “yours,”²³ everything private, every personal possession will cease to exist, rather the principle will strongly prevail that you have everything in common, your souls, thoughts, bodies, food and other physical necessities. Most important, you should have God himself in common, salvation in common, your travails in common, your struggles in common, your trials in common, your achievements in common, your victory in common, your prizes and awards in common, your rewards in common, glory in common, wreaths in common. For you have many separate bodies, but you all have one, indivisible soul; you have many bodies, but the bodies are instruments of the same purpose. [p. 45]

47. If you behave thus towards one another, if you live together in this way, your mode of life will truly be in accordance with Christ, you will truly be an army and company of God, a canonical²⁴ church of Christ, you will truly emulate the very life of the angels,²⁵ and you will show forth this virtuous society and community of yours as an exact model of the way of life and behavior we hope for in the hereafter. If you thus conduct your lives with scrupulous piety and holiness, and have this attitude of love towards your superior and each other, you will seem to everyone to have striven after the peak of virtue, and you will be deemed blessed by everyone for this. In the end

you will inherit the kingdom of heaven, and you will be deemed worthy of the royal and eternal bridal chambers, the everlasting nuptial chambers, the undefiled bedchambers and those blessings “which no eye has seen,” in the words [of the Scriptures], “nor ear heard, nor has the heart of man conceived what God has prepared for” his pure and holy maidens, and whichever of you “have loved” (I Cor. 2:9) the true and fine bridegroom in your souls.

VI. Concerning the ecclesiarchissa and her duties.

48. The entire congregation of your sisterhood, together with your superior in Christ, resembles a complete body, composed and constituted of a head and different parts, which have different faculties and energies. Therefore in view of this interconnection and harmony of yours, in accordance with the analogy of the parts of this body a worthy and appropriate position should be assigned to each of you. Thus, one will have the faculty and rank of the eyes, another the ears, another the mouth, another the hand, yet another the foot, and each [of you will be assigned] to each part, [p. 46] so that all of you together, proportionately and as the needs of the common body require, may offer your capabilities and energies in your duties without stint and earnestly for the common benefit. So, too, together you may demonstrate decency and discipline in your behavior in accordance with the words of the apostle who said, “all things should be done decently and in order” (I Cor. 14:40). After these words it would be appropriate for me to discuss and assign²⁶ individually the other nuns and officials and their duties, however God may provide.

49. First of all [I should speak about the nun] who will assume responsibility and leadership in all the holy church services, and then concerning the second in rank, who will be chosen and assigned to supervise the household management of the community. For these [two] have precedence and preeminence over the other nuns second only to the common mother and superior, since they resemble the common teacher and spiritual leader more than the other nuns, the ecclesiarchissa in matters which are more spiritual and in everything that affects the soul and relates to it, the steward in matters which have to do with the management of this humble body which is material and corruptible.

50. The superior and the other sisters should choose as ecclesiarchissa the best nun, who is distinguished for her wisdom and piety, for her moral decency and stability, and especially for the inner chastity and purity of her soul. [She should be] a nun who is able to sing and chant in tune and with skill, and is much more familiar than the others with the ecclesiastical office and rite. [She should] also be steadfast and conscientious, and spiritually passionate and zealous with regard to the holy hymns and divine doxologies. For on the one hand, by setting herself forth as an example of right action, she should incite and encourage the other choir sisters to similar divinely inspired zeal, and be able to persuade them of her own accord not [p. 47] to succumb to laziness, or *akedia*, or drowsiness, or any carelessness with regards to the hymns which should be offered up daily to God, but rather to devote themselves to them from beginning to end with the most fervent zeal and total concentration; on the other hand, [she should be] well qualified lest on account of inexperience and ignorance some part be omitted of the prayers and psalms ordained from above, or some mode of the doxology be removed and inserted in the wrong place, which I personally consider

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just as serious as completely omitting it, since confusion is called “a vehicle of the devils and a dissolution of the psalm,”²⁷ as certain Fathers have said.

51. She is to assign the proper place and position to each of the choir sisters, with the knowledge and approval of the superior.

52. She is to “love the beauty of the holy habitation” (cf. Ps. 25 [26]:8) of God and its purity, and will exert all zeal and diligence with regard to this place, so that there may be nothing unseemly or disorderly in it, or anything at all neglected.

53. She will take great and vigilant care to light and keep constantly burning the two lamps which are supposed to be lit night and day for the glory of God, as I have set down and instructed. She will see to it that there is no quarreling or disturbance during the holy church services, nor any whispering and idle talk, but only such words as offer glory and weave praises for God, and illuminate the soul and lead it towards God and altogether prepare it to fly up to heaven. The young nuns who devote all their efforts and zeal exclusively to chanting and to learning their letters will be under her authority and will be assigned to obey her, so that these [offices] may thus be performed in good order, gracefully and without any omissions, and so that the duty of directing the choir offices may be performed with all elegance and good order. [p. 48]

VII. Concerning the steward and her duties.

54. Thus the head and leader of the choir sisters should be such a woman, and such is the nature of her holy duty and ministry. In similar fashion, as steward should be chosen a nun with such different qualities as this ministry and situation requires, that is, a nun who first of all has passed through her youth and middle age and is already elderly, not so much in terms of actual years, but with respect to her wisdom and character and the purity and chastity of her life; she should be a woman who is greatly practiced in ascetic toils and labors, and has also over the years amassed and gained great experience in practical affairs. A nun of this nature will not grow faint-hearted or shirk in her duties, when of necessity she is required to work more than the others; nor on those necessary occasions when she must leave the convent in order to visit the monastic estates will she be liable to any of the involuntary sinful actions which can harm the soul and inflict blame and criticism on it. Since, as I have said, she will have this experience in practical matters, she will not permit the monastic property to fall into decline or deterioration through poor and improper management.

55. Indeed the steward is not to concern herself solely with internal properties, nor to administer these alone with much faith and wisdom as if they were her private property, but she is also to make inquiries and have accurate information on the revenues and profits and crops of the external estates. Of necessity she is to ask for accounts from each of their managers and bailiffs, who will meet with her in the convent. She will determine which estates are being properly managed, and [p. 49] especially certify that they are being properly managed; but as for those which are not progressing properly, she will demand appropriate improvements, and will make sure that henceforth they do prosper. When she has already in hand these [revenues and crops] that she received

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personally, she is to deposit the produce and all the other such [agricultural products] in their own storerooms, entrusting them with precise accounting to the responsible nuns. She is to give all the records to the superior and the leading nuns; moreover, if there is any object of gold and silver, she is to hand it over and entrust it to [the superior]. Again the superior, with the knowledge of the leading nuns, is to deposit it for safekeeping in the place where such [valuables] are usually stored and kept secure.

VIII. How the choir sisters should perform the church services when they assemble in church and what their duties are.

56. The choir sisters, who have as their sole occupation the offices celebrated in the church, and who perform this service as a ministry specially assigned to them, should refrain from every other task and duty, and apply themselves to this great work alone. Therefore when the wooden [semantron] is struck for the offices, summoning those who are not engaged in other work to assemble in the holy sanctuary, they should be the first to enter, and show themselves as first in zeal and eagerness through the sobriety of their soul in the divine singing of hymns of the holy gatherings. They should disregard every bodily pain and every physical weakness through the courage and nobility of their soul, standing before the Lord and serving him with great fear, and praising him with love, and worshiping him, trembling with boundless joy of heart. [p. 50] Moreover, when their mind is for the most part distracted and dispersed to external matters, they should make it concentrate once more, and attend to the meaning alone of what is sung and chanted; for thus it can beautifully ascend to a conception of God and be brightened and illuminated and sweetened and made pleasant by the most brilliant light which shines therefrom. For if you choir sisters do not stand before our King and God here on earth, how will you be able to hear, as both appropriate for you and applying to you, the words, “Sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises to our King, sing praises; sing praises with understanding” (Ps. 46 [47]: 7–8).

57. How will “the words” of my Lord “be sweet to your taste, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb” (Ps. 118 [119]:103)? Again how will they be considered by you “more to be desired than gold and much precious stone” (Ps. 18 [19]: 10), and “more than gold and topaz” (Ps. 118 [119]:127) and truly “more than thousands of gold and silver pieces”? (Ps. 118 [119]:72). How will God hear you and fulfill your petitions, when you are thus made captive and distracted, and say one thing with your tongues, but another in your hearts, and therefore you do not perceive the One before whom you are standing and to whom you are speaking, nor what you are saying and singing?

58. How will you be able to succor the sisters who wait upon you and serve you and are thus distracted and concerned for your comfort, and for this reason are absent from the communal offices and prayers? How will you petition God and receive from him remission for their oversights? How will you succor and help in accordance with their hopes all the others who beg for your prayers for their aid and salvation as the prayers of saints? Rather how will we not irritate God, how will we not provoke him to anger and vexation against us, if you do not apply yourselves to the prescribed hymns in the way I have described, but with great carelessness, since we have heard the words of the Holy Scriptures, “Cursed [p. 51] is the man who does the works of the Lord carelessly” (Jer. 31 [48]:10)?

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59. May this not be your fate, but may you rather attract the grace of the Lord above upon you and the members [of your community] and your sisters, who work on your behalf and whose salvation depends upon your prayers, and who endure every toil and labor for your sake. But so that you may open the great and divine heart for others, too, on whose behalf you piously offer up daily supplications and petitions, perform the customary offices with sobriety and vigor, as I have previously said, and apply yourselves in this way to the praise of God and singing of hymns. You should turn your entire mind from external distractions to the inner storerooms of the heart, and to God through pure and ceaseless prayer, all but not breathing. Thus you will give the greatest gift to yourselves and your sisters, by thus steadfastly laboring for your salvation and theirs.

IX. Concerning the attitude towards the daily church offices of the nuns assigned to other duties outside the church, and how they should attend [the offices].

60. Therefore these choir sisters will thus perform their duties and devote themselves to this pure and holy service. But as for those of you whose duties require physical labor, and who are engaged in these most of the time, you should not on this account always absent yourselves from the prescribed offices, nor should you see the holy dwelling and sacred precincts of the Lord only from afar, nor should you hear the singing of the holy [p. 52] hymns only from a distance. But when it is time for you to be engaged in your duties, you will give precedence to your work, I mean your ministry, above all. At that time you should occupy your hands with their work, but should privately turn your mind to certain prayers, and season your work with these prayers like salt, and let the phrases of these prayers be on your lips, word for word, “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, be gracious unto me the sinner,” or “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me the sinner,” or “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, help me who am wretched and weak.” These phrases may be short and customary, but they are very beneficial and powerful and bear within them the force of almost all prayers. All people need to use these prayerful phrases on all occasions, whether they are sinners or just, because we all need divine mercy, because we all most urgently need heavenly grace, inasmuch as we are needy and lacking in divinity. Thus you should act and this should be your attitude, as you work with your hands.

61. But when you have free time and complete leisure from your work, and it is time for an office and the wooden [semantron] is struck for the holy office, summoning the nuns to the service, then you should hasten as fast as possible to the sacred precincts, like thirsty “harts” towards pure and fresh “flowing streams” (Ps. 41 [42]:2), on the way singing by yourselves those holy verses of David, “I was glad when they said to me, ‘Let us go to the house of the Lord’” (Ps. 121 [122]:1). “But I will enter into thy house in the multitude of mercy; I will worship in thy fear toward thy holy temple” (Ps. 5:7). “How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longs and faints for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh have exulted in the living God” (Ps. 83 [84]:10). “I would rather be an abject in the house of my God, than dwell in the tents of sinners. [p. 53] For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand [elsewhere]” (Ps. 83 [84]:10), and whatever other such verses you know.

62. When you have thus arrived at the great and holy sanctuary of God and are standing there with

the rest of the congregation, strive as if you saw God himself before your eyes. You should stand consumed with fear and much trembling, with contrition weeping for the sins with which you, as human and subject to human passions, have offended against him. If you should be able to read, sing with both heart and mouth, honoring your Master and Creator and Bridegroom with psalms and hymns and spiritual odes. But if you should be completely ignorant of your letters, then of necessity you should pray with those short but powerful phrases which I know well are accepted by God in place of any other prayer, indeed are superior to every other prayer. However, if in your leisure time you should hasten to assemble with your other sisters, as I have said, and present yourselves²⁸ before God like them, at such times do not do any handiwork. For the best and most salutary [course] which we urge you always to follow is to “pray constantly” (I Tim. 5:17), in accordance with the great injunction of the apostle, and, whether you are working or not, on every occasion and in every place to address God in prayer and “do everything in the name of Christ as we have undertaken to do” (Col. 3:17).

63. But to work also during the hours which are specially dedicated and consecrated to God, and to share them with concerns of [the flesh,] and to attempt to “serve two masters,” at the same time God and your handiwork, or in other words “God and Mammon” (cf. Matt. 6:24), this [course] does not lead to salvation, nor do we permit it in any way whatsoever, rather we completely dissuade you from it and forcefully reject it. For how then will you pray to God in a pure fashion? How will you keep your mind on the chanting [p. 54] and singing, when it is distracted by your handiwork? How will you be able to lift up your hands unto God, as the ecclesiastical rule bids you do, when of necessity you keep your hands bound to your handiwork, and tightly bound indeed? Therefore you should never work during a church service, but without distraction you should concentrate only on the prayers and singing of psalms.

64. If you do these things, if you behave thus each day, be confident that, even if you are physically absent, on the one hand you will have invisibly from these holy offices both the sanctification and grace which are sent down unhesitatingly by God above to those who approach the holy and divine churches with much longing and fear, and you will also share with your sisters the not inconsiderable reward and great benefit therefrom. But if you do not behave as I have said, but rather waste your free time and negligently become involved in and devoted to foolish pursuits, and engage in harmful thoughts, and this while you are in good health and not occupied with the common tasks (which I trust will not befall any of you), I do not know how you will justly receive a share of the blessings of your sisters.

X. How the superior should punish negligent nuns, and through which nun she will strive to eliminate apathy.

65. The heedless, negligent and disorderly behavior of certain nuns, [which does] not [lead] to edification, but is rather a cause of scandal, is not without danger for the superior, since she is liable to give accounting for all [her charges]. [This is] especially [true] if, in the face of apathy, she should remain silent, not out of ignorance, but because as a result of flattery she shows indulgence toward the faults of each [nun] so as to appear gentle and [p. 55] pleasing to all of them.

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Therefore of necessity she must take care to correct as much as possible this apathy or disorder or slackness or laziness; and she will [be able to] rectify [their behavior], if she does not disregard and ignore and overlook and allow to go unpunished those nuns who demonstrate these faults to their own detriment, I mean carelessness and slackness. She should discipline and punish them, sometimes with genuflections, at other times with fasting or drinking only water, sometimes by standing vigils, and at other times other remedies appropriate to the fault. She should do this with compassion and maternal solicitude. As one who is entrusted with the care of all [the nuns], [the superior] will expediently discipline and punish not only those who are careless and lazy, but also all the others who engage in untimely and inappropriate conversations with each other, and who choose to engage in idle and unprofitable conversation and talk, which cause great harm and injury to their souls.

66. Therefore no one of you at all will have leave or permission, not even when she has free time from her handiwork, to engage in untimely conversation with another nun outside her cell, without need and without the knowledge of the superior, and to talk about matters which are not their affair; nor should she approach another nun who may perhaps be meditating only on herself and God in her cell, and thereby distract her from this praiseworthy occupation. Neither should any [nun] walk into [another cell] if there is no need, nor without necessity should she stand or sit in [another cell]; nor should she do anything else which is neither useful or beneficial, thereby causing great harm to herself, and inopportunistly leading into temptation the nun who is soberly meditating. Rather every nun, who is not engaged in the work of her special ministry, should remain in and cleave to her own cell, and while she is remaining quietly there, she should either pray or recite the psalms or read, if she knows her letters, or work on a communal project, not her own, for no one is allowed to do this, [p. 56] not even to the extent of making a cord of wool [for herself]. At that time her work will occupy the hands of the worker, but prayer will occupy her mind.

67. This is the tradition of the fathers from long ago, this is the rule of precise discipline, and simply of the solemnity of our habit and of our vows; and if some of you devote yourselves to and submit to this rule (and may all of you become submissive and obedient), peace and the blessing and grace and mercy of God will be upon you. This will always continue, and apathy will be completely banished from your midst, and the solemnity and reverence of our habit will be restored, if the superior and the leading nuns (or all of them), choose one of you, who not only seeks after piety more than anyone else and concentrates on her own salvation, but has already entered old age. The nun who has been chosen in this way should be assigned as her permanent task and vigilant concern to watch carefully and be attentive in every way and to observe day and night where and how each of the imperfect nuns and those who need more attention and stability work at their own salvation. She should correct on her own what she is able to correct, but she should refer to the common teacher of all [the nuns] those [faults] which she is unable to correct; and it will always be her concern to concoct and offer to the ailing nun the salutary drugs of correction. Inasmuch as she is their spiritual mother, she will not ignore this suffering nun, just as a mother in the flesh cannot bear to disregard her own child, who is about to fall into a ditch, or to leave it once it has slipped and fallen. How could her illness be ignored by the teacher who is “affectionately

desirous” of her, in the words of the apostle, and “is ready to share not only” the word and “the gospel of God” (cf. I Tim. 2:8), but also her own soul? So much for this subject. [p. 57]

XI. Concerning the keeper and supervisor of the communal storeroom and her duties.

68. It is time now to set down instructions and regulations about the remaining officials and their duties, so that there will be no element of disorder in the convent, or anything without rule or regulation. Therefore the convent should have another extremely essential official, who is to manage with prudent supervision the communal storeroom. She should be a pious nun who fears the Lord, and at the same time have a disposition in which gentleness and great humility are mingled, and she should be very sociable and accessible to everyone; and at the same time she should guard that which is entrusted to her with much intelligence and security. She is to receive all the cloaks and tunics, and all the shoes, and the covers and bedding, and everything else which you assuredly need. She is also to receive all the fruit. She is to take the delivery of all these items when they come from some outside source, and after she receives them she is to keep them all with precise accounts, with the knowledge of the superior and your leading nuns; and she is to distribute them only in accordance with the judgment and instructions of your common teacher. Such should be the keeper of the communal storeroom.

XII. Concerning the cellarer and her duties.

69. Of about the same character and manner should be the cellarer, who keeps whatever food is served you, and also keeps the wine, if you should have any. From this supply she is daily [p. 58] to garnish and prepare and serve the refectory meals in proportion to the number of nuns and as the season requires. Other nuns should assist her in her duties. Of necessity she will be assisted by the nun in charge of the refectory and waiting on the sisters, who will serve the dishes and remove them again, and perform other services for the pleasure and refreshment of the nuns seated in the refectory.

70. She will not be the only assistant, but also the nuns who have the task of making and distributing the communal bread, as well as the cook. The former will usually take the wheat, the latter the foodstuffs they need from the cellarer, and after doing everything necessary and appropriate to them they will return the foods to her all prepared and without anything missing. The cellarer is to be very careful to maintain equal compassion and patience towards all the nuns, and to do nothing out of jealousy or with partiality or on account of passionate attachment, so as to deprive some, of whom she is jealous, of their true needs, but to give others, to whom she is partial or passionately attached, more than they really need. The first is an act of hating one’s sister, the second is an act of forbidden passion. Through these [emotions] the bonds of love and fellowship are broken; and wicked suspicions and jealousies and quarrels and carelessness in one’s work take their place. She is not only to do this with great care and concern, but should maintain restraint in her own diet so as to consume the same amount of food and wine as all of you, and so as not to imprudently give herself more and better food.

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71. Neither she nor any other official among you will accomplish this (since you all have the obligation to accomplish this), unless they all [p. 59] adopt such a disposition and attitude so as to believe that they are not serving and ministering unto human beings, but unto Christ the Lord and Savior of all, who with benevolence accepts for himself the honor and zeal and service and refreshment rendered to your sisters by them, and benevolently promises them the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven for these [services]. For he says, "Come, O blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," because "as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me" (Matt. 25:34, 40).

XIII. Concerning the guard and gatekeeper of the convent and her duties.

72. As for the gatekeeper of the convent, about whom I must now speak, one should not appoint any nun at random, but one who has given evidence of piety, of course, and judgment and prudence. She should also be possessed of a character which is at the same time dignified and steady and stable, so that by her appearance alone she can put to shame and instill awe in those nuns who wish to approach the gate unseasonably and without need, led [astray] by absent-minded and careless thoughts. She will cause them to retreat straightaway, covered in humiliation. She should thus be of such an age that she herself should not require supervision, on account of her youth, instead of supervising others, nor on account of old age should she be less vigorous and sluggish, and incapable of fulfilling the demands of her obligation and duty.

She should take the keys from the superior in the morning, and return them again to her in the evening without fail, and should attend to the guarding of the gates which are always kept closed, so as not to allow anyone at all from outside or inside to enter or go out, without the knowledge [p. 60] and permission of the superior. She is to open [the gates] without question only at that time when some essential need causes a familiar person to go in or out, but by no means for strangers to the convent and people unknown to her, except in the case when the superior bids her do it that one time. If someone comes from outside and seeks admission, first of all the gatekeeper should make inquiries of the visitor and learn from him his identity and whence he came and the purpose of his visit and presence there. After she has obtained this information, she should then report it in detail to the superior, and then she should escort him inside, if the superior permits his admission, or not admit him, if the superior refuses permission. If security is maintained here in this way, none of the nuns will suffer any spiritual harm, nor can any monastic property at all be secretly stolen.

XIV. How the election of these officials should take place.

73. So that in the choice and selection of the nuns who are going to be assigned to these offices we do not appear to do anything improper and contrary to the apostolic traditions, it is my will and command that each of the officials be promoted to the appropriate office by a general election and voting. For that holy band of apostles, in the initial phases of their preaching, when they were going to choose the seven marvelous deacons for the needs of the first converts to Christianity, and to establish them in this ministry, did not entrust the election and voting to themselves, but rather to the multitude (cf. Acts 6:3). Laying their holy hands on the men who were thus²⁹ chosen in a general election, with general voting and summons and prayer, and invoking the grace of the Spirit above, [the apostles] established them in the rank and position of deacons. [p. 61]

74. Therefore, you should make your selection objectively and vote without any rivalry and contention, after you have first of all assembled for this purpose, when the need arises. After the election and voting has thus taken place, you should all enter together into the church, where of necessity your holy spiritual father should be present. After the *trisagion* and a general prayer, your spiritual father, who is perforce a priest, will make the concluding prayer. Then the nun who has thus been elected to the needful service, pressing her head to the ground, she will prostrate herself three times before the all-holy icon of the Mother of God, and beg with all her soul to receive her assistance in the duties assigned to her. Next she is to kneel once before the superior, prostrating herself on the ground, and then she is to make the same genuflection before the nuns who are standing in two choirs. After requesting a blessing through their prayers, and receiving her request, she will thus begin her service. As one who has received the needful ministry from Christ himself and his immaculate Mother, and who is going to have to render an accounting for it to Christ on the Day of Judgment, she should undertake her work and strive until the end to keep her conscience clear.

XV. How the imperfect and weak nuns are to see their relatives in time of need.

75. I believe that it is permissible and irreproachable for us to pray for the best for our relatives and for [characteristics] conducive to salvation, I mean piety and virtue and whatever else we deem honorable and worthy of much zeal and pursuit. [p. 62] But it is not permissible and causes unspeakable harm, not to say condemnation, for us to be emotionally involved with them in a worldly manner, contrary to our vows, and to physically exert ourselves on their behalf, and to tie our thoughts to worldly and vain concerns about them. For as a consequence we wish to see them continually, and to make inquiries and ask after them, and are most anxious to visit their houses frequently, and converse with them freely, and associate with them fully and fearlessly. For if we introduce into our souls the attitudes of our relatives through continual contact with them, and our minds are filled full again with worldly concerns, we turn away from our honorable commitment, and are separated from our spiritual purpose, and we wickedly reject the fine promises which we made to God, without anyone forcing or compelling us. For how is there total renunciation of the world, if our relatives are a part of it? Where is its total denial? Where is “the death of Jesus,” which it was necessary for us “to carry in the body” (II Cor. 4:10)? Where is “the cross” which we have promised always “to take up” (Matt. 16:24) towards God? Where is the hate without hatred for our parents and all our other relatives? How will we maintain the same separation from them in our attitudes as we see in the separation of the dead from the living, which is the chief of our vows?

76. It would be best and a good guiding [principle], if until our death we were to maintain the same attitude toward relatives and friends that we had when we first entered the convent and took our vows. But since now there is a great weakness of soul, and we cannot therefore maintain a completely perfect way of life, because of our weakness we must yield a little (this is the proverbial “next best way”),³⁰ and relax the intensity of discipline without causing any harm. Therefore, as a concession I order that we should welcome in a civilized manner and with pleasant address the blood relatives who come here occasionally with the knowledge and permission of the superior,

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[p. 63] and escort them to the area between the two gates, and bid them sit there. Then without the knowledge of any other nun, the superior should summon the nun from within and bid her go there, keeping before her eyes her own Bridegroom, Christ, and praying in her heart that her conversation with her relative will be harmless and beneficial. She should be accompanied by one of the venerable elderly nuns for her greater security. As this pious old woman looks on and hears all their words, very little should be said by either party, and it should be innocuous in nature. Then, taking her leave of her relative, she should depart straightaway, and return to the convent together with the venerable elderly nun.

77. As I have said, in this case one of the God-loving elderly nuns should accompany the younger nun. But when it should be necessary for one of you to go visit her relatives at home for the sake of a little relaxation, at the decision of and with the permission of the superior (for of necessity on rare occasions this should be permitted and allowed to occur), then perforce not only one but two nuns should accompany the nun who leaves [the convent], and even more than in the previous case they should watch the young nun and themselves so that nothing forbidden is said or done, or in any way at odds with the dignity of the [monastic] habit. The young nun who has ventured forth must return in the evening without fail, and should then be questioned privately by the superior (and she should be questioned and respond with the greatest of care). She should tell her what she was thinking about all day, and what her soul was thinking and meditating, and what words were spoken, and what matters occurred perhaps contrary to her wish, and if she remained in fear of God for the entire day, and if she was tempted to violate any of the customary rules, either because she slipped and was led into this as a result of her own indolence and laziness, or because she was carried along unwillingly by disorders and circumstances beyond her control. Then the superior should confirm with approval that which is worthy of approbation, and should correct inappropriate behavior with suitable maternal instruction, [p. 64] to the best of her ability. For thus the sisters who make visits in the manner which I have described will be more prudent during their subsequent [visits], when they consider that they will have to render a complete accounting of their absence, and the superior will not be thought to neglect their way of life even during their absences.

XVI. That all the doxologies to God and vigils and fasts and genuflections should be performed in accordance with the *typikon* of Jerusalem.

78. Since it is necessary for us to have for daily use some form of rule as a guide, in accordance with which you will praise the God of all with hymns, and will celebrate unceasingly to his glory the offices which we are accustomed to recite in the church, and will sustain yourselves in daily essential needs, this rule should be none other than the one which came to us of old from Palestine for the benefit of our churches here, which is usually called the *typikon* of Jerusalem,³¹ and has been selected and preferred above the others by prudent people.

79. It has been preferred because it is characterized by “the royal”³² and straight path, which does not make its followers deviate to left or right, because it partakes of a middle position in due proportion, and, equally avoiding superfluity and deficiency, it neither exceeds nor lacks in what is needful and proper. Since it has thus been preferred, for the same reasons it should by all means

be preferred by you. Thus the entire holy church service and the doxologies to God which were formulated of old by the Fathers, or rather by the Holy Spirit, should be celebrated by you [p. 65] in accordance with this rule, as well as all the others, including those used for all-night vigils. For in this way in your vigils you will keep vigilant in the manner and at the times that this rule prescribes. Your priest should offer the bloodless sacrifice up to God four times a week. The days for this sacrifice are to be Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday. As for this priest, first of all he should have a lawful wife, and then he should have sufficient dignity and piety, and he should not be youthful, but of mature years. He should be so zealous and eager about the daily holy church services so as to never be absent from the morning or evening doxology to God unless he is ill.

80. In the refectory as well you should follow the daily regime which is so well set forth and formulated by this *typikon* [of Jerusalem]. Thus you are to eat twice a day when this [*typikon*] so prescribes; but you are not to eat twice a day when the *typikon* forbids it. You are to eat fish when the *typikon* bids you eat them; you are not to eat fish when it is forbidden by the *typikon*.

81. You may partake of olive oil and wine when it so permits; when it does not permit it, you are to abstain from them completely. You are to make genuflections when the *typikon* approves; you are not to make genuflections when it does not approve.

82. During the holy period of sacred fasting, both the great fasts and the others, you should fast as this *typikon* bids you. But although it is permitted by the *typikon* for monks to partake of olive oil on Sundays of the great fasts and on Saturdays during Lent, you should not use any oil at all even on these days, unless one of the nuns is ill. For in that case the ailing nun should not only partake of oil on account of her illness, but she should also eat fish frequently, without being subject to criticism, if the superior so permits. [p. 66]

XVII. That all the nuns should have the same daily diet.

83. The superior should take great care with regard to the daily diet of the nuns, lest inequality and the "false balances" (cf. Amos 8:5) of greediness prevail here and triumph over justice and equality; rather justice should prevail and equality should clearly be the rule among you. Thus there are to be no substitutions in your meals at all, neither of food nor drink, but the same bread and wine and the same foods and sustenance are to be set before all the nuns from head to foot [of the table], or from first to last, and furthermore the portions should be equal and fair. For there should be no need for some nuns to have more and others less, or some much and others little, nor again should some be given better [food], others worse. For this would not be an act of justice, but injustice, and would not bring about peace and love, but countless scandals and much disorder and confusion. The result would be secret gluttony, suspicion, innuendo, condemnation, grumbling, meddling, laziness and indifference, and, in short, all the other manifestations of hostility and wickedness, not to discuss in detail the evils brought into our life by greediness and inequality.³³ Therefore there is to be one and the same food and drink for all of you, and one and the same table, and one time and place assigned for communal meals.

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84. This is peace in God, this is love in Christ, this is the unity of spiritual friendship, this is the bond of concord, this is the strongest union of sisterly love. Since your meals will be of this sort and prepared in accordance with God's commandment, no nun at all [p. 67] will be allowed by the rule to have any food or drink, and keep it in her own cell.³⁴ For all the nuns should equally and communally enjoy the common repast and refrain from these private forbidden [foods] as unlawful. If one of the nuns should be sent something by one of her relatives, she is not to take it, but the keeper of the storeroom or the cellarer is to take it, and serve it at the refectory table to the nun to whom it was sent. She may partake of it without blame, and give thanks to God. But if the gift [of food] is sufficient to be divided up among many people, perhaps even all the nuns, they are all to receive a small portion, and all are to partake of an equal share for the sake of their peaceful relationship. If it is not sufficient to be thus shared, it should be distributed only to the nuns who are ill.

85. Sacred writings should be appointed to be read aloud. For only the book is to speak and to teach, while all of you alike are with great reverence to maintain the utmost silence, and to listen to the readings with the proverbial "pricked ears."³⁵ Thus you will nourish your body with these material foods on an equal basis, and also nourish your soul equally with the incorporeal sustenance of the [spiritual] readings. For [the sayings] "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4:4), and "The mouth tastes food, but the mind discerns words" (cf. Job 12:11), very nearly represent this incorporeal diet of the soul. If it should be necessary for the superior to speak about something and receive a response, she should speak quietly and in a subdued tone, and with very few words, and then should immediately become silent again, as before.³⁶

86. No one at table will be allowed to raise her eyes and look at her neighbor to see how she eats the food set before her, and what has been served her. Each nun should not only have eyes for herself alone and focus her attention on the food set before her, [p. 68] but should concentrate to an even greater extent on the sacred readings. She should thank God who has granted this food solely on account of his infinite compassion for our bodily constitution, and should pray from her heart for the nuns who, in response to God's commandment, have prepared this food for her like "unworthy servants" (cf. Luke 17:10). Nor is it right to disregard the following. For in such times as this, it is always necessary to observe this [precept], I mean, not to seek after satiety, nor to stuff your stomach, nor to gorge yourself with food. For this is worthy of all curse, inasmuch as the Lord said, "Woe to you that are full!" (Luke 6:25). Even aside from the terrible burden of this curse, overindulgence renders our body useless for action, and prone to sleep and more liable to carnal sins. For taking of nourishment has one purpose, the satisfaction of one's needs, and moderation means to stop eating when one is still a little hungry.

87. Furthermore, you should not make eating a pleasurable end in itself, but only a means of survival, renouncing undisciplined pleasure. For "to be a slave to pleasures" (Tit. 3:3) is not different than to make "a god of your belly" (Phil. 3:19).

88. Three times a week provisions are to be purchased for you outside [the convent], either fresh fish or anything else which happens to be in season.

89. On no account should you store away the leftovers from this daily meal of yours, nor keep them for the next day, but rather you must distribute them to the poor, my brethren in Christ, those who are driven by starvation and harsh and grievous famine to come to your gate every day, and who look to your generosity, after God, so as to be nourished by you with a small morsel of bread and the tiniest bit of food. With these small surplus morsels of yours, you will alleviate to a degree their great poverty, with both compassionate mercy and with much gladness, since through them you all but feed Christ, and through them [p. 69] you really welcome Christ, and as a result you do yourselves an even greater favor than you do them. For not only “will you be merciful, even as your heavenly Father is merciful” (Luke 6:36), but you will also be blessed and righteous. For, in the words of the Scriptures, the just man “is merciful and lends continually” (Ps. 36 [37]:26), and “he has dispersed abroad, he has given to the poor; his righteousness endures for evermore” (Ps. 111 [112]:9), and “blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy” (Matt. 5:7), and “blessed is the man who thinks on the poor” (Ps. 40 [41]:1), and “he who sows in mercy, reaps the harvest of life” (cf. Hos. 10:12), that is, of immortality and blessedness. If, as you have heard, “he who has pity on the poor, lends to the Lord” (Prov. 19:17), then you will always have as your debtor the Lord who will repay in time your loan and debt with much profit and heavy interest. But if “he that dishonors the needy” (cf. Prov. 14:21) angers his Creator, then you will clearly honor God by treating his creatures compassionately. If “by mercy and faithfulness iniquity is atoned for” (Prov. 16:6), how will you not cleanse the filth and pollution of your souls, by making use of the purifying herbs of mercy, and become as “white as clean wool” (cf. Isa. 1:18)? You will not only grant yourselves these greatest of blessings, but, as the promise goes, “you will receive” back in your storerooms “a hundredfold” (cf. Mark 10:30) the gift from heaven. Because you planted those few seeds of mercy, you will manifestly find this gift stored in reserve, increasing and multiplying the supplies within. Now on account of the poor, your storerooms will be blessed by the Lord of all and Steward and Provider of all blessings, he who “will have mercy rather than sacrifice” (Hos. 6:7), since he receives the compassion offered to him through the needy [more] graciously and benignly than “tens of thousands of fat lambs” (cf. Mic. 6:7). [p. 70] When you are set free from and depart this earth, without any doubt he will bid that “you be received into his eternal habitations” (Luke 16:9) on account of his infinite and immense mercy, as he has taught.

XVIII. How the superior should treat nuns who are ill, and what care she should provide for them.

90. The superior should sustain and provide food for all the healthy nuns in this way every day, and thus she should care for them with maternal compassion; if they are ill, however, she should not treat or care for them in the same way at all, but in a better fashion, altogether differently, as necessity demands and the attending doctor recommends for the patient. For a physician should be summoned who is both skilled in his profession, and endowed with great piety. In accordance with his skilled diagnosis, the patient should take medicine and eat healthy foods and be taken by

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you to the bath to bathe, and she should do everything else for herself, in order to restore her health to its previous condition through medical remedies.

91. The superior should accord such attention to the patient, and should continue according it, and providing all the expenses from the common [treasury] until the nun is completely cured of her illness and completely regains her health.

92. None of the nuns should be jealous, or fall prey to envy because one of their own sisters is deemed worthy of such special treatment; rather they should accept this and visit their ailing sister with compassion. For it is right that the ailing nun be pitied, not envied. It is meet to visit her, not bear a grudge against her. This should be their attitude and their actions. For, on the one hand, they should consider her illness as that of one of their own limbs, and likewise believe her treatment to be conducive to their own health for this same reason; [p. 71] on the other hand, they should endeavor to obtain good treatment for themselves from the healthy nuns in case of similar illnesses and circumstances, that is, if they at some time should fall sick.

93. The superior should treat not only ailing nuns in the manner which I have described, but also women of noble families, who have been accustomed to a luxurious life in the world, if they should enter [the convent], in order to dwell with you and share a communal life. If she wishes to make concessions and treat them more sympathetically for a time, and give them a modest degree of comfort, in accordance with her discretion, she has permission to do so.

94. The superior should not only provide these comforts, but should also grant permission if any of them should ask to have one servant only to provide a modest amount of service and ease. But she is to make this exception only for those women who come here from a life of privilege, and in no case for anyone else.

XIX. That all the nuns should do their work in common and not privately, and how they should be clothed.

95. Since idleness is the root of all evil and is itself the teacher of all wickedness—for [Scripture] says, “idleness is the teacher of all evil” (Sir. 33:28)—it is necessary [for the nuns] to work, indeed this is as important as their daily bread. I think it is for this reason that the most wise Solomon wrote in praise and eulogy, “She does not eat the bread of idleness” (Prov. 31:27). For this reason Christ, too, [p. 72] did not simply say that everyone or anyone whosoever “is deserving,” but that “the laborer deserves his food” (Matt. 10:10). For this reason the apostle [Paul] “did not eat anyone’s bread without paying, but with toil and labor worked night and day” (II Tim. 3:8); and therefore he also “gave you this command: if anyone will not work, let him not eat” (II Tim. 3:10), and the great teacher of the church indicated thereby that idleness is evil.³⁷ Work is necessary, on the one hand, for the mortification of the flesh and the maceration of the body (for our flight from the vanities of this world and our profession of vows are no excuse for idleness or avoidance of work, rather they should incite us to even greater labor and travail), on the other hand, because of our

love for our neighbor, so that we “may be able to give to those in need” (Eph. 4:28), in accordance with the commandment of the apostle.

96. Thus all of you alike should work on behalf of the community, and with such intent you should take your work materials from the common stores. When the nun in charge of the common stores distributes these materials to you, you should keep your hands on your work, and pray aloud when this is possible. Otherwise, raise your inner thoughts in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs and prayers and supplications, both praising God and at the same time giving thanks unto him. You should add more thanksgivings because he has granted you the capability of work, and provided you with intelligence to comprehend your work, and in his generosity has mercifully provided you with the basic materials for your work, and at the same time you should pray that your work may be so guided as to please God. Thus of necessity you should work, and for the purpose which I have mentioned (for in assigning to each nun her task I have learned my lesson well from the patristic literature and Holy Scriptures) you will provide for the common [benefit] and place [your finished work] in the storeroom, refraining from making or keeping anything for yourself. For to make and keep anything in this latter fashion is, according to the great Basil,³⁸ simply theft and sacrilege, leading to death, not profit. [p. 73] Even if this should seem to be good, it is in opposition and contrary to the *Acts of the Apostles*, where it says: “All who believed were together, and had all things in common, and distributed them to all, as any had need” (Acts 2:44–45). Again, “The company of those who believed were of one heart and soul; and no one said that any of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had everything in common” (Acts 4:32). Any nun who is guilty of this is no different from the traitor Judas, as the great saint says there (cf. Acts 5:1–3). For she betrays the true word of piety and reverence to death and destruction, so to speak, just as that abominable man betrayed the Lord of glory.

97. Therefore you should all work in this way and thus concern yourselves about your work. The superior, inasmuch as she has assumed the common concerns of all [the nuns], and the nun in charge of the common stores will furnish you with the essential [garments], providing them out of your common toil and labors, and will distribute them to you as follows (for it is well that I not neglect this point and omit it from the *typikon*).

98. Every year each nun should receive two white tunics, worn next to the body, and also one black tunic, which we wear over the other clothes and usually call *himation*. In the same way each nun is to be provided with shoes suitable for women like yourselves, two new pairs annually, and when they are worn out they should be repaired from the common stores and made new again.

99. The items above are to be distributed to you annually. Every three years each nun should receive without fail, in addition to the garments described above, a cloak and two vests thick enough to insulate and warm the body and protect it sufficiently against the bitter cold of winter. Each nun will receive not only these [items] from the common [stores], [p. 74] but everything she needs to cover her head. I give the name of “*skepai*” to these headcoverings which you term “*phakiolia*” and “*magoulikia*” in the popular idiom.

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100. Furthermore each nun is to receive monthly one *litra* of nitre to wash her clothes.

101. In the same way they are to be given linseed oil in order to provide the necessary illumination for their cells. Those nuns who choose to bathe when necessary will be given permission to bathe four times a year.

102. For the female disciples of Christ should be characterized by these outer garments, and should at the same time demonstrate clearly by means of their simplicity and cheap and common [fabric] the purpose of their use, inasmuch as we need clothes only to cover our shameful [bodies] and to avoid harm from drafts. For as the apostle says, “if we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content” (I Tim. 6:8). No more, however, do we need the decorative variety of clothes and the adornment from them, which is the vainglory rightly forbidden by the same apostle. At the same time again we should clearly indicate by our garments the special character of Christian humility, since our very clothing proclaims and testifies to our profession of the godly life. Thus it is proper for you to design and choose those garments which are simple, common, and, thirdly, sufficient for the purpose of their use. Again you should not seek out luxurious [garments], but rather inexpensive ones, so that we may demonstrate our humility by our actions, and not obtain the reputation of being selfish and vain and vainglorious. For those nuns who wrongly desire the first ranks cannot have love, and are totally deprived of humility.

103. Fame-loving women make it their business to pursue vainglory for themselves from the variety of their garments and clothing, aspiring [p. 75] to be gazed upon and admired for the extravagance of their dress. In similar fashion those who imitate the humility and frugality and poverty of Jesus to the best of their ability, and who, in accordance with his great commandment and exhortation, have cast aside their own life to the utmost, ought to choose the worst of all from among these outer garments and mantles. Thereby they will imitate not the women of rank and those who have been raised in royal households, garbed in soft and flowing [garments], but that John who was great “among those born of women” (Matt. 11:11), the son of Zachariah, whose garment was of camel hair. They will imitate not only him, but also those holy women of ancient times, who of old were pleasing to God, who “went about in skins of sheep and goats” (Heb. 11:37), as we are told.

104. Therefore you should choose the cheapest and most common [garments], if indeed you are concerned to distinguish specially in this manner among yourselves the character of the holiness of the [monastic] habit and [to identify] the genuine disciple of the Savior. For just as each worldly rank and office has a distinguishing feature in its dress, by which they are recognized, thus it is appropriate for the female disciples of Christ to have a special character to their garments, a habit of frugal and modest adornment that is at the same time inexpensive and dignified, by which they will be recognized by those who see them (and perhaps also by those who hear them) for what they are, that is to say female disciples of Christ, to the glory of our only great Teacher.

XX. That daily confession is obligatory.

105. According to the theologian Gregory, “The avoidance of sin is” truly beyond man, and [is possible] “for God”³⁹ alone, and lack of repentance and the resultant failure to heal is caused by the evil and opposing power [of Satan]; but for sinners to turn to repentance and fervent confession [p. 76] daily is human and characteristic of those who are saved. It is of utmost necessity therefore that we make use of this salvific drug of repentance and confession, if in truth we desire to find remission of our sins and attain salvation. For it is impossible, it is impossible for us not to sin hourly, inasmuch as we are human and are affected by such passions as human nature is likely to experience. Nor is it possible for us to avoid being horribly attacked by the flaming arrows of the devil and frightfully wounded. For, as the Scriptures tell us, no one “can boast that he has a pure heart” (Prov. 20:9), because, as we have heard, “no one shall be pure of uncleanness” (Job 14:4), even if his whole lifetime were to last only one day, since neither the sky nor the “stars are clean” (Job 25:5) (I will utter the words of Job) in the sight of God. But since, as human beings, we sin daily and daily need to turn away from sin, how else should we sincerely turn away from it unless we resort first to sincere repentance? How will we sincerely repent unless we avoid sin in our hearts and reject it from our hearts? How will we reject sin, unless we expose it, as is right, by pure and blameless confession of our secrets?

106. This confession will serve as a salvific drug for us, a truly powerful drug, and a truly effective drug, drawing out the wretched and troublesome inner matter of sin and casting it somewhere far away from the soul, completely purifying it and granting it perfect health, if only “we do” not “wickedly return as to our own vomit” (Prov. 26:11) to the sin which we formerly vomited forth and denounced, through good actions and confessions. Outright confession is like hyssop and “fuller’s soap” (Mal. 3:2), cleansing and purifying all defilement, all the dirt of every impurity, whitening its disciples even more than the whiteness of the snow. [p. 77]

107. Nothing has the power to remit and forgive sins more quickly than confession. The Holy Scriptures bear witness to this, saying, “If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness” (I John 1:9). Again, “I said, ‘I will confess my iniquity to the Lord’; and thou forgavest the ungodliness of my heart” (Ps. 31 [32]:5). Again, “Do thou first confess thy transgressions, that thou mayest be justified” (Is. 43:26). Again, “A righteous man accuses himself at the beginning of his speech” (Prov. 18:17). The Scriptures said once through the prophet and king David, “I have sinned against the Lord.” He immediately heard from God through another prophet, Nathan, “The Lord also has put away your sin” (II Kings 12:13). Confession is a great healing drug for us who sin, and a very strong bridle to keep us from sinning, and a mighty safeguard. For the brother of God says, “Confess your sins to one another, that you may be healed” (James 5:16). The great father John Klimakos said, “Bruises which are divulged do not get worse, but are healed”;⁴⁰ and “a soul which intends confession is restrained from sin as if by a bridle.”⁴¹ Confession is by nature a great “lamp to our feet and” a great “light to our path” (Ps. 118 [119]:105). Therefore those who make use of it daily, as they should, are illuminated as if by a great light and will never “stumble on dark” and hostile “moun-

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tains” (Jer. 13:16). Just as of necessity the opposite will befall [those who choose] the opposite [course]. For those [nuns] who do not confess daily, as they should, journey in deepest darkness, as it were, and are no better off than blind people, continually bumping up against and running into sin, so that are fulfilled the words of the prophecy which are especially appropriate for them: “They shall feel for the wall as blind men, and shall feel for it as if they had no eyes” (Is. 59:10). [p. 78]

108. But there is some shame attached to the act of confessing; this I, too, know full well. But I also know full well that this shame, which is part of the hell of the afterworld, as we have learned, is able to intercept and eliminate some of the torments which await us. I am convinced that everyone realizes how much less burdensome and easier it is to be ashamed in front of only one person, and this man a holy and compassionate and merciful father, than to be tried in front of that multitudinous and universal theater composed of angels and all men (cf. I Cor. 4:9), and to be shamed eternally. This will not be our⁴² fate, however, as long as, through the grace of Christ, we understand the blessing of virtue itself, and always make use of zealous and purifying confessions.

109. Therefore let us avert through confession the face of God which will appear terrifying in the hereafter to those who sin and do not repent. Let us confess, while we have time. Let us summon our spiritual healer to us more frequently, rather constantly, and let us disclose to him with purity and without shame everything that is in us, our deeds, our words, our thoughts. For on the Day of Judgment we shall have to render to Christ an accounting for all the deeds that we have not disclosed until the end, and for which we have not been chastised. Let us show him that our hearts are freshly wounded, and therefore easily healed, before they begin to smell and mortify and thus become difficult to heal.

110. It is impossible for anyone to be saved without this virtuous action. Wherefore let us not be negligent with regard to this good deed, but let us always strive with the utmost zeal and effort to make use of such an excellent remedy.

111. Let us always choose a spiritual physician and father who is capable of this great task, I mean the healing of souls, a man who knows exactly how to provide wisely for your salvation, skillfully devising and concocting the drugs efficacious for this purpose. For we have learned from the sacred writings of the fathers that even many who made confession received no benefit, as a result of the inexperience of these spiritual physicians [p. 79], and slipped down into total despair, that is the pit of Satan and destruction which is most certain to follow.

XXI. How the feast day of the Mother of God should be celebrated annually.

112. Since you should celebrate this feast day annually and never omit its celebration, I should set down instructions concerning this, too, how the celebration should be performed by you in a manner pleasing to God. Therefore it is my will and command that every year we should celebrate the feast day of my surpassingly pure Lady the Mother of God, and this feast day should be a

splendid one celebrated at the time of her holy Dormition, on the 15th of August. During this feast day you should hold an all-night vigil and sing psalms, and provide for lavish illumination, with six candelabra all filled with candles appropriate for this great and splendid feast day. You should also light all the small chandeliers, I mean those usually called “*polykandela*.” You should offer up the most fragrant incense, and decorate the entire holy church of the Lord in a most glorious and pleasing manner. All the nuns should be given wax tapers for the vigil. These are your instructions for the services.

In the refectory, your food should be much more costly⁴³ and plentiful than usual. So that such a fine meal may be prepared for you, I order that three gold coins be spent at that time for the purchase of the necessary food. Furthermore you should distribute to my Christian brethren who beg at the gate 6 *annonikoi modioi* of wheaten bread, and 4 *tetartia* of wine, that is one maritime *modios*. Thus you are to celebrate, and you are to celebrate by yourselves [p. 80] alone, together with your usual priest, carrying out the entire service of the all-night vigil, and not inviting any other priest from outside.

XXII. How to celebrate the commemorations of the parents of eternal memory of the foundress, as well as the commemorations of the blessed founder of this holy convent, and of its foundress [and their children].

113. When the appointed day in the year comes round (it is the 25th of October), on that day without fail you should celebrate the commemorations of my eminent departed parents, the monk Kallinikos and Maria,⁴⁴ and you should celebrate them with great joy and zeal. You should decorate the holy and revered church of the Mother of God in the evening, and you should prepare the six candelabra, and they should all be filled at that time with candles, and all should be prepared for lighting. Moreover you should prepare the *kollyba* which are customary for the departed faithful. Eleven priests should be invited from outside, so that altogether there should be twelve including your priest. In the evening the *parastasimon*, the prayer and supplication on their behalf, should be made by these priests alone, but not by you—for it is not permitted for you to sing and stand together with the priests.

114. In the morning when the awesome and great mysteries are celebrated by your regular priest alone, together with the same illumination and the *kollyba*, you should perform all of this holy service as customary. After its conclusion, you should go to the refectory to partake of a more elegant and costly [p. 81] meal than usual which has been prepared for you, with the additional expense of only two gold *nomismata* from the treasury. Thus you should eat and rejoice and pray in your hearts for the salvation of my parents of eternal memory and for their blessed repose.

115. Thus you should celebrate. My brethren in God, the poor people at the gate, should receive from you 4 *annonikoi modioi* of wheaten bread, and three *tetartia* of wine, for the spiritual [salvation]⁴⁵ of those who are commemorated and of you who thus commemorate them.

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116. In the same way you should commemorate each year, on the sixth of February, your blessed founder the *megas stratopedarches*, lord John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, who took the monastic name of Joachim.⁴⁶ You should do everything exactly the same as for my blessed and holy parents,⁴⁷ I mean my father, the most fortunate *sebastokrator* lord Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos Doukas Angelos, who took the monastic name of Kallinikos, and my holy mother, Branaina Komnene Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina, with regard to the candelabra⁴⁸ and all the other preparations and prayers, I mean the divine services, the food for the nuns, and the charitable donations to the needy at the gate.

117. You are to make the same arrangements for your humble servant, whenever, that is, God chooses to take me from the living as he knows best.

118. I would have liked the commemoration for my dearly beloved daughter lady Euphrosyne Palaiologina⁴⁹ to be more lavish and splendid than those of her parents on whatever day she is transported from this life to the better and eternal [life above], [p. 82] inasmuch as she was dedicated by me to God at infancy, and has chosen of her own accord to seek after every form of virtue with great abundance, and provides a model for her successors. Since, therefore, she chose such blessings from infancy, that is a life of contemplation, quiet, poor and merciful, and has achieved this [goal], she should enjoy the complete ceremony that is owed to the holy departed. Since, however, as in everything else she spurns honors, and seeks moderation and simplicity, she asked me to make no provision and instructions for her own commemoration, let it take place and be commemorated as she chooses and prefers, and in accordance with her dying instructions.

119. Concerning the two sons of the foundress,⁵⁰ who are also founders. With regard to the commemorations of my dearly beloved sons, lord Theodore Doukas, the *protostrator*, and lord John Palaiologos, the *megas konostaulos*, and their wives, when God chooses to take them from the living as he knows best, I order that they be celebrated in exactly the same manner as those of their mother and father, and those of my holy and thrice-blessed eminent parents, with respect to the lavishness of the illumination and in all other regards.

XXIII. [Enumeration of] property dedicated to the Mother of God for the support and maintenance of her handmaidens.

120. I have set down the previous instructions in this document so that you may conduct yourselves and live in a manner pleasing to God, and for the salvation of your souls. Certain provisions are addressed to the superior, for the purpose of reminding [her of her duties], others are directed to the whole assembly of nuns, for their instruction and [p. 83] exhortation, as I said at the beginning of the document. I have also included certain [sections] not out of place or unbecoming the precepts of the fathers, all of which, as I believe, indeed truly believe, are consonant with and in accordance with them in all respects.

You should read this *typikon* aloud in the refectory more often than any other book, with all of you listening, and you should read it attentively and read it at the beginning of each month. For if

my written instructions are always resounding in your ears, they will not permit forgetfulness to do her work, making you forget these instructions from reading them infrequently, and they will enable my divine purpose to be realized by you. So first of all I bequeath this [*typikon*] to you instead of great wealth and any other rich inheritance, the finest and most valuable of all my possessions. I bequeath it as a great benefit for your souls through the grace of Christ and the support and compassion of my Mother of God, for the procuring of salvation, for your greater edification, and greater security. Thus I bequeath it to my beloved sisters in Christ.

121. For your physical needs and support I leave you half of my entire ancestral estate called Pyrgos, whatever this half might be, whether arable land or a vineyard, or anything else this half might be, as I said; but the other half⁵¹ will be mine for now, and will be managed by me personally for the maintenance and modest comfort of myself and my dearly beloved daughter. In the same way, [I bequeath to you] the village near Parapolia called Ainos, valued at 400 *hyperpyra*, of which 200 were donated to the convent by a divine and venerable chrysobull as my ancestral property. My dearly beloved son, the *protostrator*, donated the other 200, which were taken out⁵² of [the sum] granted to him by the divine and holy chrysobull. [p. 84]

122. In the same way I bequeath the vineyard of ___ *modioi*⁵³ planted at the expense of the convent at Selokaka; another vineyard of ___ *modioi* near St. Nicholas Mesomphalos, together with its houses, which was bought years ago from a man named Kaligas for 400 *hyperpyra*, which was barren land, but which I later planted with vines; another vineyard, located near the land of the Kosmidion,⁵⁴ of ___ *modioi*, which was donated by my dearly beloved nephew, son of the most eminent *despoina* of the Bulgars, lord John Palaiologos Angelos Branas (who took the monastic name of Joasaph); another vineyard in the land of the Kosmidion, of ___ *modioi*, which he himself gave for “fellowships”⁵⁵ for his wife, from which 8 *hyperpyra* are paid annually to the monastery of the Kosmidotes for taxes; another village called Morokoumoulou near Thracian Herakleia, in which is also the land of Diakephalaiois; another vineyard, located in the village called Kanikleion, of ___ *modioi*, which my dearly beloved daughter-in-law, lady Thomais Palaiologina Kantakouzene,⁵⁶ donated to the convent, for her spiritual salvation.

123. In the same way I bequeath to you my ancestral vineyard, such as it is, located at Pegai, beyond the Queen of Cities; similarly let the other vineyard which is also found at Pegai be yours to keep. From now on they will be your ancestral property and in the future and all years to come, rather they will be like holy dedications honorably and justly dedicated and consecrated to my surpassingly pure Lady the Mother of God. No one at all is ever to take them away or confiscate them, unless he wishes, whoever he may be, [p. 85] to be called a sacrilegious person and to bring down upon himself the most terrible curses and judgments, which have been brought from of old against everyone who trampled on and disobeyed the holy laws of truth and justice. But so much for this.

124. On account of the weakness of my human nature and for the care of my daughter who is most dear in every respect, and for the modest comfort and relief of her many serious illnesses, I have

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retained personally for myself the following [properties]: half of my ancestral estate called Pyrgos; the village in Parapolia, called Kanikleion, my ancestral estate; the garden called Gymnou near our convent, and the large vineyard which my cherished son, the *protostrator*, gave to me, and the houses around it, very near the *Kyriotissa*,⁵⁷ on the public road. I ordain and command with all my soul and purpose that, after my departure from this earth and my release from the present [life], this [property] should be owned and administered by my dearest daughter, just as by me, for her modest comfort and care, inasmuch as she is mistress and heir of this convent and all my property. Then, whenever, after a lengthy and “most abundant old age” (Ps. 91 [92]:14), she should depart to eternal and better rest, to live and rejoice together with her immortal Bridegroom forever, then the other half of the estate of Pyrgos, and the other properties previously mentioned, which were retained personally by me for my maintenance and then by my dearest daughter, are to be immediately donated wherever she wishes and decides, as is just. [p. 86]

Lord, help your maidservants to fulfill these instructions.

XXIV. A hortatory epilogue to all the nuns and the superior to abide by the *typikon* and not to transgress [it] in any way.

125. O my beloved congregation in Christ, I have set down and formulated in this *typikon*, as you see, those rules which it was necessary for me to set down and formulate, for the sake of your spiritual benefit and salvation, as well as for your physical needs; and even if they are not worthy of the occasion, it is not for any lack of zeal or effort on my part. It will be your responsibility from now on both to heed these rules sincerely, and to accept them sincerely into your soul, and thereafter you should strive in your very deeds to obey all the rules without transgression, which is the primary purpose of all my zeal. For mere hearing and acceptance of the good words of salvation is not able to justify the one who only listens to them and only accepts them, but deeds must be added to the hearing and acceptance. For thus a just man becomes perfect. “For it is not the hearers of the law who are righteous before God” (these are the words of the apostle), “but the doers of the law who will be justified” (Rom. 2:13). You will demonstrate clearly that you are obeying the rules steadfastly, if you display the same attitude toward your teacher and spiritual mother as toward Christ himself, the God of all, to sum up my instructions briefly, and if you obey her as if again the Savior and Lord of all should command you.⁵⁸ For in the Gospel his all-holy lips said, “he who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me, [p. 87] and he who rejects me rejects him who sent me” (Luke 10:16). You should not have any will at all of your own, or ever permit yourselves to do anything on your own, but you should strive to wish and do only those things which your teacher wishes and orders you to do by way of commandment.

126. Furthermore you must obey the superior in this way not only when she “teaches scrupulous observance,” and prescribes fasting, but even when “she forbids you to fast,” or advises you to partake of satisfying nourishment, when necessary, or bids you relax your discipline in any other way. You must carry out all her [commands] in the same way with the utmost zeal, in the belief that “every word spoken” by your teacher in Christ is “law,” and thus you must accept it and obey it, and in no way permit yourselves any discussion or inquiry about her instructions. For such

behavior and attitude is “a practice and habit which lead to anarchy” and disobedience. Therefore you should accept “every counsel” without question, and “carry it out, not with sadness” or “from compulsion,” but “with” great “eagerness, so that your obedience may be rewarded.”⁵⁹

Thus your attitude towards your teacher,⁶⁰ and again towards each other, should resemble your attitude towards your very own limbs and inner organs, always maintaining towards each other spiritual love, true humility and genuine and unfeigned submission, “forbearing one another in love, eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,” and in accordance with the apostolic teaching being “one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope” (Eph. 4:2–4) of the grace of our Lord and God. You should defer to each other with regard to the chief offices, and strive to triumph over each other and excel in those endeavors in which each nun yields the victory to her neighbor, in which each nun does not consider it important to show herself as greater than another, and in which each seeks the last place, although she is probably worthy to take a more important place. [p. 88]

127. If you conduct your lives thus in Christ, if you keep these commandments unaltered and unimpaired, you will destroy “every proud obstacle to the knowledge” (II Cor. 10:5) and obedience of Christ, and, in short, you will raze to the ground all “the strongholds” (II Cor. 10:4) of evil; you will make all wickedness retreat into nothingness, which it is by nature. You will wondrously erect a large and celebrated house of virtue, and will raise it up with great assurance until its completion, since in your construction you have placed the first principle and base of this building on golden and mighty foundations of obedience and humility, and “the greatest of these is love” (cf. I Cor. 13:13).

128. Thus you will do me the greatest favor. For you will clearly demonstrate that I did not sow the seeds of exhortation in barren and unfruitful earth, but rather in soil that is good and rich and fruitful, and capable, like that earth in the gospel, of yielding “thirty, sixty and a hundredfold” (Matt. 13:8) through the great and wise tillage of the Spirit. Furthermore [you will thus demonstrate] that I have spoken these words “into the ears of those that hear” (Matt. 13:9).

129. As for you, O finest and in every way most reverend mother of mine in God (for to you now, as superior, I address my final words), you will be truly blessed and many times blessed, even ten thousand times blessed, if you focus not only your ears on this *typikon*, but even more so your soul. You will not only hear it speaking and resounding externally, but you will also engrave all its [precepts] deeply in “the tablets of your heart” (II Cor. 3:3). Thus you will not only engrave these [precepts] indelibly, but you will also teach them, and will continuously transmit them and truly convey them to your charges. Moreover you will carry out these [precepts] eagerly, leading the others in their proper execution, and, through your good deeds, demonstrating [p. 89] these precepts as if they were living and efficacious and, like fire, eternally sharing the benefit without diminution both with those who see these things through deeds, and those who hear them through readings. For the Gospel of the Lord has said, “blessed is he who not only has taught, but has done, and then taught” (cf. Matt. 5:19); and again, in the words of Holy Scripture, “if you know these things, blessed are you if you do them” (John 13:17).

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130. I am confident that you, in accordance with this blessing of the Gospel, will carry out and teach the *typikon*, and will truly obey it more than anyone else, and will demonstrate now and in the future, by preserving unaltered all the precepts of the *typikon*, that you are truly their leader, inasmuch as you are the first to guard these [precepts], as you have been called [to do]. Furthermore your charges will truly heed you and obey you, if “from the” proverbial “beginning”⁶¹ they have a good example, and are schooled in humility and obedience by your humility and obedience. For teaching the pure and established word of truth is not as effective as carrying out the teachings in practice. “Good understanding is found in all those who act,” says [the Lord], “but not in those who only listen” (cf. Matt. 13:13).

131. Not only then these [nuns], but even perhaps wild beasts, out of respect for your virtue, will obey you in a similar fashion, and entrust themselves entirely to your holy hands, when they see distinct in you the features of the ancient submission and obedience which our foremother had in paradise towards God before her grievous transgression and consequent disastrous fall. Even the mighty and boastful demons will submit to the weakest and humble nature, and will fear you, and will be crushed into dust beneath your evangelical and “beautiful feet as you preach the gospel of peace” and every “good thing” (cf. Rom. 10:15), with the strength and support of the heavenly grace and power. [p. 90]

132. These are great [challenges], full of wonder and amazement, but capable of being accomplished in the present time, if only we would be willing to act rightly, if only we would emulate to the best of our ability the virtue of the saintly women who preceded us, who mocked at and crushed the satanic forces and ranks as easily as pitiable sparrows. The heroic conduct and wondrous lives of these holy women are preserved in writing for the benefit of their successors in the discourses of wise men and sacred books.

133. Now on account of the great virtue which you will attain without question through the precise observance of this *typikon*, you will be celebrated and well-known to everyone, and almost all men who see and hear your actions will sing you countless eulogies, and devise lengthy praises for you, and frequently bless you. Again, in the world to come, you will accompany the wise virgins into the pure and celebrated bridal chambers to rule together and be glorified together with your greatly beloved Bridegroom. You will stand on his right and hear his desirable and blessed voice. You will stand and listen together with these your spiritual daughters, and then you will say with great confidence to your Lord and Savior, “O Lord, see the daughters whom you gave me.” May all of you, mother and daughters alike, be deemed worthy of this through the grace of the One who called you to his heavenly and eternal kingdom because of his love for mankind, through the grace and love of the eternal and blessed life-giving and effective and immortal and consubstantial Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and for ever and for everlasting generations, Amen. [p. 91]

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[Appendix on the commemorations to be celebrated for the foundress' relatives]

134. Since I have already written sufficient instructions concerning the convent, I will now set down instructions about my deceased parents, and my brothers and sisters in the flesh, and those who have yet to die. With regard to my blessed and holy parents and my own commemoration and that of my dearly beloved daughter and my cherished sons, let them take place as I have already ordained without any change or omission, except in the case of great necessity. Concerning my blood brothers and sisters and relatives and certain others who are expressly listed below, it is my wish that their commemorations take place at the indicated times and days without any alteration.

135. On February 11th should be commemorated my beloved daughter-in-law, I mean the wife of my dearest son lord John Palaiologos, the *megas konostaulos*, lady Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina, who took the monastic name of Xene.⁶² The illumination should be more lavish than usual, and there should be four liturgies for her soul. For she donated the vineyard at Kanikleion of ___ *modioi*. Refreshment should also be served in the nuns' refectory.

136. On the 23rd of July should be commemorated my beloved granddaughter, the daughter of my beloved son, lord Theodore Doukas the *protostrator*, lady Theodora Komnene Doukaina Raoulaina Palaiologina, who took the monastic name of Theodosia.⁶³ There should be four liturgies on her behalf, and more lavish illumination. For even though she made no donation to the convent, still her father, my beloved son the *protostrator*, has already made abundant contributions, and will make further donations in the future, since he is alive and well by the grace of God. Therefore her commemorations should not be overlooked. [p. 92]

137. On the 6th of June should be commemorated my beloved brother, lord Michael Komnenos Branas Palaiologos, who took the monastic name of Makarios. There should be two candelabra,⁶⁴ and seven liturgies on behalf of his soul, and in the refectory of the nuns refreshment should be provided and served, since for the sake of his commemoration he donated to the monastery a decorated icon of the archangel Michael of gilt bronze, two silver lamps and 300 *hyperpyra*.

138. In like manner my other brother, lord Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos, who took the monastic name of Arsenios, offered to the convent on behalf of his spiritual salvation an oil vessel of pure gold which is called *malagma*, [adorned] with a jasper lid and the nine ranks of the heavenly powers, and 100 *hyperpyra*. He should be commemorated on the 28th of June. The illumination should be more lavish than customary, and there should be four liturgies.

139. On September 16 should be commemorated my beloved sister, lady Maria Komnene Branaina Laskarina Doukaina Tornikina Palaiologina, who took the monastic name of Mariamne. There should be seven liturgies for her soul, with two candelabra.

140. On the 8th of January should be commemorated her husband, lord Isaac Komnenos Doukas

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Tornikes, who took the monastic name of Joasaph; likewise seven liturgies should be celebrated for his soul, with two candelabra. For the couple contributed to the convent, on behalf of their commemorations, 1000 *hyperpyra* and an icon of the bust of my all-holy Mother of God, decorated with three red precious stones and pearls. They likewise gave [p. 93] 72 *hyperpyra* for the cost of the wine-press at Pera. Therefore it is my command that their commemorations be celebrated in an incomparable manner, and that there be refreshment in the refectory for the nuns.

141. On July 3 should be commemorated my beloved nephew, their son lord Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Tornikes,⁶⁵ the *parakoimomenos*, who took the monastic name of Antony, also with two candelabra. There should be six liturgies on behalf of his soul, and refreshment provided in the refectory for the nuns. For he gave the convent, for the sake of his commemoration, 500 *hyperpyra* and a silver lamp weighing five *litrai*.

142. On the 8th of August should be commemorated my beloved nephew, lord John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos, son of the most eminent *despoina* of the Bulgars, who took the monastic name of Joasaph. Seven liturgies should be celebrated with two candelabra for the sake of his salvation. In addition, on one day of each week of the year, I mean Thursday, one offering of consecrated bread should be made as a sacrifice for him. Once a year four measures of wine should be distributed to the needy at the gate, since he was generous at the time of his death, and made large donations to the convent. For he gave a gold icon of the all-holy Mother of God, all [decorated] with pearls, and with eight precious stones, four red, the other four light blue, together with a veil all [covered with] pearls, what they call *syrmatinon*, bearing an image of my all-holy Mother of God. He also had generously decorated another icon of the Dormition of my all-holy Mother of God. In addition he had made a gold-embroidered *podea*, decorated with the four feasts of the all-holy Mother of God, and in the middle a circle (?)⁶⁶ of pearls. He also donated a vineyard very near the property of the Kosmidion, of ___ *modioi*, and a house in the vicinity of the Kaligaria, [p. 94] for the sake of the lighting of the lamp at his tomb.⁶⁷ Further there should be refreshment in the refectory for the nuns, and they should eat more lavishly.

143. On December 24th should be celebrated the commemorations of my most noble *sympentheros*, I mean the father-in-law of my beloved son the *protostrator*, lord Theodore Doukas Mouzakiou, the *epi stratou*, who took the monastic name of Theodoretos. It should be celebrated in proportion to the capability and prosperity of the convent. For he gave to the convent for the sake of his burial a decorated icon of St. Onouphrios and 100 *hyperpyra*. And since my beloved daughter-in-law, his daughter, gave 200 *hyperpyra* to repair the cells of the convent for the sake of her father's commemoration, his commemorations of necessity should be celebrated as I have ordained without any alteration.

144. I also pray to my totally immaculate and pure Mother of God to support and advance our monastery in perpetuity in the discipline of a holy way of life, and in its affairs, so that God, the Lord of all, may be hymned more ardently with all zeal, and the immaculate name of his holy Mother to be honored and magnified, and the commemorations of the aforementioned departed

ones be celebrated as I have instructed with all zeal and diligence. Thus may the Lord look mercifully and graciously on the souls of those who are commemorated and give them rest in a bright place, and may he forgive them for any sins they may have committed inasmuch as they were human, and present you with the worthy reward of love. But if ever, God forbid, it should occur that the convent should fall into poverty and lack of necessities in critical times,⁶⁸ [p. 636] I supplicate and entreat you, my beloved, not on any account to dispense with the annual commemorative services for the aforementioned individuals, but you should provide them at that time, to the extent that you have the resources and capability, mindful of my love and instructions. For if the commemorative services should be decreased because of the monastery's poverty and financial difficulties, and not because of contempt and neglect, God will not be angry, and I will be most deeply grateful to you, my beloved. So much for this.

Since in accordance with ecclesiastical tradition, it is customary for commemorative services to be celebrated together on the Saturdays of Meatfare and Pentecost,⁶⁹ I also ordain that on these days the so-called bread offerings⁷⁰ should be brought to the sanctuary on behalf of each one of the aforementioned individuals, one apiece that is, as a sacrifice on behalf of their⁷¹ salvation and in propitiation of their sins. For you will not only benefit from them enormously, but also you who act in this way will reap not a little benefit in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is owed all glory, honor, and veneration now and forever unto everlasting generations. Amen. [p. 95]

The delimitation of our convent of the surpassingly holy Mother of God, the Sure Hope (*Bebaia Elpis*) of Christians, are as follows:

145. The boundary wall begins at the great gate to the east, which is situated opposite the large houses of my dearly beloved sons, and passes by the bakery and past the entire house of the virtuous Eunouchos. Then it bends to the west and follows the boundary land which is between the two gardens of my dearly beloved son, lord John the *megas konostaulos*, and the convent. It goes as far as the public road which divides the monastery of the Mosele⁷² on the right. From there it bends towards the enclosure wall of the [monastery] of my surpassingly pure Mother of God *Gorgoepekoos*,⁷³ follows the same public road, and passes by the garden of Gymnos, keeping on its right the wall of the monastery of the *Gorgoepekoos*. It continues as far as the boundary land which separates our convent from the convent of my lady and sister, the *protostratorissa* Glabaina. It then continues as far as my apartments, which were built by my dearly beloved son, the *protostrator*. Then it passes by my garden, keeping on the right the vineyard of my lady and sister the *protostratorissa*, and reaches the public road in front of the monastery called *Kyriotissa*. It then bends to the east along the same public road and stretches as far as the other road which is near St. Onouphrios, where there is a vineyard, which I purchased from Kaligas as ordinary land for 400 *hyperpyra*, and then planted it so that it has turned into the vineyard which is seen now. Then it bends to the north and passes by the rental houses of the boundary land, where the winnowers live, as far as the church of St. Akakios,⁷⁴ including the church itself without the *katechoumena*. It extends as far as the great gate of this church. Then it goes as far as [p. 96] the great gate of our convent, keeping on its right the house of Aborates and the tailor Andrew, and from [the house] of Solatos extending as far as the great gate of the convent, where it began.

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Second *typikon*, which was drafted by the foundress of the convent, lady Euphrosyne Palaiologina, after the death of her celebrated mother.

146. When my holy lady and mother established this convent of ours on account of the love and ardent passion which she had for God, and her affection for me, in accordance with the instructions she recorded in her *typikon*, she ordered that the nuns be thirty in number. Thus she honored and venerated the number of the Trinity, and at the same time took precautions lest too large a number be a cause for confusion and disorder. For if, as she said, good order is only maintained with difficulty among a few nuns, how could it be preserved where there is an assemblage of many opinions, and a combination of different ways of life and types of education and ages? But while she was still alive, inasmuch as she was of a loving and compassionate disposition, she yielded to the entreaties of certain people and allowed the number to be increased to fifty. This was the number of nuns when she left the world behind and departed to the Lord, leaving me as her heir and successor. I then, as her daughter and successor, respecting and honoring all her [actions], confirm the same number of fifty, since I do not wish the number of nuns to increase beyond this figure. For just as she honored three multiples of ten on account of the Holy Trinity, so I hold in honor and ratify the figure of seven multiples of seven on account of the number of gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is my wish, and I order you, my beloved sisters, to keep the number of nuns assembled in our venerable convent at this figure. [p. 97] For we have gathered together so that through God's mercy we may share in the gifts of the Spirit. If it were not [for this purpose], but without cause that we thus gathered together, our assemblage would be truly foolish and pitiful.

Chapter I. That the number of nuns should not exceed fifty.

147. Therefore, as has been said, in honor of the number seven, which multiplied seven times makes fifty, lacking one day, which important day [i.e., Pentecost] we call holy on account of the descent of the Holy Spirit, and because it is a model of the future, I command you, my most honored sisters, never to allow your numbers to exceed fifty throughout all time, but to limit your size to this figure.

Chapter II. That lay children should not come to the convent for their education.

148. I absolutely forbid the admission of lay children for the sake of being educated and learning their letters or anything else. For I find that it is a pernicious influence on the morals and habits of the nuns. For anyone who has renounced the world once and for all, and then comes into contact again with lay people and assumes responsibilities incongruous with our vows, and thus causes confusion within himself and obscures the light of understanding, and violates the commandments of the holy Fathers, and follows his own desires and wishes, [p. 98] should not have entered a monastery nor donned monastic habit in the first place. "It is better that you should not vow than that you should vow and not pay" (Eccl. 5:5). But if certain girls should wish to be enrolled among the nuns, but want first to be educated, and learn lessons which contribute to the monastic rule, with the intention of being tonsured years later and numbered among the nuns, I fully approve and consent.

Chapter III. How the commemorations for each single one of the nuns should take place.

149. When my holy lady and mother set down instructions about the commemorations of my holy lords and ancestors, of my holy father, who was a founder, and herself, and of my dearest masters and brothers and other members of our family, she left no instructions at all about the commemorations for all of you, my dearly beloved sisters and mothers. I did not think it right not to celebrate your commemorations, too, in the customary manner. But since you have left behind worldly matter and confusion for the sake of God and his holy and immaculate Mother, and you brought and consecrated yourselves to him and to the immaculate Mother of God, and you endure every labor in your service in obedience to Christ, and you do not have your own dwellings and idiorhythmic occupations, but all follow a common regimen at the convent, I decided that your commemorations should be celebrated as I ordain. Whenever any of you departs to the Lord, I order that one liturgy be celebrated daily for her soul for forty days, and forthwith her portion of food [p. 99] should be distributed daily to the needy at the gate [of the convent], and afterwards the [deceased] nun should be commemorated once a year on the anniversary of her death in perpetuity.

Chapter IV. When there should be general commemorations for the nuns.

150. Since it is customary in monasteries to celebrate the commemorations of the founders annually after the feast day of the patron saint of the monastery, and the commemorations of our founders take place here after the feast of the Dormition of the completely pure Mother of God, it is my wish that there also be a general commemoration service for all my mothers and sisters. But since it is not possible for the commemorations for the founders and for you nuns to take place in the same [location], I order that, since our cemetery bears the name of St. Nicholas, the miracle-worker, commemorations for all our holy sisters be celebrated there after the feast day of the saint. But if you prefer, let the holy [commemorations] for the holy [sisters] be celebrated on the day after the feast of the Mother of God. The illumination should be more lavish than usual with two candelabra, and there should be refreshment for the nuns in the refectory, and three liturgies on their behalf, and a distribution to the poor at the gate of one *annonikos modios* of bread and one measure of wine.

Chapter V. How offerings should be made at the altar for all the deceased nuns.

151. On Saturday of Meatfare and Pentecost, when general commemorations are customarily celebrated on behalf of all orthodox [p. 100] Christians, I command that on these days the so-called offerings of [consecrated bread] be offered at the altar for each of our departed sisters, one for each that is, as a sacrifice on behalf of their souls.

Chapter VI. Exhortation to the nuns that they omit none of the instructions on their behalf.

152. This is my “whole-hearted”⁷⁵ wish for you, my dearest sisters, and thus I set forth and command out of extraordinary desire for your salvation. Just as I approve everything ordained by my holy mother and lady, and have confirmed them, and have ordered that they remain unchanged, so

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it is necessary for you to maintain my instructions, which are for your benefit, and to carry them out forthwith, both for the good of love, and especially for your own benefit. For if I performed a deed of kindness by zealously setting forth these instructions on your behalf, how much more should you strive to carry out the instructions for the sake of your salvation?

Chapter VII. Request to the nuns concerning her own commemoration.

153. Whenever God should ordain that I die, as he knows best, do not perform the commemoration of your humble servant carelessly and indifferently and superficially. For this is not kind. But as I will order at the time of my death, so I ask of you to do, with compunction, that is, and contrition of heart and all zeal, offering supplications to God on my behalf, as well as everything else I command. [p. 101]

Chapter VIII. Brief hortatory admonition to the nuns.

154. My most honorable mothers and sisters, “rejoice in the Lord always” (Phil. 4:4), and may you be preserved, and may you preserve the fine trust which I have bequeathed to you, I mean with regard to the observance of the church office and discipline in the refectory, and tranquility and diligence in the cells. Above all and with all “be at peace among yourselves” (I Thess. 5:13) and everyone [else], in accordance with the commandment of the apostle, knowing well that the Holy Spirit would never dwell in a turbulent soul . . .⁷⁶ [I request] of my beloved sisters that the annual commemorations for the above-mentioned not be neglected in any way, but that you will act mindful of my love and my instructions, to the extent of your financial resources and your capabilities. For if the commemorations should be diminished, not because of contempt and neglect, but because of poverty and dearth of monastic revenues, God will not be angry, and we will avow the highest gratitude to your love. So much for this.

But when in accordance with ecclesiastical tradition the general commemorations are supposed to take place, on the Saturdays of Meatfare and Pentecost, I give you this order, that on these days the so-called offerings [of consecrated bread] be made at the altar for each of the aforementioned, one apiece, as a sacrifice for the sake of their salvation and as atonement for their sins. For by doing this, you will not only benefit them greatly, but not a little benefit will also accrue to you, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is due every glory, honor, and reverence, now and forever and for all ages, Amen.

[Commemorations for the Bishops of Ephesos and Mytilene]

155. . . .⁷⁷ receiving from God reward for your labor and suffering and humility, which [p. 102] you endure for his sake. For it is his voice that says, “Where I am, there shall my servant be also” (John 12:26). If then that Lord and God of ours is on the right hand of glory of his own Father, it is clear that all those who have suffered for his sake will find repose there where he is, enjoying his pure and eternal blessings through the grace of the consubstantial and blessed Trinity, to which is due all glory, honor, and reverence forever, Amen.

156. But inasmuch as the *hypertimos* metropolitan of Ephesos was a special friend of my parents, and was also my spiritual father, as my sponsor at the holy baptismal font, and gave our convent 400 *nomismata*, a commemoration should also be celebrated for him as best you can, as my mother celebrated it while she was still alive. Also celebrate the commemoration of the metropolitan of Mytilene on the anniversary of his death, as best you can. For he donated to the convent a solid gold icon, decorated with precious stones and pearls, of my exceedingly holy and invincible Mother of God, and [liturgical] stoles and cuffs, also with pearls. For this reason nothing should interfere with the celebration of his commemoration. For while my holy lady and mother was still alive, she was eager that his commemoration be celebrated.

[Commemorations for lord John Theophilos and his wife lady Maria Asanina]

157. When the late lord John Theophilos⁷⁸ died, for the sake of his own spiritual commemoration and for that of his wife lady Maria Asanina, he left 300 *hyperpyra* so that an estate might be purchased and added to the venerable convent of my surpassingly holy Mistress, the Mother of God, that of the *protovestiaría*, and so that they might perform two commemorations on the anniversaries of their deaths. When our mighty and holy lady and empress⁷⁹ received this [money] at the request of Theophilos, as the guardian and heir of his property, she first gave 100 *nomismata* to the monastery, and in exchange for them the garden at Blanga was handed over and registered in the name of Theophilos. But then the nuns asked for the remaining 200 *nomismata* because of the necessity and distress they were suffering from the siege of the infidel [Turks]⁸⁰ which has reduced Constantinople to great poverty. Now, [p. 103] as a result of the general request and petition of the nuns to our lady and holy empress, the remaining 200 [*nomismata*] were handed over to the convent with the agreement and promise to celebrate their commemorations on the anniversaries of their deaths, that is, for Asanina on November 24, and Theophilos on December 9. The nuns were to have at vespers four trays⁸¹ of *kollyba*, four candelabra, two priests from the convent, a distribution of wax tapers to all the nuns of the convent, and, if the circumstances permit, a distribution of bread⁸² and wine. On the next day, they should have food to be distributed to the nuns and the usual liturgy by two priests. In making this agreement, they promised to do this continually, as long as the convent stands, with the aid of God, [with the proceeds] from the revenue on the aforementioned garden and from the annual income of the convent. Thus the 300 *hyperpyra* were entrusted to the nuns, the first part in exchange for the garden as has been explained, and now the second part through my hands, by divine decree of our mighty and holy lady and empress. For future security and the explanation of these events, they were recorded by my hand, the great sacristan of the most holy Great Church of God [Hagia Sophia], the deacon Demetrios Balsamon, on the 11th day of the month of February, fifth indiction of the year 6905 [= 1397 A.D.].

[Commemorations for lady Xene Philanthropene and her daughter lady Eugenia Kantakouzene]

158. Good and holy were the words of the divine David, prophet and king: “Lord, I love the habitation of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwells” (Ps. 25 [26]:8). For those who, like him, have a God-loving soul display continual concern for the care of all things divine and the maintenance of holy monasteries. As a result of that most prophetic text, good zeal enters into

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those who possess a noble spirit, and through worthy concern for the divine they obtain that blessed [p. 104] and everlasting life. Our holy lady Xene Philanthropene,⁸³ most honorable among nuns, constantly desired [this everlasting life], and therefore she restored at her own expense our venerable convent, which was threatening to collapse in several places. She arranged for its restoration in the year 6900, the fifteenth indiction [= 1392 A.D.]. When she died, her daughter, the most honorable among nuns and our holy lady, Eugenia Kantakouzene,⁸⁴ completely cleared the courtyard of her sister, the late lady Anna Kantakouzene, at her own cost and expense, and turned it into a wheat-field, whose value was set at 300 *hyperpyra* by the man who sought to purchase it. She gave it to our convent so that in exchange her holy mother might have the customary annual commemoration, which all the founders have, on the anniversary of her death, that is, on February 13 of the second indiction [= 1394 A.D.]. She also made a donation of gold in the year 6906 of the sixth indiction [= 1398 A.D.]. Furthermore, in the month of September of the ninth indiction [= 1400 A.D.] she sold the house of Marachas for 70 *hyperpyra*, which she requested and received from our mighty and holy lord and emperor Lord Manuel [II] Palaiologos, and with this money and another 130 *hyperpyra*, which makes all together 200 *hyperpyra*, she paid for the restoration and repair of the holy church and bell tower, which were in danger of collapsing. These *hyperpyra* were spent on tiles, nails, plaster, skilled labor and other appropriate expenses. Wherefore we who at present live in this convent and our successors ought to pray that their commemoration be continued in perpetuity, and that they may attain the right hand of Christ the Savior with all the saints and righteous people who have pleased God through the ages, Amen.

[Patronage of lady Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene]

159. The aforementioned most honorable nun, our celebrated foundress, lady Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene, [p. 105] as a true [great] granddaughter and heir of her celebrated forebears, our founders, generously demonstrated the same zeal and enthusiasm and concern for this holy and venerable convent of ours until her dying breath. For she was tonsured at a youthful age, and spent all her fortune on this holy convent. It was her dying wish to bequeath 100 *hyperpyra* so that the garden of the holy great martyr George might be planted and restored as a vineyard, and joined with the large vineyard of our convent for the sake of her spiritual salvation. Thus our convent and the nuns who dwell in it from now on and in the future ought to celebrate a commemoration annually for the sake of her soul on the anniversary of her departure to God, which is February 11 of the year 6910 [= 1402 A.D.]. For this is the day of her death, when we should customarily celebrate a commemoration, just as for our other celebrated founders, her forebears, since she displayed the same zeal and ardor and concern for her ancestral convent, in her longing to attain the heavenly bridal chamber and in her desire for the kingdom of Christ our God. May she be granted these [wishes] through the intercessions of our all-holy, immaculate, and exceedingly praised Lady, the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis*, and all the saints, Amen.

Written in the month of March, tenth indiction, of the year 6910 [= 1402 A.D.].

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot, is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document. She has offered a number of amended readings of the text (ed.) based on an independent examination of the manuscript (ms.)

1. John Chrysostom, *Liturgia*, ed. F. E. Brightman (London, 1896), p. 369, lines 27–29; p. 384, lines 27–28.
2. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orationes* 28.13 and 21.1, *PG* 36, col. 44A; *PG* 35, col. 1084B.
3. Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos Doukas Angelos; see also [113], [116] below. He is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fol. 1r.
4. Michael VIII Palaiologos.
5. Irene Branaina Komnene Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina; see also [113], [116] below, and Donald Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, D.C., 1968), no. 11, pp. 10–11. She is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fol. 1r.
6. John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoi,” no. 22; see also [116] below. He is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fols. 2r and 7r; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 185, fig. 1 and (as the monk Joachim) 186, fig. 6.
7. Read *houtos, hos kai ho pater ho emos*; ed. omits *houtos, hos kai*.
8. Read *met' akribeias eidotes ho ti polles . . .*
9. Euphrosyne Palaiologina, author of the second *typikon*; see [118], [146] below. She is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fols. 7r, 11r, and 12; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 186, fig. 6 and 187, fig. 7.
10. Theodore Doukas Synadenos the *protostrator* and John Palaiologos Synadenos the great constable, Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoi,” nos. 24 and 23; see also [19], [119], and [121] below. Theodore is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fol. 8r; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 182, and 185, fig. 2. John is illustrated in fol. 3r; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 185, fig. 4.
11. Ed. omits *hos echthros kai*.
12. Lit: “any of those who live according to the flesh or those who live according to the spirit . . .”
13. See (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents.
14. Cf. Ammonius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, ed. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Berlin, 1891), p. 6, line 27.
15. Read *heauten* for ed. *auten*.
16. John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Psalmos* 5.1, *PG* 55, col. 63.15.
17. Cf. Basil, *Ep.* 2.3, *PG* 32, cols. 228B, 229A.
18. Cf. (37) *Auxentios* [3].
19. Galen, *Ars medica*, ed. C. G. Kuhn, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1821–33), p. 381.
20. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, *PG* 88, col. 720D.
21. Cf. John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 30.2 in *II Cor.* (*PG* 61, col. 607).
22. Read *ousai* for ed. *ousan*.
23. Cf. the language of (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
24. *enkanonos*: not in the dictionaries.
25. Cf. the language of (39) *Lips* [28].
26. Ms. *taxai* for ed. *taxan*.
27. Cf. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, *PG* 88, col. 713D.
28. *heautas*; ed. omits.
29. Ms. *houto* for ed. *houtoi*.
30. E. Leutsch and F. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1839–51; repr. Hildesheim, 1958), p. 359, line 21.
31. The liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 1–508.

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32. Cf. Numbers 20:17 and Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.2, PG 31, col. 1349B.
33. Cf. the language of (56) *Kellibara II* [3].
34. *kellio*; ed. omits.
35. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 1, p. 320.
36. Cf. the similar language employed in (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 355–57.
37. Ms. *argia esti kakon* for ed. *ergasia esti*.
38. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 142 ([SR 142]), PG 31, col. 1177B.
39. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 40.7, PG 36, col. 365B.
40. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 4, PG 88, col. 681B.
41. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 4, PG 88, col. 705C.
42. Read *hemeis* for ed. *hekeis*.
43. Ms. *polytelestera* for ed. *polylestera*.
44. Identified below in [116]; see also [6], [7] above.
45. Lacuna in ms.; *soterias* “salvation” has been supplied by the translator.
46. The founder’s husband; see also [9] above.
47. See also [6], [7], and [113] above.
48. *manoualia*.
49. See also [8], [9] above and [146] below.
50. See also [8] above and [121] below.
51. Ms. *touto hos ephen to hemisy to de heteron hemisy*; ed. omits *hemisy to de heteron*.
52. Ms. *apokopenta* for ed. *apokopentas*.
53. This and subsequent figures are left blank in the ms.
54. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 286–89.
55. *adelphata*; for which see E. Herman, “Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern,” *OCP* 7 (1941), 406–60, and P. Magdalino, “Adelphaton,” *ODB*, p. 19.
56. Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina, wife of John Palaiologos Synadenos; see [135] below.
57. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 293, and [145] below.
58. Cf. the language of (55) *Athanasios I* [9].
59. Basil of Caesarea, *Sermo asceticus* I, PG 31, col. 888BC.
60. Ms. *didaskalon* for ed. *didaskalou*.
61. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 1, p. 14, line 40.
62. See also [122] above.
63. Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoi,” no. 28.
64. *manoualia*.
65. For this individual, see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 181.
66. *phengion* (lit. “halo”) *margaritaria*. On *syrmatinon* (embroidered with gold thread), see Koukoules, *Laographika*, vol. 1, p. 437.
67. Ms. *tapho* for ms. *tao*.
68. Translation continued here from Baur, “Typikon,” pp. 635–36, which fills the lacuna indicated in the Delehayé edition, p. 94.
69. The so-called *psychosabbata* (Saturdays of All Souls).
70. *prosporai*.
71. Read *auton* for *autes*.
72. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 358–59.
73. For this foundation, see V. Laurent, “Une fondation monastique de Nicéphore Choumnos, *He en KP mone Theotokou tes Gorgoepekoou*,” *REB* 12 (1954), 32–44.
74. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 14–15.
75. Cf. Athanasios, *Vita S. Antonii* 77, PG 26, col. 952A.
76. Lacuna of at least one folio.

77. Lacuna of at least one folio.
78. There is no entry in Trapp, *PLP*, for John Theophilos. His wife, Maria Asanina, known only from this *typikon*, is listed as the “wife of John.” See *PLP*, no. 1532.
79. Empress Helena, daughter of the Serbian prince of Serres Constantine Dragaš and wife of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425).
80. Siege of 1394–1402 by Bayazid. For the beginning and duration of this siege of Constantinople, see J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), Appendix X, pp. 479–81.
81. *chottea*; not in the dictionaries. This term may also denote a kind of basket. (28) *Pantokrator* [8] refers to “baskets (*kaniskia*) of *kollyba*.”
82. *koulikion*; the reference may be to unleavened bread (cf. Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *koulikion*) or, as is more likely, to bread rolls in the shape of a ring like modern Greek *koulouria*. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 5, p. 24.
83. Xene was most probably the monastic name of Anna Kantakouzene Philanthropene, a granddaughter of Theodora Synadene, the foundress of the convent. See D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, D.C., 1968), nos. 40 and 56.
84. Eugenia was Xene’s daughter and therefore a great granddaughter of the original foundress. See Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, no. 55.

Document Notes

1. First *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene

Introduction. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene*, Prologue.

The first thirteen chapters discuss the founder’s personal history, the background to the foundation, and the purpose of the *typikon*. Summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [1] Building religious foundations is the best way to show love for God.
 [2] Such activity fulfills God’s greatest commandments.
 [3] Scriptural and patristic support.
 [4] Foundation history.
 [5] Foundation is an offering of thanksgiving.
 [6] Praise of the founder’s father and [7] mother.
 [8] Founder’s autobiography.
 [9] Dedication of the founder’s daughter.
 [10] Recruitment of other nuns.
 [11] Dedication to the Mother of God.
 [12] Reason for the present *typikon*.
 [13] The Mother of God to be the guardian of the *typikon*.

I. Independence of the foundation. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [1] and (39) *Lips* [1], [2].

- [14] Declaration of freedom and autonomy. For other assertions of institutional independence in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (40) *Anargyroi* [3], (58) *Menoikeion* [3], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C18].
- [15] Subordination or concession not allowed. See also similar provisions in (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], and (40) *Anargyroi* [3].
- [16] Restriction of patriarchal rights. See also [26] below; for the treatment of these rights elsewhere in Palaiologan times, see (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (50) *Gerasimos* [4], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C12].
- [17] Curses on violators. See also [123] below; for the use of such curses in other Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (49) *Geromeri* [16]; (50) *Gerasimos* [5]; (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A15], [B20]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [24]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22].

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II. Guardianship of the convent. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] and (39) *Lips* [3].

[18] Frail nature of women requires a male protectorate. (39) *Lips* [3] entrusts the protectorate of its convent to the emperor.

[19] Appointment of the first ephor; qualifications for office. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], (34) *Machairas* [147], (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], (45) *Neophytos* [7], (50) *Gerasimos* [4], and (58) *Menoikeion* [21].

[20] Duties of the ephor. See other treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], (34) *Machairas* [147], (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], (45) *Neophytos* [7], and (58) *Menoikeion* [21].

III. Number of nuns; qualifications for the office of superior and election procedures. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], [11], and (39) *Lips* [4], [5].

[21] Purpose of this chapter. Anticipates [22] and [23] below.

[22] Problems of having too many or too few nuns. See also the viewpoints discussed in (22) *Evergetis* [23] and (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C16].

[23] Number of nuns fixed at 30; provision for appointment of officials. See [146] below for the subsequent increase in the number of nuns. For detailed provisions for the steward and the storekeeper, see [54], [55] and [68] below.

[24] Qualifications for the office of superior. See also [26] below.

[25] The new superior to be selected internally. (39) *Lips* [5] also envisions internal selection, while (27) *Kecharitomene* [11] permits the election of outside candidates.

[26] Election procedures; qualifications for office; patriarchal investiture with the pastoral staff. See also provisions for elections in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (39) *Lips* [5], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [18]. For qualifications, see also [24] above. For patriarchal installation elsewhere, see (30) *Phoberos* [33], (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].

IV. Admonitory discourse to the superior.

These ten chapters constitute another self-contained discourse; summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

[27] Exhortation to emulate a manly temperament.

[28] Superior to fight against demons.

[29] Required personal qualities.

[30] Endorsement of the value of studying female hagiography.

[31] A dignified way of life is the perfect archetype.

[32] Authority for correction of nuns' faults.

[33] Need for dispassionate correction.

[34] Contrast of exterior and interior deportment.

[35] Need to honor the useful but show love for all.

[36] Reason for foreshortening the discourse.

V. Hortatory address to the nuns on obedience.

These eleven chapters constitute another self-contained discourse; summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

[37] Unhesitating obedience to the superior.

[38] Nature of the obedience required.

[39] Benefits of obedience.

[40] Scriptural and patristic justification.

[41] Obedience an atonement for the sin of the foremother Eve.

[42] No pietistic observances without the superior's permission.

[43] Obedience requires divorce from all worldly desires.

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[44] Nothing the superior orders can be challenged.

[45] Appropriate behavior of nuns towards one another.

[46] No contentiousness, private property or private friendships. [47] Convent to be a model of life in the hereafter.

VI. The ecclesiarchissa. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [20] and (39) *Lips* [24].

[48] Community analogous to the head and body parts. For the notion of the monastery as a mystical body, see the Pseudo-Basilian *Constitutiones asceticae*, PG 31, cols. 1381B, 1396B, 1417BD, and 1421A.

[49] Rank of the ecclesiarchissa and the steward. In (39) *Lips* [24], cf. [21] the ecclesiarchissa ranks below the sacristan.

[50] Personal and professional qualifications. See also the guidelines for performance of services in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [12].

[51] Responsibilities as choir director; [52] for decoration of the church; [53] other duties. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], (32) *Mamas* [8], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], (34) *Machairas* [93], (39) *Lips* [24], and (58) *Menoikeion* [4].

VII. The steward. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [14] and (39) *Lips* [25].

[54] Selection and qualifications. The appointment is foreseen in [23] above. See also other provisions for this official in convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], (39) *Lips* [25], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [18].

[55] Responsibilities. See cross-references in [54] above.

VIII. Choir sisters and their responsibilities.

For the division of monastic communities into choir and household monks, see also (35) *Skoteine* [14], (37) *Auxentios* [6], (38) *Kellibara I* [17], (39) *Lips* [4], (40) *Anargyroi* [6], and (45) *Neophytos* [9]. For their duties elsewhere, see (39) *Lips* [28] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10] ff. Summary titles of the following four chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

[56] Performance of church services their sole duty.

[57] Scriptural exhortations.

[58] Evil consequences of distraction.

[59] Offices must be performed conscientiously to be efficacious.

IX. Duties of the household nuns.

For related discussions in other documents, see (22) *Evergetis* [33] and related documents; (32) *Mamas* [21], [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21], [34]; (34) *Machairas* [49]; (39) *Lips* [27]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [17]. Summary titles of the following five chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

[60] Should season their work with prayers.

[61] Should attend offices whenever they have free time.

[62] Appropriate deportment at services; no handiwork allowed.

[63] Justification for the prohibition on handiwork.

[64] Conditions for sharing in blessings of the choir sisters.

X. Punishment of negligent nuns.

[65] Faults that must be corrected and their appropriate punishments. See also [32], [33] above.

[66] Appropriate activities in the cells; no idle conversations or private handicrafts. For the ban on private handicrafts, see also (47) *Philanthropos* [2], but cf. (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7].

[67] Qualifications and duties of the disciplinary official. See also the provisions for this official in (27) *Kecharitomene* [26].

XI. Keeper and supervisor of the storeroom.

[68] Qualifications and duties. The appointment is foreseen in [23] above; see also the provisions for similar officials in (27) *Kecharitomene* [28].

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XII. The cellarer, refectorian, and other kitchen assistants.

- [69] Qualifications and duties of the cellarer and refectorian. For the cellarer, see the provisions for the wine stewardess and the provisioner in (27) *Kecharitomene* [22], [23]; (32) *Mamas* [11], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11], and (34) *Machairas* [96] also discuss the provisioner. For the refectorian, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [25].
- [70] Other kitchen assistants. For bakers and cooks in other documents, see (23) *Pakourianos* [6]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [43], [52]; (32) *Mamas* [11], [48] (signature); (38) *Kellibara I* [17]; (39) *Lips* [51]; (56) *Kellibara II* [2]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [6].
- [71] Kitchen staff to behave as if serving Christ himself.

XIII. The gatekeeper. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29].

- [72] Qualifications and duties; procedures for access to the convent. 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]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16]; (58) *Menoikeion* [7]; and (59) *Manuel II* [5].

XIV. Election of the aforementioned officials.

- [73] Use of a common election and vote to choose officials. A unique provision; for the selection of officials in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [25] and (39) *Lips* [10], [21].
- [74] Procedures for elections. Cf. the procedures for electing the superior in [26] above.

XV. Visitation privileges.

- [75] Nuns can pray for relatives but not become emotionally involved. See also (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7].
- [76] Procedure for visits to the convent. See also provisions for other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29], [80]; (39) *Lips* [16]; and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16].
- [77] Visitation of relatives at home. See also provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17] and (39) *Lips* [15].

XVI. Observance of the liturgical *typikon* of Jerusalem.

- [78] Endorsement of the Jerusalem *typikon*. For other endorsements of this document in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [8], [10]; (39) *Lips* [29], [30], [31], [32], [33]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [16].
- [79] Authoritative for liturgical services; a priest will celebrate the liturgy four times a week; his qualifications and duties. For frequency of the liturgy in other Palaiologan institutions, see (39) *Lips* [30], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], (58) *Menoikeion* [16], and (60) *Charsianeites* [A11]. For the employment of priests in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [15], (39) *Lips* [6], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (554) *Neilos Damilas* [9], [14].
- [80] Authoritative for the dietary regime. So also (37) *Auxentios* [10]; (39) *Lips* [29], [32], [33]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [81] Governs consumption of olive oil and wine, performance of genuflections. So also (39) *Lips* [32] and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [82] Governs diet during fasts. So also, implicitly, (39) *Lips* [29].

XVII. Common diet.

- [83] Same food and drink for all; equal portions, same quality; one time and place for communal meals. See also (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents, especially (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (37) *Auxentios* [7], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (53) *Meteora* [3], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (58) *Menoikeion* [106], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [84] No secret eating or drinking in cells; procedures for sharing gifts of food from relatives. See also (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents, (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], (39) *Lips* [29], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [85] Mealtime scriptural reading; the superior only may speak. See also (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, especially (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (39) *Lips* [29], (58) *Menoikeion* [8], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].

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- [86] Nuns not to observe what others eat and how; overeating to be avoided. See also (56) *Kellibara II* [4].
- [87] Eating not to be pleasurable, only a means of survival. See also the argument in [102] below for the purpose of clothing.
- [88] Frequency of purchases of food outside the convent. For a food purchaser in another convent, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [21]; cf. (37) *Auxentios* [7].
- [89] Daily distribution of leftovers at the gate. See also similar provisions in (28) *Pantokrator* [11], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], (32) *Mamas* [13], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13], and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].

XVIII. Care for sick nuns.

- [90] Doctor should be summoned and his recommendations followed. See also provisions for other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [57] and (39) *Lips* [35].
- [91] Costs of treatment to be borne by the convent. So also, by implication, (39) *Lips* [33], but cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B13].
- [92] Nuns not to begrudge special treatment accorded the sick. See related discussions in (32) *Mamas* [33] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34].
- [93] Similar concessions to noble women. See also the provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] and (39) *Lips* [40], [41].
- [94] Servants permitted to noble women. So also (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] and (39) *Lips* [40], [41].

XIX. Handicrafts.

- [95] Justification of manual labor. See also the argumentation of (45) *Neophytos* [C6] and (52) *Choumnos* [B18].
- [96] Procedures for work; no production for private use. For the former, see also (37) *Auxentios* [6], [7] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10]; for the latter, see also (34) *Machairas* [120], (45) *Neophytos* [C13], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7], cf. [6] and (53) *Meteora* [4].
- [97] Nuns will be supplied with garments they make for themselves. For the manufacture of clothing, see (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8]; for the communal supply of clothing in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [28], cf. [56] and (39) *Lips* [36].
- [98] Items of clothing distributed annually. See also similar provisions for other Palaiologan monasteries in (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], and (56) *Kellibara II* [8].
- [99] Items of clothing distributed every three years. See also similar provisions for other Palaiologan monasteries in (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], and (56) *Kellibara II* [8].
- [100] Nitre for washing clothes. See also (28) *Pantokrator* [52] which provides a weekly allowance to laundresses to pay for soap to wash the clothes of hospital patients.
- [101] Linseed oil for lamps; bathing allowed four times a year. For another allotment of linseed oil, see (28) *Pantokrator* [50]. For bathing in other Palaiologan monasteries, see (39) *Lips* [34], (56) *Kellibara II* [5], and (58) *Menoikeion* [15]; for bathing the sick, see [90] above.
- [102] Purpose of clothing. See also the argument in [87] above for the purpose of eating.
- [103] Nuns to imitate John the Baptist and the holy women of old.
- [104] Clothes to be inexpensive but dignified.

XX. Obligatory daily confession.

- For related discussions in other documents, see (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents, (27) *Kecharitomene* [16], (39) *Lips* [11], (52) *Choumnos* [B10], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], (58) *Menoikeion* [13], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C6]. Summary titles of the following seven chapters are listed to facilitate reference.
- [105] Importance of confession.
- [106] Confession a powerful, salvific drug.
- [107] Scriptural and patristic testimony to its importance.
- [108] Shame as an impediment to confession.
- [109] Frequent confession better than facing the Last Judgment.

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- [110] Impossibility of salvation without confession.
- [111] Importance of choosing a skilled spiritual father.

XXI. Feast Day of the Mother of God.

- [112] Prescriptions for services, church decoration, the feast, and the charitable distribution at the gate. See also other provisions for this feast in (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (23) *Pakourianos* [11]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [59]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; (34) *Machairas* [29]; and (39) *Lips* [38].

XXII. Commemorations for the founder, her parents, and family.

For similar provisions in other Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [30], (46) *Akropolites* [6], (48) *Prodrornos* [9], and (58) *Menoikeion* [16]. Summary titles of the following seven chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

- [113] Commemoration of the founder's parents.
- [114] Prescriptions for the liturgy and feast.
- [115] Charitable distribution at the gate.
- [116] Commemoration of the founder's husband.
- [117] Founder's commemoration.
- [118] No commemoration of the founder's daughter.
- [119] Commemoration of the founder's sons.

XXIII. Inventory of consecrated properties.

- [120] Monthly reading of the *typikon*. For similar provisions, see also (22) *Evergetis* [43], (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [8], (55) *Athanasios I* [8], (58) *Menoikeion* [9], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].
- [121] Principal endowed properties; [122] Properties endowed by others. For the distinction, see also (28) *Pantokrator* [65] and (39) *Lips* [48].
- [123] Donation of two vineyards; curses on transgressors. For a separate donation of a vineyard, see also (49) *Geromeri* [13]. For similar curses, see [17] above, with cross-references.
- [124] Identification and use of reserved properties; founder's daughter is the convent's heir. For non-consecrated properties in other documents, see (19) *Attaleiates* [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [79]. For the forthright identification of a founder's child as a monastery's heir, see also (19) *Attaleiates* [10].

XXIV. Hortatory epilogue.

These nine chapters constitute another self-contained discourse; summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [125] Need for enthusiastic acceptance of the *typikon*.
- [126] Nuns must be obedient even when the superior bids a relaxation in discipline.
- [127] Obedience and humility are the moral base of the foundation. Cf. (54) *Neilos Damilas* [3].
- [128] Nuns to demonstrate that the founder has not "sown the seeds of exhortation in barren earth."
- [129] Superior to teach and transmit the principles of the *typikon*. Cf. (55) *Athanasios I* [8].
- [130] Superior's preservation of the *typikon* demonstrates true leadership.
- [131] Even wild beasts will obey the superior out of respect for her virtue.
- [132] Second endorsement of the value of hagiography. Cf. [30] above.
- [133] Rewards for precise observance of the *typikon*.

Appendix: Additional commemorations for the founder's relatives.

For similar provisions in other Palaiologan documents, see cross-references in XXII above. Summary titles of the following eleven chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

- [134] Commemoration of the founder's parents, daughter, and sons.
- [135] Commemoration of the founder's daughter-in-law Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene.
- [136] Commemoration of the founder's granddaughter Theodora Komnene Doukanina Raoulaina.
- [137] Commemoration of the founder's brother Michael Komnenos Branias.

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- [138] Commemoration of the founder's brother Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos.
- [139] Commemoration of the founder's sister Maria Komnene Branaina Laskarina Doukaina Tornikina.
- [140] Commemoration of the founder's sister's husband Isaac Komnenos Doukas Tornikes.
- [141] Commemoration of the founder's nephew Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Tornikes.
- [142] Commemoration of the founder's nephew John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas.
- [143] Commemoration of Theodore Doukas Mouzakios, father-in-law of the founder's son; her daughter's donation for repair of cells.
- [144] Permission to decrease expenses; bread offerings on Meatfare and Pentecost Saturdays. See also [151] and [154] below.

Boundaries of the convent.

- [145] Description of neighboring institutions and landmarks. See similar property delineations in (27) *Kecharitomene*, Delineation of the convent.

2. Second *typikon* of Euphrosyne Palaeologina

Introduction.

- [146] Number of nuns increased to fifty. For the original number of nuns, see [23] above; for rationale, see [147] below.

I. Number of nuns not to exceed fifty.

- [147] Rationalization.

II. No education of lay children.

- [148] No education of lay children except for girls who want to be nuns. For a similar ban, see also (53) *Meteora* [6], but for education of future monks, see (23) *Pakourianos* [31], (34) *Machairas* [115], and (36) *Blenmydes* [9].

III. Commemorations for individual nuns.

- [149] Prescriptions.

IV. General commemorations for the nuns.

- [150] Prescriptions.

V. Offerings for deceased nuns.

- [151] Consecrated bread be offered for departed nuns on Saturdays of Meatfare and Pentecost. See also [144] above and [154] below.

VI. Faithful observance of these instructions.

- [152] Discussion of the obligation.

VII. Euphrosyne's own commemoration.

- [153] To be performed as she will order at time of her death.

VIII. Brief hortatory admonition.

- [154] Preservation of cenobitic life; performance of commemorations; general commemoration on Meatfare and Pentecost Saturdays. See also [149], [150], [151], and [153] above.

Commemorations for the bishops of Ephesos and Mytilene.

- [155] Scriptural quotation.

- [156] Donations made by the bishops.

Commemoration for lord John Theophilos and his wife Maria Asanina.

- [157] Discussion of contractual issues.

Commemoration for lady Xene Philanthropene and her daughter Eugenia Kantakouzene.

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[158] Benefactions of Xene Philanthropene; her commemoration.

Patronage of Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene.

[159] Bequests of Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene; her commemoration.