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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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58. *Menoikeion: Typikon* of Joachim, Metropolitan of Zichna, for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner on Mount Menoikeion near Serres

Date: 1332¹

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition: André Guillou, *Les archives de saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), pp. 161–76, with text at 163–76.

Manuscript: Codex Atheniensis 2587 (late 18th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

*A. Foundation of the Monastery*³

The monastery of St. John the Baptist the Forerunner, located on Mount Menoikeion northeast of Serres in northeastern Greece, owes its foundation to Ioannikios, a former Athonite monk who settled [1] here circa 1275. The original foundation was likely quite modest. He was joined by his nephew Joachim, an orphan and author of the *typikon* translated below, whom Ioannikios introduced to monastic life. Circa 1287–88, Joachim was chosen bishop of Zichna, a fortified town southeast of the monastery. In 1290, his uncle Ioannikios was also honored with the episcopal see of Ezivai (Ezova), a village some distance to the south of Menoikeion, which prompted him to leave the monastery under the direction of Ioannikios Kaloudes. Upon the founder Ioannikios' death, circa 1300, his nephew Joachim inherited [1] the monastery.

*B. Joachim of Zichna's Patronage of the Monastery*⁴

Joachim of Zichna, though he apparently never himself served as superior of the monastery, was primarily responsible for making it an important institution. He built the still-existing *katholikon*⁵ and a refectory. He also continued a successful tradition, begun by his uncle, of obtaining imperial patronage for the monastery. In 1304, the monastery came under the protection of Simonis, daughter of Andronikos II and wife of Stefan Uroš II Milutin of Serbia.⁶ Though damaged by the depredations of the infamous Catalan Company in 1307–1308, the monastery survived and continued to prosper.

In 1324, Joachim issued his first *typikon* for Menoikeion. Confirmations issued subsequently by Andronikos II and Patriarch Isaias survive,⁷ but not the document itself. During the civil war between the old emperor Andronikos II and his grandson Andronikos III, Joachim was a supporter of the latter, so the monastery benefited when he secured the throne in 1328. In 1332, Joachim resigned his position as bishop of Zichna and retired to Menoikeion, where he drew up the second version of the monastery's *typikon* that is preserved and translated below. A ratification of this document by Andronikos III recognizes the monastery's independence from both ecclesiastical

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and civil authorities.⁸ At about this same time the monastery came under the patronage of the *mezas domestikos* and future emperor John Kantakouzenos. According to tradition, Joachim died in December 1333.

C. The Monastery under Serbian and Turkish Rule⁹

In the 1340s, the Serbian ruler Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–55) took advantage of the civil war between John V Palaiologos (1341–91) and John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) to conquer nearly all of northern Greece, including the vicinity of Serres where Menoikeion was located. In 1345, he issued a chrysobull for the monastery that confirmed its possessions and awarded it new donations of landed property.¹⁰ The monastery fared less well once the Ottoman Turks became established in this area, losing much of its property. Firmans issued by sultans Murad I (1372) and Mehmet I (1413) exempted the monastery's surviving properties and the monks themselves from fiscal obligations. Gennadios II Scholarios, the first patriarch of Constantinople chosen after the fall of the city to the Turks, chose to retire to Menoikeion in 1465, and died there circa 1472.

The monastery was in a state of decline throughout the sixteenth century. An arrangement circa 1650 under which four prominent residents of Serres agreed to serve as the monastery's guardians did not suffice to prevent Menoikeion from being deprived of its last properties in the course of the eighteenth century. The monastery was abandoned in 1729, then repopulated by the end of the century by a group of idiorhythmic monks, whose new constitutional organization Patriarch Gerasimos recognized in 1795.

The early nineteenth century brought a partial revival of the monastery's fortunes, but also saw a devastating fire sweep the foundation in 1830. Its superior Damaskenos played a role in the Greek War for Independence. A succession of superiors in the late nineteenth century kept the monastery in existence through a gradual accumulation of additional properties for its endowment.

D. The Monastery in Modern Times

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the superior Christophoros composed a history of the foundation that is still important because he had access to some documents, including three imperial chrysobulls, the originals of which have since disappeared.¹¹ In 1955, Guillou published a painstaking reconstruction, based on nineteenth-century copies, of the two cartularies of the monastery. Cartulary A, called by Christophoros the "Founder's Codex," which was copied between 1345 and 1352, contained the text of the second *typikon* of 1332. Cartulary B, evidently begun in the fourteenth century, contained documents from 1356 down to 1819.¹² Both of these documents were among the manuscripts stolen in June 1917 in the course of the First World War and removed to Bulgaria. They have since disappeared without a trace. Yet the monastery itself has survived down to the present day, at which time it operates as a nunnery.

Analysis

This document, which is textually linked to the increasingly remote Evergetian monastic reform tradition, principally illustrates how most of the important elements of that tradition had been abandoned or altered beyond recognition over the course of nearly three centuries since the com-

position of (22) *Evergetis*. The foundation for which this document was written, though nominally “independent” [3], has clearly had this independence compromised by the imposition of a powerful lay protectorate that is explicitly declared [21] to be the equivalent of private ownership (*ktetoreia*).

A. Model Typikon

Of the document’s twenty-two chapters, only nine (Group A) have no obvious textual dependency on earlier documents in our collection.¹³ The remaining thirteen chapters (Group B) are clearly linked to earlier documents in the Evergetian tradition.¹⁴ Of these, two (Subgroup B.1) are shared only with (32) *Mamas*,¹⁵ one (Subgroup B.2) is shared with both (32) *Mamas* and (22) *Evergetis*,¹⁶ while four (Subgroup B.3) are shared with both (32) *Mamas* and (27) *Kecharitomene*,¹⁷ and six chapters (Subgroup B.4) are shared with (32) *Mamas*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (22) *Evergetis* itself.¹⁸ There is no evidence for direct borrowing from (22) *Evergetis* nor from either (27) *Kecharitomene* or even its presumed twin, the lost twelfth-century *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery.

This document therefore is a genuine if also decidedly hard-to-recognize member of the Evergetian tradition, through the mediation of (32) *Mamas*, over 275 years after the foundation of *Evergetis* in the mid-eleventh century. As with earlier textually dependent documents in our collection, the borrowings are layered reflections of the contributions of various generations of participants in the monastic reform movement. The chapters of Subgroup B.1 reflect the Maman interests in bolstering the authoritativeness of the *typikon* and in allowing for outside confessors. The single chapter in Subgroup B.2 reflects the practice of manual labor outside the monastery that was for practical reasons not a part of (27) *Kecharitomene*. The chapters of Subgroup B.3 represent the administrative and anti-kelliotic contributions of the second generation of the monastic reform (for which see Chapter Six). The chapters of Subgroup B.4 represent the bedrock of the surviving Evergetian tradition preserved through nearly three centuries of revision and adaptation and incorporated into the present document.

Since (32) *Mamas* apparently served as the conduit for all of these materials, a discussion of the present document’s relationship to that text is in order. An understanding of the document’s structure and claim to originality is a necessary preliminary. Among the chapters of Group A, our author’s original stamp is indisputable in his foundation history [1], his explanation of the reasons for drawing up the *typikon* [2], and his defense of the monastery’s independence [3]. The Evergetian borrowings occur exclusively in the middle of the *typikon*, in the large section between [4] and [20], yet even in the textually dependent chapters there are substantial abridgements (cf. [16] and (32) *Mamas* [32]), extensive editorial interpolations (e.g., [20]), and supplements (e.g. [5]) of the texts of the corresponding chapters of (32) *Mamas*. One chapter [7] combines text from two separate Maman chapters. The reference in (32) *Mamas* [46] to the Evergetian liturgical *typikon*, which had been losing favor with founders as early as the 1160s (see (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8]), is deleted in [20]. There is an announced compositional break after [20], followed by more indisputably original (but badly organized) material in [21] and [22] which set up the protectorate, the foundation’s administrative board, and provide the author’s idiosyncratic disciplinary regulations. A chapter listed in the document’s table of contents has disappeared in the author’s consolidation of three of

the announced chapters ([21] through [23]) into two [21], [22]. The shift in tone to a more personal style here is as noticeable as and even more abrupt than those that accompany the transitions in (29) *Kosmosoteira*.

Aside from those chapters of Group A mentioned in the preceding discussion, there remain four that could represent additional independent work of our author. Of these, [12], [14], [15], along with a substantial portion of the Maman-dependent [16], may indeed be original to our author. However, the discussion [6] of the duties of the cellarer and refectorian is a thoroughly unoriginal, boilerplate chapter even though it is textually independent of its Maman counterpart, (32) *Mamas* [11], and cannot be traced to any other surviving document. This chapter is easier to explain as a derivation from a lost intermediary document composed sometime during the 174 years that lie between (32) *Mamas* and (58) *Menoikeion*. An Evergetian usage, the option of allowing a deposed official to remain in the monastery (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]) that is found in the concluding non-Maman portion of [5], is another part of the case for an intermediary other than (32) *Mamas*, as is the aforementioned combination of two Maman chapters in [7], an unusual editorial practice for an author working directly from one of our extant documents. Moreover, the extensive textual interpolations found in [20] are atypical; generally our authors lifted passages from their models in large sections into which they then introduced only the minimum number of necessary changes, showing a remarkable reverence for the wording of the models even if a contrary meaning was to be introduced (cf. (30) *Phoberos* [28]). Where this is not the case, as in (11) *Ath. Rule*'s adaption of the two versions of (4) *Studios*, a complex source tradition is documented or (as here) is to be suspected.

All things considered, it is not surprising that our author, like his thirteenth-century counterpart the author of (34) *Machairas*, utilized an exemplar of the Maman tradition for his model rather than (22) *Evergetis* itself, not only because documents descended from (32) *Mamas* were likely to be more ideologically congenial to him but also because (22) *Evergetis*, like its companion liturgical *typikon*, may well have fallen out of circulation after the twelfth century. Since it is unlikely that our author is copying directly from (32) *Mamas*, however, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the subsequent divergences from that text are his work or that of some earlier unidentifiable intermediary. In any event, these differences are consonant with the general trend away from the precepts of the Evergetian monastic reform with the partial exception here of the core teaching of the primacy of cenobiticism.

B. Relationship of the Document to the First Typikon of 1324

This document was evidently hastily re-edited from the text of the first *typikon* of 1324 prepared some eight years earlier. The present document's table of contents does not form a perfect match with the actual contents of our *typikon*. In the interval between the first and second *typika*, Andronikos III (1328–41) successfully concluded his revolt against his grandfather Andronikos II (1282–1328). Both rulers had bid for Menoikeion's support, and the present document, by referring to both emperors and later to only one, reflects [1] the changed political circumstances of this troubled era. Finally, there is an apparent transitional statement at the end of [20], which serves to introduce materials apparently not in the first *typikon*, including the identification of the protector John Kantakouzenos and a discussion of his role. Earlier, Menoikeion's patron, the Serbian queen

Simonis, may have fulfilled this role. Significantly, this is also the section of the document in which the table of contents fails to match the actual content.

C. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

There is no discussion of a limit on the number of monks at the foundation. Boys and youths under the age of twenty were not eligible [14] for admission even though the author indicates [1] that he was himself tonsured at an age when he was “able to grasp nothing of his [uncle’s] angelic way of life and conduct.” The author follows [11] the monastic reform tradition (see (32) *Mamas* [26]) in rejecting imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) as being incompatible with his foundation’s status as an independent monastery.

2. Liturgical Duties

Like most foundations in this era, this monastery adopts [16], cf. [4] the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas as its model for liturgical services. As in (32) *Mamas* [8], the ecclesiarch, with the support of an assistant ecclesiarch, was to be in charge of the services. In addition to the customary performance of the canonical hours, the holy liturgy was to be performed [16] four times a week (every non-fast day), with the Tuesday service being held in honor of the patron saint, the Thursday service for the monastery’s founders, the Saturday service for the departed, and the Sunday service for the emperors.

3. Manual Labor

The author mentions manual labor in two passages from this document’s Maman model, in one of which he urges [10] monks to welcome assignments to responsibilities outside the church (cf. (32) *Mamas* [23]) and in the other he provides [17] for the disciplining of monks guilty of using inappropriate language during their work (cf. (32) *Mamas* [35]). Elsewhere, vineyard workers, bakers and cooks are mentioned [12] in passing in connection with laborers to whom the superior might grant extra clothes.

4. Sacramental Life

In a passage that in effect adopts and abridges (32) *Mamas* [32], the author provides [16] for a restricted reception of the eucharist, once a week (on Sundays) for virtuous monks, but only three or four times a year or so for others, at the discretion of a communicant’s spiritual father. Thus he adopts the principle of adjusting frequency to the communicant’s moral probity first found in these documents in (22) *Evergetis* [5], and follows the long-term trend to restrict access to the sacrament (cf. (32) *Mamas* [32], which allows the “less virtuous” to receive once every month or two).

The monks were also to have their confessions heard [13] by spiritual fathers (not necessarily by the superior). This follows the more permissive attitude towards allowing the monks to select their own confessors found in (32) *Mamas* [29], one of the important divergences of that document from the original Evergetian tradition.

5. Cenobitic Life

The document’s relatively old ideological ancestry shows in the author’s prohibition [11] of kelliotic

monks, a provision derived ultimately from the twelfth-century reform tradition (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53] and (32) *Mamas* [26]). Even monks of exalted status, who otherwise enjoyed a privileged status in this monastery, were obliged to observe the cenobitic rule. On the other hand, the document is also like its somewhat less than rigorously cenobitic model in permitting [11] these monks to have servants (cf. (32) *Mamas* [26]) and in granting [12] all the monks annual cash allowances (*eulogia*), rejected earlier in (56) *Kellibara II* [9], perhaps for the purchase of items of clothing in addition to the shoes and boots that were provided to them directly (cf. (32) *Mamas* [28]).

6. Diet

Like some of his contemporaries (e.g., the authors of (39) *Lips* [29], [32] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis*) who generally recommended the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas as authoritative for the regulation of diet, our author here supplements [8] this recommendation with his own rules for “free (non-fast) days,” fast days, and the Lenten and other traditional fasts. He allows the superior discretion to make dietary ameliorations on dominical and other major feasts. Refectory procedures are an abridgement of the Evergetian prescriptions found in (32) *Mamas* [17].

7. Bathing

The monks were permitted [15] to bathe four times a year in facilities set aside for this purpose in the monastery itself. The frequency is considerably less than the monthly baths permitted in (32) *Mamas* [28], of which this chapter is textually independent, but identical to the frequency set for contemporary nuns in (39) *Lips* [34] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [101].

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Free and Independent Status

The monastery’s independence had been confirmed [3], [11] by a constitution (*prostagma*) of Emperor Andronikos III (1328–41). The traditional list of condemnations of possible violators of this independence appears [22] at the end of the *typikon*. The author was particularly concerned that someone might attempt to take control of the monastery by imperial decree, perhaps under the pretext of assisting the foundation financially.

Throughout the Palaiologan era, allegiance to the traditional Evergetian notion of institutional independence seems to weaken among the authors of the documents in our collection, and this *typikon* is no exception. The role of the foundation’s lay protector is equivalent [21] in authority and prestige to that of a traditional private founder. The requirement that the monks dispatch [22] their newly elected superior to the emperor to receive his staff of office, or else notify him and receive it (later) “by imperial order,” indicates that the foundation was also under some sort of imperial patronage (cf. (39) *Lips* [7]), though, unlike the arrangement in (37) *Auxentios* [3], the emperor plays no role here in the election itself. Then there is the claim [3], said to be acknowledged in imperial chrysobulls, that the monastery was “patriarchal.” This probably means that like (49) *Geromeri*, it held a patriarchal *stauropolegion* which exempted it from the control of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. As in (39) *Lips* [1], the declaration of institutional independence is here just part of an overall strategy designed to protect private property interests from interference

by the public authorities while not foreclosing the possibility of obtaining lucrative patronal benefits from these same officials.

2. Dependencies

Subordinated to the main monastery was [1] another monastery, also dedicated to St. John the Forerunner, that the author had restored in the city of Serres and united administratively to the principal foundation. The monks at the dependency were also to be governed by the rules of this *typikon*. There appears to have been another dependency, the monastery of Koulas, whose superintendent was responsible [22] for a charitable distribution of bread to the poor. At the conclusion of the present document, the author announces [22] his intention to establish a church of the Annunciation in the fortress of the main monastery. This was to be staffed by an old priest and an assistant and supported by specially-earmarked revenues.

3. The Protectorate

Like his contemporaries the authors of (39) *Lips* [3] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [18], our author did not consider the imposition of a protectorate on his foundation to be incompatible with its independent constitutional status. He designates [21] John Kantakouzenos as the monastery's protector (*ephoros*) for the foundation's "maintenance" and "improvement." These purposes recall the contemporary patriarchal program for the management of needy religious institutions, here duplicated in a private arrangement. The monks were to obey [21] Kantakouzenos as if he were the monastery's founder (*ktetor*) since, as the author declares, "He replaces me." The author anticipates that the protector will favor [21] the monastery with benefactions, assist [22] the superior and his most important officers in spiritual matters and with physical necessities, and oversee [21] "all aspects of monastic discipline and physical needs of daily regimen and victuals."

Unlike the relatively restricted protectors of the sort found in (32) *Mamas* [3] and some other twelfth-century monasteries in the reform tradition, our author here envisions a strong protector who enjoyed important rights in this monastery similar to those once held by patrons in traditional private religious foundations.

4. Role of the Superior

The author acknowledges [3] the right of the superior "together with the rest of the community" to govern the monastery, guided by the provisions of the *typikon*. He provides [22] for the election of the superior "by the whole community," although if the superior was to resign, his four chief officers were to choose a successor among themselves. A venerable Evergetian passage that has come down to our author through the effective mediation of (32) *Mamas* [45] provides [18] guidance for conducting the election of the superior in an "uncontentious" manner. The author does not adopt two references to the protector found in (32) *Mamas*, which suggests he did not envision a role for Menoikeion's own protector in the election. As noted above, the superior was to receive [22] his staff of office from the emperor himself.

5. Collaborative Government

The author asserts [22] "It is not in the natural order for the superior to do anything right unless he has other assistants under him." To institutionalize this position, he obliges the superior to govern

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in collaboration with “four brothers,” both for spiritual and temporal affairs. The brothers were to have the authority to “examine and judge” all the monastery’s officials. The author does not indicate if the incumbents of certain offices were ex-officio members of this group, but he does order that (joined by the superior) their number should be maintained at five, on the analogy of the “five senses,” evidently through co-option of replacement members drawn from the community at large.

6. Other Officers of the Monastery

The other officers of the monastery mentioned in the document include the ecclesiarch and the assistant ecclesiarch [4], the sacristan [5], the cellarer [6], the refectorian [6], the precentor [8], and the gatekeeper [7], but not a steward. The superior “with the common consent of those with him” (i.e., the “four brothers”) was to appoint [6] the cellarer, the refectorian, and likely the other officials as well (cf. [22]). Since the specific reference in (32) *Mamas* [17] to the steward substituting for the superior at meals is deleted in [8] in favor of a vague reference to “the man who exercises his authority,” there may not have been a steward in this foundation.

7. Authoritarian Rule

Although the superior was obliged to govern [22] collaboratively with the institution’s panel of “four brothers,” the author prescribes a stern, authoritarian style of rule for the superior when dealing with ordinary monks. He shows himself willing to resort [5], [18], [19] to expulsion to deal with recalcitrant monks, and he introduces [22] a series of supplementary disciplinary regulations designed to restrict unnecessary conversations and visitations of one another’s cells among the monks. On the other hand, the author follows an established trend to allow the superior discretionary authority to ameliorate certain dietary requirements [8] and to grant extra supplies of clothing [12] to those monks whose official duties required them.

8. Patronal Privileges

The incidental treatment of patronal privileges in this document reflects the diverse patronage of the foundation for which it was written. The author became the foundation’s owner by virtue of his relationship to his uncle, who bequeathed [1], [21] it to him as “a kind of inheritance.” As the monastery’s founders, both of these family members were entitled [16] the prayers offered on Thursday liturgies. The emperor, thanks no doubt to previous patronal generosity (cf. [1], [2], [21]), was the beneficiary of prayers for his long life, salvation, and success in war [1], [16] and (as mentioned above) the right to grant [22] a new superior his staff of office. Also, as noted, the protector John Kantakouzenos was to inherit [21] the author’s rights of ownership to the foundation.

9. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author provides [9] for the reading of the *typikon* three times a year, at Christmas, Easter, and on the patronal feast day. He adds that the monks should consider the provisions of the *typikon* not only as “divine laws” (as in (32) *Mamas* [16]) but also as “canons.” His claim to have observed the requirements of canon law in the framing of his *typikon* reflects the increasing sensitivity of many of his contemporaries on this subject.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

Little is said in the *typikon* about the financial administration of the monastery. The implication is that the superior and the “four brothers” were jointly responsible for “administration and improvement” of the monastery. They and the superior are permitted [22] to set aside the usual tenure of office conceded to the monastery’s officials should their mismanagement lead to a short-fall in revenues. In a chapter ultimately derived from (32) *Mamas* [9] on the duties of the sacristan, the author introduces [5] the twelfth-century practice of assuring this officer’s probity by providing for drawing up an inventory of the valuables entrusted to him and obliging him to account for them on leaving office. There is a specific provision for his removal from office for carelessness or wrongdoing.

The reticence of the *typikon* on matters of financial administration is certainly curious in light of the reasons our author cites [2] for drawing up a *typikon* in the first place, namely to have an authoritative document that could be cited to a magistrate or used in a court of law, and to have a record of the foundation’s immovable properties and “the rights pertaining to these” as a safeguard against seizures.

2. Use of Entrance Gifts

There is no prohibition of mandatory entrance gifts as in (32) *Mamas* [22] or in (22) *Evergetis* [37]. In declaring that “whatever the postulant contributes for the good of the community will of course go to meeting the needs of the monastery,” the author appears to rule out [11] the utilization of such gifts (here called *adelphata*) to provide exclusive personal livings for the postulants. This was in line with the author’s unwillingness to tolerate kelliotic monasticism. He orders there should be no exception to the obligation to observe the cenobitic rule even if a single postulant should offer more movable and immovable property than the entire foundation owned collectively in exchange for an exemption from this requirement.

3. Other Sources of Income

Aside from a possibly heavy dependence on entrance gifts from postulants, this foundation also benefited from substantial imperial patronage [1], [2], [21] and looked forward to routine financial support from the new protector [21]. As we have seen, the author was prepared to share his own patronal prerogatives with these external benefactors in exchange for these gifts.

F. Overall Philosophy

1. Attitude towards Privileges

Like the author of (32) *Mamas* [26], our author here was willing to provide a servant to a monk “from an exalted station in life.” Furthermore, he was willing to offer such a monk “some sort of lighter regimen” (cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [93]), presumably in exchange for a substantial entrance donation, but not, as we have seen, for a complete exemption from observance of the cenobitic rule. The preservation through the mediation of (32) *Mamas* [45] of the traditional Evergetian

injunction that “nobility or dignity or offering of possessions or monies” by particular candidates should not be considered [18] as qualifications for the superiorship suggests some degree of subscription to reform values, however, even at this late date.

2. Exclusion of Women, Youths, and Boys

The author bans [14] women from access to the foundation, making an exception only for the empress herself and her retinue to visit to venerate the patronal saint, but apparently this ban did not exclude women from the charitable distribution at the gate as in most earlier Evergetian institutions and later in (53) *Meteora* [7]. Boys and youths under twenty years of age were not to be lodged at the monastery either, even if they happened to be friends and relatives of the superior and the monks. They should not be admitted either for theoretical or practical instruction since this would “contribute to many scandals and to spiritual injury.”

G. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Like the authors of (10) *Eleousa*, (31) *Areia*, and (34) *Machairas*, our author was himself a bishop. His elevation to the episcopacy of Zichna was viewed critically by his uncle Ioannikios, Menoikeion’s founder, who feared [1] that as bishop his nephew, having “gone over to the other side” so to speak, would neglect his responsibilities to the monastery. Ironically, the uncle himself later became bishop of Ezivai (Ezova). The author’s own career as a prelate and his claim [9] of the canonicity of his *typikon* notwithstanding, this document is hardly generous in its recognitions of the rights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The metropolitan of Serres is assured [3] only commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy and the episcopal tax (*kanonikon*)¹⁹ as described in the imperial chrysobulls that recognized [1] this foundation’s status as a patriarchal monastery. The prelate is specifically disallowed any rights to alter the *typikon*, to appoint its superior, to appoint or expel monks, to demand financial accountings, or, in general, to “exercise authority over anything in the monastery.”

In only one area does the ecclesiastical hierarchy seem to have been successful in getting its rights recognized, namely its ability to insist that only priests could hear confessions. The author tells us [1] that his uncle became a priest specifically “so he could hear men’s confessions,” and given their intense desire to privatize all aspects of monasticism, it is possible that founders like our author and his uncle sought to become bishops at least in part to circumvent this one seemingly incontestable external control over their foundations. However, evidently anticipating that the next superior of the monastery might not himself be ordained, our author provides for spiritual fathers [13], [16] to hear confessions in the future.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

Influenced by the Maman tradition (cf. (32) *Mamas* [12]) of providing a substantial charitable distribution to all comers at the gate, our author orders [7] the gatekeeper to “take bread from the endowment and give it without hesitation or grumbling” to beggars. As in (32) *Mamas* [13], mendicant monks (and here priests also) were to be given wine also; leftover food was to be distributed to all beggars. Apparently the grain brought to a mill owned by the monastery was earmarked

[22] for processing and baking into bread for the charitable distribution, which was to take place some distance from the gate itself “so that confusion and disorder do not occur (there).”

Notes on the Introduction

1. The traditional dating is based on a confirmatory chrysobull of Andronikos III, itself dated to March 1332, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 26, pp. 91–95.
2. For details, see Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 161–63.
3. See Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 7–8.
4. See Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 8–11.
5. For the *katholikon*, see Talbot and Cutler, “Menoikeion,” p. 1340, and Xyngopoulos, *Toichographiai*.
6. Chrysobulls of Andronikos II, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, nos. 9 and 10 (1321), pp. 53–59; for Simonis, see Jelisaveta Allen, “Simonis,” *ODB*, p. 1901.
7. *Sigillon* of Patriarch Isaias (1324), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 14, pp. 64–65, and *Prostagma* of Andronikos II (1325), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 15, pp. 66–67.
8. Chrysobull of Andronikos III (1332), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 26, pp. 106–8.
9. See Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 11–14, and Zachariadou, “Ottoman Documents.”
10. Chrysobull of Stefan Dušan (1345), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 39, pp. 124–30.
11. Christophoros, *Proskynetarion*.
12. For a full discussion of the cartularies and their reconstruction, see Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 18–36.
13. Group A: Chapters (9) new to (58) *Menoikeion*: [1], [2], [3], [6], [12], [14], [15], [21], [22].
14. Group B: Chapters (13) shared with other documents: [4], [5], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [13], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20].
15. Subgroup B.1: Chapters (2) shared only with (32) *Mamas*: [9] = (32) *Mamas* [16], and [13] = (32) *Mamas* [29], cf. [30].
16. Subgroup B.2: Chapter shared with (32) *Mamas* and (22) *Evergetis*: [17] = (32) *Mamas* [35]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21].
17. Subgroup B.3: Chapters (4) shared with (32) *Mamas* and (27) *Kecharitomene*: [4] = (32) *Mamas* [8], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]; [5] = (32) *Mamas* [9], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]; [7] = (32) *Mamas* [12], [13], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]; [11] = (32) *Mamas* [26], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
18. Subgroup B.4: Chapters (6) shared with (32) *Mamas*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (22) *Evergetis*: [8] = (32) *Mamas* [17], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [46]; [10] = (32) *Mamas* [23], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [33] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; [16], part = (32) *Mamas* [32], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]; [18] = (32) *Mamas* [45], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [19] = (32) *Mamas* [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [20] = (32) *Mamas* [46], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42] and [27] *Kecharitomene* [78].
19. Cf. A. Papadakis, “Kanonikon,” *ODB*, pp. 1102–1103.

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Translation

Key: As noted above, this document shares, most likely through many intermediaries, substantial portions of the texts of (22) *Evergetis*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (32) *Mamas*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

What follows is in the book of the *typikon* composed by me, the humble metropolitan of Zichna and founder of the august monastery of [St. John], the holy Forerunner and Baptist, located on the mountain of Menoikeion. I composed it with the general approval of the brotherhood under our authority in the Lord.

The chapters of the present *typikon*.¹

1. Introduction to the Rule
2. Concerning the reasons on account of which the present Rule has been set forth
3. Concerning the monastery’s independent and free status
4. Concerning the ecclesiarch
5. Concerning the sacristan

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6. Concerning the cellarer
7. Concerning the gatekeeper
8. Concerning the prescribed diet of the monks in the refectory on the days free from fasting and during the holy fasts
9. Concerning the reading of the present *typikon* for all to hear
10. Exhortation concerning the fact that those who serve are to apply themselves thoroughly to their services
11. How there are not to be *kelliotai* or imposed guests in the monastery
12. Concerning allowance to the brothers
13. Concerning confession
14. How women are not to enter the monastery
15. Concerning the bath
16. Concerning the liturgical *typikon*
17. Concerning the fact that those who come together in manual labor are not to talk idly
18. Exhortation to the brothers concerning the selection of a superior
19. Exhortation to the superior: how he ought to be disposed toward the brotherhood
20. More detailed exhortation to the brothers
21. Disposition concerning the superior and the four brothers; how they ought to manage the monastery²
22. Concerning the *ephoros* and the founder³
23. Further disposition concerning the spiritual constitution and concerning the four brothers who shall together with the superior deliberate and manage the monastery⁴

1. Introduction to the present Rule.

The pledge of God's love for us and the strongest proof of his care has been that man has been honored by his speech more than by all God's other gifts to us. Thus, by the living word of those who are expert one can correct a life diverted from the straight path—for, he says, "Let those that fear you turn to me" (Ps. 118 [119]:79)—and by the written word, one can teach both thought and action as well as the well-ordered habits of life. For he says that all this has been written for your instruction (cf. I Cor. 10:11). In addition, through writing we can revive those things which the flow of many years has destroyed, just as we can with painting, and can reflect these things as present realities. We can draw pictures of the old in discourse and present that which passes by, ever-flowing, as though it stands still. Thus, it is necessary for me to begin by explaining how, why, and in what inexpressible ways God's governance brought this revered monastery together.

My paternal uncle, also a father to me, bore the name Ioannikios. While still of a young age, he wandered from his native country on account of his fervent love for God and arrived at the holy mountain of Athos. Here he received the tonsure and thereafter ran tirelessly his own course to excise his will. [p. 164] He possessed an unaffected character and manner and was graced by moderation in all things. After he had spent a considerable time on Athos, God's providence, governing all for the better and weaving strands one across the other, caused him to return home whence he had come. Because he was a man who delighted in tranquility, he had no affection for the world at all, nor did he desire to be engrossed with the things of the world, nor to cloud the

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ruling faculty of the soul with the world's troubles and enslave its indomitable quality to vanities. Therefore, he sought to find some small cell so that he could settle there alone and speak purely with God in his solitude. Traversing the rough and more deserted places about the mountain of Menoikeion, he happened upon a very small *kellion*, completely neglected and unadorned, only an oratory named after the holy *Anargyroi*, Kosmas and Damian. Settling in this small monastery⁵ and setting to work, he was totally absorbed in offering to God every service of the monastic profession. He also labored to restore and take care of the cells, nor did he cease his zealous work and activity until with God's blessing he had completed this dwelling house for ascetic men. Thereupon, he handed over this *kellion* to a certain old man who followed God's way and shared the highest ascetic lifestyle. He himself withdrew to other regions of the mountain, taking with him as usual his virtuous disciple.

When he reached the very rough and trackless regions of the mountain, he happened upon a harsh cave, which was even difficult to enter. Fixing his residence in the cave, he remained there for some time. When his health had suffered considerably as a result of the constant moisture in the cave, he left there and came among the spurs of the mountain—this was, however, totally in accord with the divine plan as I know. This place he carefully investigated where today our holy monastery can be seen, since this entire region was narrow and close, a country of precipices, difficult to enter or leave. In a word, it was almost completely impassable, totally veiled with all kinds of wild plants and briars. It had but one church crumbling with age and roofless, a home only for wild animals and creeping things.⁶ Elated by the pristine nature of the place, its tranquility, and its freedom from the confusion and turmoil of worldly intercourse, he decided to live there.

His most pressing task was to clear all the area of the surrounding underbrush and to prepare a roof for the church. He cared for it in every way and restored it to a more fitting state so that those staying in it could enthusiastically offer up their prayers to God. There each day, he added effort to effort and pain to pain and gave “neither sleep to his eyes nor rest” to his temples (Ps. 131 [132]:4) until, with God's assistance won through the intercession of the revered prophet, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, he had built cells for the monks and monks had chosen to live with him; he made it a residence for men who pursued the same moral excellence. He himself was the superior of the monks and took every possible thought for their own salvation and assumed total responsibility for managing their food, clothing, and the necessities of life—becoming in every way their harbor of refreshment and salvation.

Although, while pursuing such an ascetic way of life and living in Christ in this manner, he desired to remain hidden, the Lord did not allow him to escape notice to the end, just as the Holy Scripture says that a city upon a mountain cannot be hidden (cf. Matt. 5:14). Thus, he was entrusted with the sacred duty of spiritual service by the man who at that time steered the tillers of the church so that he [Ioannikios] could hear men's confessions and carefully administer the remedies which suited each of them according to the system of medical practice. But more of this later.

For my part, I was begotten of pious parents, but orphaned at an unseasonable age. My uncle and father, the man of whom we have been speaking, took me in with him although I had not yet reached the age of two. He met every physical need and nourished me with care. Then, vesting me

with the monastic habit, he ordered me to live continuously with him and be trained in the monastic discipline although I myself was able to grasp nothing of his angelic way of life and conduct. Therefore, I settled down with him in his cell and was educated and trained by him. I was introduced to Holy Scriptures and to the right ordering of habits and the rest of the monk's way of life.

Then, I was promoted to the order of the priesthood, a promotion which was not appropriate both because the duty of this service was so lofty, scarcely fitting the saints, and also because my own life was neglected in its moral dimension and not worthy. Thereafter, when God deemed it fitting for me to be elected to the episcopal throne [of Zichna], my uncle and father, whom we have been discussing, would not endure it nor did he wish it, but he vigorously [p. 165] opposed [the decision] unyieldingly, for he feared that my concern for the episcopacy would render useless and impractical my resolution to be always thoughtful of and concerned about the monastery. What follows will make clear that the old man's opposition desired this [concern]. He did not abandon his opposition or yield to the desire of those who were pressuring me to serve before he took from me a written promise that while he lived and after his death, I would not ignore the monastery but would in all things take thought of it as was fitting. When the written promise had been completed, he straightway gave his consent and yielded to those who were pressuring me.

By judgments known to him "whose judgments are like the great deep" (Ps. 35 [36]:6), I was entrusted with the throne of Zichna, while the old man was proclaimed bishop of Ezivai. But, he still clung to that same moderation and that zeal for the good and totally supported the monastery. Moreover, he had me toiling and working with him to meet the more pressing business of the monastery and the needs of the monks.

Since, however, it was absolutely necessary for him, being a man and subject to human ailments, to put aside the dust and to cross over from here to [eternal] life, it was possible to see him lying in bed, imprisoned by old age and fierce disease, but healthy in soul and superior to all bodily suffering. Then, breathing his last and just about to hand over his soul to God, he again entrusted the care and renovation of the monastery to me, a totally lazy and careless person, and he added to this the monastery's spiritual direction. What did he not say or do of those things sufficient to compel me to this [service]? Therefore, I accepted the job, and once I had accepted it, how many and what kind of problems I met, problems arising from the trouble and difficulty of the times, God who knows all and I who suffered them alone know. But, through the intercession of the revered prophet, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, the God of my father is my helper for all to see, illuminating "in the fiery pillar" (cf. Exod. 13:21) of his gifts, leading forth and guiding [me] to the day of refreshment, and, moreover, he will rescue me from the punishment I should expect, a punishment worthy of my deeds.

First, I restored the holy church itself from its foundations, beautifying it according to the means at my disposal. We also made it brilliant with icons and with the presence of sacred vessels and the addition of various other ornaments. With God's help we also built the refectory so that the brothers assembled for the glory of God might take bread in it. Moreover, through the mercy of the most generous masters and emperors⁷ I could allot to the monastery certain revenues of such a quantity and kind as I reckoned would meet the need of those who had chosen the simple, monastic life. Who will be able to count how many the benefactions, how many the aids I received from their God-guarded and God-crowned rule, those in words, those in deed, those in gifts and

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contributions? The holy, revered chrysobulls⁸ which have come from their sacred majesty to this monastery clearly testify that the philanthropic and holy masters and emperors of mine have provided great benefactions and gifts to our monastery. I pray that the Lord God, the king of the ages and giver of all good things, will bless them with every blessing and will guard them under the roof of his goodness in peace, justice, and courage. May the Lord strengthen their arm and place beneath their feet all the barbarous nations desiring to war against them. May he grant them length of days and deem them worthy of both his material and his ineffable goods in this life and of his heavenly kingdom.

Inside the city of Serres, I also restored another monastery and its church from their foundations and dedicated it in the name of [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist. In a similar fashion I built a refectory for it and all the other useful and necessary things for a monastery, and before all else I encircled it with a wall and made every effort that, with God's blessing and the intercession of [St. John] the Forerunner, I would be able to restore a dwelling place of holy men, consecrated to God and embracing the cenobitic way of life for themselves. I wish this monastery always to be subject to and united with the original monastery, the principal one, and the monks to consider themselves one body of the united totality of these two monasteries. They are to be subject to one head, that is, the superior of the principal monastery. From him they receive the rules of the monastic way of life and are directed to the better. They ought to conform to his law and rule.

But, who am I, Lord, my Lord, or [what is] the house of my father (cf. 1 Chronicles 17:16) that you have poured out your mercy on me, an unworthy man, and that through me—useless, of no account, pitiable though I am—these two monasteries have been built? Master, this is your work, yours from your generous, enriching right hand which is open in charity, so that your favor fills up every living creature (cf. Ps. 144 [145]:16). [p. 166] May you preserve this work undiminished and uninjured in its substance, and from above may you guard these [monasteries] from those who in any way whatsoever attempt to trample upon them or raise a destructive hand against them. Nevertheless, so that such things might not befall the monasteries hereafter and so that what has been established might not fade and be obscured in the abyss of forgetfulness, I knew that I should write down all these matters in a document. Having organized these monasteries and united them, I offer them to you, O God the Creator, giver of good things, for the glory of your name and that of the herald of truth, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, and for the atonement of our sins. Therefore, O *Logos* of God the Father—accept this small offering which I, your servant, present to you. Lavish upon my emperor⁹ the superabundance of your mercies and grant to me and to the whole world salvation and the remission of sins through the entreaties of our immaculate lady, the Mother of God, who gave you birth in the flesh—by [the power of the divine] word transcending human reason—and of [St. John] the holy Forerunner and Baptist and of all your saints, Amen.

2. Concerning the reasons on account of which the present Rule has been set forth.

Our monastery did not possess a *typikon* which could be produced at any time before an official or magistrate or in any kind of court where legal arguments regarding matters of the law and lawsuits take place. Nor did our monastery have an authoritative document in which all sorts of sacred matters are written down as well as other things such as the immovable property belonging to the monastery and the rights pertaining to these properties so that these remain stable and

are safeguarded against seizures. On account of this lack, I have proceeded to this task, I mean to the composition and organization of a *typikon* and inventory since by the favor of God won through the entreaties of the great herald of truth and through the prayers of my holy father,¹⁰ I have been able with the help of the generous and enriching right hand of my God-crowned, holy emperors to organize these monasteries in this way and to add all sorts of properties to them. Therefore, I wish that everything which has been prescribed for them and committed to writing be subject to no change or diminishment. Through the entreaties of [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and Baptist may the triune God also preserve what has been prescribed and written down inviolate and undiminished to the fulfillment of all ages, so that in this way the flock of Christ might be called light in accordance with the Gospel (cf. Matt.: 5:14), and others might be drawn all the more by it to edification. May the triune God also grant that it be a flock truly chosen, obedient to the voice of him who calls to life and, by the example it sets, be able to restore the souls of many men when they gaze upon the best archetype—the scrupulous way of life it upholds. Whosoever is tempted to proceed toward abolishing any single letter of the present Rule, he will give an account before the just Judge on the fearful day of judgment—an account as to why he wished to disturb this Rule of ours or overturn it either totally or in part—a Rule which I set forth for the benefit of the brothers in order to form these monasteries of [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and to protect both their movable and immovable and animate property belonging to them.

3. Concerning the monastery's independent and free status.

The monastery ought to be free and independent because through a *prostagma*¹¹ of the most august, Christ-loving, holy master and sovereign emperor, Lord Andronikos [III] Palaiologos (1328–1341) who now reigns in God, it obtained complete freedom, and from that time to the present it has so remained and has been preserved by Christ's grace. Moreover, this monastery and its property had [their right to remain] unbroken and undisturbed, through the recent, benevolent chrysobulls which his holy, imperial majesty has granted out of kindness toward this very monastery. It should be free of every hand and from every higher authority, nor should any of these authorities exercise any right or privilege over it. Rather, it should remain totally free to govern itself by itself and to manage its affairs according to what has been expressly set forth in the present *typikon*. The monastery has been entrusted and dedicated for ever to the sole authority of the philanthropic God and to the great herald of truth, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, and is governed by whoever happens to be the superior at the time together with the rest of the community.

The metropolitan of Serres at any time is entitled only to the commemoration of his name in the liturgy and to the canonical right which belongs to him as the chrysobull documents of my holy emperors expressly state “I wish and decree” saying “this monastery to be patriarchal.” Therefore, beyond commemoration of his own name and likewise the *kanonikon*, as was stated, and beyond the honor due him from the superior and the brothers, the metropolitan of Serres shall have no right either to exercise authority over anything in the monastery or to corrupt or [p. 167] annul any of the clauses in the present *typikon*. Neither shall he have the right to appoint a different superior nor to appoint monks, nor to bring them in or expel them from the monastery, nor the right to ask for an account of the monastery's income and outlay. He shall not take anything at all from the monastery; rather he should love the monks as his own children and be peacefully and

lovingly disposed toward the brothers and their superior, especially if the metropolitan is the disciple of that gentle and peaceable One who enjoins the rule of peace and love upon all.

4. Concerning the ecclesiarch.

[= (32) *Mamas* [8]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]]: **The ecclesiarch moreover, being appointed by the superior, will be whoever seems to him fit and suitable for this office, receiving from the sacristan at the time of his appointment with an inventory everything that should be used in the church of the monastery, and at the proper time other things suitable for daily use or for use during the feasts. He will look after the customary decoration of the church and he will look after the orderly condition of the church during the singing of psalms as is customary for ecclesiarchs. The complete office of the entire church year will be established and sung in accordance with the monastery's *typikon* of the ecclesiastical office which follows the traditional form in the Jerusalem monastery of our holy, God-bearing father, the sanctified Sabas.¹² The ecclesiarch at the time ought always to have also an assistant ecclesiarch working with him and ministering and assisting in the office assigned to him.**

5. Concerning the sacristan.

[= (32) *Mamas* [9], ed. lines 16–32; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]]: **We wish there to be a sacristan in the monastery who must guard the sacred vessels, books and liturgical cloths, and think worthy of every kind of care the things that are turned over to him in a written, signed register. This signed inventory is then filed away in the archives. The sacristan himself must hand over to the ecclesiarch and the assistant ecclesiarchs for the service of the church both the things for daily use and the things used in the feasts, and when it is time, receive these back again from him and guard them; and the things surplus to requirements he must keep in the sacristy shut up and secured. When it is necessary that he be transferred out of this office, he must render an accounting according to the inventory of transfer made out for it. For it is within the power of the superior and those with him to remove and change those officials who hold office in the manner which will be described. For it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed for each of the offices while they are performing them carefully and conscientiously, but those who neglect or despise them, and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them, should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people happens to appropriate something, anything at all, and has not confessed the theft, I do not know how he shall make his defense to God.**

Such a person shall be removed without hesitation from his rank if he should appear careless toward the office entrusted to him or if he cunningly and secretly wrought some wrong while holding it. If he will return in good faith what he took by fraud, he will remain as a brother of the monastery, abiding in peace, obedient in all things [to the superior] and reproaching himself for his transgression. But if he becomes agitated and disturbs the superior and the brothers—which God forbid—he should be cut off like a festering limb which causes spiritual disease and cast out of the monastery.

6. Concerning the cellarer.

With the common consent of those with him, the superior will appoint a cellarer and a refectorian as well as other officials. In the fear of God and in a good frame of mind each one of these men should be eager above all to carry out the work of his ministry. Each one will receive his remuneration for his zeal and his labor on the day of judgment from the One who says, "I came not to be served, but to serve" (Matt. 20:28). Therefore, each day the cellarer must present the cook with the food prescribed for the brothers, as much as the cellarer has on hand and under his ministry. He will also thoughtfully and carefully exert himself in preparing the monks' table and in caring for it unflinchingly in a cheerful manner and without giving offense, especially if he is concerned about finding the God of all well-disposed on the day of judgment. [p. 168]

7. Concerning the gatekeeper.

[= (32) *Mamas* [12], ed. lines 18–22; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]]: **The superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, who is usually called the gatekeeper, whose responsibility it will be that no one enters or leaves at all without the permission of the superior.** Let the person **appointed to this office** be elderly and of proven piety and spiritual disposition. He must take bread from the [daily] distribution and give it without hesitation or grumbling to those who beg so that he might not suffer judgment.

[= (32) *Mamas* [13]]: **If the beggar is a priest or a monk, let also wine be given to him. But also, after the brothers have taken their meal, let the leftover cooked food be given, also, by the aforesaid gatekeeper, to the poor who are found at the gate in order that, through your cheerful charity to our brothers, you, too, may receive in return cheerful and abundant mercy from God. For it is our preference that not even any beggar turn away from the gate with empty hands, and in the Holy Spirit we enjoin the gatekeeper at the time to observe this practice as most essential and dear to God.**

Moreover, the most honorable superior must value highly works of hospitality and mercy unless he himself wishes to fall under the condemnation issued on the behalf of poor Lazarus.

8. Concerning the prescribed diet of the monks in the refectory on the days free from fasting and during the holy fasts.

[= (32) *Mamas* [17] ed. lines 18–23; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]]: **It should be the right time to mention the table and food and all the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For neither will the soul ever be well without the latter's suitable nourishments, I mean prayer and chanting and reading of the sacred scriptures, nor, indeed, will the body be sustained or render assistance to the [soul's] divine ministrations without the things that are of necessity useful to it.**

Therefore, after the superior and the brothers have seated themselves together in the refectory, they partake of the meal in the customary fashion while the precentor reads. During this time no one has permission to argue or shout or to be agitated at all and by such disorder and confusion to destroy the benefit to be derived from the reading. Rather, each is to remain humbly seated and

to partake of that which is offered with great piety and godly fear, giving unceasing thanks to God through prayer of the heart.

[= (32) *Mamas* [17] ed. p. 273, line 37–p. 274, line 5; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]]: **The superior only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. When, however, the superior is not present, prevented perhaps by weakness of the body or even some other reason, the man who exercises his authority shall fulfill the things that ought to be done.**

[= (32) *Mamas* [17], ed. p. 274, lines 8–11; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]]: **On a fast-free day let the brothers have their nourishment—on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays two dishes such as the season brings and the superior has ordered.** On Saturdays and Sundays the superior should provide for the partaking of fish on account of the difficult vigils. On Monday there should be one dish of boiled food with vinegar and wine should be offered with this. On two days a week, however—I mean Wednesday and Friday—only one dish should be offered in the refectory without olive oil or wine. Let only those afflicted with some illness partake of wine on account of their weak condition while those in good health should take none at all. Those who are familiar with the holy and apostolic canons know the severity of breaking the fast on these two days.

During the holy and great season of Lent, let the first week follow the rules set forth in the *synaxarion* of the *typikon*, for it is not fitting to abrogate the rules of the fathers all of which they arranged well as though from God. During the other five weeks, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the brothers should eat dry food and drink only water. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, however, they may have two dishes either with honey or with vinegar and a measure of wine. On Saturdays and Sundays, two dishes should be offered in the refectory together with olive oil and wine. During the great and Holy Week, let there be only dry food and only the drinking of water on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; on the great and Holy Thursday the brothers should have two dishes with honey to eat, for no one should partake of olive oil on that day since that would contravene the tradition of the sacred and apostolic canons. From that day, then, the brothers observe a continuous fast until the Holy and Great Saturday. At that time after the dismissal of the liturgy in church, we break the fast without a cooked meal.

During the other fasts, however, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, one dish of legumes or vegetables with vinegar should be served, but without wine; on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, two dishes with olive oil should be served together with wine. During the holy fast of Christ's birth—from the feast of the holy and wonder-working Nicholas¹³ to the nativity of Christ according to the flesh [p. 169]—the brothers are to eat but once a day except for Saturdays and Sundays. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, however, let them have without failure the two dishes with olive oil and wine.

If, perhaps, on any of the feasts of the Lord or of the great saints the superior at his discretion should want to offer the brothers a refreshment on account of the work associated with the feast and the vigil, he should have this authority, mindful that he functions as a shepherd not a hireling. During the weeks marked out in the *synaxarion* of the *typikon*—I mean Easter Week, the week after Pentecost, the Twelve Days, the week before the Meatfare week and Cheesefare week, it is possible to eat twice a day, both of cheese and of fish on account of the traditional reasons—we

will not repeat these same things in order not to lengthen the treatise. Thus, when you do this, you, too, will not violate these rules. On two days only of Cheesefare week, however, you will partake of food once according to the rule of the *typikon*.

9. Concerning the reading of the present *typikon* in the refectory for all to hear.

[= (32) *Mamas* [16]]: **In addition to everything** I enjoin the superior and my beloved brothers in Christ that **this, too, must be observed no less than the other things, if not even more, as both the source and reason for the observance of the things that have been prescribed and utter strengthening of the monastery. Let this present *typikon* be read, therefore, so as to be listened to by all the brothers** on the feast of Christ's birth, similarly on the resurrection day of our God, the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ—I mean the holy and great Easter—and on the feast of the great herald of the truth, [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and Baptist,¹⁴ **in order that, by reading it, the things that have been prescribed may be more permanent and indelible.**

This, of course, you must observe most carefully, not as our legislations, but as divine laws and canons (since we have not set up anything outside these), **that are inviolable and unchangeable.** These regulations must be observed, **and not only, O fathers, must you not be disheartened or vexed** over these matters **but reasonably even rejoice and exult because, having been relieved from all concern** and free of the yoke of hard labor, **you will have one occupation, free of distraction or anxiety, [namely,] the concern and care of your souls.**

10. Exhortation concerning the fact that those who serve are to apply themselves thoroughly to their services.

[= (32) *Mamas* [23]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [33]]: **I entreat, therefore, all those who serve the monastery, from the first down to even the last, to apply yourselves joyfully to your offices with your whole heart and soul because God has given us the strength to serve our brothers in imitation of him. See what kind of work you are taking in hand; see whom you imitate**—that same One who says, "I came not to be served but to serve" (cf. Matt. 20:28). **You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Therefore be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven. But no less than this is love, the crown and consummation of virtue according to God. For joined to itself it has humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12) and mercy and sympathy. On account of these God became man and through them man becomes like God.** Under these conditions, therefore, grow rich in this very virtue, my brothers, and run on without hesitation until you reach the harbor of rest in Christ Jesus, Our Lord.

11. How there are not to be *kelliotai* or imposed guests in the monastery.

[= (32) *Mamas* [26]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53]]: **I do not want there to be any *kelliotai* or any imposed guests at all within the monastery. I completely forbid this. If, however, anyone who is from a more exalted station in life shall wish to come to the monastery and to**

cast off his worldly hair in it or perhaps should enter as one who has already been tonsured and if from his more luxurious way of life he should perhaps have need of a servant or some sort of lighter regimen, **the superior will be permitted to make concessions to the one who enters [the monastery], if he should wish, and allow him the servant and the lighter regimen.** He may do this **especially if the one who enters it benefits the monastery.** Whatever the postulant contributes for the sake of “fellowships” will of course go to meeting the needs of the monastery.

They, too, however, ought to maintain the cenobitic way of life. For in no way whatsoever do I wish that the appellation of “kelliotēs” be used in the monastery. Therefore, it is not licit that anyone at all alter or change what we have outlined here, either in a straightforward manner or by trickery, **even if he should be of exalted station [p. 170] or should abound in much wealth and in consequence present a lavish offering or make a promise [of one],** even if he should possess more immovable and movable and animate property than we have owned. Rather what has been outlined in the *typikon* will remain unaltered and undiminished under every rule and authority (cf. Eph. 1:21).

Who would send an imposed guest to a monastery that is independent and is ruled by the mighty hand of the only God and by the hand of [St. John] the Forerunner, who is honored therein? May no one, O Christ the King, therefore, ever consider this. No one should think to dissolve the term of the independence of this monastery, which God led our holy, God-crowned emperor to decree, **unless he wishes altogether to render God, who is mighty in wars** (cf. Sir. 46:1), **openly hostile to himself,** and unless he should wish to give evidence against his own soul for his eternal condemnation on the day of judgment.

12. Concerning allowance to the brothers.

I certainly desire and approve and order that the allowance which is customarily prescribed and the grant of shoes and of any thing else to the brothers need be carried out in the following way. To each one of the brothers is given each year one [and] a half *hyperpera*, or nine *hexagia* [of silver], that is, eighteen large ducats.¹⁵ Shoes and boots are also given to all, depending on the monastery’s level of prosperity. Beyond this, however, the decision will rest with the superior regarding special treatment for those in special service. I mean for those in the vineyard, for the bakers, for the cook, and for those in similar work. Moreover, if the monastery is well-supplied with sheep, let the brothers have sheep’s wool each year for their headgear. If the superior is able to obtain further special treatment for the brothers, then thanks be to God. This, too, accords with my wishes.

13. Concerning confession.

[= (32) *Mamas* [29], ed. lines 22–27]: I also want there to be spiritual fathers in the monastery so that each monk can select one to whom he will reveal his own stripes according to the tradition of the sacred canons. Thus, they can receive suitable aid from the spiritual doctors, each one according to the injury he suffers. **For thoughts are wounds of the soul that are inflicted by the evil demon, who ensnares our life. A wound, however, when it is revealed immediately and receives the medical treatment that is suitable and appropriate, is easily healed;¹⁶ but, when it is kept concealed and becomes chronic, it causes putrefaction and generates a stench**

and becomes more difficult to heal. It is, therefore, especially helpful to have the physician close by.

14. How women are not to enter the monastery.

I command that the monastery be completely off limits to women. In the Holy Spirit I enjoin this. Only the Augusta at the time and the women in her retinue shall be allowed to enter in order to revere the saint; this is permitted no other women. Nor do we allow any young boys who are in their childhood years or any [youth] under twenty years of age to stay within the monastery, even if they should be the friends or relatives of the superior of the monastery himself or of one of its monks, not even under the pretext of performing some service or of receiving theoretical or practical instruction. I totally reject such an idea as contributing to many scandals and to spiritual injury.

15. Concerning the bath.

Since bathing facilities exist within the monastery on account of the weakness of the body, you shall take a bath four times a year: at holy Easter, during the days of the harvest season, during the twelve days [of Christmas],¹⁷ and during the week of Meatfare. This we establish as a model; whenever it seems proper to the superior, however, you will bathe yourselves.

16. Concerning the liturgical *typikon*.

You shall have no other liturgical *typikon* for all church services except the *typikon* proper to Palestine—that which is customarily called the *typikon* of Jerusalem since this one I have in my humility judged to be better than the others. This *typikon*, then, will always hold sway among you and you will do everything according to what it has established. Moreover, you shall observe the vigils of the whole year carefully and unhesitatingly according to the direction of the *typikon*. In addition, you shall perform the following: after the close of vespers every single day, the *synapte* is performed by the priest while all of you cry out fifty times in an audible voice the “*Kyrie eleison*.” [p. 171] You must also perform the sacred liturgy without hesitation and with care. I want it performed on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays. On Tuesdays celebrate it with *kollyba* in commemoration of [St. John] the sacred Forerunner. Together with the *kollyba* a treat [of an extra serving of wine] is given to the brothers in the refectory. On Thursdays celebrate it in honor of the founders, also with *kollyba* and a treat [of an extra serving of wine] in the refectory. On Saturdays the liturgy will be celebrated in the same way in memory of those who have fallen asleep. On Sundays, celebrate it in honor of Christ our God who rose on that day. A treat [of an extra serving of wine] should also be given to the brothers for the long life of our most august, powerful, holy, and sovereign emperors as well as for their happiness, their salvation, and their triumph over their enemies. This [invocation] should be intoned by the priest so that all can hear and should be sung slowly and melodiously by the choir leaders in the same fashion.

[= (32) *Mamas* [32], ed. lines 7–33]: **So, as has been said, during this sacred mystery, my brothers, you must pay strict attention, and chase from your hearts every thought that is impure and in every way you must purify yourselves. Then as many as allowed by the spiritual father must partake of the divine elements with great awe. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day.**

This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (John 6:56) and as the most gentle David says conversely “They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]: 27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily eats and drinks his own condemnation” (I Cor. 11:27) says the divine apostle. The statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. For this reason our thoughts should be cleansed as much as possible from every contamination of the flesh and spirit and in this manner you should partake of the sacraments.

So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore, bearing of grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and any other such passions, may partake each Sunday. Whereas those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake three or four times a year or more often, at the discretion of your spiritual father, for he should be in charge of such matters.

17. Concerning the fact that those who come together in manual labor are not to talk idly.

[= (32) *Mamas* [35]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21]]: Together with the other matters, brothers, I make this demand of you. **If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse yourselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to disgraceful talk, I enjoin you not to reject the admonition of your betters.** Furthermore, let the more devout one among those of you attending to the task venture a word of correction **in love and persuade** those who have repeated **topics which harm the soul** rather to sing psalms and to have on their lips the songs of David.

Moreover, those who **happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured with the same medicine. Furthermore, they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing** shall be punished by the superior and will be judged the instigator of insolence and violence. **If he does not repent and beg for forgiveness, he shall be punished** even more severely. **For we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of anything that provokes quarrels, learn to say “Bless and forgive [me], brother.”**

Furthermore, those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, especially after compline, when they are admonished and do not desist, they will be punished by the superior as instigators of disorder and leaders in evil. These people not only destroy themselves, but they also throw other souls into the pit of destruction. They shall be punished until they reject their vain and soul-corrupting foolishness and begin to love living properly as a friend of God.

18. Exhortation to the brothers concerning the selection of a superior.

[= (32) *Mamas* [45]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]]: Now that I have spoken, **then, sufficiently concerning** necessary matters, **I entreat you, therefore, or rather, I instruct you and I** give you [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist **as witness to this command and overseer of its carrying out, that when you are selecting and choosing the superiors there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favoritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim and the strict yardstick of justice** [p. 172] **and truth should come together, and, as if he was observing you, he the eye itself “that beholds all things”** (Sir. 15:19) **and “searches hearts and reins”** (Ps. 7:9). **Your selection should take place in that way.**

For, if, suffering from some human failing, you were to produce a faulty judgment, consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow and if the “righteous” (2 Tim. 4:8) **and unerring Judge were to require from you a just account for this, I do not know what defense you would make to secure your escape from condemnation. You, who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy persons and brought such great harm not only on them but also on yourselves seeing that you have secured perdition for them as well as yourselves.**

So then you will not resort to quarreling and discord and disputes, with each man choosing a different person **but in unanimity and agreement**, with right and reasonable judgment, and after examination, **you should choose the persons elected**—I mean those who are most devout and have given witness of their virtuous character by leading fitting and virtuous lives.

[= (32) *Mamas* [45], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17]]: **If you all live like that, there will be no one who will usurp this office rashly**, forming prejudices and becoming a cause of scandals for the brothers, and **perhaps making a display of his seniority or knowledge or sphere of work or noble birth or rank or offering of property or money.** The man who wants to behave like this, I shall penalize as a man rash, shameless, and alien to the humility of Christ, the gentle and peaceful one (cf. Rom. 12:1, 18). **But that man shall be preferred** for such an office who is well-suited for performing this ministry on account of his virtuous way of life and the rest of his spiritual condition just as I have explained above.

Moreover, if anyone of you shall disobey the superior or through carelessness shall perpetrate some misdeed which merits a dressing down or correction, do not expel the sinner from the monastery straightway at the first offense, but discipline him properly within the monastery. If, then, the sinner rejects his arrogant thoughts, returns to repentance, and seeks forgiveness from the superior, then all will be well, and we pray for this. If, on the other hand, he should happen to remain incorrigible and will not accept punishment from the superior—something which often happens to those with a careless and irreverent disposition—he shall be punished even more severely. If he grows more angry and obstinately rebels so that he troubles and disturbs the superior, it shall be possible for the superior, after seeking advice of those about him, to expel the sinner from the monastery with complete freedom. If he remains at the gate of the monastery for two or three days, the superior is to lead him in again and in every way to treat as a physician the disease

of his soul. If, however, he immediately departs from the monastery on the first day—which I pray shall not be—the superior shall not be guilty of his destruction.

19. Exhortation to the superior: how he ought to be disposed toward the brotherhood. [= (32) *Mamas* [42]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17]]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate and fair with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a spiritual affection for them. Yes! I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them, instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving those who repent “seventy times seven” (Matt. 18, 22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. Proceed against the incurable and unrepentant with reason and straighten them out as a physician would so that the folly of one does not take hold of the healthy sheep. Also, to omit the rest, Saint Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether spiritually or physically.”**¹⁸

20. More detailed exhortation to the brothers.

[= (32) *Mamas* [46]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]]: **So, then, all that I wish and that is acceptable to God—in my opinion at least—and to our fervent patron and helper, [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and Baptist, and greatly beneficial for your help has been sufficiently discussed; in the future it will always be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you, in accordance with the *synaxarion* which is in effect today with you, or according to the *typikon* of ecclesiastical service, to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors and likewise to the more devout among your brothers, to love one another (John 15:12) as [p. 173] the Lord commands, to be keen each of you to surpass each other and to excel in humility, moderation and in all the other virtues. Do not stir up quarrels, conflicts, or inappropriate arguments. Nor should one laugh at another, for this is alien to the calling of Christian, to say nothing of monks. Do not passionately delight in improper friendships; refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments. But look to one thing only, that is each day strive to live and conduct yourselves virtuously so that you are acceptable and pleasing to God himself, the universal lord of all who will reward each man according to his deeds. On the other hand, as much as you are able, banish from you the source of all evils, the love of money, and the filching of the monastery’s possessions or theft. Such things are forbidden and are the ruinous death of the soul. Nor should you allow anything of the monastery to be destroyed as a result of carelessness or any other reason, since this would be a great sin and would require much treatment. You must root out familiarity as much as possible since it is like the summer heat or a wind which burns up the fruits of the spirit, and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to your salvation, but rather to the contrary, is conducive to your injury.**

So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation. For nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, yet let us

strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, “for we are not contending against flesh and blood,” as the sacred apostle says, “but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness” (Eph. 6:12). For we did not deny **the world for indulgence, honor, glory, or luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said, “For the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force”** (Matt. 11:12). **No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and carelessness. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labors of battles. Therefore, I beseech you all: “lead a life worthy of your calling”** (cf. Eph. 4:1), **“present your bodies holy to the Lord”** (cf. Rom. 12:1). **“Love one another”** (John 15:12) and be peacemakers, imitating Christ the mild and peaceful (cf. Rom. 12:18). Run well the race which lies before you (cf. Heb. 12:1). **Whatever is good, beloved of God, salvific, consider these things** (cf. Phil. 4:8). Moreover, **do not forget my insignificance and humility in your prayers, and the God of peace** (Heb. 13:20) **who has called us to this calling on account of his great and unspeakable compassion and goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ**, so that, aided by the divine power, we might be made worthy of those good things to come which have been prepared for the just in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

Now I add what follows for the better regimen of the brothers so that they will have this [food] for their two dishes without fail.¹⁹

21. Concerning the *ephoros* and the founder.

My fathers and brothers in Christ, I thus received this revered monastery from my holy father as a kind of inheritance, as I recounted more fully in discussing him in the introduction. I have taken care of it and toiled for it as much as I could, and God has been gracious through the intercession of the great herald of truth, and through the prayers of that blessed father of mine. In addition, through the rich gifts of my mighty, holy masters and emperors and through their sponsorship and supervision, this obscure and small monastery has been restored as a cenobitic monastery and the few brothers have been multiplied. This, however, was not our work, nor that accomplished by my care or my strength, but it is the work of the great power of God, which “opening the hand, fills every living thing with good will” (cf. Ps. 103 [104]:28) and changes all things for the better.

Up to this point, then, events have advanced in this way and what we have desired has reached its conclusion—for our desire sought only that the monastery be improved and made totally independent so that it could become the residence of God-loving men who pursued the best communal life and virtue. Now, I desire nothing else than this: to find a pious and Christ-loving man and to entrust all of you and the things of the monastery to him so that the monastery can be maintained and improved and through his care and concern can prosper and grow. Since I was in this frame of mind, I thought about the matter and beseeched God. Then, I found the much-beloved brother-in-law of my mighty, and holy master and emperor, my lord [John Kantakouzenos], the *me gas domestikos*.²⁰ He is not only a most Christian man and filled with every goodness, but he also issued forth from pious and faithful ancestors and parents just like a noble sprout from a good and noble root. [p. 174]

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Therefore, just as that blessed father of mine entrusted to me this great and revered monastery so that there was no other master in it, so I hand over and entrust you together with all belongings of the monastery to my lord, the *megas domestikos*, and I establish him as master through this present edict of mine. I also hand you over to him as though to your founder, as if he had established the two monasteries and maintained them. I do this not only because of his reverence, his love of Christ, and every other noble quality of judgment, but also because of the spiritual relationship and love toward his holy ancestors and fathers which I have had for a long time—people, I believe, who have been deemed worthy of the inheritance of the saved on account of their characteristic piety and virtue.

I, therefore, entertain high hopes concerning my lord, the *megas domestikos*, confident that of necessity the nobly born shoot resembles the root. As the Lord says that the tree is known by its fruits (cf. Matt. 12:33), I have no reservations now about him, but I am free from worry and care, taking courage in the great mercy of God and in the *megas domestikos*' Christian character. [I am confident] that the *megas domestikos* will take better care of you than I could and will not only look after your virtue and piety and after every other aspect of good monastic discipline, but also will see to your physical needs which pertain to your daily regimen and your own victuals.

But why is it necessary to say more? I surrender you and the affairs of the monastery over to him in such a way that he replaces me, and thus you ought to obey him as your lord and founder. Living in good order and spiritual peace, pray fervently for him so that on the day of judgment he will take his own reward, perfect and whole, from God who watches over all things. If, then, you shall continuously act in the way I am establishing for you, you shall profit greatly both in body and in soul. In addition, for my lord, the *megas domestikos* and your founder who watches over you and takes care of you to the limit of his strength, you shall procure for him eternal blessedness; of this he would be judged worthy through the grace of Christ our God and through the intercession of the great herald of truth, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist.

22. Further disposition concerning the spiritual constitution and concerning the four brothers who shall together with the superior deliberate and manage the monastery.

Whatever has been written down in the present *typikon*, this I have composed with God and the great herald of truth, [St. John] his venerable Forerunner, as witnesses. I have established these things, too, for the support, permanence, and security of this holy monastery and for the general assistance and governance of the community. Whatever I have established and set down in writing, this I wish to remain. Moreover, since I wish that the brothers persevere in making greater progress and advancement, that they be led upward to improve themselves morally and to grow in virtue, and that they in every way be fortified in the better things, I will run through these matters, treating them in summary fashion.

No one shall have permission to sit in the courtyard of the monastery and carry on a conversation after the dismissal of compline and after bowing to the superior and receiving his absolution. This was the rule legislated by the holy fathers themselves. In fact, such activity was totally forbidden. Just as they forbid such a practice as evil and conducive to spiritual harm, so I, too, forbid it. Therefore, those who wish to make progress as God [wishes], should each withdraw to his own cell after greeting the superior; each one should turn his attention quietly and peacefully

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to himself, and to God, and he should look to nothing else but to propitiating our universal judge and God for the sins, both conscious and unconscious, which he committed during the entire day.

In addition, I totally forbid this sinister and ruinous custom which on account of great carelessness and laziness of soul, as well as a contempt for the good, many have acquired: [that is, I forbid] any of you to meet with one another in the evening and to eat or drink together or to be disorderly;²¹ I forbid you to proceed from this to detraction of the superior and of the others, as those customarily do who live carelessly and indifferently. Therefore, let no one go to visit in another's cell in the evening neither to eat together nor for any other reason, for such behavior produces disorder and great harm. Only the officials are allowed to visit the superior if this should be necessary because of what the ministries require. If, however, necessity should require that anyone visit the cell of another, let this be done during the day.

To these I now add what follows as a kind of final seal to this testamentary rule. When aboard a ship in the middle of the sea waves a storm arises, and when the sea grows wild, stirring up on high the waves so that the boat is tossed about perilously, it is totally impossible for the helmsman alone to rescue the ship unharmed unless [p. 175] he should have the assistance and help of the sailors. Nor in the army is it possible for the general alone to defeat the enemies, but he must have his own officers working with him and helping him. So, too, our body is governed by the five senses. Now in the same manner, it is not in the natural order for the superior of the monastery to do anything right or to set affairs in order unless he has other assistants under him. Having, therefore, considered this and pondered it, I wish and decree that with God himself and [St. John] the reverend Forerunner keeping watch, that there be a superior in the monastery and that he be elected by the whole community and that he be established in this office as I previously ordered with regard to this.²² If the chance arises, he is to go to our mighty and holy master and emperor and receive from him the staff of office, or he can notify him and receive the staff by imperial order.

I decree that there be four brothers with this superior. These should be such as are completely free of any physical desire or wantonness and are of proven piety, wisdom, spiritual disposition, and virtue. Let these, then, be of one spirit with the superior, though in separate bodies; of one mind, one will, one desire, one goal. [They should not be] contentious or devious, or sinful, but should work together with love and spiritual conviction so that they toil and struggle in their care for the total well-being of the monastery and for its spiritual state as well as for its constant improvement and for the aid of the brothers. Together with the superior, these shall have the license, authority, and power to examine and judge all of the officials.

If these are serving well and as is dear to God and are free from any desire, they should allow the officials to serve. If, however, the officials are subject to some evil desire in the [performance of] their tasks and if the monastery suffers some injury due to this and the brothers fall short of what they need because the monastery's fortunes have been diminished, they are totally free to change such officials since these people are breaking up and harming the monastery. No one should hinder the four monks and the superior in doing this, but they should draft others whom they find to be both good and appropriate after they have examined them. They should not do this according to any attachment or fondness nor on account of any other human [motive], but only on account of the good, the help due to the brothers, and the greater improvement of the monastery. They should always have God himself before their eyes and the impartial scrutiny of the con-

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science, concerning which each will have to render an account on the day of judgment, if he has done anything, as far as he knows, outside of what is right and necessary.

In addition, the superior will make use of these advisors both with regard to all spiritual matters as well as with regard to the most important temporal affairs. With their advice, he will deal with these issues. They, likewise, will remind the superior if something arises which ought to be set straight. Thus, united with the superior, these aforementioned monks are to take thought of the monastery, are to toil and care for it as I order them; [they are to do this] in such a fashion, to say it succinctly, as though they and I were one and the same. With one accord, they should unite in administering and improving the monastery, not in a manner which focuses on the spiritual aspect and on the things pleasing to God, [but which looks also] to the physical realities. If the superior should become listless for any reason and desire to be excused from his office over the brothers, first all of these four will assemble together and promote one from their midst to the office of superior who, adorned with virtue, understanding, and piety, excels over the other three. Thus, let him feel free to take hold of the office. If the man [who resigned] so wishes, he may fill the place of the one who was just advanced to the office of superior. If he should be unwilling, then let these [four monks] together with the superior choose from the community a man of proven piety and spiritual disposition, and he shall fill the vacancy left by the [newly elected] superior.

So also in the case of the four: if anyone of these should wish not to be in this group, let it be managed in the same way. In this manner let the number of the five always be secure and undiminished. In this manner, too, let the whole monastery be harmoniously administered as I direct these men and give them authority so that both its souls and its affairs improve according to the will of God. They will drive far away from the monastery all disorder, indiscipline, and any other perversion of the monastic way of life. Whatever is well-ordered and disciplined, whatever is good and proper to virtue as well as dear to God—this they will lay claim to and introduce in order to rouse the brothers to keep all which has been ordained above.

Moreover, let the *ephoros* of the monastery²³ offer a helping hand to these four together with the superior, and let him work together with them regarding whatever they request of him, not only in spiritual matters as occasion demands, but also in physical necessities. Thus, in good order and in a spiritual disposition, the brothers can live peacefully and can pray fervently on his behalf so that on the day of judgment he will receive his own reward, whole and entire, from [p. 176] God who watches over all and will give his rewards corresponding to the earnings of the talents which each has received. (cf. Matt. 25:15–28) As for me, I have no other desire nor do I pray for anything other than that all the regulations laid down be preserved secure with no alterations or deletions and that the brothers be led to greater progress and gain through a spiritual way of life and constitution.

Therefore, I rouse you in the Holy Spirit toward preserving and maintaining in greater safety all that which has been previously written, and [I ordain] that no one shall have the right or authority, not only while I am still living, but even after I have died, to overturn, destroy, or alter what has been so composed and arranged for the benefit of the brothers. I have ordered that things be established in this way for the common benefit of the brothers' whole governance. All the more [I exhort] the superior and the four with him as well as all the officials and the other brothers, if they take thought of their own salvation, not only zealously to keep watch that this very monastic

constitution remain unaltered for the benefit and good governance of the brothers, but also that they zealously strive each day to advance the brothers toward what is better by means of a God-loving and virtuous way of life. They should look to the One who created heaven and earth, who gave himself as a ransom in exchange for us and revealed that it is greater and more exalted to serve than to be served (Matt. 20:28).

If, however, after I depart from life, either a bishop, a monk, or an official, or some other person from among the distinguished or the obscure—a person who is not numbered among the brothers nor lives with them, one who is unknown and unfamiliar [to the brothers] or even known to them, but not yet a member of their community—if, employing an unrighteous scheme, such a person has planned to take the monastery by means of an imperial decree and imperial authority, let him be cut off from the holy, consubstantial, life-giving, and indivisible Trinity and estranged from people of piety. [For, he would do this] not so that he would become a model of piety and virtue for all the brothers by practicing asceticism and virtue; nor [would he do it] to increase and improve the monastery's properties. Rather, as a grasping and pleasure-loving person, like the hireling—not the shepherd (John 10:12)—he will squander and consume these [resources] which have been consecrated to God and to [St. John] his venerable Forerunner for the maintenance and improvement of the monastery and for the proper governing and nourishing of the brothers. Such a person will be numbered with Satan and his demons on the day of judgment, and he will be tortured by eternal fire for ages without end.

In addition to these other matters [which are dealt with] in this testamentary rule, I exhort the superior of the monastery in the Holy Spirit to observe and fulfill whatever I shall order regarding the following. Therefore, I order that whoever is the official in charge of the monastery of Koulas²⁴ should take charge of the annual harvest of wheat from the mill close to the little gate of Our Lady, that he take this and make it into loaves of bread and break these into four portions and offer these as charity at the gate of the monastery. He will distribute this charity on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Accordingly he should divide up the grain for the entire month into four parts and hand this out as I previously said.

In the same way, he should take the mixed grain to the monastery, make it into loaves of bread and hand out these to the poor, just as I stated before concerning the wheat. He should hand out these loaves not at the gate of the monastery, but removed a distance so that confusion and disorder do not occur at the monastery's gate. So also, what they call the rent for the use²⁵ of the mill, which comes to twelve *hyperpera*, should be dispersed in the following way.

I wish to build a church in the tower which will be dedicated in the name of the all-holy lady and Mother of God, and I want the Annunciation²⁶ to be celebrated in it. In this building there should remain an old monk with an assistant. Let these two have their allowance from the rent of this mill. With this, let them get the oil and wax for the service of the church and of their liturgical offices. Whatever is left over should all be spent on the feast of the Annunciation for the honor and glory of the most holy Mother of God. For I desire and decree that this particular feast be celebrated in the church of the tower, and I entrust these matters to whoever happens to be the superior at the time so that he will be careful to see that this is done as I order. If anyone—either the superior or an official of the monastery—would want to feather his nest from such revenue which I have assigned to be counted as charity or should wish to confer it upon someone, or would

prevent its being used as I decree, he shall render an account before God on the day of judgment.

The end and glory be to God.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Timothy Miller [TM], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Actually this is the table of contents for the first *typikon* of 1324; see above, Analysis, B.
2. A chapter with this title is not among those found in the text of the second *typikon* of 1332.
3. In the text of the second *typikon*, this is the title of [21].
4. In this document, this is the title of [22].
5. *monydrion*, for which cf. Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v.
6. For the wilderness *topos*, see also (6) *Rila*, (10) *Eleousa* [3], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [74].
7. Andronikos II (1282–1328) and Andronikos III (1328–41).
8. Perhaps including the following chrysobulls of Andronikos II, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 4 (1309), pp. 44–46; no. 6 (1313), pp. 48–49; no. 7 (1317), pp. 50–51; no. 8 (1318), pp. 52–53; no. 9 (1321), pp. 53–56; and a chrysobull of Andronikos III, ed. Guillou, no. 10 (1321), pp. 56–59. There are also various *prostigmata* and *horismoi* awarded by both emperors to Menoikeion.
9. Andronikos III.
10. Joachim's uncle, Ioannikios.
11. Evidently not preserved; cf. Andronikos III's chrysobulls, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 24 (1329), pp. 86–89, and no. 26 (1332), pp. 91–95.
12. A reference to the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 1–508.
13. Feast of St. Nicholas, December 6.
14. Feast of the the birth of St. John the Baptist, June 24.
15. One gold *hyperperon* equaled twelve silver ducats. The text as it stands, however, implies that one half-*hyperperon* equalled eighteen ducats which is not possible. It is therefore necessary to add *kai* to the text which then renders the passage intelligible. [TM]
16. cf. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, PG 88, col. 681B.
17. December 25 to the feast of the Epiphany, January 6.
18. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
19. Likely transitional marker between the portion of the document borrowed from the first *typikon* and the materials that are original to this document; see above, Analysis, B.
20. The future emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54), for whom see Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, no. 20, pp. 27–30, and Talbot, “John VI Kantakouzenos,” pp. 1050–51. He is called here *gambros*, “brother-in-law,” of the emperor Andronikos III because his wife was Irene Asenina, a second cousin of the emperor. Irene's grandmother was Irene Palaiologina, a daughter of Michael VIII and sister of the late emperor Andronikos II. [TM]
21. (60) *Charsianeites* [B7] also forbids daytime visits.
22. In [18] above.
23. John Kantakouzenos.
24. This monastery was located northwest of Serres. See map in Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 6–7.
25. *empatikion*. For which, see Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v. *embatikiazō*.
26. The patronal feast, March 25.

58. MENOIKEION

Document Notes

- [1] Foundation history. A Group A chapter. Cf. contemporary foundation histories in (46) *Akropolites* [4] ff., (48) *Prodromos* [3], (49) *Geromeri* [13], (50) *Gerasimos* [2], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [4].
- [2] Why the *typikon* was composed. A Group A chapter. See similar discussions in (32) *Mamas* [41], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40], (52) *Choumnos* [B1], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B1].
- [3] Independent status of the monastery. A Group A chapter. See other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents, including (32) *Mamas* [4] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4] as well as provisions for Palaiologan institutions in (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (40) *Anargyroi* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [14], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C18].
- [4] Duties of the ecclesiarch. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], (32) *Mamas* [8], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8]. For treatments in Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [24], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [49], [50], [51].
- [5] Duties of the sacristan. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [19], (32) *Mamas* [8], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8]; see also (39) *Lips* [23].
- [6] Duties of the cellarer and refectorian. A Group A chapter. For treatments in Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [69].
- [7] Duties of the gatekeeper; charity for poor monks and laymen. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, first part shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [29], (32) *Mamas* [12], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12]; second part shared with (32) *Mamas* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13]. For treatments of the gatekeeper in Palaiologan documents, see (52) *Choumnos* [A14], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [72].
- [8] Dietary regulations: for days of fasting; for non-fast days. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, first part shared with (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (32) *Mamas* [17], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; second part shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (32) *Mamas* [17], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]. See also the regulations in other Palaiologan documents: (37) *Auxentios* [10], (39) *Lips* [29], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [80] ff., and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17].
- [9] Reading of the *typikon*. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, shared only with (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16]. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [43] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [65]. These Palaiologan documents also provide for the reading of the *typikon*: (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [8], (55) *Athanasios I* [8], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [120], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].
- [10] Exhortation to the officials. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [33] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [25], (32) *Mamas* [23], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23].
- [11] Ban on *kelliotai* and imposed guests. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], (32) *Mamas* [26], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26].
- [12] Allowance to the brothers. A Group A chapter. See different kinds of grants in (32) *Mamas* [28] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; they are rejected, however, in (37) *Auxentios* [7] and (56) *Kellibara II* [9].
- [13] Confession. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, shared only with (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29]. See also the treatments in (39) *Lips* [11], (52) *Choumnos* [B10], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [105] ff., and (60) *Charsianeites* [C6].
- [14] Women and youths banned. A Group A chapter. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [39], (32) *Mamas* [27], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27], (37) *Auxentios* [12], (53) *Meteora* [7], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].
- [15] Regulation of bathing. A Group A chapter. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [28], (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], (39) *Lips* [34], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [101].
- [16] Liturgical regulations. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [5] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (32) *Mamas* [32], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]. See also the liturgical prescriptions in (37) *Auxentios* [6], [7], [8]; (39) *Lips* [30]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78].

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- [17] No idle chatter during manual labor. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [21] and related documents, including (32) *Mamas* [35], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34].
- [18] No partiality in elections; hostility to privileges; punishment for disobedience. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, first two parts shared with (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (32) *Mamas* [45], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [44]; the third part is original to this document.
- [19] Instructions to the superior. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (32) *Mamas* [42], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41].
- [20] Final exhortation. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (32) *Mamas* [46], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45].
- [21] Designation of the protector. A Group A chapter. For *ephoroi* and other kinds of protectors in other Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [18], [19].
- [22] Additional regulations. A Group A chapter. For disciplinary regulations, see also (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B7]. For imperial investiture of the superior, see also (37) *Auxentios* [3] and (39) *Lips* [7]. For consultative government elsewhere, see (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents; in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [9], (38) *Kellibara I* [18], (39) *Lips* [27], (48) *Prodromos* [8], (50) *Gerasimos* [3], (52) *Choumnos* [A3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [23], [55], [67], (59) *Manuel II* [6], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B9]. For removal of officials, see (22) *Evergetis* [32], [42] and related documents. For the *protector's* assistance, see also (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [20], cf. (52) *Choumnos* [A26]. For the warning against violation of the foundation's independence, see also (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (40) *Anargyroi* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [15].