

This is an extract from:

Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

edited by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero

with the assistance of Giles Constable

Published by

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

Washington, D.C.

in five volumes as number 35 in the series Dumbarton Oaks Studies

© 2000 Dumbarton Oaks

Trustees for Harvard University

Washington, D.C.

Printed in the United States of America

www.doaks.org/etexts.html

Appendix B

The Regulation of Diet in the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents¹

A. General Rules

Systematic treatments of the monastic diet are lacking in the Byzantine monastic foundation documents. The discussions of dietary matters that do appear in these documents generally bear on particular problems, the general principles (e.g., a strict prohibition on the use of meat) evidently being well understood.

1. Customary Food and Drink

Abstinence from meat was understood by (30) *Phoberos* [25] to be one of those practices that distinguished monks from laymen (cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [104]). The use of meat was not allowed in any of the monasteries for which the documents in our collection were written, though (19) *Attaleiates* [18] mandates that meat, along with other foodstuffs, should be supplied to guests in the almshouse. There are explicit prohibitions on the use of meat in only a few documents, however, including (20) *Black Mountain* [42] and (34) *Machairas* [115]. Two documents from Norman Sicily, (25) *Fragala* [A4], [B4] and (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], indicate that the consumption of meat had been abolished only recently. Only (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] forthrightly states that vegetables and legumes constitute the ordinary diet. The consumption of fish, except in (12) *Tzimiskes* [12], was generally permitted at various times during the year. Shellfish evidently were a special treat, available seasonally, especially as gifts of outside benefactors. Unlike some of their predecessors in the earlier monastic traditions, the authors of our documents permit the consumption of wine by their monks. Only (43) *Kasoulon* [1] features the extreme provision that its monks are never to eat cheese or eggs, though their use is restricted in many other documents.

2. Quantities of Food and Drink

Little is said about the quantities of food and drink to be used in the diet. In the eleventh century, however, (20) *Black Mountain* [44] has some basic instructions: one heaping wine measure [cup] of lentils, beans or chickpeas along with one level measure of rice per person when cooked plain; the quantities were to be halved in making soup. Quantities for “dry” food were similar, one heaping measure of olives, and a level one of raisins. Following the command of Basil of Caesarea,² easily procured, seasonal foods (especially fruits and vegetables) were to be preferred. Both (32) *Mamas* [17], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], provide for the

¹ For a discussion of the monastic diet and requirements of fasting and abstinence, see the works cited in the General Bibliography, XXVII. Daily Life, B. Diet, especially Joachim Herbut, *De ieiunio et abstinencia in Ecclesia byzantina ab initiis usque ad saec. XI* (Rome, 1968).

² Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 19 ([LR 19]), PG 31, cols. 268–69.

APPENDIX B

allotment of wine according to the greater measure; the last document also gives the mother superior discretionary authority to increase the quantity of wine drunk by her nuns. At times when greater moderation was desired, a smaller measure of wine might be employed.

3. Number and Times of Meals

Generally, monks were offered a midday or early afternoon meal and then a considerably smaller (and less formal) meal or snack of bread and wine or leftovers later in the evening. During times of fasting or for liturgical reasons, the principal meal might be delayed, and some strict monasteries omitted the evening meal entirely. As (28) *Pantokrator* [9] notes, “the time of eating is not always the same . . .,” and could be affected by seasonal changes, the need to accommodate work, the liturgy and other services, and the requirements of fasting and abstinence.

4. Fasting and Abstinence

The often confusing requirements for fasting and abstinence gave rise to most of the dietary regulations in our documents. The difference between fasting and abstinence is explained thusly in (20) *Black Mountain* [91]: “Fasting is not touching anything at all, but abstinence is touching a small (amount) and again holding (oneself) back.” The latter is said to be appropriate always, while the former could be inappropriate at certain seasons and on certain days. The stern (2) *Pantelleria* [4], a document probably of the late eighth century, imposes the unusual obligation upon its monks of fasting throughout the day. Those performing strenuous manual labor, however, were to be allowed a quarter portion of a regular meal, with a glass of wine. In the tenth century, (7) *Latros* [8] fasting was to be observed by each of the monks in proportion to his strength and as approved by the superior.

5. Historical Development of Dietary Regulation

Our earliest documents provide only a few general rules for dietary observances. Beginning with (4) *Stoudios*, we see an intensified interest in dietary prescriptions, though primarily for periods of fasting. The most detailed regulations are to be found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when our authors gradually expand their prescriptions to cover both fast and non-fast days throughout the year. In this era, (20) *Black Mountain*, (30) *Phoberos*, and (43) *Kasoulon* offer the sternest regulations, but generally speaking, the monastic reform favored (implicitly rather than explicitly) a relatively relaxed dietary regime. In the thirteenth century, however, one observes an increasing inclination among our authors to defer to the authority of the liturgical *typikon* of the Sabas monastery near Jerusalem,³ with the result that dietary regulation becomes scarcer in Palaiologan times.

(7) *Latros* [8] makes the earliest recommendation of the “Rule of Jerusalem,” presumably an early version of the Sabas *typikon*. In the Palaiologan era, (37) *Auxentios* [10], (39) *Lips* [30], (56) *Kellibara II* [1], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78] all endorse that *typikon*. (56) *Kellibara II* [1] confidently states: “Those who need to find out something should open the book containing the rule and read it, and they will certainly be able to find what they are looking for in it.” (57) *Bebaia*

³ (22) *Evergetis* [10]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26]; (30) *Phoberos* [28]; (34) *Machairas* [67]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].

APPENDIX B

Elpis [79] praises the *typikon* for its moderation “equally avoiding superfluity and deficiency.” Among other things, the *typikon* is said to regulate the number [80] of daily meals and the times when fish was allowed to be eaten, wine drunk [81], and olive oil employed in cooking. However, (37) *Auxentios* [10] allows the superior discretionary authority to relax the interpretation of its dietary provisions.

In later centuries, dietary observances were among those traditional practices that contemporaries thought needed explication. Thus, the cumin-flavored Lenten beverage named *eukraton* mentioned earlier in (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] and elsewhere⁴ without explanation is said in the thirteenth century in (36) *Blemmydes* [18] to be a precaution against flatulence.

B. Rules for Regular (Non-Fast) Days

At first one finds relatively little regulation for non-fast days. In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [29], followed by (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], provides for three servings of wine at the main meal and two in the evening. The most detailed discussion is to be found in the eleventh century in (20) *Black Mountain* [37], which provides for two courses on Tuesdays and Thursdays, one a legume soup cooked with olive oil (but see the reservation on its use in [R41]) and the other boiled vegetables without. A small, carefully measured portion of cheese, eggs, or fish was also permitted on these days. The monks could eat a benefactor’s gift even if it exceeded the usual standard. There was to be [57] no fasting on the weekends at any time during the year with the exception of Holy Saturday. On Saturdays, a meal was to be prepared [47] at the fifth hour, consisting of two courses of legume soup and boiled vegetables, both prepared with olive oil. Cheese, eggs, or fish could also be consumed if they were available. The Sunday meal was to be served [47] at the third hour, and consisted of two courses, prepared with olive oil, or three if necessary to accommodate a benefactor’s gift. There were to be evening meals on both Saturdays and Sundays (see also [38]). Wine could be consumed on Sundays [38], diluted one part to twenty of water, but generally not on other days except on feasts, when taken for medicinal purposes or consumed as a gift. When permitted, it was to be limited to two cups in most cases, but absolutely no more than three.

In the contemporary (23) *Pakourianos* [8], we find a generous provision for three dishes a day, accompanied by four measures of wine, and with cheese permitted on four days: Tuesday and Thursday during the week, and Saturday and Sunday on the weekend. Later in the early twelfth century, (27) *Kecharitomene* [46] provides for two to three dishes at the midday meal, of fish and cheese, on these days. The diet for Monday was to be two or three dishes of legumes cooked with olive oil, and shellfish if they happened to be available. The beverage was to be dispensed by the larger measure, to be increased at the mother superior’s discretion. At the evening meal, the nuns were to be fed bread, seasonal vegetables, and small fruits, accompanied again by a beverage distributed with the larger measure. (32) *Mamas* [17], along with (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], follows these prescriptions. At the principal meal, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63] allows its monks two dishes of food daily, including fish, cheese, and two “monastic measures” of wine. (28) *Pantokrator* [12],

⁴ For cumin-flavored beverages, see also (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (34) *Machairas* [67], and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].

APPENDIX B

whose treatment of dietary matters is generally liberal, provides for three dishes of cheese and eggs on Tuesdays and Thursdays, three dishes of vegetables, legumes, and mussels and oysters (in season), prepared with olive oil and seasonings, on Mondays, and three dishes, including fresh fish, on Saturdays and Sundays. Hot water was to be poured [9] into the monks' wine-cups (perhaps for dilution) to accompany each dish; bread was also served with the meals.

In the much stricter (43) *Kasoulon* [2], cf. [5], legumes, olive oil, vegetables, fish, and wine are permitted on non-fast days, here Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays. Two dishes were to be served [3] on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and also on Sundays [4]. There was to be [4] no cooked evening meal on Sunday, however.

In the late thirteenth century, (39) *Lips* [32] provides for two to three dishes of fish, cheese and legumes on four fast-free days, which are the same as in (43) *Kasoulon* [5]. In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] allows two daily meals on these same fast-free days. Fish was to be served on Sunday "on account of the difficult vigils." On Monday, the prescribed diet was one "boiled dish with vinegar and wine." Fasting on the weekend days was forbidden.

C. Rules for Fast Days

Our authors disagreed on what days of the week fasting should be practiced. The more lenient required fasting only on Wednesdays and Fridays, while the stricter insisted on fasting on Mondays as well.

In (11) *Ath. Rule* [30] wine is prohibited on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays except for the infirm. (7) *Latros* [8] is more severe, restricting its monks to bread and water on Wednesdays and Fridays, except on the occurrence of a dominical feast, that is, a feast of the Lord, or in regard for a monk's infirmity. In the eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [38] restricts its monks on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to one course of boiled vegetables without olive oil, and another of dry food. The single meal on these days was to take place [43] either at the conclusion of vespers or at the ninth hour.

For Wednesday and Friday fast days, (27) *Kecharitomene* [46] prescribes a diet of three dishes of legumes and vegetables cooked with olive oil, yet if fish were sent by a benefactor on these days or on a Monday, it could be consumed. Likewise, at the discretion of the superior, fish could be consumed on a dominical feast that chanced to fall on one of these days. The prescription for the Wednesday and Friday diet is adopted by (32) *Mamas* [17], which also allows wine distributed with the customary measure, but permits the monks to observe voluntarily a stricter dietary regime of dry foods only "for the sake of the canons." (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17] has the same regulation. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] simply provides for an observance of the canons on these two days, but allows the superior to make concessions to accommodate the "weakness of the brothers." (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63] recognizes Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays as fast days; its monks were to be fed "Holy Broth" and legumes.

(30) *Phoberos* [16] indicates that the diet will be similar to that prescribed for Lent, specifically legumes soaked in water or fruits and fresh vegetables, with cumin-flavored hot water for a beverage, to be served at the ninth hour. Observance of the Wednesday and Friday fasts, enjoined by many patristic authorities, was a very serious obligation, to be set aside [17] only for the

APPENDIX B

observance of a dominical feast. Cheese, fish, and eggs were not to be eaten [19] on these days, even if the feast of Christmas happened to occur on one of them.

(43) *Kasoulon* [5] ordains fasting for three days of the week, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, except for dominical feasts, feasts of the Mother of God with an octave, of the angels, of St. John the Baptist, of the Twelve Apostles, or “any other saint whose memory is celebrated.” No fish was to be consumed [6] on Wednesdays or Fridays, except again when an important feast chanced to occur on them, unless a monk was sick; nor was oil to be employed [13] in cooking on these days.

In the thirteenth century (34) *Machairas* [77], citing Palestinian observance, defines fasting on these days as total abstinence from wine and oil, and reckons Mondays as equivalent in dietary obligation to the other days of fasting. (45) *Neophytos* [C4] limits its monks to uncooked foods on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. (36) *Blemmydes* [11], while banning the use of oil on Wednesdays and Fridays, permits the use of wine. Towards the end of this same century, (39) *Lips* [32] provides for one or two dishes of fresh vegetables or legumes on Wednesdays and Fridays (with the usual exceptions for the celebrations of great feasts), and boiled legumes and fresh vegetables with olive oil, along with shellfish, if abundant and in season, on Mondays.

In the early fourteenth century, (55) *Athanasios I* [5] rejects the practice of breaking a fast day on a Monday, Wednesday, or a Friday on grounds of observing a dominical feast. Later on in the same century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] limits its monks on Wednesdays and Fridays (but not Mondays) to one meal a day prepared without olive oil, and served without wine except for the sick and those with weak constitutions.

D. The Evening Meal

At least during the period from Easter to the feast of All Saints (the first Sunday after Pentecost), (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], followed by (11) *Ath. Rule* [22] in the tenth century, provides for a modest evening meal. No special food was to be prepared, but bread and any leftovers from the midday meal were to be set out for the monks along with two servings of wine each. (22) *Evergetis* [9], prescribes similarly, but more generally, ordering that small quantities of bread alone be set out, unless the superior wishes to add some small fruit as well. Drink was to be distributed with the larger measure. If a feast should occur, the superior could replace the supper with an appropriate celebration. (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], and (30) *Phoberos* [24] all follow the Evergetian prescription on the evening meal. On those days when the main meal took place not at the ninth hour but earlier, (27) *Kecharitomene* [48] provides for a small supper, with wine distributed in the smaller measure. (28) *Pantokrator* [11] likewise makes a provision for a supper of vegetables and some fruit whenever a second meal was permitted. The serving of beverages would follow the rules for the midday meal. (32) *Mamas* [17], followed as usual by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], provides for a supper of bread, seasonal fruits and vegetables, or “any other thing that shall seem best to the superior,” served with a beverage distributed with the greater measure.

In the thirteenth century, the anachronistically minded (36) *Blemmydes* [11] declares that eating only once a day was the custom of the famous ascetics (of late antiquity), but out of consideration for those who were not strong enough to subsist on one meal a day, allows for a second meal in the evening from “whatever happens to be available.” In the fourteenth century, (58)

APPENDIX B

Menoikeion [8] makes reference to specific times marked out in the monastery's *synaxarion* in which it was possible for its monks to eat twice a day: Easter Week, the week after Pentecost, the Twelve Days (of Christmas), the week of Meatfare, and the week of Cheesefare.

E. The Lenten Diet

1. General Prescriptions

(4) *Stoudios* [AB30] provides for only one meal a day, except for Saturdays and Sundays. Except for the sick and elderly, the monks were to substitute *eukraton*, flavored with pepper, cumin, anise, and hot water, for wine. Oil and wine were allowed in the diet on Lenten Saturdays, when there would be two servings at the main meal and in the evening. In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], [26] repeats these provisions, but allows wine also on Sundays and reduces the evening meal to one serving. In the contemporary (7) *Latros* [5], monks are told to restrict themselves “as much as possible” to moderate quantities of bread and water. Wine mixed with water was allowed on Saturdays and Sundays “because of lack of strength.” Also in the tenth century, (12) *Tzimiskes* [12] prohibits fish except for the infirm.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [57] explains the separate treatment of Saturdays and Sundays as non-fast days as being a traditional practice to refute “the dogma of the so-called Eustathianoï and Markianitai and Lapetianoï and Messalianoi,” but cheese, eggs, and fish were not allowed [56] on these days during Lent. The use of oil was permitted on Saturdays and Sundays, and on Sundays wine too, if available, was to be drunk “to the glory of God.” On other days, the monks were to eat only dry foods [57]; fish is explicitly forbidden [60], except on the feast of the Annunciation. At about the same time, (23) *Pakourianos* [10] provides for a Lenten fast without fish, wine or olive oil, except on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, when its monks were allowed one cup of wine each “for refreshment.”

Among the documents of the monastic reform, (22) *Evergetis* [10] prohibits fish generally during Lent, except when it was offered as a refreshment by an outside benefactor. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] restricts the consumption of such a gift to weekend days. (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed in the twelfth century by (27) *Kecharitomene*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, and (30) *Phoberos*, and in the thirteenth by (34) *Machairas* [73], allows the superior to exercise discretion with the diet of the sick during Lent. (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and (43) *Kasoulon* [2] make the same provision.

In the twelfth century, (28) *Pantokrator* [12] restricts its monks to one meal a day, except for Saturdays and Sundays. Exceptions for feasts are not recognized. On weekend days, however, the monks were to be served three dishes, one of fresh vegetables, the second of legumes, and the third of oysters, mussels, scallops, and onions, all seasoned with olive oil and accompanied by the “usual” measure of wine. (30) *Phoberos* [19] forbids the consumption of cheese or eggs. (31) *Areia* [T5] provides that the Studite *typikon*, i.e., (4) *Stoudios* [AB30], should be followed. The rigorist (43) *Kasoulon* [2] forbids fish throughout Lent, oil on Mondays, and wine on Wednesdays and Fridays.

In the thirteenth century, (45) *Neophytos* [C4] provides for uncooked food during all the Lenten weekdays; additional self-imposed dietary rigors are encouraged but not required. In the fourteenth century, (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [82] adds to the rigor of its model, the Sabas *typikon*, by prohibiting the use of oil even on weekend days, except for the sick, who were to be allowed even

APPENDIX B

to have fish frequently. In the fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] orders abstinence from food cooked with oil during the Lenten weekdays though food could be boiled with vinegar instead of oil. Foods prepared with oil and wine were allowed on weekend days. Wine was also allowed on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

2. The First Week of Lent and the Feast of St. Theodore

The first week of the Lenten fast, particularly the first day, were generally marked by dietary asceticism of varying rigor. The diet was relaxed in honor of the feast of St. Theodore on Saturday of that week. In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] orders simple food during the first week of Lent: boiled beans and chickpeas, *almaia* without olive oil, figs, and (if available) chestnuts, cooked pears, and prunes. In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [25] endorses the Studite regulation, adding “some other boiled fruit” to the list of permitted food. In (4) *Stoudios* [A30] there are special regulations for the first weekend in Lent: on Friday, boiled beans with white and black olives, *almaia*, and *kollyba*, with one measure of wine as well; on Saturday and Sunday at the midday meal, two dishes with olive oil and two measures of wine, followed by two more measures in the evening.

In the eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [56] orders no eating at all on the first day of Lent, and on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday just one piece of salted bread with water. The *Catechesis* of Theodore Studites is cited for having at least this modest meal during the first week of Lent. On Friday evening, just before the feast of St. Theodore, there was to be a cooked meal without oil and some other dry food, as well as bread and water. As on other Lenten weekend days, there was to be no eating of cheese, eggs, or fish on this Saturday or Sunday. (22) *Evergetis* [10] also orders a day of complete fasting on the Monday of the first week of Lent, but meals were to be prepared on the other days of that week for those who wished to partake, consisting of legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables and fruits, with a cumin-seasoned hot water drink. On Friday, in honor of St. Theodore, there would be two dishes of food cooked without olive oil with a larger measure of “better” wine. On Saturday, the monks were also permitted to eat shellfish (but not other fish) as a refreshment if sent to them by outside benefactors.

Among the Evergetian institutions in the twelfth century, (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] all endorse the prescription for a total fast on the first Monday in Lent, although (30) *Phoberos* [28] encourages his monks to continue the fast until Wednesday or even Friday, while (32) *Mamas* [18] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] substitute wine “distributed with the half measure” for the cumin-flavored water on the grounds that the chanters need “a moderate concession even if it is contrary to the canons” so that they will have enough sustenance to perform the office and the required genuflections. These last two documents also allow a more generous diet on the feast of St. Theodore, namely two meals of boiled vegetables and shellfish (fish also if sent by benefactors), and the “customary large measure” of wine. To a lesser extent, (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] does also, providing that one of the two dishes prepared for the Friday feast should be cooked with olive oil.

(28) *Pantokrator* [12], however, permits but does not require the Monday fast, which is acknowledged to be “the custom of many.” The diet for the first week was to be a smaller portions of bread and wine than usual, legumes soaked in salty hot water without olive oil, nuts, and dried figs. On Friday evening, the vigil of St. Theodore, the monks were to have pickles seasoned with

olive oil and a measure of wine. On Saturday and Sunday, the diet would follow the prescriptions for other Lenten weekend days.

The rigorist (43) *Kasoulon* [9] provides for a diet of bread, soaked beans, and water (but no vegetables) during the first week of Lent, then soaked beans, *kollyba*, and also wine (so [23]) on Friday in honor of St. Theodore, with vegetables being allowed again on Saturday. In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [67] appears to follow the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10], but permits the use of sesame oil as shortening for the meal and substitutes the “customary” for the “larger” measure for the wine on the vigil of St. Theodore. In the fourteenth century (58) *Menoikeion* [8] simply provides that the monks should follow the rules set forth in the monastery’s *synaxarion* for the first week of Lent.

3. The Rest of Lent until Palm Sunday

For the second, third, fifth, and sixth weeks of the Lenten fast, (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] provides for a diet of boiled beans, olives (in [A] only), legumes, and vegetables seasoned with ground nutmeg—but no fruits or figs—on regular weekdays. All except the sick will drink *eukraton* instead of wine. (4) *Stoudios* [A30] (only) provides that the diet for Wednesday and Friday fast days will be the same as for the more rigorist first and middle (fourth) week of Lent; on Friday this was to include beans, olives, *almaia*, *kollyba*, and one measure of wine; on Saturday, two dishes prepared with oil, with two measures of wine at the midday meal and two at the evening collation. For the mid-Lent (fourth) week, (4) *Stoudios* [B30] (only) provides for a diet that is the same as for the first week of Lent.

In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], follows (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] as its model, but with only boiled beans and another dish seasoned with nutmeg provided as the diet for non-fast weekdays. There is no specific discussion of the diet for the Wednesday and Friday fasts.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [56] refers to the fiftieth canon of the Synod of Laodicea for the restriction to dry foods on Lenten weekdays. Uncooked fruits and olives are permitted, if available. For the entire mid-Lent (fourth) week, (20) *Black Mountain* [58] references the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios* [B30], for the exclusive use of dry foods. The fast was not to be broken on the Wednesday of this week.

In (22) *Evergetis* [10], the diet for regular weekdays (Tuesdays and Thursdays) was to be two cooked dishes, both prepared with olive oil, accompanied by wine of the smaller (half) measure. On the weekday fast days (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays), the diet prescribed is uncooked foods—beans and some small fruits—and hot cumin-flavored water in place of wine. On weekend days, the two cooked dishes prepared with olive oil are accompanied by wine of the larger measure. In opposition to (20) *Black Mountain*, the weekend diet is to prevail on the Wednesday in the middle of Lent, as well as on the Thursday of the Great Canon (so also (27) *Kecharitomena* [47], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]). In the twelfth century, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26] endorses these Evergetian prescriptions, while (30) *Phoberos* [28] is more selective, omitting the provision for the extension of the more ample weekend diet to the middle Wednesday of Lent.

(22) *Evergetis* [10] makes exceptions to the general ban on the consumption of fish during Lent for the feasts of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Baptist (February 24), the Forty Martyrs (March 9), and the Annunciation (March 25), and if some benefactor were actually present for the consumption of this sort of culinary gift. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26] provides likewise, but

APPENDIX B

(30) *Phoberos* [28] omits the feast of the Annunciation and reminds its readers that shellfish are permitted on Saturdays and Sundays.

(27) *Kecharitomene* [47] makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10], but introduces some changes, particularly in making the diet for the weekday fast days more lenient. On Mondays, there were to be two cooked dishes, one prepared with and the other without olive oil, accompanied by wine of the smaller measure, while on Wednesdays and Fridays the two dishes were to be prepared without olive oil, though still with the small measure of wine. On Saturdays and Sundays there were to be three cooked dishes prepared with olive oil instead of two.

Later on in the twelfth century, (32) *Mamas* [18] also makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10], but it favors a stricter dietary regime on Tuesdays and a slightly more lenient one on weekend days. The Tuesday diet was to be boiled beans and black olives, while on Thursdays the diet was the same as in (22) *Evergetis* [10]. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, the diet was to be legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, nuts, and dried figs, accompanied by the “customary” two-thirds measure of wine. On Saturdays and Sundays, there was a richer diet of “two or three” cooked dishes prepared with olive oil and accompanied by a large measure of wine. As usual, (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] provides a ready endorsement of these provisions of its model.

Typically, (28) *Pantokrator* [12] provides for a more generous diet: fresh vegetables served with olive oil and legumes sweetened with honey “as an additional refreshment” accompanied by the “usual measure” of wine on Tuesdays and Thursdays; and the legumes soaked in water prepared without olive oil, nuts, figs, and smaller than usual portions of bread and wine on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays that also made up the diet prescribed for the first week of Lent. This weekday fast diet was to prevail during the whole of the fourth week of Lent as well.

Also typically, (43) *Kasoulon* [9] regulates the Lenten diet strictly. On regular weekdays, there was to be one cooked meal each day prepared with olive oil (except on Mondays, when oil was not allowed), accompanied by wine. On Wednesdays and Fridays, the diet was to be bread, boiled beans, raw or wild vegetables, and small nuts, accompanied only by water. Wine and the use of olive oil were not allowed on these days. For the weekend days, the diet would follow that for the regular weekdays, with the use of olive oil permitted.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [69] provides for a single meal of boiled beans, *almaia*, and fruits accompanied by a brewed beverage for those of strong constitutions and one of cooked food prepared with sesame and olive oil accompanied by wine for others on Tuesdays and Thursdays. For the diet on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, (34) *Machairas* [69] follows (22) *Evergetis* [10] in prescribing boiled beans and small fruits (adding raw vegetables) accompanied by cumin-flavored water. On Saturdays and Sundays, the provision is [68] for three cooked dishes prepared with sesame oil with the “customary” measure of wine. The larger number of dishes on the weekend days is in accord with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [18] rather than (22) *Evergetis* [10]. Citing the “custom of the monastery,” there was to be an evening meal on these days.

In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] provides for two meals seasoned with either honey or vinegar and accompanied by a measure of wine on Tuesdays and Thursdays, dry food and water only on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and two meals seasoned with olive oil and accompanied by wine on Saturdays and Sundays.

APPENDIX B

4. Holy Week

a. General Regulations

In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [A30] provides on Wednesday and Friday for a diet of boiled beans and chickpeas, *almaia* prepared without olive oil, figs, chestnuts, cooked pears, and prunes, just as for the first week of Lent. Monday and Tuesday follow the diet of the second, third and fifth weeks of Lent, i. e., boiled beans, olives, cooked legumes and vegetables, but no fruits or dried figs. [B30], on the other hand, and, in the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [26] prescribe for Holy Week the same food as for the first. In the twelfth century, (28) *Pantokrator* [12], also observes this parallelism between the first and last weeks of Lent, adding also the fourth week. (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides for an uninterrupted six-day fast on just bread and water from Monday to the Saturday before Easter, seeing that “they are days of grief and not a feast.”

b. Monday through Wednesday

(20) *Black Mountain* [62] prescribes a three-day fast broken in the evening with a modest meal of bread and water and raw vegetables “just as the sacred canons specify.” Similarly, (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides that the monks’ modest meals should be taken in the evening during this week up through Holy Thursday. (43) *Kasoulon* [9] orders a three-day fast during Holy Week on the same terms as the four-day fast prescribed during the first week of Lent. In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] is in agreement, prescribing only dry food and water during Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week.

c. Holy Thursday

In (4) *Stoudios* [AB30], the Holy Week fast is alleviated somewhat on Holy Thursday with a meal consisting of one dish of legumes with ground nutmeg and boiled beans, accompanied by up to a measure of wine. (11) *Ath. Rule* [26] permits the use of both oil and wine on Holy Thursday. (20) *Black Mountain* [63], citing the “*typika* of the great monasteries, that is, of *Stoudios* and [St. Sabas of] Jerusalem,” prescribes a legume soup without oil and other dry food, accompanied by wine.

(22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (34) *Machairas* [72] in the thirteenth century, prescribes that the monks’ diet on Holy Thursday was to follow that set for non-fast days, that is, two cooked dishes prepared with olive oil accompanied by wine of the smaller measure. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] is similar, but substitutes the larger measure of wine, as do (32) *Mamas* [18] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]. The indulgent (28) *Pantokrator* [12] permits the use of olive oil on this day, as even the strict (43) *Kasoulon* [9] does, adding also “good wine,” on account of the upcoming sleepless vigil its monks were obligated to perform in honor of Christ’s passion. In the fourteenth century, however, (58) *Menoikeion* dissents on the use of olive oil, which it condemns as a contravention of “the sacred and apostolic canons,” though two meals seasoned with honey are permitted instead.

d. Good Friday

For Good Friday, (20) *Black Mountain* [64] recommends but does not require a total abstinence from food (to continue through Holy Saturday). If this cannot be done, the monks should have only bread and water and raw vegetables on Good Friday, then fast for Saturday only. This is also the approach taken by (30) *Phoberos* [28]. (22) *Evergetis* [10] simply orders that no cooking is to

APPENDIX B

be done, but with its usual moderation provides for a meal of raw vegetables and fruits, accompanied by wine of the larger measure, in view of the exertions of the monks' Easter vigil. This is endorsed by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] provides for a diet from Good Friday up till the eve of Easter consisting only of bread, legumes soaked in water, and wine mulled with cumin. (43) *Kasoulon* [9] typically takes the firmest position of its era, ordering that its monks should eat nothing from Holy Thursday evening until late night Saturday, in accordance with the provisions of the Synod in Trullo. Both (34) *Machairas* [72] in the thirteenth century and (58) *Menoikeion* [8] in the fourteenth century endorse this view in a conspicuous rejection of the more lenient Evergetian tradition.

e. Holy Saturday

In (4) *Stoudios* [A30], the monks begin the vesper service at the eleventh hour and break their fast when it is concluded with a meal of fruit, bread, and two measures of wine. In [B30], the meal is more substantial, consisting of cheese, fish, and eggs, with three measures of wine. (11) *Ath. Rule* [26], rejecting the Studite model, declares that the refectory should not be opened after the vesper service, begun in the middle of the twelfth hour, is concluded "because a large meal would weigh heavily on the stomach and on the mind." Its monks were to be content with the blessed bread, and two servings of wine distributed in the narthex.

In (20) *Black Mountain* [66], cf. [65] there is a discussion of various canonical authorities for when to end the Easter fast. The less stringent *typika* of "the great monasteries," including those discussed above, are preferred in their provision for a small meal of bread (baked ahead of time on Holy Thursday), fruit and a little wine at the end of the third hour of the night.

For its part, (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], simply provides for a "customary collation," in order to avoid distraction from the vigil. (32) *Mamas* [18] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* provide for opening the refectory for a collation. (30) *Phoberos* [28], citing the patristic tradition considered but rejected by the author of (20) *Black Mountain* [66], provides for the collation at the sixth hour of the night (i.e., at midnight). (28) *Pantokrator* [12], with typical lenience, allows its monks to have a meal of bread, legumes soaked in water, and wine mulled with cumin even before the vesper service. (43) *Kasoulon* [9], also typically, insists that the fast should last until midnight, at which time its monks were to partake of a cooked meal prepared in the refectory with olive oil and accompanied by wine.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [72] provides for a collation only, in the narthex, after the dismissal of the liturgy celebrated "around the third or fourth watch of the night." In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] likewise provides for breaking the fast in the church without a cooked meal after the dismissal of the liturgy.

F. Lenten Dietary Dispensations for Feasts

1. Feasts of St. John the Forerunner and the Forty Martyrs

The possible occurrence of these two feasts early during the Lenten fast led many of our authors to make provisions for special dietary concessions. (4) *Stoudios* [A30] (but not [B]) provides for a special diet of two dishes of vegetables and legumes, prepared with olive oil and whole olives and accompanied by three measures of wine for the feasts of the discovery of the head of St. John the

APPENDIX B

Baptist (February 24) even if it should happen to occur in Lent. For the feast of the Forty Martyrs (March 9), the diet prescribed is a midday meal of two dishes prepared with olive oil accompanied by two measures of wine, then two more measures of wine in the evening.

For these same feasts, (20) *Black Mountain* [59] provides that one meal—the legume soup prepared without olive oil—be served, followed by any available fruit in the evening after vespers service, as long as they do not fall within the first week of Lent, in which case it was not permitted to break the fast. It should be noted that the liturgical calendar in (20) *Black Mountain* [89] reckons these as only minor feasts.

The provision of (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], is for the celebration of these feasts whenever they might fall, breaking a fast if necessary, with a meal of two dishes prepared with olive oil and accompanied by wine of the larger measure. (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides for a relaxation only of wine of the larger measure. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] allows for a celebration with fish and wine of the larger measure, but only if the feast falls on a day of the week besides Wednesday or Friday. If the feast occurs during the first week of Lent, the nuns were to have the benefit only of the diet for Lenten Tuesdays and Thursdays, i.e., two cooked dishes, prepared with olive oil and accompanied by wine of the smaller measure.

(32) *Mamas* [18] follows (27) *Kecharitomene* in restricting celebration of the feast of St. John to those occasions when it does not fall on a fast day, here interpreted to include Mondays also. The prescribed diet, fish and wine of the larger measure, is the same. The feast of the Forty Martyrs was thought to merit only shellfish and the same amount of wine. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] endorses these provisions. (28) *Pantokrator* [12], however, recognizes only the feast of the Forty Martyrs, on which occasion monks were to eat fish, unless the feast fell during the first week of Lent, when they would have only the concession of olive oil in the preparation of their food.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [70] follows the language of (22) *Evergetis* [10] but allows three dishes of food prepared with olive oil and accompanied by wine, but not fish. An occurrence during the first week of Lent would reduce the concession to a serving of wine.

2. Feast of the Annunciation

The feast of the Annunciation on March 25 was bound to occur sometime during the Lenten fast, sometimes even during Holy Week, leading many of our authors to make special dietary provisions for it. Without discussion of possible complications, (4) *Stoudios* [AB31] enjoins the celebration of the feast of the Annunciation with fish prepared with olive oil and accompanied by three measures of wine. In the tenth century, (7) *Latros* [5] does likewise, prescribing fish and the use of olive oil “with moderation.” (20) *Black Mountain* [60] also considers this feast a legitimate reason to break a fast with two meals, including any available fish, prepared with oil and accompanied by wine.

According to (22) *Evergetis* [10], its monks were to eat fish on this feast if it was sent by benefactors, but the item was not to be procured deliberately. Leftovers were to be consumed freely on the following day, but if there were none, the monks were to be given two dishes prepared with olive oil instead. If the feast fell during the first week of Lent, however, the festal concession would be reduced to wine of the larger measure and gruel. If the feast fell during the first three days of Holy Week, the monks would be allowed shellfish and wine of the larger measure in preference to the usual diet of legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruit, and cumin-

APPENDIX B

flavored water. In a controversial position, (22) *Evergetis* [10] declares, “we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday, or even holy Easter Eve itself.”

(29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], [27] faithfully follows these provisions of its Evergetian model. (30) *Phoberos* [28] mostly does so also, but restricts the consumption of leftovers from the feast on fast days and omits Easter Eve from the list of days in Holy Week when it must be celebrated. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] permits a celebration with shellfish during Holy Week only on Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday (i.e., the non-fast days). Should the feast occur on Wednesday or on Good Friday, the nuns were to be content with cooked legumes and vegetables accompanied by olive oil. The Easter Eve fast was not to be broken. (32) *Mamas* [18], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], makes similar provision for occurrences during Holy Week, but permits wine of the greater measure as a consolation on those days when cooked legumes had to be served for the feast in lieu of shellfish. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] is not much different, permitting celebration by consumption of fish at any time in Lent, including on Holy Thursday, except during the weekdays of the first week of Lent and the other days of Holy Week. If the feast occurred during a day during Holy Week when fish could not be consumed, the monks were to have the consolation of the use of wine and olive oil.

The usually strict (43) *Kasoulon* [24] is uncharacteristically lenient on this issue, providing for a three-day feast (March 24-26) featuring food prepared with olive oil and good wine, with no discussion of possible exceptions to its celebration. The usual exception for Holy Week is found in (34) *Machairas* [71], however, when its monks were to be content with legumes, fresh vegetables, seasonal fruits, and hot water flavored with honey and cumin, though an occurrence on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, or Holy Saturday would be marked by serving wine of the “customary allotment.”

3. Performance of the Great Canon

The special concessionary diet of (4) *Stoudios* [A30] (but not [B]) prescribed for an occurrence of the feast of the discovery of the head of St. John the Baptist was also valid for the Wednesday and Thursday of the fifth week in Lent when the monks performed the Great Canon. In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [58] rejects the notion of breaking a fast at this time “because it is rather a day of grief and not a feast.” (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], provides for a meal of the type ordinarily provided on a Lenten weekday, that is, two cooked dishes, one with olive oil, and wine with the smaller measure, on the Thursday of the Great Canon. (43) *Kasoulon* [22] typically refuses to grant a substantial dietary concession, but permits the superior to approve the consumption of wine on Wednesday “on account of the labor the brothers are about to take up.” On the following Thursday, the monks would eat a meal prepared with olive oil and accompanied with good wine. (34) *Machairas* [69] notes that the monks will miss supper on Wednesday and Thursday, but provides for a refreshment for the chanters on Friday.

4. Feast of St. Lazarus

(4) *Stoudios* [A30] orders that the Saturday feast of St. Lazarus on the day before Palm Sunday be celebrated in the same way as that of St. Theodore, i.e., with two dishes at the midday meal prepared with olive oil and accompanied by two measures of wine, followed by two more in the

APPENDIX B

evening. On the Friday before the feast, (20) *Black Mountain* [61] allows one meal, legume soup prepared without oil, any available fruits, and bread and water. (43) *Kasoulon* [16], [23] allows the superior to grant a concession of wine on the Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday.

5. Feasts of the Presentation and of St. Symeon

(29) *Kosmosoteira* [27], observing that these feasts, which occurred on February 2 and 3 respectively, often fell during the first week of Lent, orders that they be kept in the same way as the feast of the Annunciation.

G. Rules for Other Fasts

1. Fast of the Holy Apostles

(43) *Kasoulon* [10] provides the parameters of this fast, which begins on the Monday after the feast of All Saints and extends to the vigil of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul on June 29. In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [AB29] provides that the monks should abstain from fish, cheese, and eggs during this fast, except for those days on which they did not sing the hours [i.e., on Sundays and feasts]. The diet was to consist of two dishes, one of vegetables served with olive oil and another of legumes without, accompanied by two servings of wine at the ninth hour and two in the evening. On feast days during this period of fasting, the monks were not only allowed to have cheese and other foods, but also to drink three measures of wine at the sixth hour and two more in the evening.

In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [23] orders abstinence from fish, except on Sundays and feasts, during this fast. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the monks were also to abstain from wine and not use oil with their food, but otherwise they were to make use [24] of their customary diet of vegetables and legumes.

At the end of the eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [R38] prescribes a diet on regular weekdays (here Tuesdays and Thursdays) of two courses of boiled vegetables without oil and dry foods at the ninth hour. On the remaining weekday fast days, the diet was to be reduced to two portions of bread with water. This is said [31] to be in accord with the *typika* cited above and other authorities.

(22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], cf. [63] provides for a meal at the seventh hour of two dishes cooked with olive oil and wine of the larger measure, followed later by a supper consisting of a small piece of bread and the larger measure of wine “because of the heat and dryness of the season.” The monks were to abstain from fish, unless it was given to the monastery by external benefactors. (30) *Phoberos* [29] endorses these prescriptions, but applies them to regular weekdays (Tuesdays and Thursdays); on Wednesdays and Fridays, the monks were to abstain [19] also from cheese, eggs, and fish.

In (23) *Pakourianos* [10], the rule is abstinence from olive oil on the three fast days (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday), but with two measures of wine at the main meal and one in the evening.

(27) *Kecharitomene* [48] is based on the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10] but more lenient. The nuns, limited to two dishes on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, are permitted as many as three on Tuesdays and Thursdays at the discretion of the mother superior; they were to dine on fish supplied by the convent or some refreshment sent by a benefactor. As in (22) *Evergetis* [10], there

APPENDIX B

should also be a supper of bread, to which available raw vegetables and fruit are added, all accompanied by wine of the larger measure “because of the heat and dryness of the season.”

(32) *Mamas* [18], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], also makes its own customized use of (22) *Evergetis* [10], prescribing dry food only on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and two or three dishes cooked with olive oil on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The superior is permitted to provide refreshments and make dietary concessions at his discretion. Fish supplied by the monastery or a benefactor was to be consumed on Saturdays and Sundays. Fish supplied by a benefactor could also be eaten on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Wine distributed with the greater measure was to be served at meals on all of these days “on account of the burning heat and dryness of the season,” and a supper served, too, of bread and seasonal raw vegetables and fruit.

Among other twelfth-century documents, (28) *Pantokrator* [12] provides for an abstinence from cheese and eggs “to be observed on the days without a fast” (i.e., days other than Wednesdays and Fridays); supper would be served, however. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63] simply leaves the determination of food and drink during this fast to the discretion of the superior. (31) *Areia* [T5] provides for a modification of its model, the *typikon* of Stoudios (i.e., (4) *Stoudios* [AB29]), permitting its monks to eat twice a day “since the days are long at that time of year.” The fast is said to differ from non-fast days only in eating after the recitation of the psalms at the third and sixth hours and in abstaining from cheese and eggs. The stern (43) *Kasoulon* limits [10] its monks to a single meal a day “according to the tradition of the holy apostles,” prescribes a diet like that for the fast of St. Philip (see G.2 below), and permits [3] the consumption of fish only on the feast of St. John the Baptist.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [76], based loosely on (22) *Evergetis* [10], prescribes two dishes cooked with oil and accompanied by the customary allotment of wine. The same was to apply for Saturdays and Sundays, except that there would be three cooked dishes. On all of these days there would be a supper consisting of a small piece of bread and a few seasonal olives or fruits, accompanied by wine of the smaller allotment. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the monks were to eat at the seventh hour after the completion of the daily office, dining on cooked legumes and raw vegetables and fruit, if available, accompanied by water. The consumption of any other cooked food or wine was forbidden, as was the use of oil. The contemporary (45) *Neophytos* [C4] contents itself with a command to observe the provisions of the (liturgical) *typikon* without imposing any additional obligations “because of the hot weather and the length of the daytime.”

In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] restricts its monks to one meal of legumes or vegetables with vinegar but no wine on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. On Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, the diet was to be increased to two meals prepared with olive oil and served with wine. In the fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17], orders abstention from boiled food, oil, and wine on Wednesdays and Fridays.

2. Fast of St. Philip (or the Holy Nativity)

This is the Advent fast, which begins after the feast of St. Philip, November 14. The provisions for this fast generally followed those set forth for the fast of the Holy Apostles. (4) *Stoudios* [A29] so provides, while [B29] restricts its monks to one meal a day “on account of the short days during the fast” but compensates them with three measures of wine. (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] adopts this re-

striction of one meal a day also. (20) *Black Mountain* [54] provides an option for moving the single meal from the ninth hour to the night, again “because of the shortness of the days.”

(22) *Evergetis* [10] likewise provides for a diet for what it calls the “fast of the Holy Nativity” that is similar to that of the fast of Holy Apostles, with a single meal to take place at the ninth hour after the completion of the canonical office. The shortness of the days made it impossible to conduct the divine liturgy during the fast. A fast day was to be identifiable as one on which “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung at matins but rather the “Alleluia.” (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28] (but cf. [63]), (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] all follow these Evergetian prescriptions, as does (30) *Phoberos* [30], which identifies the days on which fasting is required as Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. (27) *Kecharitomene* [48] prescribes the addition of fish to the diet on the feast of the Entrance of the Mother of God into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple), which occurred on November 21.

(23) *Pakourianos* [10] provides for a single meal at the ninth hour each day during this fast except for those days on which “God is the Lord” is sung (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays), when the monks should also abstain from the use of olive oil. Wine was not to be consumed during this fast (or any of the others) except on Saturdays and Sundays, when the monks would receive a single cup of wine “for refreshment.” (28) *Pantokrator* [12] restricts the eating of fish and limits the monks to one meal a day after the completion of the office of lamplighting. Weekday meals were to be prepared without the use of olive oil. The contemporary (31) *Areia* [T5] simply references the *typikon* of Stoudios, i.e., (4) *Stoudios* [A29], for its regulations for this fast.

In (43) *Kasoulon* [3] we find a prescription for two cooked dishes on Tuesdays and Thursdays, including fish, but no use of olive oil on Wednesdays and Fridays. The consumption of fish is also permitted on the feast of the Entrance of the Mother of God into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple) and for the three-day feast of St. Nicholas (December 5-7).

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [76] follows (22) *Evergetis* [10] in decreeing that the diet should be the same as for the fast of the Holy Apostles. The contemporary (45) *Neophytos* [C4] contents itself with a command to observe the provisions of the liturgical *typikon*.

In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8], which delimits the fast from the feast of St. Nicholas to Christmas, instructs its monks to eat only once a day except for Saturdays and Sundays, and to abstain from using olive oil or drinking wine on Tuesdays and Thursdays, a restriction that presumably also applied during the three fast days. In the fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] provides for a forty-day fast during which its monks should abstain from oil and wine on Wednesdays and Fridays (except for feasts of the Lord and those of great saints). There was to be only one daily meal on these days, to take place after the chanting of the hours and the *mesoria* at vespers; it would consist of dry foods and seasonal fruits accompanied only by water.

3. Fast of the Mother of God

Among our documents, only (20) *Black Mountain* [87], [88], (30) *Phoberos* [31], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] recognize this fast, which precedes the feast of the Dormition on August 15. (20) *Black Mountain* [87] provides a discussion of when it should begin (at the beginning of the month of August, but not on a Wednesday or Friday) and prescribes a diet of two kinds of food and drink “just as on the fast of the Holy Apostles and Christmas.” (30) *Phoberos* [31] provides for a

APPENDIX B

fast of the Dormition from the beginning of August until the “very day of the holy Mother of God.” During this fast, neither cheese nor eggs nor fish were to be eaten, except for Saturdays and Sundays when the consumption of fish was allowed “because of your weakness.” (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] provides for abstinence from boiled food, oil, and wine on Wednesday and Friday fast days.

H. Diet from Easter to the Sunday after Pentecost

For the period from Easter until the feast of All Saints on the Sunday after Pentecost, (4) *Stoudios* [A29] provides for a diet of two dishes of garden vegetables and legumes prepared with olive oil, fish, cheese, and eggs, accompanied by three measures of wine. There was to be an additional three measures of wine distributed at the evening meal. In [B29], the diet for the evening meal is specified as bread and leftovers from the midday meal; the number of permitted servings of wine is only two. (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], taking its lead from (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], mentions only the two courses of the midday meal, to consist of green vegetables and legumes seasoned with three *litrai* of oil.

In the eleventh century, (23) *Pakourianos* [8] provides for a “more lavish” dinner on Easter Sunday because the monks “will be tired and hungry having completed a vigil the previous night.” During the fifty days of the Easter season leading up to Pentecost, the monks were to have four courses at their meals, including cheese and “whatever else divine providence supplies,” accompanied by two measures of wine each. The contemporary (20) *Black Mountain* [34] provides that during Easter week and up until the feast of All Saints, its monks should eat at the same time and, if possible, the same food (though not the same quantity) as they did on Easter itself. A little later in the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides for the celebration of the Resurrection for forty days, then ten days later, a week-long celebration of the feast of Pentecost, to be followed by the fast of the Holy Apostles, “for it is right that you should be glad at the gift from God and that you should fast after the relaxation.”

During Easter season, for its purposes from Easter [“Radiant”] Sunday until the Sunday of All Saints, even the stern (43) *Kasoulon* [10] allows its monks to eat twice a day; there was also to be [17] a feast on Pentecost Sunday, but after the vespers service rather than after the conclusion of the liturgy.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [74] permits its monks to eat cheese, eggs, and milk every day during the Week of Renovation (Sunday after Easter) as well as to drink wine. This is cited in [75] as an observance from the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas.

I. Diet from the Feast of the Apostles to the Feast of St. Philip

This is the time of the church year between the fast of the Holy Apostles and the fast of St. Philip (late summer and fall). In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [A29] provides that its monks, constrained by their obligation to perform prayers at the ninth hour, were to observe the dietary regime previously prescribed for the aforementioned fasts. If a feast of a saint happened to fall on one of these days, however, the monks were to be allowed to eat fish, accompanied by three servings of wine at the midday meal, and to have two servings later in the evening. [B29] permits also cheese and eggs on these feast days. In the tenth century, making some use of (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [24], forbids the use of oil or wine on Wednesdays and Fridays during this period and, like (4) *Stoudios* [B29], permits the use of cheese and eggs on feasts.

APPENDIX B

(20) *Black Mountain* [R39] provides that after the fast of the Holy Apostles down through the feast of St. Philip, the monks were to have a meal at the ninth hour of two courses of boiled vegetables prepared without oil, accompanied by unsweetened juice. Fasts on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays could be broken [R38], cf. [91] to consume a benefactor's refreshment, even by monks doing penances who ordinarily would not be allowed to do so.

In the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [28], cf. [19] provides that its monks, after the conclusion of the fast of the Holy Apostles, were to continue to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays.

J. Diet on Dominical Feasts

Most—though not all—of our authors were willing to grant dietary dispensations for the celebration of the so-called dominical feasts, the great feasts of the Lord, and sometimes for other important feasts as well.

1. General Principles

(4) *Stoudios* [29], followed in the tenth century by (11) *Ath. Rule* [24], permits an exemption from the usual requirements for fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays from the feast of the Holy Apostles to the feast of St. Philip in the event that a major feast fell on one of these days. The monks would then be allowed to eat fish, accompanied by three servings of wine at the midday meal, and to have two servings later in the evening. (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] also allows its monks to eat cheese and eggs, and elsewhere [31] provides for an exemption from the requirement of the recitation of hours and permits partaking of two meals on these days.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [38] permits two meals prepared with oil on dominical feasts that happened to coincide with fast days; a third dish supplied by a benefactor “as frequently happens” could also be consumed on these feast days. Great feasts are defined [48] as those of Christ and the Mother of God, the birth and the beheading of St. John the Baptist (June 24 and February 24), and the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul (June 29). Should they fall on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, the more lenient dietary regulations for Sunday would be observed, except during Lent. Dominical feasts were [38] also the only days, aside from Sundays or whenever offered by benefactors, that wine could be consumed. Fasts were not to be broken [32] for minor feasts, however. On the medium feasts the dietary regime was to remain [49] the same, but the meals would be offered both at the sixth hour and at night, even on fast days, when the monks would eat dry food twice or, optionally, cooked food without relish or even with it “whenever it is not suspect as a risk to the soul.” On minor feasts, there would be [50] one meal a day, at the ninth hour; if such a feast fell on a fast day, the monks would eat dry food “as on the ordinary day” at one meal at the ninth hour. The general practice was to advance the hour of the daily meal, so that “relaxation may take place.” As with medium feasts, serving cooked food with or without oil is offered as an option “if God be pleased.”

(22) *Evergetis* [11] simply provides for a more elaborate celebration of the feasts of the Lord and of the Mother of God, to be reflected in the meals of the monks. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [29] endorses this injunction. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] is more specific, providing for cooked dishes of vegetables and legumes, seasonal fruits, fish, and a measure of wine “greater than is customary.” (32) *Mamas* [17], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], allows the consumption of fish on Wednesday and Friday fast days if a dominical feast should occur on them, to be provided by a benefactor or else by the superior.

APPENDIX B

(30) *Phoberos* [18] makes a distinction between (minor) feasts, on which days Wednesday and Friday fasts should be observed, and those (major) feasts marked with crosses on which these fasts were to be broken with meals of cooked legumes, vegetables, and olive oil. Citing the example of various *synaxaria*, including those of the “Holy Mountain” (cf. (11) *Ath. Rule* [24]), this *typikon* permits three measures of wine at the midday meal and two at the evening meal. Those monks are encouraged [19], however, who chose voluntarily to abstain from cooked food on all Wednesdays and Fridays, even those on which great feasts might chance to fall,

The generally stern (43) *Kasoulon* [3] nevertheless permits the consumption of fish on the feasts of the Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple) (November 21), of St. Nicholas (December 5-7), and of St. John the Baptist (June 24). A more extended list of permitted exceptions is found in [5], cf. [6]. The exemptions are extended in [18] to octaves of dominical feasts and those of the Mother of God, during which no fasting was to take place and the monks would eat fish and other dishes prepared with olive oil.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [77] permits fasts on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to be broken for the celebration of dominical feasts, those of the Twelve Apostles, or “any of the great teachers . . . or great fathers.” Yet a little later, (36) *Blemmydes* [11] denounces those who “say that occasionally Wednesday and Friday should be counted as a Saturday and Sunday from the point of view of eating well, on the pretext of celebrating the Lord’s feast days and refuting the nonsense of heretics.” Towards the end of the thirteenth century, (39) *Lips* [32] allows its nuns to set aside the usual dietary regulations for Wednesday and Friday fasts to celebrate a dominical feast or one of the apostles or “famous hierarchs.” The consumption of fish is permitted on such a day (if available) or at least the use of olive oil in the preparation of the meal. Other delicacies such as cheese and milk were also permitted.

In the early fourteenth century, however, (55) *Athanasios I* [5] denounces those who break fast days Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays “because of the excuse of feast days, but in truth because of a compulsion to gluttony.” Apparently unaffected by this, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] later on in the same century permits the superior to offer unspecified “relief” to his monks on “any of the Lord or of the great saints . . . on account of the work associated with the feast and the vigil.” In the early fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] grants an exemption from abstinence from oil and wine on Wednesday and Friday fast days whenever a dominical feast or anniversary of a great saint should occur on these days in the forty days before Christmas.

2. Feast of the Dormition (August 15)

Some documents of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries provide for special celebrations of this feast. (22) *Evergetis* [11] makes no specific dietary provision, but (32) *Mamas* [19] provides that grapes blessed by the priest in the church at the daily service were to be served to the monks two or three times after the feast, along with figs and melons (daily) whenever they came in season. (43) *Kasoulon* [11] also provides for the eating of blessed grapes along with the blessed bread (*klaston*) on this feast.

3. Feast of the Exaltation (September 14)

In the twelfth century, (43) *Kasoulon* [12] provides for a celebration of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross with two meals, limited, however, to beans, legumes, or some other vegetable

APPENDIX B

seasoned with vinegar. Citing the *typikon* of the Holy Mountain (though there is no comparable reference in (11) *Ath. Typikon*), fish and the use of olive oil are prohibited in favor of bread and squash with vinegar, accompanied with wine.

K. Diet during Christmastide

Supplementing (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] notes that the diet for the twelve days of Christmas was to be like that for the season of Pentecost, that is, the two courses at the midday meal of green vegetables and legumes seasoned with oil as provided for in [22]. There is no full discussion in (20) *Black Mountain* [54], just a provision for a full meal at night if the vigil service for Christmas or the Epiphany should happen to fall on a Saturday or Sunday when fasting was prohibited, and a concession for the monks to consume cheese or eggs sent by benefactors on Mondays, Wednesdays, or Fridays during the twelve days of Christmas. Both of these dietary provisions were motivated by a desire to refute the practices of various sectaries. In the contemporary (23) *Pakourianos* [8], there is a provision for serving four courses to the monks at their main meal and cheese and “whatever else divine providence supplies” at the evening meal, accompanied by two measures of wine.

In the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [19] also addresses the matter of the timing of meals on the vigils of Christmas or Epiphany happening to fall on a Saturday or a Sunday, providing for an evening meal of legumes and vegetables prepared with olive oil, accompanied by wine. A little later, (43) *Kasoulon* [8] also delays the daily meal on the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany to the evening under these circumstances “if the grace of the Holy Spirit has made provision for us.” This document also exempts [17] its monks from fasting from Christmas until the octave of Epiphany, during which time they were to eat fish, drink wine, and use olive oil freely. In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [77] is even more generous, permitting its monks to eat cheese, milk, and eggs as well as to drink wine during the twelve days of Christmas.

L. Diet from Christmastide to Cheesefare Week

For this period of the church year, (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] provides that “the rule of the previous days is observed,” i.e., the prohibition on the use of oil or wine on Wednesdays and Fridays and the explicit permission to use cheese and eggs on feasts as provided for the time between the fast of the Holy Apostles and the feast of St. Philip in [24]. The week before Cheesefare Week was to be absolutely free of fasting.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [55] provides for eating a little cheese or egg at the ninth hour on the Wednesday and Friday of the week before Meatfare week as a rejection of the contemporaneous fast of Armenian sectaries. This was patterned [90] on the observance for Cheesefare week itself; others are reported to have suspended fasting entirely on these two days for the same purpose, but that practice is not endorsed here.

In the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [19] provides for an abstinence from cheese, eggs, and fish on Wednesdays and Fridays during Christmas, in the week before Meatfare week, and during Cheesefare week. The need to refute Armenian sectaries by consuming cheese is rejected, but if a visitor insisted on doing so on the days before Meatfare or during Cheesefare week, the monks were to eat a little cheese to oblige him. Later in that same century, (32) *Mamas* [19]

APPENDIX B

provides for the eating of cheese and eggs during the entire week prior to Meatfare to refute the Armenian practice of eating only bread and water during this week. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19] and, in the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [78] endorse this position. (36) *Blemmydes* [11] alludes to the controversy without providing for an alteration of existing dietary practices.

M. Diet during Cheesefare Week

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [55], cf. [90] orders the monks to eat cheese at the common meal on Wednesday and Friday of this week after the liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. In the twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [19] similarly provides for eating cheese and eggs on Wednesday and Friday after this liturgy. Otherwise during this week, the monks are to eat a cooked dish in preference to dry food, but not cheese, eggs, or fish. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] likewise endorses the eating of cheese and eggs so that “the faithful may not seem to observe the fasts of unbelievers by respecting their ordinances.” (32) *Mamas* [19], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], endorses eating cheese and eggs during the entire week of Cheesefare.

In (43) *Kasoulon* [19], the monks fast every day during this week, which they call week of “Cheesefast,” except for Saturday and Sunday when they consume a meal prepared with olive oil and fish.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [78] follows (32) *Mamas* [19] in prescribing the consumption of cheese and eggs during the entire week of Cheesefare, while in the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] appears to restrict its consumption to two days, probably Wednesday and Friday as in (20) *Black Mountain* [55].

N. Special Rules

In (11) *Ath. Rule* [30], cf. [31] the monastery’s heavy manual laborers, including metal workers, muleteers, shipwrights, carpenters, vineyard and bakery workers, were to get extra rations of bread and wine when they missed the midday meal, except on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday fast days. Others performing work outdoors were to be supplied with just bread, to be eaten with water. The superior is also allowed [31] to exercise his discretion in making dietary concessions for the weak and the sick. In the late eleventh century, (23) *Pakourianos* [8] gives the superior a general right to add food to the diet of the monks, with the intent of “blunting the impulses of those who favor indulgence.” In the twelfth century, (43) *Kasoulon* [19] provides for saving the food share of a monk who was absent on some duty until he was able to return, unless the food was likely to spoil beforehand. There is also a concession [25], apparently later withdrawn, allowing fishermen monks to eat fish, drink wine, and use olive oil during Lent except on Wednesday and Friday fast days.