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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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32. *Mamas*: *Typikon* of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople

Date: November 1158

Translator: Anastasius Bandy

Edition employed: S. Eustratiades, “*Typikon tes en Konstantinoupolei mones tou hagiou megalomartyros Mamantos*,” *Hellenika* 1 (1928), 256–314, with text at 256–311. See also corrections by V. Laurent, “*Remarques critiques sur le texte du typikon du monastère de Saint-Mamas*,” *EO* 30 (1931), 233–42, and by A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 7 (1930), 399–405.

Manuscripts: Parisinus, supplément grec 92 (late 12th–13th c.); supplemented by Codex 85, nunc 79, Theological School, Halki, now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul (1761).¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Prior History of the Foundation

The early history of the foundation is dependent on unreliable sources and therefore remains highly conjectural. The church of St. Mamas, which was located in southwestern Constantinople near the Xylokerkos (modern Belgrad-Kapou) Gate, may have been founded by Pharasmanes, the chamberlain (*epi tou koitonos*) of Justinian (527–565), then perhaps restored a generation later by Gordia, sister of Maurice (582–602), who may have been responsible also for adding the monastery.² Maurice, his wife Constantina, and their children were buried there.³

Mamas had likely become an imperial monastery by the early ninth century, when it served as a place of confinement in 809 for Theodore the Studite, his uncle Plato, and his brother Joseph at the orders of Nikephoros I (802–811).⁴ Its status is confirmed by an order of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) in 922 to move the tombs of Maurice and his family to that emperor’s own monastery of Myrelaion.⁵

Perhaps *Mamas* had become a patriarchal responsibility by the time Patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges (979–991) appointed Symeon the Theologian as its superior, either in 980 or 984.⁶ This monk, the greatest mystic of the middle Byzantine period, had begun his career, circa 977, at the *Stoudios* monastery, from which, however, he was soon expelled. He then joined the *Mamas* monastery, then under the direction of a certain Antony, where he lived for several years before his designation as the foundation’s leader. The monastery was in a state of decay. Neighbors had been using part of the site as a cemetery. Symeon removed the obstructions, restored the facilities, and replaced the furnishings in the monastery’s church. Symeon served as superior for more than two decades, down to his resignation under pressure from the patriarchal chancellor Stephen of Nikomedeia in 1005, having survived a revolt by some thirty of his monks a few years before with the support of Patriarch Sisinnios II (996–998).

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Symeon's designated successor was the eunuch monk Arsenios. Symeon himself died at the monastery of St. Marina at Chrysopolis in the capital city's Asiatic suburbs in 1022. His remains were not returned to *Mamas* for burial until 1053. After Symeon's death, the monastery came under the control of various *charistikarioi*, very soon thereafter if our foundation is identical to the monastery dedicated to St. Mamas that is mentioned in the *Peira* of Eustathios Rhomaios (†1034) as the subject of a *charistike*.⁷

*B. Revival under George the Cappadocian and His Brother Theocharistos*⁸

According to our *typikon*, the depredations of the *charistikarioi* brought the foundation to near total ruin. George the Cappadocian, steward of the imperial treasury under Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), became interested in the foundation early in that emperor's reign, perhaps because the dedicatee St. Mamas was a popular martyr of the third century from George's ancestral homeland. The monastic buildings had collapsed, there were only two non-resident monks, and the church stood roofless. Since the monastery was at that time under patriarchal jurisdiction, George sought and obtained its concession to himself (and his legal heir) as *charistikarios* from Kosmas II Attikos (1146–47) in a patriarchal memorandum. First, he had to persuade squatters to abandon the property, then he began work on the restoration. Later, fearing that subsequent *charistikarioi* might lack his own personal piety, George obtained a grant of institutional independence for *Mamas* from a later patriarch, Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51), evidently to take effect upon the expiration of the *charistike*.

More substantial renovations and repairs followed. The patron recruited our author Athanasios Philanthropenos, then steward of the imperial monastery of Christ *Philanthropos* founded at the beginning of the twelfth century by Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and his wife Irene to serve as the superior of the rebuilt monastery. At the end of his life, George himself became a monk at the monastery under the name Gregory. The work was not yet complete at his death.

George had named his brother Theocharistos as his successor. The new patron then built the monastery's refectory and bath. For his part, the superior Athanasios obtained a patriarchal concession⁹ that made the foundation's formerly contingent independence effective immediately. The protector Theocharistos was still alive in November 1158 to sign the foundation's *typikon*, along with Athanasios and all of the monks of the community.

Some five years later, the First *Semeioma* was drawn up to establish a record of the historical circumstances leading to the re-establishment of the monastery and to authenticate the *typikon*. The *nomophylax* Theodore Pantechnes granted a judicial confirmation of this document on January 5, 1164, by which time the patron Theocharistos was already dead. His successor was likely Nikephoros the *mystikos*, author of (33) *Heliou Bomon*.¹⁰

Finally, Athanasios took the precaution in 1171 of depositing the original *typikon*, the inventory, and the various privileges of the foundation in the monastery of Christ *Philanthropos* for safekeeping. The Second *Semeioma* of March 15, 1171, was drawn up to provide a record of the deposition.

C. Subsequent History of the Foundation

Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–95) restored the monastery, at which time an especially appropri-

ate relic, the head of St. Mamas, was brought from Cappadocia to Constantinople for deposit at the foundation.¹¹ The monastery and its relics are mentioned by the Russian traveler Antony of Novgorod on his visit to Constantinople shortly before 1204.¹² After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the monastery lost its prized relic of St. Mamas, which was taken away to the cathedral of Langres in France in 1209, but evidently Greek monks were still resident in 1236–40, when the monastery was visited by Dominican monks in an effort to compel the priest Luke to assent to Latin liturgical usages.¹³

The foundation reappears in the historical record in the fourteenth century. In 1350 or 1351, John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) contemplated retiring from the throne to *Mamas*.¹⁴ Shortly thereafter, Patriarch Kallistos I (1350–53, 1355–63) actually did seek refuge at *Mamas* for several years when he was compelled to abandon the patriarchal palace after refusing to recognize the elevation of John VI's son Matthew Kantakouzenos (1353–57) to the co-emperorship in 1353.¹⁵ The last record of the monastery's existence is in 1399, when Patriarch Matthew (1397–1410) judged a case before his synod in which *Mamas* was represented by its *ktetor* or "owner" Nicholas Sophianos.¹⁶ It is not known, therefore, whether the foundation survived till the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, and no remains of the foundation have been identified in modern Istanbul.

Analysis

This remarkable *typikon* assimilates nearly a century of the Evergetian reform tradition and sums up the work of three generations of monastic reformers. Although it is undeniably a member of the Evergetian family of monastic *typika*, the frankly more aristocratic biases of its author, a former steward of the imperial monastery of *Philanthropos* in Constantinople, are evident in its willing acceptance of the protectorate (*ephoreia*) and its many relaxations of monastic discipline. The stern Evergetian vision of cenobiticism was clearly becoming an ever more distant memory in calmer and more stable times, though the *typikon* of the author's contemporary Isaac Komnenos, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, shows that it was still possible to found a monastery based on more pristine (if also increasingly archaic) Evergetian principles.

Annexed to the *typikon* are several documents: 1) a judicial confirmation dated January 1164, which serves to introduce 2) the First *Semeioma*, dated to January 5, 1164; 3) an "Addition," dated April 1171, introduces 4) the Second *Semeioma*. The First *Semeioma* serves as a history of the foundation and as an authentication of the *typikon*. The Second *Semeioma* makes an arrangement for the preservation of the *typikon* and other essential documents in the sacristy of the *Philanthropos* monastery.

A. Sources for the Typikon

1. Relationship to (22) *Evergetis*

At several places in the *typikon* the author mentions the use of the *synaxarion* of the *Evergetis* monastery by his monks for the regulation of ecclesiastical services.¹⁷ By this he means the liturgical *typikon* of that foundation. Unlike Isaac Komnenos in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [8], however, the author of this document does not acknowledge the indebtedness of the actual wording of his *typikon* to (22) *Evergetis*, the founder's *typikon* of the great reform monastery. This may be be-

cause he evidently employed at least one other post-Evergetian text even if he did also have direct access to (22) *Evergetis*. By way of contrast, as recently as 1152 Isaac Komnenos appears to have been able to excerpt directly from a copy of (22) *Evergetis* even if his version of that text was somewhat different from the text that has come down to us today.

2. Analytic Chapter Groups¹⁸

Subjected to a careful analysis, the chapters of (32) *Mamas* can be divided into four groups. Group A is made up of sixteen chapters of what appears to be entirely new material.¹⁹ There are some parallel treatments for the topics covered in these chapters in (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*, but there is no textual sharing between these two earlier documents and (32) *Mamas*. Group B is made up of twenty chapters for which (32) *Mamas* has textual links with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*.²⁰ Group C includes the four chapters that (32) *Mamas* shares only with (22) *Evergetis*.²¹ Finally, Group D includes eight chapters from a post-Evergetian source that (32) *Mamas* shares only with (27) *Kecharitomene*.²²

Group B, the Maman chapters linked with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*, is amenable to additional division into three subgroups. In Subgroup B.1 are thirteen Maman chapters that utilize a source clearly closer to (22) *Evergetis* than (27) *Kecharitomene* though there is in every case a parallel treatment in the latter document as well.²³ On the other hand, in Subgroup B.2 there are five Maman chapters that utilize (27) *Kecharitomene* or some source like it, while there are parallel treatments in (22) *Evergetis*.²⁴ Finally, in Subgroup B.3. there are two chapters in which (32) *Mamas* appears to be drawing simultaneously on the textual traditions of (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*.²⁵

3. Interpretation of the Analytic Chapter Groups

The simplest way to interpret the evidence of this source analysis is to suppose that our author had before him the texts as we have them of (27) *Kecharitomene* and (22) *Evergetis*. The former he would have used as a model for the eight chapters in Group D and the five in Subgroup B.2, while the latter he would have employed to write the four chapters in Group C and the thirteen chapters in Subgroup B.1; then both documents for the two chapters in Subgroup B.3.

However, because of the large number of chapters (28) linked in some way to (27) *Kecharitomene* (those in Groups B and D) as opposed to those few (4) (in Group C) that can be traced only to (22) *Evergetis*, it seems rather unlikely that the author of (32) *Mamas* actually had the Evergetian *typikon* in front of him as John, the author of (30) *Phoberos* and Isaac Komnenos, the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*, surely did. On the other hand, the existence of the chapters in Group C are a convincing indication that (27) *Kecharitomene* could not have been the author's only model whether he in fact drew directly upon it or not.

The close, trusting relationship between *Mamas* and the imperial monastery of *Philanthropos* (for which see below, D.7) suggests another possibility, namely that the *typikon* of that monastery, rather than that of its companion foundation, *Kecharitomene*, was the actual model for (32) *Mamas*. As a monastery co-founded by Empress Irene Doukaina Komnena along with the convent of *Kecharitomene*, it is possible that its now lost *typikon* would have been similar but not identical to (27) *Kecharitomene*. It would also have been an easier matter for our author to adopt the *typikon* of a monastery for his purposes than that of a convent. The fact that our author was himself the

steward in *Philanthropos* before being recruited by Mamas' patron George the Cappadocian to serve as superior of the latter institution also supports the thesis that, as a self-admitted procrastinator (see the Prologue), he simply turned to an existing *typikon* he knew intimately well when he finally got around to composing one for Mamas.

If this thesis is accepted, the four Evergetian chapters in *Mamas'* Group C can be explained as importations from (22) *Evergetis* into the lost *typikon* of *Philanthropos* that for various reasons were not appropriate borrowings for (27) *Kecharitomene*.²⁶ The use of *Philanthropos* as a model rather than (27) *Kecharitomene* would also help explain the composite character of the twenty Maman chapters in Group B, with some chapters (Subgroup B.1) closer to (22) *Evergetis* than others (Subgroup B.2).

The radical discrepancies in the numeration and order of comparable chapters in (32) *Mamas* and (27) *Kecharitomene* make it unlikely that our author simply transcribed the *Philanthropos typikon* for his new monastery unless *Philanthropos* itself was very considerably different in these aspects from (27) *Kecharitomene*.

B. Utility for the History of the Reform Movement

Just as (27) *Kecharitomene* provides us with a convenient update on the course of the Byzantine monastic reform movement, specifically for the forty years or so between the early reform era circa 1070 and the second decade of the twelfth century when that *typikon* was composed, so also does (32) *Mamas*, serving the same purpose for the next forty years or so until its composition in 1158. As a matter of fact, the text of (32) *Mamas* contains embedded within itself several layers of monastic institutions and practices that stretch over three generations of the monastic reform movement.

The most purely Evergetian materials, dating back to the last quarter of the eleventh century or earlier, are to be found in the four chapters of Group C. These were revived by our author or his source after they had failed to find favor with the author of (27) *Kecharitomene*. Next are the thirteen primarily Evergetian-based chapters in Subgroup B.1, which include a good deal of the more egalitarian ideology in the model *typikon* that was acceptable to the authors of both (27) *Kecharitomene* and (32) *Mamas*. The content of these chapters may be as old as that of those in Group C but it had remained in continuous favor.

The five chapters in Subgroup B.2 form the first layer in (32) *Mamas* from the creative work of the second generation of the reform movement. They have deep Evergetian institutional and ideological roots, but were heavily reworked at the time of (27) *Kecharitomene's* composition. Included are procedures for the election of the superior [1], the regulation of entrance gifts [5], the investiture of officials [6], a ban on secret eating [20], and instructions for commemoration of deceased monks [39]. They show the work of the second generation of reformers as they sought to remedy deficiencies in (22) *Evergetis* and to elaborate on matters that were by then of greater concern.

The two chapters in Subgroup B.3, the declaration of the independence of the monastery [4] in a more developed form than in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and a revision of the Evergetian dietary provisions for non-fast days [17], are composites of materials shared with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*. Although dating in their original Evergetian form to some time in the late

eleventh century, these two chapters had been reformulated by the time (27) *Kecharitomene* was composed in the second decade of the twelfth century or perhaps a little later.

The eight non-Evergetian chapters in Group D are the last and most original part of the contributions of the second generation. They include a careful formulation of the rights and responsibilities of the protector [3], a distinctly non-Evergetian institution, a series of descriptions of the duties of other monastic officials [8] through [12], a militant defense of the cenobitic life [25], and a ban on kelliotic monks and imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) [26]. This group of chapters, textually independent of (22) *Evergetis*, must have been composed well after the triumph of the reform movement had been assured. We see through them the concerns of the second generation as its members turned their attention to such matters as curbing financial irregularities from within the monastery and attempting to reformulate the protectorate as a benign and useful institution.

The last layer of (32) *Mamas* is made up of the chapters in Group A, our author's apparently original contributions, to which must be added also all the many changes he introduced in the chapters of the other groups. Most of these chapters are more "original" textually than conceptually, however. His freshly written provisions for the reading of the *typikon* [16], the admonition to show respect to the superior [24], the ban on access for women [27], the obligation to make confession to the superior [29], and the prescriptions for the canonical hours [31] all have parallel treatments in (22) *Evergetis* even though there is no textual dependency. But even in these chapters the author introduces some substantive changes (see the detailed topical discussions below) that reflect the concerns of his, the third generation of monastic reformers.

C. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

The *typikon* sets [5] the number of monks at twenty, with the possibility of a later increase made possible by better financial management or additional donations from benefactors, provided sufficient cells were available to house the new monks. Such an increase in fact seems to have happened, judging from the list of twenty-eight monks' names (plus the author and the monastery's protector) at the end of the document, yet as was the case for the monastery for which (30) *Phoberos* was written, the size of the foundation remained considerably smaller than it had been before the *charistike*.

2. Liturgical Duties

Two to three priests and two deacons were to be assigned [5] to the church to attend to services performed there. Almost as an afterthought towards the end of the document, the author provides [47] a summary of the required liturgical services that has been written up from (22) *Evergetis* [3], [4], [6]. The service of the third and sixth hours had been discussed [31] earlier in the *typikon*. As in the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [80], only illness could excuse [21] a monk from participation in the services of the canonical hours or vigils; the author promises a diet of dry food and water as a punishment for repeat offenders.

This somewhat casual treatment of liturgical duties, combined with an incidental observation [18] that "those who chant are very few" (perhaps the ecclesiarch along with the four priests and the deacon who have signed the *typikon*), might be taken to indicate that at this foundation (unlike

(28) *Pantokrator* [32] or (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]) the performance of the canonical hours was not the most important of the responsibilities of its monks.

3. Manual Labor

The description [47] of the canonical hours amends its source (22) *Evergetis* [4] by indicating that some monks will go “to their tasks” after the performance of the service of the first hour. We know from descriptions of their duties that the monastery had [11] a cellarer, an assistant, and a cook in the kitchen; there was also [12] a gatekeeper. The monks’ signatures at the end of the document include those of two vine-dressers, a groom, a baker, and a gardener as well as the above-mentioned gatekeeper. The author also repeats [23] the exhortation found in (22) *Evergetis* [33] that was intended to reassure those engaged in responsibilities outside the church of the value of their work. He specifically provides [19] that vine-dressers, gardeners and others working outside the monastery should take meals along with the other monks in order that “the name ‘brotherhood’ may not be just a name.”

4. Length of the Novitiate

In a regulation based on (22) *Evergetis* [37], the author provides [22] for a novitiate of two years, except for “distinguished people” and those already well known to the monks, who were to receive tonsure after six months. The distinction was known even to reform monasteries, with (22) *Evergetis* [37] providing tonsure for the privileged “within the customary period of time,” and (27) *Kecharitomene* [30] “when the superior judges it beneficial.” The author here has considerably lengthened the novitiate for ordinary postulants that (22) *Evergetis* [37] and the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55] had set at only six months. Applicants who had been tonsured at other monasteries were also eligible [22] for admission.

5. Sacramental Life

The author’s prescriptions [32] for the holy liturgy and the reception of communion follow his model (22) *Evergetis* [5], with some small changes. The liturgy was to be celebrated at least four times a week and on feasts of the Lord, i.e., less frequently than the daily liturgies at *Evergetis* but more frequently than the twice-weekly liturgies prescribed in (31) *Areia* [T2]. As in (22) *Evergetis*, the superior was to regulate the monks’ frequency of reception of communion, but the guidelines offered both for monks “free from passions” and others are considerably more strict than in that earlier *typikon*.

The author incorporates [30] the exhortation to confession found in (22) *Evergetis* [7], but devises his own regulation [29] providing for confession to the superior “even if he happens to be unordained” because of a special permission the latter has to hear confessions that has been obtained from the patriarch. He breaks [29] with Evergetian precedent in permitting a monk who did not want to have his superior as his confessor to be assigned an alternative confessor by the superior.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

In a chapter shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], the author proclaims [25] that the cenobitic order should be permanent and unalterable. Later on in the *typikon* in a chapter of his own composition, he asserts [41] that the essential purpose of drawing up a *typikon* in the first place was to assure the

continuance of cenobiticism. For specific details of the cenobitic regime, he defers in part to basic principles set forth in (22) *Evergetis* [9], [26], including equality [34] in food and drink (but not clothing) for all, and a ban [36] on arguments over precedence at table. For other Evergetian regulations like the ban on secret eating and the provision for the superior to visit cells to confiscate unauthorized possessions, he prefers to use language shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [22], [27]. He also adopts [46] the Evergetian overview²⁷ of how harmonious relations among the monks should be preserved in a cenobitic institution. He adds [35] his own regulation against idle talking during manual labor or while traveling outside the monastery.

In some important particulars, however, the author dilutes the stern Evergetian version of cenobitic life. His regulation on refectory seating significantly changes [36] the overall effect of the Evergetian passage on which it is modeled by providing instructions for seating by order of precedence and by deleting the earlier *typikon*'s harsh characterization of monks who questioned the superior's arrangements. In the matter of the monks' clothing the author also makes a significant innovation. He decides [28] to abandon the communal provision of clothing and substitute for it the payment of a twice-yearly cash allowance. He evidently thought [28] it would be necessary to provide a cash allowance to the monks to buy soap and pay the fee to use a bathhouse outside the monastery.

7. Servants Not Permitted

The author is an exception from the trend seen in other twelfth-century monasteries to provide a few servants to tend to the needs of a larger number of monks or nuns.²⁸ Instead, in [34] he follows (22) *Evergetis* [24]'s ban on personal servants, to which he adds also domestic workers. He prefers that the monks should help one another, the younger the older, the stronger the weaker, the novice the experienced monk, etc., at the superior's discretion. This suggests a pattern of cohabitation as found in the Evergetian *typikon* (as well as in the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51]) though the author does not specifically endorse it.

8. Diet

The author draws [17] upon a source in the post-Evergetian tradition for his account of refectory procedures and diet on ordinary days. This includes a second sitting at the noon meal for servers, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [45]. He allows the steward or the ecclesiarch to stand in for the superior to relieve him of the duty of presiding over meals personally. While keeping to the received tradition, the author also feels compelled "for the sake of the canons" to supply additional guidance for special situations, such as when a feast of the Lord should happen to occur on a fast day.

As usual, changes in the traditional monastic diet were evolutionary. The author gives [18] the superior discretionary authority to make changes in the dietary prescriptions during the fast of the Holy Apostles. He himself provides for a substitution of wine for water during the first week of the Lenten fast "since those who chant the office are very few and the office is long." The need to refute certain heresies (the so-called Artzibourians and others) also led to an insistence [19] on dietary practices opposed to those of the sectaries.

9. Bathing

As noted, the founder originally expected [28] that his monks would need to use a bath outside the monastery. This they were to be allowed to do on a monthly basis, that is, at the same frequency as

provided for in the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97] though not as often as in (28) *Pantokrator* [15]. Later, as noted in the First *Semeioma*, the founder's brother Theocharistos was able to build a bath for the monks' use at the foundation.

10. Care of Sick and Elderly Monks

The superior was to designate [33] someone to take care of the monastery's elderly monks, both men of learning and the illiterate. They would be released from work but continue to receive the same food and drink as young and healthy monks.

Unlike many other foundations that were equipping themselves to care for sick monks on their own premises,²⁹ the author of this *typikon* prefers to rely [34] on the medical services available from one or the other of two hospices (*xenones*) in the neighborhood of his monastery. As also in (22) *Evergetis* [41], sick monks were to receive [34], at the superior's discretion, extra food and drink and other necessities. Food was to be brought to these monks if they were admitted to one of the hospices.

11. Burial

The author provides [39] that monks were to be buried on the right side of the church. His prescriptions for their funerals and memorial services are shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], in that *kollyba* would be prepared and distributed in honor of the deceased at the third, ninth and fortieth-day memorial services (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [71] and (28) *Pantokrator* [8]), and likewise *stauria* on the traditional annual days for remembering the dead, the Saturdays of Meatfare, Cheesefare and Pentecost. Departed superiors were to be the beneficiaries of especially generous memorial services.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The author asserts [4] the independence of his foundation based on the authority of a patriarchal memorandum (*hypomnema*) and an imperial chrysobull. He adopts mostly post-Evergetian language shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [1] to reject the possibility that the foundation should come under the *charistike*, *epidosis*, *ephoreia*, or any of the other traditional vehicles for exploiting monastic property. According to the First *Semeioma*, the "new builder" George the Cappadocian obtained the memorandum recognizing the monastery's independence from Patriarch Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51); the confirming chrysobull was granted by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). According to the *typikon's* prologue, the monastery's independence did not take effect immediately with the issuance of these documents. This independence was to be postponed until George's death, at which time our author Athanasios was able to complete the process of conversion of this former patriarchal monastery into an independent foundation.

2. Responsibilities of the Protector

This monastery, like the imperial foundations (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] and (28) *Pantokrator* [70], had had a protectorate established [3] over it. The incumbent, Theocharistos, was the brother of George the Cappadocian who had entrusted him with the protectorate (see First *Semeioma*). Theocharistos may also have been the second person designated in his brother's grant when, according to the *typikon's* Prologue, an unnamed patriarch (identified in the First *Semeioma* as Kosmas

II Attikos [1146–47]) awarded George the then ruined monastery under the *charistike*. Theocharistos, like his brother before him, was to patronize the foundation, defend its interests, and prevent violations of the *typikon* (cf. also [38]). He also had the exceptional right to add or delete anything he wished in the document since, as the author declares [15] later, “to the latter alone we have given license to do whatever at all he wishes that contributes to the benefit and support of the monastery.”

Theocharistos was to be succeeded [3] in office by whoever happened to be serving as the imperial *mystikos* at the time of his death. In a formulaic post-Evergetian regulation shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], the *typikon* specifically forbids [3] future protectors from exercising authority, changing the *typikon* (so also [15]), removing the superior, enrolling or expelling monks, holding the superior or the steward fiscally accountable, demanding financial information, or appropriating any of the foundation’s possessions. These are the very things that the monastic reformers condemned the former *charistikarioi*—who ruined this and many other foundations—for doing.

This approach to scaling back a protector’s powers in the second generation amounts to a gradual phasing out of arbitrary patronal authority. It recalls provisions in other documents, e.g., (10) *Eleousa* [16] and (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [33], under which only the first successor of the founder was allowed to exercise certain extraordinary rights.

3. The Election of the Superior

The author’s provisions [1] for the election of the superior draw heavily on a post-Evergetian source shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], but produce an independent and not completely consistent result. His precise intentions as to how the election was to take place under various contingencies and what roles the various actors, particularly the protector, were to play in it, are not clear. The difficulty seems to have arisen out of the author’s desire to preserve as much of the precise wording of his model as possible while proposing a very different set of roles and procedures. In disagreement with his model, he wanted the superior alone to be responsible for nominating three candidates for the succession before his own death. However, he also clearly disliked leaving such an important matter as the determination of a new superior to a selection by chance from among the three names (as in his model). Therefore, he rules that the selection by lots will not have to take place if the entire community of monks can agree on one of the names proposed by the late superior, or, should he have died suddenly without making nominations, they are able to make their own unanimous choice. The protector was to intervene, if necessary, with “the prompting and consent of the monks,” to select an outsider (i.e., a *xenokourites*) as the new superior. Monks from other monasteries were also eligible for consideration under other circumstances.

Later, the author returns [45] to the subject and, quoting directly or indirectly from (22) *Evergetis* [14] this time on avoiding strife in elections, adds that the choices should be made “with the counsel and judgment of the protector.”

4. Role of the Superior

In the *typikon*’s Prologue, the author describes the original division of responsibility between himself as superior and the patron George the Cappadocian: “To himself he assigned the subsidizing but to me the management.” This presumably remained the ideal model for relations between future superiors and the monastery’s protectors.

In an apparently original chapter, the author obliges [24] the monks to conform themselves to the will of the superior: “[They] must do nothing at all without the knowledge and consent of the superior but in all things follow his orders.” His consent was required even for the performance of duties, and the monks were not to pass him (or each other) without bowing as a sign of respect. Therefore the author happily imports [44] into his own *typikon* the provision of (22) *Evergetis* [18] exempting the superior from any accountability to his monks.

For balance, however, he also includes [42] the formulaic Evergetian exhortation to the superior to show paternal affection to his monks (reinforced by his own [48]) and also [44] the injunction that the superior should not exploit his position to do favors for his friends and relatives (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17], [18]). He thought it necessary to make [43] a special appeal to a future superior who, as he himself did, might have transferred to *Mamas* from another monastery (i.e., a *xenokourites*): he should bring only one disciple with him and not discriminate against *Mamas*’ own monks.

For his procedure governing the removal of an unworthy superior the author relies [2] on the treatment of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]. He adds a role for the protector, who is to be consulted by the monks before they attempt the removal of the unfit superior. Like the author of the Evergetian *typikon*, our author was willing to allow the deposed superior to stay in the monastery, but he was to be allowed to leave too, “especially if he happens to be from those who come from outside” (i.e., a *xenokourites*).

5. Other Officials of the Monastery

This *typikon* shares with (27) *Kecharitomene*³⁰ a number of detailed descriptions of the officers of the monastery and their responsibilities that are derived from an unidentified post-Evergetian source. The officials so described are: [8] the ecclesiarch (along with his assistant); [9] the sacristan and archivist; [10] the treasurer; [11] the cellarer (and his assistant); and [12] the gatekeeper. There is also a chapter [7] on the installation of the steward but no description of duties. The superior had the right to appoint all of these officials. For good measure, however, the author also adds [14] a provision, analogous to that in (22) *Evergetis* [39], permitting the superior to appoint other officials as well “if the monastery should expand and there is a pressing need.”

6. Patronal Privileges

In accordance with an accepted patronal privilege, the founder George the Cappadocian was admitted into the monastery before his death under the monastic name of Gregory.³¹ According to the author’s account in the *typikon*’s Prologue, George had asked him to compose the *typikon*, but the author demurred at that time because, he says “I revered him.” Only after George’s death did the author accept this important delegation of a patronal prerogative. The late founder George the Cappadocian was to receive [40] both daily memorial services and a perpetual lamp burning at his grave, and also an annual commemorative service marked by a feast for the monks. In the due course of time, the founder’s brother Theocharistos and his wife Zoe Dalassena would be the recipients of commemorations also, to be carried out in accordance with the instructions they were expected to provide.

Future protectors were to serve [3] without pay, receiving only the benefit of commemoration three times daily, posthumous commemoration, and the privilege of being buried in the monastery without making a donation.

7. Reading of the *Typikon* and Security of Documents

In a chapter apparently of his own composition, the author provides [16] for the reading of the *typikon* at mealtimes every three months (i.e., four times a year) and on the commemorations of George the Cappadocian, Theocharistos, and himself “so that by the continuous reading of it the things that have been prescribed may be more permanent and indelible.” The author adds that the provisions of the *typikon* should not be considered as his own ordinances but rather as divine laws “that are inviolable and unchangeable.” A judicial confirmation attached at the end of the *typikon* and dated to 1164 confirms it as valid and durable for all time.

The author, who himself had once been a steward, certainly shared the concern of his predecessors, the authors of (19) *Attaleiates* [40] and (23) *Pakourianos* [33], for the physical security of the *typikon* and the monastery’s other important documents. Three identical sets of the *typikon* and the inventory (now lost) were prepared. The originals were placed in the imperial monastery of *Philanthropos* for safekeeping. The Second *Semeioma* records the transmission of the box containing these two documents, the originals of the imperial chrysobull and of the patriarchal documents granting the monastery’s independence, and the first *Semeioma* to the sacristan of *Philanthropos*. None of them could be borrowed without first securing the permission from both the *Mamas* monastery and the foundation’s protector. Even a representative of the *Mamas* monastery could not borrow one of them without surrendering the monastery’s transmissory deed to its properties to *Philanthropos* as a security deposit.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The author in effect returns [48] to the old Studite principle (cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [22]) of separating the superior from direct involvement in the financial administration of the monastery, “for this is unworthy of a director of monks and a spiritual leader of souls.” He is to assure, however, that “all income and disbursement and payment be made openly and with the consent of the community and through the hands of others in accordance with his own instruction.”

For the balance of his treatment of financial administration, the author relies on earlier sources. The prescriptions for the investiture of the steward [7] and other officials [6] derive ultimately from Evergetian models.³² The descriptions of the duties of the ecclesiarch [8], the sacristan [9] and the treasurer [10], however, are all from a post-Evergetian source shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], [19], [24].

The key official among these was the sacristan [9] who also served as archivist. The description of his duties is taken almost entirely from the characteristically post-Evergetian model with its elaborate security precautions, use of written inventories (*praktika*), and reminders to borrowers of documents. The author adds a provision for a cabinet (*harmarion*) intended for the protection of documents which was opened by two keys kept by the sacristan and the superior.

The ecclesiarch [8] likewise received an inventory from the sacristan listing the movable property in his charge. As in the post-Evergetian model, he was to be assisted by an assistant ecclesiarch. The author adds that this individual will be responsible for maintaining the monastery’s cash box.

The treasurer [10] was in this monastery evidently to be this same assistant ecclesiarch. In the description of his duties the author adopts the stringent post-Evergetian security provisions (use of receipts, ledger book, witnesses, etc.) found in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] but his language is different.

It is curious, especially considering the author's own background, that his *typikon* lacks a discussion of the duties of the steward, the monastery's chief financial officer. The thorough treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [14] then was either missing from the source he was relying upon, or was overlooked for some reason.

2. Inalienability of Property

Theft of movable property was a greater concern to the author than the alienation of landed property. Perhaps this is an indication of greater confidence that any new government confiscations of landed property were unlikely and that the founders' own administrative precautions had reduced the threat of misconduct by the monastery's officials. In an apparently new chapter the author asserts [37], cf. [5] the inalienability of the sacred vessels and other consecrated objects listed in the inventory. These included not only recent donations, mostly by George the Cappadocian (see Prologue), but also some older possessions that somehow managed to survive the *charistike*. The author menaces magnates, government officials as well as the monastery's protector, superior and monks with the charge of sacrilege and the threat of eternal punishment should any of them disregard his prohibition. As an aside, he notes that the prohibition also applied to the monastery's immovable (i.e., landed) property. Unlike (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] and even (22) *Evergetis* [19], there is no provision for emergency alienation of movable property.

3. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

The author adopts [22] the Evergetian provision that entrance gifts are not to be required of postulants, but that free-will gifts are acceptable. He draws here on the text of (22) *Evergetis* [37], the *locus classicus*. Elsewhere, adopting language shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [7], the author makes [5] the usual declaration that monks cannot reclaim these voluntary donations if they later choose to leave the monastery.

4. Other Sources of Income

Overall, the author maintains a hopeful attitude towards the future growth and prosperity of this foundation. He looks forward [5] to an increase in the monastery's revenues through additional donations of landed property or even through better fiscal management of its existing properties. He also expects [37] supplements and further dedications to the monastery's stock of movable property. The author alludes to the performance of commemorative services [40] and the right of burial [27] in the monastery, presumably in return for outside benefactions, but does not provide details.

F. Overall Philosophy

Like other twelfth-century founders and authors whose aristocratic backgrounds shaped their patronal attitudes, our author exhibits a profound ambivalence over the ideological legacy of *Evergetis*. As noted above, he amends [36] the latter's prescriptions on seating arrangements in

the refectory, basically to assure the superior that he can honor members of the clergy as well as those monks “advanced in years” or “preeminent in the world.” On the other hand, his warning against strife and partiality in the election of the superior reproduces [45] the language and argument of (22) *Evergetis* [17] urging that the monks not uncritically prefer the nobly born or those who have donated considerable property to the monastery. As we have seen, in another passage adopted from (22) *Evergetis* [18], he warns [44] the superior not to spend the monastery’s wealth to do favors for his family and friends. Also, despite the fact that the monastery was to be in principle “absolutely inaccessible to women” except for funerals and commemorations, the author, like (22) *Evergetis* [39], is happy to make [27] rare exceptions for those “famed for virtue, nobility and prominence.”

Perhaps the fairest comparison is to his contemporary, Isaac Komnenos, the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*. Our author’s ban [26], cf. [27] on kelliotic monks and imposed guests, which he shares with (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], certainly contrasts with the latter’s willingness in (29) *Kosmosoteira* to bend [55], [86] his own rules in exchange for large donations and to require [107] the monastery to maintain several of his favorites.

G. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Since his foundation had once been a patriarchal monastery (see First *Semeioma*) and owed its independent status to a recent patriarchal memorandum issued by Nicholas IV Muzalon, our author was necessarily obliged more than many of his counterparts to respect patriarchal rights. Therefore, he instructs [1] that the monks must take a newly chosen superior to the patriarch in order to receive “the *sphragis* and benediction of the office of superior.” The author also had to be careful to get [29] explicit permission from the patriarch for the superior to hear the monks’ confessions should the monastery’s leader chance to be unordained.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

This was a relatively weak component of the foundation’s program. There were no philanthropic institutions associated with the monastery; indeed the monastery itself was dependent upon neighboring facilities for bathing [28] and medical services [34]. There were charitable contributions [13], cf. [39] at the gate to poor monks and laymen at the gate, including leftover cooked food. The author declares [13] “It is our preference that not even any beggar turn away from the gate with empty hands.” Suppliant monks, however, were to be fed more amply than ordinary beggars.

H. Composition of the Typikon

Athanasios Philanthropenos composed one of the best-edited of the Byzantine monastic *typika*. Despite the fact that he was drawing on what by his day was a diverse, complex tradition of Evergetian reform institutions and customs, our author produced an exceptionally well ordered document that leaves few clues to its composition. For the first twelve chapters of his *typikon*, Athanasios drew upon an Evergetian reform *typikon*, probably that of the *Philanthropos* monastery, as argued above (in A.3). Though Athanasios appears to have made some extensive changes

to the chapters in this first section, at least insofar as we are able to judge from the lack of identifiable borrowings from extant documents, aside from the Prologue, he did not introduce any completely new (Group A) chapters of his own until [13]. Thereafter, new chapters alternate with those that contain identifiable borrowings down to the end of the document.

Athanasios' sequence of chapters in no way observes those of (22) *Evergetis*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, or (presumably) the lost *typikon* of *Philanthropos*. Generally speaking, he has reordered the materials in his model in a logical way, integrating his own interpolations and new chapters seamlessly in the new document. One redundant treatment of the necessity of maintaining the cenobitic life [5], cf. [25], is found also in (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], cf. [55] and doubtless also his model; it somehow escaped Athanasios' editorial vigilance.

The last two chapters of the document are clearly later additions. The Evergetian final exhortation [46] does not in fact mark the end of the document. A lengthy summary of the canonical hours [47], written up from several chapters in (22) *Evergetis* supersedes Athanasios' earlier intent to rely on an endorsement [8] of the Evergetian liturgical *typikon*, supplemented by a discussion [31] of the offices of the third and sixth hours. Also, Athanasios ultimately decided not to rely upon just the Evergetian boilerplate instructions to the superior [42] but to compose his own exhortation [48], which is the document's actual last chapter.

I. Subsequent Utilization by Later Authors

Although some later authors, like Neilos of Tamasia, author of (34) *Machairas*, evidently continued to draw directly on the text of (22) *Evergetis*,³³ Athanasios' (32) *Mamas* established a congenial, authoritative model for subsequent *typika* in the monastic reform tradition. The *mystikos* Nikephoros, author of (33) *Heliou Bomon*, utilized virtually the whole of (32) *Mamas* for his own *typikon*, composed four years later in 1162. Remarkably, the sequence of the Maman chapters and even their numeration are largely preserved in this document. Even Neilos of Tamasia, despite his apparent use of (22) *Evergetis*, could hardly be said to have ignored (32) *Mamas*, since he borrows from the latter document portions of twenty-eight of its forty-eight chapters even though he subdivides and reorders them extensively.³⁴ (32) *Mamas* remained influential at least down to the first third of the fourteenth century, when Joachim of Zichna employed thirteen Maman chapters in his (58) *Menoikeion*, generally preserving the original ordering for those chapters he chose to borrow.³⁵

Notes on the Introduction

1. For the manuscript, see Laurent, "Remarques," pp. 233–35, who believed it might be an autograph although this possibility was rejected by Siglas, *EEBS* 7 (1930), 399–405.
2. John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* 4.14, ed. L. Dindorf, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1868–75), pp. 300–301; *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB*, vol. 7, p. 101; *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* 3.185, ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 274. This reconciliation of the divergent accounts of the foundation was proposed by Pargoire, "Saint-Mamas," p. 305, followed by Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 314.
3. The epigram in honor of Constantina from her tomb is reproduced in Pargoire, "Saint-Mamas," pp. 305–6.

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4. Theodore the Studite, *Laudatio sancti Platonis hegumeni*, PG 99, col. 841C.
5. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), pp. 403–4.
6. Niketas Stethatos, *Vita Symeonis novi theologi*, chaps. 30, 34, ed. Irénée Hausherr, OC 12 (1928), pp. 40–42, 46; see also Basil Krivocheine, “The Most Enthusiastic Zealot: St. Symeon the New Theologian as Abbot and Spiritual Instructor,” OS 4 (1955), 108–28.
7. Eustathios Rhomaios, *Peira* 15.16 (JGR 1.48).
8. See (32) *Mamas* Prologue and First *Semeioma* below.
9. Possibly from Constantine IV Chliarenos (1154–57).
10. So Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 317.
11. P. E. D. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1878), p. 72; *Historia translationum S. Mamantis* 16, AASS, August, vol. 3, p. 444.
12. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 317.
13. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 318, based on Codex Athos Iviron 381.
14. John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, CSHB (Bonn, 1828), pp. 107–8.
15. Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. Schopen, pp. 259, 270, 275; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, CSHB, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1855), p. 188.
16. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3076, ed. MM 2.304–12.
17. (32) *Mamas* [8], [46], [47].
18. See Chart Two: Analytic Chapter Groups of (32) *Mamas*.
19. Group A: Chapters (16) new to (32) *Mamas*: [13], [15], [16], [19], [21], [24], [27], [28], [29], [31], [33], [37], [38], [41], [43], [48].
20. Group B: Chapters (21) shared with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*: [1], [2], [4], [5], [6], [7], [17], [18], [20], [22], [23], [32], [34], [36], [39], [40], [42], [45], [46], [47].
21. Group C: Chapters (4) shared with (22) *Evergetis* but not (27) *Kecharitomene*: [14], minor sharing with (22) *Evergetis* [39]; [30] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [35] = (22) *Evergetis* [21], [22]; [44] = (22) *Evergetis* [18].
22. Group D: Chapters (8) derived from a post-Evergetian source shared only with (27) *Kecharitomene*: [3], minor sharing with (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]; [8], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]; [9], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]; [10], minor sharing with (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]; [11], minor sharing with (27) *Kecharitomene* [23]; [12], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]; [25], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2]; [26], mostly new, but cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
23. Subgroup B.1: Chapters (13) derived from (22) *Evergetis* with parallel treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene*: [2] = (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [13]; [7] = (22) *Evergetis* [13]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [14]; [18] = (22) *Evergetis* [10]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]; [22] = (22) *Evergetis* [37]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]; [23] = (22) *Evergetis* [33]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; [32] = (22) *Evergetis* [5]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]; [34], uses (22) *Evergetis* [24], [26], [41]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], [57]; [36] = (22) *Evergetis* [9]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [42]; [40] = (22) *Evergetis* [36], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; [42] = (22) *Evergetis* [17], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [45] = (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [46] = mostly (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; [47] = (22) *Evergetis* [3], [4], [6]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], [35], [36], [37], [38], [39].
24. Subgroup B.2: Chapters (5) shared with (27) *Kecharitomene*; parallel treatment in (22) *Evergetis*: [1], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [5], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [6], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29]; [20], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], [50], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22], [27]; [39], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [36].
25. Subgroup B.3: Composite chapters (2) shared with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*: [4] = (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]; [17] = (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], [46].

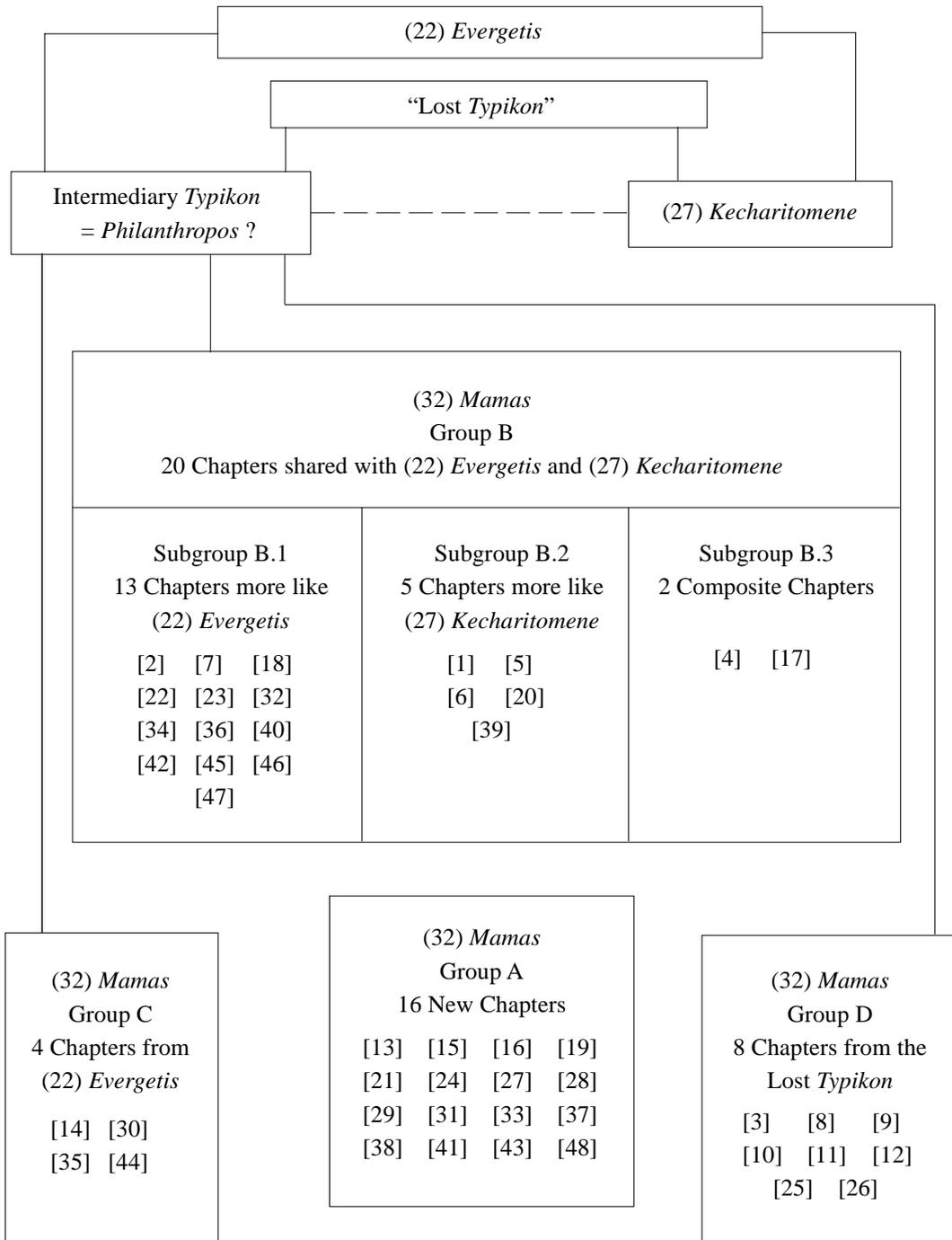
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26. Superior may appoint other officials [14], superfluous in (27) *Kecharitomene* which has detailed provisions for individuals offices; exhortation to confession [30], since the superior could not hear confessions in *Kecharitomene*; no idle talking [35], unnecessary for a cloistered community of nuns. The omission of [44] is harder to explain.
27. (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [78].
28. E.g., (27) *Kecharitomene* [4], [5]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [28]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3].
29. E.g., (22) *Evergetis* [41]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [44]; (28) *Pantokrator* [10]; (28) *Kosmosoteira* [61]; (30) *Phoberos* [56].
30. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [19], [20], [23], [24], [29].
31. See Athanasios' note with his signature at the end of the *typikon*.
32. [6], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], which is itself based on (22) *Evergetis* [29]; [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13] with (27) *Kecharitomene* [14].
33. See the Group C chapters of (34) *Machairas* as discussed in Chapter Seven below.
34. (32) *Mamas* [2], [4], [5], [6], [7], [11], [15], [17], [18], [19], [21], [22], [24], [30], [31], [32], [34], [35], [36], [37], [38], [39], [40], [41], [42], [44], [46], [47].
35. (32) *Mamas* [8], [9], [12], [13], [16], [17], [23], [25], [29], [32], [35], 42, [45].

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Chart Two: Analytic Chapter Groups of (32) *Mamas*



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

Translation

Prologue

Concerning [George the Cappadocian] the *mystikos*¹ of blessed memory and new builder [of the monastery]

An extraordinarily great and divine and precious thing is a God-loving and charitable soul. For, since the latter has grasped all the virtues, in reality it bears them in itself because it conceives the fountainhead of these (virtues, namely), love. For what is greater and loftier than love towards God and one's neighbor? For surely the Master of the universe, too, publicly declared that on these two commandments both the prophets and the whole law depend (Matt. 22:40). Accordingly, blessed and many times so is he who has beautified his own soul all round with these (virtues) as if with small golden cords. For what good things is such a person not able to do from that source, and what path of salvation is he not able to cut, just like a very thirsty deer that longs for springs of waters and ardently and totally gives itself up to them?

The ever-memorable *mystikos*, lord George the Cappadocian, had the good fortune to be endowed with just this sort of God-loving, charitable and altogether benevolent soul. When the most noble of emperors ever and the most valiant of brave men in action, the purple-born emperor Lord Manuel Komnenos, was still a young man, his father, the celebrated emperor [John II Komnenos]—he who appointed [Manuel I] emperor—assigned lord George to serve especially [Manuel].

When this wholly great emperor [Manuel] passed from adolescence to manhood, the imperial office fell in love with him and fixed its eyes fully on him, after his father the emperor [John] had closed his eyes for the last time. [Then] this illustrious and sagacious man [the *mystikos* George] received as a pledge of [imperial] munificence a commanding position in the palace, he became, that is, the guardian and steward of the imperial treasury. In his loyalty to the emperor and the vigor of his mind, he dramatically surpassed all others. Among his other excellent qualities—and there were many—the one that should be admired the most is that he did not frown upon humility when he was raised to great glory and prominence by our mighty emperor, and he did not darken the grace that shines forth from [humility] with the vanity of glory. In fact, if we must say the truth, he made [humility] shine even more through glory; for he mixed them well, just as a good painter mixes naturally contrasting colors.

Consequently the man's love of God and the virtue of his uprightness adorned him no less than his spirit of humility. Yet what need is there to recount in detail most of this man's spiritual accomplishments when it is possible to embrace all of them in one statement, which, in fact, we presented at the beginning of this whole account, having fashioned not an improbable and false presentation but one which still at the present time lies on the lips of all. The truth of this [statement] can be shown by the fine conclusion that he added to his previous accomplishments, which is the following:

TWELFTH CENTURY

The monastery of Mamas, who had nobly shone forth among martyrs, had flourished in former times and bloomed and abounded in many properties and things and appeared beautiful all around and flanked, so to speak, by favors, but in the long course of time had grown old and slipped away, and for this very reason it was running the risk of priding itself on the name alone of the martyr, because its fortunes had abandoned it altogether on account of the greed and shamelessness of the *charistikarioi* at various times, who gaped at it like wolves. When that man who loved God and goodness saw that [the monastery] was situated in a favorable environment, but the convenience of the location was rendered useless by the disorderly conditions, he was seized by a godly love and fired with the desire to restore it to its former graceful appearance which was hinted at and faintly outlined, so to speak, from some small remnants.

So he approaches him who was at that time patriarch² of this great city of cities and tells the tragic tale of the monastery's collapse and desolation and fervently beseeches him to extend his own hand to help it and thereby to raise it up and have it rebuilt because it was already sagging and giving at the knees, and on the other, also to rebuild some of the buildings from their very foundations and generously to let it make further acquisitions. For he considered it a terrible thing and unworthy of a God-loving soul to overlook the fact that a large church, and one not inferior to others of its kind, as far as construction is concerned, was standing empty and otherwise unadorned, running the risk of being shortly deprived of even this [form of existence] and, as they say, falling on its face; and that, while he was himself anxious for a long time to show his love of God and his generosity. Thereupon he asked—or to put it more precisely, he was asked—and received for himself and his legal heir, by means of a [patriarchal] memorandum, the venerable monastery of our holy great martyr Mamas which was then under the jurisdiction of the holy bureau of the *sakelle* of the Great Church. As soon, then, as he had received this, [p. 258] he became, as the saying goes, a torch set on fire or water being borne downhill with a mighty rush.

First of all, because he had intermingled his power partly with bribes and partly with persuasion, he cajoled some of those who reckoned the possessions of the monastery as booty even up to its documentary rights themselves, even though envy did not abandon all of them, to lay down and to give back again everything to the monastery. Next he devoted himself to deeds and applied such zeal as cannot be expressed. But what was the next thing? When he saw that the monastery was being renovated by many and very great expenditures, of which he himself was the bestower, but that nevertheless it still needed greater and more ample generosity and resolve, he realized that perhaps some drones, men who are destroyers, may grow upon the toils of others (for, in fact, he was shrewd, more than anyone else, and most resourceful at grasping readily what was necessary). Putting this in mind, therefore, that perhaps some men, after the grant given to him and his legal heir will have expired, may sit upon the lavish abundance of the things that had been previously acquired by the monastery and dedicated to it, and, having eaten everything, may leave behind only whitewashed walls, as the scripture says (Acts 23:31), and even savagely lay hands on these, too, and drag down the monastery again to its former collapse, what does he do? O, what sagacity and high-mindedness! He approaches the then patriarch³ again and demands that this monastery be honored with an independence that is continuous and not subject to any time limits in order that it may exist by itself, never to be given to any person for reason of *ephoreia* or as *epidosis*, or to be placed under the control of anyone for any other management whatsoever; nor to

be subjected even to the holy bureau of the great *sakelle* to which it was previously subject, in any way whatsoever, reasonable or specious, and that it may be governed and administered by the monks alone in it.

Accordingly, the patriarch, after he had closely examined by himself the purpose of the man's request and had found it concordant with the things that had been done for the monastery up to that time by him and, besides, pleasing to God, gave in writing a memorandum of the monastery's independence. The latter is most clearly proved by both the petition of that greatly preeminent man that was presented at that time and the *lysis* of the most holy patriarch regarding this and by the patriarchal memorandum following the preceding [petition and *lysis*], [and] furthermore, by the chrysobull issued regarding these matters by our God-crowned emperor and purple-born Lord Manuel Komnenos, which was set like a crown upon the aforesaid documents.

Consequently, then, after he had accomplished everything and had put the monastery beyond all human agency so as not to be subjected ever to any yoke of bondage, he was able thereafter to care for it in a more relaxed manner. Not that his hand was held back, stricken by niggardly numbness. On the contrary, as the saying goes, he added fire to the fire [p. 259] and kindled his zeal. So, that fiery lover of the Almighty proceeded to seek also someone who was to direct the monastery spiritually and be its superior, and he found me (I do not know whence and how he was moved to this), entrusted as I was at that point of time with the office of steward of the renowned and imperial monastery of the *Philanthopos* Savior,⁴ in which I had also been reared and tonsured and educated. As soon as he handed me the leadership and government of the monastery, that God-loving soul and liberal and generous hand immediately poured in like a stream the things needed for the maintenance of the monastery with even greater munificence and generosity than before. Everything was there: the lavishness of subsidy for the buildings, the munificence for the latter, the love for their beauty, the assembling of monks, the supplying of the necessities of life to the latter and all the other care and management; for to himself he assigned the subsidizing but to me the management.

This monastery of ours, accordingly, began to grow and to become strong and to get back again its former dignity, with regard to sacred vessels made of the purest silver inlaid with gold all round; sacred veils, these, too, embroidered with gold; holy icons and their very lavishly fashioned decoration; books, some not basely embellished; and with regard to the interior as well as the exterior of buildings. One could see the force of time that long ago had prevailed against the monastery and a God-loving and liberal spirit fighting against each other, opposing and forcing [each other], the former in order to make the man hesitate to spend continually for embellishments and the latter in order to accomplish everything lavishly and magnificently out of the love of God, this is clear from the following. For, since water from a spring was not yet being channeled to the monastery, that magnanimous and munificent man supplied us with the abundance of water by the multitude of hands of skilled workmen and by the abundance of expenditures so that the water surpassed even the need of the monastery, flowing continuously and extending beyond it everywhere.⁵

Yet what need is there to speak of his very many munificent deeds and to recount them individually? It is possible for anyone who so wishes to go over the particulars of the monastery's inventory,⁶ composed by me after his departure to the Lord, and discover the man's fiery love for

the monastery from the prefatory account written therein. If, however, I myself, too, have contributed anything to the man's love and deeds, thank him, who chose and made me his own fellow worker in his undertaking. But we were engaged in these things for a brief period of time, during which the monastery manifestly got the better of all extraneous control and under my agency became self-governing, when that lofty fellow and wholly a man of God disappeared from the ranks of men and ceased, albeit unwillingly, to care for the monastery.

For my part, I hesitate to discuss what happened next, lest I appear to talk about myself, but for those who are not envious the sight and condition [p. 260] of things are just as much of a mouthpiece. Yet, if there was someone else who did not hesitate to speak freely, he might have said openly that, with the exception of the lavish expenditures, he had supplemented the blessed man's deficiency. For those who are acquainted with the facts know how much was the zeal which we displayed so as to take over this monastery from the *sakelle* of the Great Church, to which it was previously subject. For, even if, while the blessed man was still living, the monastery had been honored with independence, as doubtless the patriarchal memorandum distinctly states, yet [its independence] did not take effect as soon as [the memorandum] was issued, a thing which we, God granting, brought to completion, as the inventory which was made at that time proves.

Since, however, along with other things I ought to have set forth also a *typikon* because it had not already been done while that divine man was still around, inasmuch as in this matter also I am already fulfilling his wish, I am composing this, too. Furthermore, that really pious man who was also very quick at grasping what was necessary, while he was still living, insisted on imposing upon me the composition of the *typikon* and kept both urging and inciting me to this because he had in fact entrusted to me both the monastery itself and everything under its jurisdiction, and that while he was still carrying the dust, even though I myself, partly because I revered him and partly because I was given to procrastination, kept putting off the fulfillment of the injunction.

At any rate, either for this reason I would have a right to prescribe the things that relate to the monastery, or (but let there be no divine retribution) because of the fact that I, too, nevertheless, have made some small contribution to this God-loved work, even though that wonderful man laid down the foundation stones and almost everything. At any rate, whichever of the two [reasons] one should consider, he would entrust the whole thing to me. For even the expression of eagerness is often considered as a deed. Therefore, not only he who himself completes the labors but also he, too, who arranges the contest and anoints the athlete must be accepted. First of all, then, we order the following concerning the appointment of the superior.

Chapter 1

Concerning the installation of a superior

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [11]]: **The choosing and installation of the superior must be discussed first. If the death of the superior then in office is expected and known in advance, all the community should go to him** with all respect and reverence and the appropriate demeanor and to remind him to give thought to who should rule the monastery after him in a manner pleasing to God. He, on the other hand, like an affectionate father should by all means take care to leave behind to them as a paternal inheritance one who is worthy of exercising leadership **since he has knowledge of the conduct and way of life of each of the monks**. For he shall select by himself

impartially, dispassionately and as though God, “Who searches the hearts and reins” (Ps. 7:9), were invisibly watching over his judgment [p. 261] **three** [members] from the whole brotherhood who more than the others are adorned with **intellect** and virtue **and are recognized and acknowledged as wiser and more experienced for the governance of souls, such as may be found among all the officials or even the rest of the monks.**

After he has both written down their names with his own hand on a paper and has sealed the latter in the presence of the leading men of the brotherhood, without the knowledge of those who have been selected, he shall deposit the paper in the sacristy; and after the departure to the Lord of him who holds the office of superior the paper shall be brought out and opened, and, when those who have been selected are made known to the brotherhood, the appointment of him who will hold the office of superior shall take place, just as the account will show more clearly, as it proceeds.

But if the superior should happen to depart from this life unexpectedly without giving any consideration to his successor or making anything known, then when the whole community has gathered by itself, it should make its choice; and, if all of them agree and are unanimous with regard to one, who is surely superior in both virtue and activity and reputation, there will be no need for the decision of the protector of the monastery except only that he, too, be informed of the matter. Furthermore, if all [the brothers] agree and are altogether pleased with one of the three [candidates] already selected by the superior, as stated above, the depositing of the pieces of paper on the holy altar is superfluous.

But if a rift should occur and a dispute arise among them concerning the choice, which I pray does not happen, with some [members] proposing this one, while others that one, in that case the selection concerning the three and the depositing of the pieces of paper on the holy altar will take place. Let **the protector of the monastery** have the liberty to **resolve the arguments, favoring the judgment of the group that excels in virtue and spiritual life. But he shall always be careful to make his decision freely and dispassionately unless he wishes to see the Judge and Master of all creation perversely influenced against him** and [have] the holy great martyr Mamas as an opponent and antagonist on account of the fact that he, too, **perhaps perverted justice by an unjust decision, which I pray may not happen.**

Both **the choice** of the three [candidates] who are about to be selected **and their installation will be carried out in this manner. On three pieces of paper of the same size the following words will be written:**

“Master, Lord Jesus Christ, our God, thou who knowest the hearts [of men], by the intercessions of our all-pure Lady, the Mother of God, and of the holy celebrated among martyrs Mamas, reveal to us sinners whether thou hast judged our brother so-and-so worthy of the position of our superior.”

The same words [will] be written again on the other pieces of paper and the names of the three [candidates] inscribed on them.⁷ **When the papers have been stamped with a seal—that of the protector** if he is present, and in case he does not want to be or is somehow unable to be, by the seal of [a representative] whom the [protector] will assign by means of a written and signed statement—they will be placed [p. 262] **on the holy table during vespers on Saturday or that of a feast of the Lord or that of the holy great martyr Mamas, if it should occur at that time. A**

vigil shall be performed and a whole-hearted supplication with a contrite heart shall be made by you, my most venerable fathers, because the matter for which we make the supplication is important. On this hangs the maintenance of the monastery and, equally, its destruction, which I pray does not happen, and the hope of your salvation.

On the next day, after the divine liturgy has been celebrated and after its completion, while the priest is still dressed in his priestly vestments, a *trisagion* will be performed by you and these *troparia* will be sung: “Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy”; “Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold” (Ps. 79 [80].14); “Glory”; “By your God-given staff, Holy One”; “And now”; [and] “Only-begotten One, of the same substance.” The deacon will make an *ektenes* declaiming this after the other petitions: “We again beg that the Lord Our God reveal to us the one worthy of our leadership.” You will respond, “*Kyrie eleison*,” thirty times and perform fifteen deep bows, saying this also to yourselves, while you raise your hands to God: “God, thou who knowest the hearts [of men], show to us sinners the one worthy of our leadership.” After these bows when the priest himself has performed three similar bows before the holy table, and while still dressed in his priestly vestments, as we said, is repeating the same invocation, he will lift up one of the three pieces of paper. When it has been offered in the presence of the whole community by the priest himself to the one who placed his own seal upon it, he will recognize his own seal and the piece of paper will be opened, as all watch, and the owner of the name written on it will enter with the priest into the holy sanctuary with his head uncovered. Then as our *typikon* and the staff are lying in the place before the holy altar, he [the superior-elect], after making three bows will take them, pondering and considering with himself from where he takes them and to whom he promises to protect them, and that angels are recording his promise, who are going to lead him to that fearful place of judgment to give account of the fulfillment of his promises.

After the whole brotherhood has responded three times “worthy,” he shall come out and stand in the place assigned to the superior, and everyone will offer him the divine greeting [with a kiss], and glory will be offered to God, [p. 263] and the dismissal will follow with the customary prayer of the priest. He will be your superior thereafter, whom you are to revere as a father, and have an obedient attitude towards him as the one appointed by God.

After this let all the brothers, taking him along, go up to the most holy ecumenical patriarch so that he may receive from the latter’s holy right hand the *sphragis* and benediction of the office of superior in accordance with the contents of the memoranda that belong to the monastery. Let the same procedure be followed as well in the case of [a candidate] elected by common consent.

I pray, therefore, that there always be among you yourselves an abundance of those worthy of leadership, and that there will never fail to be such men in our monastery, but, a need arises whenever a need to appoint a superior arises, the selection can take place from the monks themselves who practice the religious life here. If, however, the wicked enemy, the originator of evil, who always envies the salvation of mankind, shall overpower your souls so much and make you so neglect your own salvation that no one may be found among you of attested virtue and learning and experience for the governance and leadership of souls—I trust by the mercy of my Christ who loves mankind that such a thing may not ever occur—in that case of course we give permission to the protector of the monastery at the time with also the prompting

and consent of the monks to discover from outside someone from another monastery, a man who is devout and approved for the office of superior and to install him in this office.

It is our wish, however, that he be appointed thus. If, indeed, two alone from the entire brotherhood in the monastery are found such as ought to be selected, in accordance with what has been said, and a third is missing, one [candidate] alone must be brought in from outside. Thus, after the three [names] have been recorded on the papers and the aforementioned procedure followed, he whom God should approve and reveal is to be preferred. If, on the other hand, one alone of all of you is manifestly worthy of selection, it is surely fitting to find the other two from elsewhere and to have them recorded and to have again the same procedure take place. If, however, the monastery lacks even the three—a thing which I pray may not happen—it is certainly necessary, even if the three are likewise selected from other monasteries and recorded, that you make the prescribed supplications and entreaties to God and the saint and thus appoint to the office of superior him who, in the former's discretion, is revealed as worthy.

Chapter 2

Concerning the removal of an unsuitable holder of the office of superior

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 644–58]: So much for that. **The following matters**, however, that are about to be discussed concerning him who, after our passing away, will be holding the office of superior and those who will be holding the office of superior after him, [p. 264] **I did not wish to commit to writing, for it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it. This would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact our nature remained unchanged and unmoved, but that is impossible, for we repeatedly change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, giving way to laziness in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whereas they ought to demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence. We feign virtue at the start through the desire for the authority and the success it brings, then when we have gained it we are found to be still exactly what we were, like octopuses which when pursued by bigger fish take a tight hold of the rocks nearby and simply pretend that they are a rock, but whenever they escape the danger, they are recognizable as octopuses again, which in fact they were. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–73]: **So, if the superior should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his leadership but remain firm. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his leadership of the brothers in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favors for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery's property or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control or has been totally disregarding any of the instructions in the present rule and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions then for these reasons, he has been proved unsuitable for the guiding of souls.**

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], lines 694–700]: **If, then, though living so wickedly, he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him stay and be your superior. But should he remain the same, and still not give up his evil ways but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed,** having deliberated with the protector of the monastery concerning him, it is our wish that you **remove that worthless man from the leadership over you,** and that a selection and another vote and an appointment of another superior again be made in accordance with what has been prescribed above.⁸

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], lines 701–4]: If, however, **the one removed from the office of superior should wish to stay** in the monastery as one of the brothers, **accorded the rank and seat of second to the superior, in the refectory I mean, and at the other gatherings,** and to be submissive to the superior in all things and not to destroy the monastery's good order by being both troubled and troubling, let him be again in the monastery. If not, however, let him leave the latter and depart where, in fact, he wishes, especially if he happens to be from those who come from outside, in order that he may not become a cause of offense to the rest also. [p. 265]

Chapter 3

Concerning those who have been appointed for the protection of the monastery, that is, the protectors

Since one of the indispensable things is for the monastery to have its protector in order that it may not become booty to those who wish to pillage other people's property, inasmuch as it is not being protected under some kind of shelter and security,—a thing which, in fact, it has suffered even before—this is exactly what we have done for reason of the best management. It is our wish, therefore, that above all the supremely glorious, most noble lord Theocharistos the Cappadocian and genuine full brother of our master of blessed memory and new builder, serve as its protector and patron so as to look after and assist and defend it and to repel those who attempt to misuse it in various ways, and, when perhaps any of the things that have been prescribed in the present *typikon* incurs the danger of being violated, to prevent it and simply to have such jurisdiction over the monastery, as long as he lives just as our celebrated master of blessed memory did, for he knows his [brother's] wish and is like him in all good accomplishments and greatly loves the monastery and cooperates with it as much as possible and guides it. But, even if he wishes to add or even remove anything in the present *typikon*, let him have this, too, within his purview.

Yet what need is there to say many things and prolong the discussion? If anything should seem to him absolutely pleasing to God and helpful to the monastery, let him effect and accept it as though it had been effected by our master of blessed memory himself. After, however, his departure to the Lord (for, since he is a human being, he expects to die and pay the common debt of nature) the supremely glorious *mystikos* at the time, whoever, in fact, he may be, will undertake the protection of the monastery, at the earnest supplication of the superior and the monks of the monastery, being called to this soul-beneficial service freely [and] without pay, for the sake of his soul's salvation and that alone, as we said. For what would he even want from it, being as it is utterly poor and almost resourceless, except only an eternal commemoration?

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], ed. lines 275–82, 289–90]: With the exception of the aforesaid full brother of the *mystikos* [George] of blessed memory, for to him and him alone it has been permitted, as we said above,⁹ to do whatever he wishes, **none of those who have been entrusted with the protection of the monastery should use this as a reason for having control over any property in it, or pervert any of the provisions in this rule** to the detriment of the monastery, **or remove the superior, or enroll monks or introduce or expel them, or demand any accounts either of the superior or the steward or one of the monks in the matters they manage and look after,** [p.266] **or demand knowledge of the income and the expenditure, or try to get anything at all from the monastery, or appropriate anything whatsoever.**

He is obliged only to set right the harmful things that are sometimes done contrary to the tenor of the *typikon* and even to drive off, as much as he can, those who are wont to display any insolent behavior in the monastery and to reconcile the monks and the superior whenever they happen to be at variance. For the foregoing reasons **it will be enough for them** [the protectors] **to be commemorated in the monastery three times each day and after their deaths for their names to be inscribed in the diptychs** and to be buried in the monastery, if they should wish, without any donation whatsoever.

Chapter 4

Concerning the fact that the monastery is self-governing

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], ed. lines 180–91]: Since the monastery received the good fortune of independence of all kinds through a patriarchal memorandum and through a divine and imperial chrysobull,¹⁰ **it should be,** in accordance with their contents, **independent and under its own control** and above **all mastery and lordship, and no one at all should have any right or privilege in respect of it, but it should remain independent in every way, separate and in control of itself, and be administered in accordance with** the regulations that have been **expressly laid down** in the present *typikon*, **being subjected neither to imperial or ecclesiastic or personal rights nor assigned as a gift or *epidosis* or for reasons of *ephoreia*, stewardship or superintendence or for any other reason to any kind of person whatsoever or monastery or holy house or some other bureau, but it is to remain forever only under the authority of the mankind-loving God alone and the holy great martyr Mamas, to whom it has in fact been dedicated, and it should be governed by the superior in it at the time and to be administered in accordance with the regulation of the present *typikon*.**

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], ed. lines 201–9]: **But if anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over it and to set it under the authority of someone else, whether he be an emperor, or a patriarch, or some other member of the clergy or of the senate, or the superior himself, or its steward, or simply anyone of the brothers in it, prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of our God and Savior Jesus Christ, but he will be also accursed, just as the holy apostle says (Gal. 1:8), and subject to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers** [= (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 556–58]: **and share the lot of the betrayer Judas and be numbered along with those who cried aloud “Away with him, away with him, crucify him” (John 19:15) and “His blood upon us and upon our children” (Matt. 27:25).**

Chapter 5

Concerning the fact that the monks must pursue a cenobitic way of life; and concerning their number; and that they must be tonsured gratuitously; and that [p. 267] all the monastery's movable and immovable possessions must be inalienable; and concerning the fact that it must accept the things that are offered to it with a purpose dear to God

[Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], ed. lines 218–19]: **It is right that something be said more clearly and briefly next concerning the way of life and the number of the monks and their whole organization in the monastery.** Accordingly, the monks of the monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas shall be twenty in number. They ought continually to attend to the service of the church and to the duties inside and outside the monastery. Of them, however, let there be of necessity two or even three priests and two deacons, but, if there should be even more, thanks be to God. Yet, if—a thing for which we pray—the Lord God should grant that others, too, come to the monastery on account of the moral excellence of those who practice asceticism in it and the observance of the cenobitic way of life, and if he should supply also the necessary things for self-sufficiency either from the things that the monastery now possesses, through the superior's careful management, or also from the things that some Christ-loving individuals will dedicate to it, as we believe [that they will], so as to be sufficient for even more, a larger number of monks shall not be prohibited as long as the superior should wish it and there should be a capacity of cells in the monastery.

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]]: **We wish that those who enter should be accepted and have their hair cut and be counted in the aforesaid number of monks without any gift. If one of them were to wish of his own free will to offer something of his own possessions, whether the offering is of movable or immovable property, it will be accepted. For what is offered in faith as a dedication to God and the holy great martyr Mamas is going to be for the maintenance of the monastery and to commemorate and help the soul of the giver and ought not to be rejected.**

But if, tempted by demons, he ever tries to leave the monastery—there are many examples of fickleness—and wishes to take back what he has given, it must not be given to him whatever it happens to be. For what has once been dedicated to God cannot be taken away, and the person who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows, even if we do not say it, what sort of penalty sacrilege carries.

So whoever makes an offering of private movable or immovable property should read the preceding words here, and if he makes his offering with a free motive pleasing to God, with no intention of getting it back later, then indeed his gift should be accepted and dedicated to God and the Saint, by whom he will be indeed properly recompensed with the reward of his faith. All the things that have been set apart or will be set apart for the monastery or in any way whatsoever will accrue to it, not only immovable but also movable, are to remain with it inalienable. They are not to be given away as gifts, not to be exchanged, not to be alienated in any way whatsoever.

For it is downright sacrilege to do any such thing or to accept it when it has been done, and he who has done such a thing or has tolerated it will render an account for this on the frightful day of judgment, finding also Christ himself, the master of the things that are alienated, an unsympa-

thetic and just Judge, and the great [p. 268] martyr Mamas a formidable adversary in both the present and the future life, even if two-fold or three-fold is that which is given in place of the thing that is alienated. Thus let the alienation of the things that have been dedicated be altogether forbidden.

Chapter 6

Concerning how the installations of the officials must be made

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [18]]: **The superior will be the one carrying out both the selection and the installation of all the officials of the monastery, selecting and installing by his own decision.** For he shall appoint by all means those who excel the rest in both virtue and competence for the performance of their office. **Whenever it is necessary for anyone to be installed to whatever sort of office, the keys will be placed in front of the holy sanctuary, and, after the *trisagion* has been completed, the one set apart for the office will approach, genuflect three times, receive the keys, and after this will bow his bared head to the superior,** and the latter shall make the sign of the cross over him, **saying,** “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ installs you.” **However, in the case of the offices for which there are no keys,** the *sphragis* by the superior and **the words spoken** in connection with it **will be enough for the installation so that [each] may know from where he is receiving his office and in what way he promises to manage it.**

Chapter 7

Concerning the installation of the steward

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 615–22]: The steward of the monastery also shall be installed by the superior, one who is superior in virtue and activity and esteem. **He** who has been selected, as I have stated, having approached **the superior and having performed the proper obeisance to him, shall offer him his head uncovered and he should make the sign of the cross over him** with his hand **and say,** “**The** grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, through the **intercessions of the saint, installs you steward of this monastery.**” **Then, when he has given him the sacred kiss, he is to set him in the [appropriate] place for the steward, and all the brotherhood, one after the other, will kiss him. After the kiss,** the priest shall recite the customary prayer, and the dismissal of the congregation will take place. He, indeed, who has been appointed for the purpose of executing the function of steward shall carry out all the affairs of the monastery, just as he should be instructed by the superior, and he shall do nothing without the latter’s knowledge and order.

Chapter 8

Concerning the ecclesiarch

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]]: **The ecclesiarch moreover, being appointed by the superior, will be whoever seems to him fit and [p. 269] 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 should look after the orderly condition of the church during the singing of psalms as is customary for ecclesiarchs. The office, however, ought to be sung in accordance with the *synaxarion* of the monastery of *Evergetis*¹¹ following the traditional form and the practice. The ecclesiarch at the time ought always to have an assistant ecclesiarch working with him and ministering and assisting in the office assigned to him. The aforesaid person ought to keep also the box with the *nomismata* that are received and paid out, as will be made clear later on in fuller detail.

Chapter 9

Concerning the appointment of the sacristan and at the same time keeper of archives and his office

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]]: We wish there to be a sacristan in the monastery who must guard the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, and think worthy of every kind of care the things handed to him in a written and reliable inventory of transfer. This official must hand over to the ecclesiarch 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 sealed by the superior, and he is required to hand back everything that has been entrusted to him whenever he is moved from this office according to the inventory of transfer made out for it. For it is within the power of the superior to remove and change those who hold office in the manner described. For it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, 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 were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be responsible to God and the holy great martyr Mamas, from whom in fact he received his keys.

The same person will not only be sacristan but also archivist, receiving all the papers containing the rights of ownership of the monastery, and will guard these, thinking them worthy of every kind of care and when a need for some document occurs, on the instruction of the superior he will bring out the required document and hand it over. When a few days have passed after this, he will remind [p. 270] the superior, and recall the document that was taken out, as has been described, and will not allow it to be lost. Since, however, the cabinet made for the protection of these [documents] is safeguarded by two keys, the superior ought constantly to keep one of them, while the sacristan keeps the other, both of them using a wax seal so that the one may not be able to open the aforesaid cabinet without the other.

Chapter 10

Concerning the treasurer of the *nomismata*

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], ed. lines 884–85]: We must speak about the keeping and listing of monetary income and expenditure. For it is our wish that there be a box that is secured, in which ought to be deposited the *nomismata* that are collected from any source whatso-

ever and of whatever quality they may be, as well as the notes that are issued for their receipt and disbursement, in the presence of the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the sacristan. After these have been deposited, let this box be sealed by the superior and the aforesaid [officials]. The superior, however, shall take out from it a sum of *nomismata* in the presence of the aforesaid monks and shall hand this over to the treasurer for the monastery's daily expenses, and they should note this sum in the ledger of disbursement that should always be in the box. The treasurer, however, shall make another detailed note of the disbursement of the *nomismata*, which note, the one issued by the treasurer, that is, ought to be shown twice a week to the superior and recorded in order that he may keep fresh in mind the disbursement as it proceeds.

After all of the *nomismata* that he will already have received have been spent, let the total disbursement be read from the beginning in the presence of the superior and the aforesaid monks and let it be computed by the superior. Then in the same manner other *nomismata* shall be turned over to him, the box being opened in accordance with the aforesaid observance, and thus it shall be done continuously. Other *nomismata*, however, shall not be taken out of the box unless beforehand the treasurer hands over the account-book of disbursement and gives an account of what he received and spent.

Chapter 11

Concerning the official who takes in and issues the food, that is, the cellarer

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [21] and [23]]: Likewise [it is our wish that there be] also an official who **takes in and issues all food** and drink **in the monastery**, whom, in fact, we call cellarer. [p. 271] Besides that, he **must receive all the crops and legumes and issue them on the instruction of the superior, and take care of these in every way, so that they are not perhaps ruined by neglect**. The aforesaid ought to see also to the preparation and care of the table of the monks, as well as the kitchen, being obliged to have under his authority both an assistant cellarer and a cook.

The food shall be served to the brothers one dish and one bowl at a time, for we do not wish that they eat two portions at a time, especially of cooked food and legumes, for reasons of suitable thrift. The olive oil he ought to get, of course, every month from him who closely guards it. For no one even from the ranks of all the officials ought to lay claim to the olive oil, the wax, and the incense under the pretext that these belong to his office, but he shall be authorized to guard them whom the superior should commission either from the ranks of the officials or from the ranks of the ordinary [monks]. If, however, [the superior] himself wishes to have control of them by himself, there is no one who can prevent him.

Chapter 12

Concerning the gatekeeper

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]]: **Furthermore the superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, whom we call the gatekeeper, whose responsibility it will be not to open the gate at all without the permission of the superior and to see to it that people do not enter or leave the monastery without the knowledge of the superior. The one appointed to this office must be devout and already inclining towards old age and by the testimony of the**

whole community a person of godly life. Each evening he will bring the keys to the superior, and he will not see those who have come to see him [personally] without the permission of the superior, but with his permission he will see them in whatever way he is permitted.

Chapter 13

Concerning the poor, both monks and laymen, who come to the gate of the monastery

It is also likely that some of our brothers in Christ, the poor, will come to the gate of the monastery because of want. Since it is impossible for all of them to be brought in within the monastery, let the gatekeeper at the time, who ought to be altogether devout and blameless, as we said above, have it in his power to go to the cellarer and get bread and give it to the beggar without hesitation and complaint in order that he himself may not suffer judgment. If, however, the beggar is a monk, let also wine be given to him, as well as [p. 272] fish or cheese or anything else. 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 and sharing, you, too, may receive in return cheerful and abundant mercy from God. For it is our preference that not even one beggar turn away from the gate with empty hands, and we enjoin in the Holy Spirit the gatekeeper at the time to observe this continually. In fact, the requirements of hospitality and charity will be observed thus forever both inviolate and immutable.

Chapter 14

Concerning the fact that the superior has it in his power to appoint also other officials

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [39], ed. lines 1201–3]: **Regarding other offices, too, which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands, if the monastery should perhaps expand by the will of God and there is urgent need.** Our wish concerning these matters, and our approbation and counsel and injunction, must be inviolate and immutable, since they are for your advantage and soul's salvation and security and everyone's tranquility, and let me say also for my spirit's boast and adornment in the presence of the Lord.

Chapter 15

Concerning the fact that all the things that have been explicitly stated in the present *typikon* must remain immutable and unchangeable forever

For surely the present *typikon* shall remain permanent and inviolate forever, not admitting of any addition, or subtraction, or of alteration. For it is our wish that any of the things that have been prescribed in it never be transgressed by you or admit of any alteration or change by anyone whatsoever, even if far better ordinances and regulations should be introduced either by the superior himself or by the protector of the monastery, an exception being made only in the case of the genuine brother of the *mystikos* [George], as we said above.¹² For to the latter and the latter alone we have given license to do whatever at all, in fact, he wishes that contributes certainly to the benefit and support of the monastery.

Chapter 16

Concerning the reading of the present *typikon* at the refectory for all to hear

In addition to everything this, too, must be observed no less than the other things, if not even more, as both the source and reason for the unabated observance of the things that have been prescribed [p. 273] and utter strengthening of the monastery. Let the *typikon* be read, therefore, so as to be listened to by all the members of the monastery four times a year, that is, every three months. Beyond the four times let it be read also on the commemoration of the *mystikos* [George] of blessed memory on the fifteenth of the month of July, and on my commemoration on the day on which I shall depart from the body, and besides on the commemoration of the genuine brother of the *mystikos*, lord Theocharistos, in order that, by the continuous reading of 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 that are inviolable and unchangeable, and not only must you not be disheartened or vexed with such precepts and admonitions but reasonably even rejoice and exult because, having been relieved from all concern, you will have one undistracted occupation, [namely], the concern and care for your soul's salvation.

Chapter 17

Concerning the procedure and order to be followed at the refectory and concerning the food of the monks on the ordinary days and concerning the three fasts

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], lines 325–26, 337–48, 352–57]: **It should be the right time to mention the table and food and 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 would render assistance to the [soul's] divine ministrations without the things that are of necessity useful to it. Therefore, **after the customary collation has taken place, all should gather and sit waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the semantron. When the semantron has been struck, then beginning [to recite] the customary psalm audibly, walk to the refectory, that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the aforementioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, they should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before them.**

Moreover the reading, from the sacred scriptures must take place during the meals, as ordered by the superior, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. 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. [p. 274] When, however, the superior is not present, prevented perhaps by weakness of the body or even some other reason, the steward in his stead shall fulfill the things that ought to be done by him. If the latter is not present, the ecclesiarch shall fulfill these duties.

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], ed. lines 1314–16]: **So then, after the monks have got up from**

the table, there should be a second sitting of loaves and courses set out, whatever has been set out for the first sitting, and those who served should eat.

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], ed. lines 1322–27]: **At the midday meal on the ordinary day your food will be on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday two dishes, and sometimes even three, of fish and cheese and legumes, as the superior should order; while on Monday two [dishes] of legumes cooked with olive oil, and on Wednesday and Friday two dishes of legumes, also cooked with olive oil, and similar vegetables, as the superior should order.**

If, however, they wish, for the sake of [strict adherence] to the canons let them eat dry food these two days, especially, if not “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) but “Alleluia” should be sung. Let them also drink wine, because of their weakness, [distributed] with the customary measure of wine. If, on the other hand, **a feast of the Lord occurs also on these [days], I mean Wednesday and Friday, let them eat fish, too, and unless there should be a refreshment [of-fered] by others, the superior himself should take care of this. Your drink on all the ordinary days will be of the larger measure.** Whenever the superior decides and especially on the feast days and the commemorations, let also the customary blessing [treat of wine] be given. However, **at supper on the same days bread and vegetables and fruits that are in season or any other thing will be set out for you at the discretion of the superior; and the drink will be distributed with the larger measure** in accordance with the rule.

Chapter 18

Concerning the food of the monks during the three fasts

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10]]: **While such is the case on the ordinary days of the year, that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is, Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However, on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be wine, distributed with the half measure.** For, since those who chant are very few and the office is long, if they drink water only, they would be able neither to chant more sonorously nor, indeed, perform more easily the continuous bending of the knees, and for this reason there is need [p. 275] for a moderate concession even if it is contrary to the standards of the sacred canons. This shall be the case up to Saturday; for on this [day] one must eat boiled vegetables and shellfish, even twice a day, and drink with the customary large measure of wine. But if a refreshment is provided by someone of the Christ-loving persons, you shall be feasted also with fish.

That way you should carry out the first week of the holy and great Lent, whereas on all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two or three cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on the Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays, however, [you must eat] boiled beans, black olives, and other such things; and on Thursdays two cooked dishes, both containing olive

oil, will be set out for you. Whereas **on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays**, [you shall eat] legumes soaked in water and raw vegetables, and, moreover, walnuts and dried figs and other such things; the drink, certainly, throughout the whole week, apart from Saturday and Sunday, ought to be given with the customary two-thirds.

But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John the] Forerunner or of the feast of the Annunciation¹³ should happen to fall on Tuesday or Thursday or Saturday or Sunday [you] should eat fish and be given a share of wine measured out with the larger measure.

If, on the other hand, the **commemoration of the holy Forty Martyrs¹⁴ should happen to fall on the** aforementioned days, **you should eat shellfish and the wine shall be [distributed] with the larger measure.** Therefore, **throughout all the other days of the holy Lent you will not be allowed at all to eat fish**, unless a refreshment perhaps should be sent by some Christ-loving person on Saturday or Sunday.

When the feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. You will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time you will use only shellfish, and receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—it is right to live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and you shall drink also half a measure of wine on account of your fatigue.

If, however, [it should fall] either on Holy Wednesday or on Good Friday or even on Holy Saturday itself, on Holy Wednesday and on Good Friday you shall be satisfied with boiled legumes and vegetables with olive oil and you shall partake also of wine with the larger measure, but, if on Holy Saturday, all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided; for you shall not break the fast of Holy Saturday because of the feast [of the Annunciation].

In accordance with the ecclesiastical canons, we have been taught to fast from everything on [Holy Saturday] alone, and we must especially observe the regulations of the divine fathers. **On Holy Thursday**, therefore, when we do not celebrate the Annunciation, [p. 276] **eating will be as on Thursdays of the other weeks of Lent** and the wine shall be [given out] with the larger measure.

On Good Friday, however, unless the aforementioned feast occurs (on it), **no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger measure because of your weariness from the vigil.**

On Holy and great Saturday there should be only a collation in accordance with the traditional custom. [The monks], however, will enter the refectory for the sake of quietude and have a collation there in accordance with the traditional form and custom, even if the feast of our wholly undefiled Mistress and Mother of God should occur (on it).

In this manner your diet for the period of the holy and great Lent should be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. On the aforesaid holy great Lent, however, apart from a great emergency, the monks should not go out of the monastery at all except the officials alone.

The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles¹⁵ will be laid down immediately next.

After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, at which on Tuesday and Thursday **two** or three **dishes cooked with olive oil** shall be served and **wine** will be drunk **of the larger measure**. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays let them eat dry food and let wine be given with the larger measure. Let the superior, however, have it in his power to provide refreshments and concessions whenever, in fact, he wishes. On Saturdays and Sundays, on the other hand, let them partake also of fish supplied from the house, **unless a refreshment** should be provided by someone, and on all these days, even on Wednesdays and Fridays themselves, the wine, too, shall be [served] with the larger measure. But on all of them let also **a supper** be served of bread and raw vegetables and fruits that are in season and wine with the **larger measure, because of the heat and dryness of the season**. But, if there should be **any refreshment** even on another day apart from Wednesday and Friday, they must **partake** even then of fish, thanking God.

The fast of the Holy Nativity of Christ¹⁶ will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion of course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*. It will differ from it in one thing only, [namely], that you eat once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117[118]:27) is not sung at matins but “Alleluia.” [p. 277]

Chapter 19

Concerning the fact that without reservations one is to eat cheese and eggs during the entire week prior to the week of Meatfare on account of the heresy of the Artzibourians,¹⁷ and that even every day the gardeners, the vine-dressers, and simply all, apart from those who habitually are in attendance, are to come together at the refectory

But a specific thing which I almost bypassed, must be committed to writing because it is necessary and it separates us from the loathsome tradition of the Artzibourians. Since in the week before the Meatfare week the Artzibourians received the tradition to eat nothing else except bread and water, we, in order that we may be differentiated from their heresy, unhesitatingly eat both cheese and eggs throughout this entire week, and we likewise observe this during the entire week of Cheesefare because of another heresy.¹⁸

However, both our fellow-brethren who take care of the vineyards and the gardens and all the other ministrants, apart from those who are in attendance, ought without fail to come also to the first table sitting each day and in common to enjoy the bounties of God in order that the name “brotherhood” may not be just a name, but that it may become a reality through deeds. If however, some of the brothers, because they have been sent for service or have gone off even on some personal business with the knowledge of the father [superior], delay thereupon, and return perhaps after the midday meal or even supper, whatever was distributed to the other brothers during the day at the table must be given without diminution to them, too.

We have the tradition that on the holy and venerable Dormition of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God,¹⁹ when the brothers are having their meal at the refectory, they eat also

grapes previously blessed at the church by the priest who holds the daily service. This tradition also must be observed. If, in fact, anyone of the brothers should be detected as having taken a taste of grapes before this feast, he shall suffer in consequence the penalty of disobedience and shall not partake of them at all until the Exaltation of the precious Cross.²⁰ Liable, however, to the same penalty shall be also anyone of the brothers working in the vineyards who shall disregard this commandment.²¹ At the refectory, however, twice or even three times a week after the feast, grapes shall be served up until the time of the vintage; but when figs and melons are in season, they shall partake of them also almost every day, if they have any.

Chapter 20

Concerning the fact that the monks are not to eat secretly, and concerning poverty

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], ed. lines 1444–53]: But **we introduce the matter concerning abstinence from secret eating and drinking. Avoid this to the utmost of your power, continually keeping [p. 278] in mind the fact that in the beginning disobedient eating made us subject to death and deprived us of life in paradise when the devil, the wicked author of evil, introduced it, who from that time right up to the present has not ceased suggesting to those who take up war against him like an ancient weapon the secret and forbidden tasting of some food or drink. Not only does he suggest it but advocates secret tasting saying that it is a natural action and blameless. But you, do not be ignorant of his intentions, looking away to the result of his advice namely the transgression of a command.**

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [50]]: **So that you may easily surmount this trap of the Evil One, we are imposing on you the poverty which can be of the greatest service, and preserving this you would without effort escape the danger of secret eating. For what would the person who has nothing taste? So then, practice poverty not only in unattainable and superfluous things but also in food and drink even to the smallest amount.**

For this reason, accordingly, **we instruct also the superior** to enter into your cells, **whenever he wishes, and to examine them and to allow you to have nothing more than the things allowed by the cenobitic rule.**

Chapter 21

Concerning the fact that one is not to be absent, except for illness or other reasonable cause, from the ecclesiastical office

But above all I entreat you, my spiritual fathers and brothers, that no one be absent from the ecclesiastical office either during the daytime and nighttime doxologies or during the vigils that are usually performed. For, if, in fact, anyone should be absent in consequence of sloth and negligence and not because of illness, which, of course can attract forgiveness, let such a person know that, if after a first and second and third admonition he abides in his sloth, he shall have in consequence as his just penalty the eating of dry food and the drinking of water only on the day on which this offense should be committed by him. Those, however, who perhaps are occupied with certain tasks or wrestle with bodily illnesses, as I have stated, shall not be subjected to the censure of this sort. For it is necessary to show consideration for the illnesses and the labors of men.

Chapter 22

Concerning how those who enter must be tonsured and after how much time

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37]]: We **must**, moreover, **speak** in fuller detail **about those who** come to the monastery for the purpose of being **tonsured**. **If they are distinguished people or people known to you for a long time and have close knowledge of the monastery's way of life and regime** [p. 279] **they should be tonsured** after a period of six months **if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted**. **But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival at the monastery, they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to proper tasks and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance eagerness and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for up to a period of two years, then they should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit, that is to say, the cloak. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the superior** [to decide about them].

Those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something to God and the saint, it should be accepted, as we said above. But so much concerning those who are tonsured in the monastery.

One, however, **should consider also those who come from a different [monastery]** for the purpose of making a beginning in it. Let him, therefore, who has been chosen by the monastery to be admitted as a monk spend only eight days in it for the purpose of seeing it and its regimen. If, indeed, he is obviously pleased, let him make a confession to the superior. Then, while the *trisagion* is being performed in the church, he must present his head to the superior, bowed and uncovered, and, as the superior makes the sign of the precious cross over it, he reverently says approximately the following, "May the grace of the all-Holy Spirit, brother, through the prayers of our fathers, grant you power and strength to complete well and pleasingly to God the beginning which you made for the edification and salvation of your soul." Thereupon let the superior give him the kiss in the Lord and successively likewise all the brothers. Let him, however, make a prostration to the brothers, saying, "Pray for me, fathers and brothers, that God may grant me perseverance," and, after the brothers have answered, "May God grant you, brother, perseverance in every good work," he shall be enrolled in the brotherhood. For in no other way shall anyone be numbered among the brothers of our monastery unless, along with the confession, this ceremony takes place in exactly the same way.

Chapter 23

Exhortation concerning the fact that all those who serve are to apply themselves thoroughly to their services and not to despise them in any way

[= (22) *Evergetis* [33]]: **I entreat all those who carry out offices** in the monastery, from the first down to even the last, **to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before**

God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented [p. 280] by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who says, “I came not to be served but to serve and to lay down my life as a ransom for many” (Matt. 20:28).

You see, my brothers, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Why then do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the service? Do you not think that you are laying down your own lives for many like my Master, Christ, so that you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should 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 love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and, through which man is revealed as God.

So why do you give up the treasure house and culmination of all these good things [and run to what is inferior when thus having reached to the summit] easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? “We are afraid,” they say, “because of our failure to carry out the rule;” but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to your failure, justly granting you pardon. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you attending to your offices eagerly.

Chapter 24

Concerning respect to the superior and deference, that is, bowing [to him]

When one is about (for even these precepts are necessary to those who live in a cenobitic monastery) to go out of the monastery at all either for the sake of some task or because of personal need, let him not go out of the monastery before he receives a blessing from the superior. Likewise let him neither depart to the bath without an obeisance [to the superior], nor, indeed, have his hair cut or his vein opened.²² Let him also who is about to sound the *semantron* and those who have been chosen to perform the sacred rites and the chanters and the precentors and simply everyone before [he starts] his work receive a blessing from him. For he who wishes to obey the apostolic regulations must do nothing at all without the knowledge and consent of the superior but in all things [p. 281] follow his orders, nay rather also render to him the honor that befits him, so as never to pass him by without bowing to him, whether one shall meet him on the road or should see him emerging.²³ Whether one is summoned by him or even of one’s own accord should go to him for the sake of a request regarding some need, let him beforehand make an obeisance and, folding his hands together, let him stand thus. It is fitting that, you too, render the same respect to one another inasmuch as there is peace on all sides and concord directs your relationship with one another.

Chapter 25

A broader exhortation concerning the fact that those who live the monastic life in the monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas must pursue the cenobitic way of life even if it happens that the entire income of the monastery is reduced to the sufficiency of two monks [= (27) *Kecharitomene* [55]]: Although **the way of life** of the monks and the whole organization of life in the monastery was already discussed above²⁴ **briefly, it will be discussed again**, compatible with what has been clearly stated and declared by the divine fathers with regard to those who have renounced the world. For they decided and laid it down that those who fled from the very stormy world and took refuge in the calm harbor of monastic life should enter upon a cenobitic way of life, and renouncing their own will give themselves up to a life of submission, seeing that they need a helmsman and guide as they direct the blind eye of their soul this way and that and are not able to help themselves through their ignorance of goodness.

Therefore obeying these men, **we wish that** the monks in our monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas **live in a cenobitic constitution and way of life** and that the rule of this constitution should always be in force in it **unaltered and unbroken, not perverted or altered in any way, nor altered for any reason or pretext whatsoever, neither because of wealth or poverty, neither because of shortage or abundance, nor any other specious reason or pretext whatsoever, but the cenobitic constitution and way of life should be completely preserved in every way unbroken for ever, even if the whole revenue of the monastery should be reduced to being sufficient for two monks**—which I pray will not happen.

If one of the superiors wishes the opposite, the monks are to oppose him; but, if the monks wish the opposite, the superior should resist them. If they all were to agree, the protector of the monastery should defend what I have laid down; and if he also were to consort with them, we grant permission to anyone who wishes, to strive for a pious matter and go to court on behalf of goodness itself and the reward for it, and seek to make our instructions effective [p. 282] **and drive from the monastery those responsible for the abolition of the cenobitic way of life, and not to think this is a small achievement but a very great one that brings salvation.**

Chapter 26

Concerning the fact that there must neither be *kelliotai* nor imposed guests in the monastery

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], line 1494]: **We wish that there should be neither *kelliotai* nor imposed guests** at all within the monastery. In fact we forbid this completely. [= (27) *Kecharitomene* [4]. ed. lines 340–49; 305–12] 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 he should be **unable to change** suddenly from the **more luxurious way of life** to the more **harsh** and should perhaps have need of a **servant** and some small modification and concession so that neither the regimen of the cenobitic monastery may be relaxed completely, nor, indeed, anyone who comes to it be sent away, the superior shall be permitted, if he wishes, to make concessions to the one who enters the [monastery] and to allow the latter even to have a **servant** and a comfort such as [the superior's] sagacity

should determine, especially if the one who enters it benefits the monastery either through his rank or an offering or even both.

They, too, however, ought to maintain the cenobitic way of life; for in no way whatsoever is it our wish that the appellation of “*kelliotēs*” be used in the monastery, nor that there be external monks,²⁵ whether one should be of a distinguished station in life or should abound in much wealth and in consequence present an offering that is both lavish and prodigious or make a promise with reference to bringing in certain specified provisions from outside the monastery. For this is appalling to the patristic regulations and to our wish.

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], lines 1504–8]: **Who would send an imposed guest to a monastery that is independent and is ruled by the mighty hand** alone of the Lord and the great martyr Mamas, who is honored therein, as the most inviolable documents belonging to [the monastery] prove? **No one, would ever wish this, he would not be so foolish** as to violate the promulgated written decrees of [the monastery’s] independence, unless he wishes altogether to render God, who is “mighty in wars” (Sir. 46:1), openly hostile to himself.

Chapter 27

Concerning the fact that women are not to come into the monastery nor laymen dwell within it

This, too, is one of the indispensable things, that the monastery never be entered by women, except perchance rarely for the sake of the burial or commemoration of those who are close relatives by blood to our master [George] of blessed memory and new builder or even of some other magnates who may be buried later. But they, too, as soon as [p. 283] they will have completed the rites for the commemoration of the deceased, shall depart immediately from the monastery in the course of the same day.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [39]], ed. lines 1197–1200]: Let, however, also for the sake of worship, as **many women as are well known for their way of life and virtue, as well as nobility and eminence, come in but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly so that in that way we may be able to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves.** However all other women will absolutely not enter the monastery, even if they be known kinswomen of either the superior or of any of the monks; but surely neither during the days of Eastertide nor on the commemoration of the saint shall entrance in the monastery be permitted to them.

Indeed we prefer that not even any laymen at all have their residences within the monastery, but that the area within the monastery be allotted as a kind of God-planted paradise to those alone who practice asceticism, so that any cause for offense may not arise therefrom.

Chapter 28

Concerning the clothing of the monks and concerning the price of a bath and soap

Concerning, indeed, clothes and footwear and various other bodily coverings of the monks it is our wish that there be given to each of them anything he needs in accordance with the cenobitic pursuit and regimen which has been traditional from long ago. Inasmuch, however, as contention accompanies, as it often does, the distributions of this sort, and it is one of the most troublesome

things to satisfy the pleasure and wish of each, we considered it better that the items of clothing be supplied to each of the brothers through the use of money, putting an end to contentions and grumblings even in this matter.

Therefore, there shall be given to each of the brothers, from the highest to the lowest, to all of them equally, except for the old men who do not toil, for the latter ought to be subject to the discretion of the superior, at the present time two *hyperpyra* each and two old *trikephala* each; that is, at the beginning of September one *hyperpyron* each and one *trikephalon* each and at the beginning of March similarly one each. But, if, indeed, as time progresses, the monastery should prosper, as I hope and pray, it is our wish that even three *hyperpyra* be given them for the whole year.

Beyond these there ought to be given each year one thick outer garment to each of those who carry out the offices, in the category of whom ought to be included also those who attend to vine-dressing, for the latter even more than all the others tear apart their clothing by the use of the spade. Every month a sum that is adequate for soap and the price of a bath ought to be given to all the brothers for the sake of one bath, if, that is, a bath is not attached to the monastery.²⁶ [p. 284]

Chapter 29

Concerning the confession of the monks, and concerning the fact that all are to have the superior as a spiritual father

Our common enemy and foe, who, according to the great apostle (I Pet. 5:8; Ps. 21 [22]:13), “goes about like a lion seeking whom he should devour,” knowing precisely that confession snatches away from the middle of his throat those who are about to be devoured, sets in motion all his wiles and contrivances so as to strip whomever he can from this great and noble aid, inserting in the practice [of confession] humiliation and shame. But this shame, says the theologian Gregory, is part of the punishment for the sins we confess.²⁷ Let us hasten, therefore, as much as we can, to pull ourselves away from under the punishment in the other world through this salutary and noble aid, I mean, of course, confession. For no one at all should fail to understand how much more painless it is to declare one’s secret to a person, and him a shepherd who is both sympathetic and of like nature, than to be convicted in the presence of the angels and the whole race of mankind and God himself.

It is our wish, therefore, that the whole assembly of brothers disclose to the superior the bruises of the soul they have suffered or the foul thoughts themselves that spring up in them as human beings, and that all have him as a common and spiritual father, even if perhaps he happens to be unordained, because he has assuredly the permission from the most holy and ecumenical patriarch, having been empowered to apply also the remedy that is suitable to each illness. 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; but, when it is kept concealed and becomes chronic, it causes putrefaction and generates a stench and becomes difficult to heal.

It is, therefore, exceedingly helpful to have the physician close by. But, if it is disagreeable to anyone, a thing which seems to me unreasonable, to have one’s own father also as a physician, let him tell his father in secret his own purpose and the latter will take care to send him off to whom-ever the superior himself wishes or even to one of the priests of the monastery, who is both more

devout and more aged. I made a great concession in writing this since the subordinate [monk] has no right at all on the basis of the patristic traditions not to have the superior as a spiritual father.

Chapter 30

Exhortation regarding the fact that the brothers are to confess unhesitatingly and honestly

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 263–87]: It is good to say even to you yourselves what is proper. **So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, [p. 285] and reach with eagerness this calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says, “Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, “Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart” (Matt. 11:29). What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.**

Chapter 31

Concerning the third and the sixth hour and their office

When the *semantron* then, is struck at the time that is proper, all must assemble in the narthex and sing together the third and sixth hours along with the prayers that accompany them. At the beginning, however, of the sixth hour both the priest and the deacon who have the priestly duties of the day and the assistant ecclesiarch along with them must make a genuflection to the superior, and, while the former must enter into the holy sanctuary to prepare this divine oblation, the latter must go off to strike the large *semantron*. So much about the third and the sixth hour.

Chapter 32

Concerning the divine mystery and which of the brothers and how and when they ought to partake of the divine elements

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5]]: **It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be celebrated, if not every day, at least four times [p. 286] weekly without**

postponement, apart from the feasts of the Lord. **But you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ.**

So during it, my brothers, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is sown by the devil, impure, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as allowed by the superior should partake of the divine elements. 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 again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says, “He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit” (I Cor. 6:17), 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 is guilty of his body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and leader of the apostles. This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking.

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 such things, should partake of communion once a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a month or even once in two months at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters.

But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However, those who should partake of communion must to the best of their ability read more attentively the prayers laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus to partake gratefully of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way. [p. 287]

Chapter 33

Concerning those who have grown old in the monastery

Yet this, too, we both formulate and declare, and I believe not without reason and better purpose, that those who have grown old in the monastery or have otherwise done hard work and undergone some harm or mutilation of the body so as not to be able as a result of this to render service, be they men of learning or, indeed, even illiterate, even if they should be found not to have

lived in the monastery for a long time, it is our wish not only that they not be expelled from the monastery but rather that they be taken care of in their old age and be absolved from work, so far as it is possible, by someone of their fellow brothers in the monastery, whomsoever its superior selects. Their food and drink should be equal to that of those who are young and healthy.

I enjoin, for the sake of such a purpose and such a service, all those who are destined to administer in any way whatsoever the affairs of the monastery, both superiors and others, never to set aside or violate or alter this God-loved regulation, so long as, God granting, the monastery exists and monks live in it, unless he who shall attempt such a thing wishes to provoke against himself the statement “As you did it not to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it not to me” (Matt. 25:45).

Chapter 34

Precise instruction concerning the fact that all are to have the same food and drink, with reference also to the care of the sick and to the fact that the [monks] are not permitted to have servants or domestics

[= (22) *Evergetis* [26], ed. lines 941–43, 947–51]: **Before God** and the holy great martyr Mamas, **we give you this instruction, that you should all have the same food and drink and that there should never be any difference** in anything **ever** for anyone, **but you will all**, those who are advanced in age and virtue and celebrity of life and those who are inferior to the latter in these qualities, **use for food the same things**.

For you should only help and take care as is possible **of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain** our weak and **unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense**.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [41], lines 1256, 1259–63, 1257–58]: We must, therefore, allow, with the knowledge of the superior, those who are weary because of illness that has fallen upon them, to rest in their own cells and there to partake of nourishment that is suitable and appropriate for their illness, to whom the one who would be ordered by the superior will render service in all things, **both food and drink and the other necessities. But** [p. 288] **our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things, even those which perhaps they have never even heard of, much less seen and eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstances of the season and the resources of the monastery and superior’s lenient judgment provide for them**.

Since, however, two hospitals are near us, if, as I hope and pray, the monastery is ever able, the superior ought to see to it that someone of the neighboring **physicians visit the ailing brothers every day** and offer the appropriate medical treatments and deem them worthy of every sort of care. If, however, the monastery is unable—a thing which I pray will not happen—he who needs medical care must go to those who share [authority in] the hospitals and request to be given a bed. Whenever a brother has been given a bed there and is being treated medically, his food must be provided by the monastery in order that he may not defame it because he is distressed in some respect, as [he would] if the things that are being given him in the hospitals are not adequate.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [24], ed. line 917]: **It will not be possible for you to have servants nor**

domestics who render services, but each shall serve himself and, in turn, one another, the young one him who is advanced [in age], and the novice him who entered the arena earlier, and the stronger one him who is weaker, according, of course, to the superior's orders. For thus the Master's commandment will be fulfilled and the law of love will be observed unimpaired.

Chapter 35

Concerning the fact that those who come together in manual labors are not to talk idly and concerning the fact that they are not to have acquisitions and concerning the fact that they are not to steal from the monastery

[= (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 877–84, 889–96]: **If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse themselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to disgraceful talk—for “by a multitude of words,” he says, “thou shalt not escape sin” (Prov. 10:19)—they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture or be silent. “For,” the author of the Book of Proverbs says, “If thou refrain thy lips, thou wilt be prudent” (Prov. 10:19) and discreet.**

Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured with the same medicine by the [superior]. Furthermore, they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 [51]:17) he will be punished—for we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of anything that provokes quarrels, learn to say [p. 289] “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.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [22], ed. lines 899–904]: **Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. But the person who purloins anything from the monastery and does not make amends after a first and second admonition and up to the seventh will be expelled completely.**

Chapter 36

Concerning the fact that one is not to seek at all a seat of honor

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 364–78]: **We refuse even to hear at all that someone of his own accord seeks after a loftier seat or the ensuing honor. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God's will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For “Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord” (Prov. 16:5), says Holy Scripture, and “The Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble” (Prov. 3:34).**

So this will not happen among you, it will not. But if any of you is found, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world.

But those who have been entrusted with these two primary offices, [namely], the steward and the ecclesiarch, shall sit ahead of all of them on the one side, while on the other [side] the priests according to their rank of seniority and after the latter, in turn, the deacons, unless, the superior should prefer some who are advanced in years or old age or even some who are preeminent in the world, worthy of respect and honor, to sit ahead of the latter, the deacons, that is. After they are seated, however, there shall not be a preference in respect to seating but thereafter the seating will be assigned suitably to each at the discretion of the superior.

Chapter 37

That all the things that have been registered in the inventory must be inalienable; so must also be the things that have been acquired in any way whatsoever at any time whatsoever

Since the monastery had need of sacred vessels, divine offerings and books for the praise of God and the Saint and the illumination of those who practice asceticism in it, as many things as were necessary were dedicated to it by the grace of God through the intercessions [p. 290] of the Saint and through our master the *mystikos* [George] of blessed dormition, who has been mentioned many times;²⁸ all the silver vessels, [that is], and revered icons and veils and books and bronze items that are seen.

An inventory has been made by us, in which are compiled both the things that belong to the monastery from long ago and the things that have been made lately, which inventory, was, in fact, signed by my own hand. Concerning these [things], furthermore, we command that they be absolutely both inalienable and irremovable. He who shall dare to remove from them anything of whatever kind shall be considered sacrilegious and along with Judas shall be referred to eternal punishments, and before the [punishments] may he also inherit [Judas'] noose.

But may no one, whether potentate or magistrate or protector or anyone of those in the monastery, whether superior or subordinate, even think of removing or alienating any of the divine offerings or of the books in it, either large or small, or any other thing whatsoever. Instead let there be more eagerness to make additions and further dedications for the glory of God and for their own considerable benefit. Let, in fact, this very [rule] be observed also for the things that will be acquired at any time whatsoever, both movable and immovable.

Chapter 38

Sworn exhortation to the protector of the monastery at the time

But really the zealous concern for my fathers and brothers, always lying couched in my soul, persuades me to collect from all quarters the things that are for their benefit. In order, therefore,

that they might not be abused by some abusers, as though bereft of human assistance, I adjure by our Lord Jesus Christ the protectors of the monastery at the time, since they can readily help it, that, if, the monks should come to them and present the present simple regulations of the *typikon* and say that they are being unjustly treated by some, especially regarding the bringing in of water by pipes from the outside, for which I toiled very much and often, that they proceed against the injustice in accordance with their power and check its impetus and rescue the flock of Christ and the Saint from the hand of quite cruel men, and not to ignore it but support and defend it in accordance with the dictates of law and justice, in order that thus they may procure a reward for themselves and have the divine favor because they graciously received the monks and deemed them worthy of the proper assistance. For this reason, in fact, we have prescribed that they even be commemorated both while alive and after death. [p. 291]

Chapter 39

Concerning the monks who depart to the Lord

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], lines 1713–16, 1733–35, 1737–38, 1742–46, 1750–52]: Since we must take thought for the monks, not only when they are alive but also when they depart to the Lord, it is necessary to prescribe at this time also about matters concerning the latter. Whenever, then, anyone of the monks should depart from this world, let **the customary things done for the dead monk be carried out in the exonarthex, I mean both the singing of psalms and all the clothing of the remains. Then it should be transported to the burial-place with the bier and be buried in the tombs of the monks on the right side, that is, of the church, in which the brothers alone must be buried, no one of those from the outside being buried with them.**

The commemorations on the third, ninth, and fortieth days for the one who has died should be sung in the narthex of the church, and *kollyba* prepared on those days on his behalf, and let an offering [of eucharistic bread] be made for each liturgy on his behalf until the fortieth-day commemoration and let him be commemorated. But **he should also be remembered at matins and vespers until the aforesaid fortieth day.**

His name also must be written on the diptychs and he, too, must be commemorated [in the future] along with the rest. **So that a common commemoration of all the monks may take place, on each Friday after the office of lamp-lighting, unless a feast prevents it, they must sing a canon for the dead** in the exonarthex **and an *ektenes* should be made for all those who have already departed. Moreover, we urge both the priests and the deacons to consult the diptychs during every liturgy in order to remember those listed on them, so that they may not bear the responsibility for forgetting and omitting them.**

Certainly on the Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday of Pentecost let *stauria* also be made on their behalf and let four of those **who have already passed away be commemorated** at each *staurion*. But, if they should be superiors, let individual offerings [of eucharistic bread] be made and let them, too, be commemorated. Likewise in the commemorations of each one of [the monks] let a liturgy and offering [of Eucharistic bread] be made on his behalf.

Let, however, the memorial rites for the superiors be made more generously, especially if some of them should happen to have conducted themselves in a manner worthy of their calling so as to leave behind to their successors certain good advantages. The surviving monks ought to receive on both the **Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday of Pentecost one *staurion* as an offering for the commemoration of their parents, and, after the *stauria* have been offered, they should be assembled by the gatekeeper and a distribution should take place** at the gate. [p. 292]

Chapter 40

Injunction to the brothers and the superior concerning how the annual commemoration of our master of blessed memory [George] *mystikos* and new builder ought to be held

In the prefatory statement of our present *typikon* concerning our master [George] of blessed memory, the *mystikos*, we have rendered to him our full gratitude for his bounty and [ascribed to him] also the establishment and advancement of this holy monastery. Or, to put it better, he himself painstakingly has given us his favors, having displayed his intrinsic goodness and at the same time his soul's graciousness and love for God. [Therefore] we ourselves, too, have decided that it is necessary, even if we are not able to do so in a manner worthy of him, to render to that God-revering man, so far as it is possible, a reward within our present means. For this, too, is not a small thing that we too return his kindness as we can, giving back eagerly what is possible but ceding the repayment he deserves to the Almighty, who alone knows how to mete out to the worthy their rewards proportionately.

For this very reason I leave to you, oh fathers and brothers, also a paternal injunction as a final admonition that you consider him rather as the primary and true founder of the monastery. Whenever you offer an *ektenes* on his behalf at every office of the divine ritual, say aloud six times “*Kyrie eleison*” at both vespers and matins, and the liturgy, and, after the dismissal of vespers and matins on every day that is free of fasting, apart from Sundays and feasts of the Lord, sing at his grave the customary *parastasimon* and “Among the spirits of the righteous,” and the rest, and let also an *ektenes* be made on his behalf, the “*Kyrie eleison*” being sung fifteen times; and at each liturgy let one offering [of eucharistic bread] be offered on his behalf. So much for the daily services.

Let also his commemoration be celebrated annually with two candelabra with twelve candleholders and four tapers lit within the church, and let also the illumination of the church be done more lavishly than usual, as well as the provisioning of the monks with fresh fish up to three dishes, the customary treat [of an extra serving of wine] also being given. The lamp, too, at his grave shall be perpetually lighted, and a candle will burn for him in every office.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1083–89]: The commemoration, however, of his full brother, lord Theocharistos, and of the latter's wife, Zoe Dalassena, ought to be held just as they themselves shall direct in writing. **Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished something worthy of remembrance** in accordance with the tenor of their agreements, **and** [p. 293] **equally for those brothers whose names will be inscribed on the diptychs**, the death of each of these, too, being made positively clear from the

recording into the record-book. **In addition, the commemoration also of a brother who has recently died is to be made in the *ektenes* every day in every service until his fortieth-day commemoration,** just as has been discussed above in fuller detail.

Chapter 41

Reasons for which the present rule of the *typikon* was set forth, and a prayer concerning the fact that the items in it are to be preserved inviolate, and a most horrible curse against him who shall attempt to proceed towards the annulment of the present rule

The things, then, that I have previously stated have presented quite clearly the circumstances that made the composition of the present rule of the *typikon* necessary. For the rule and constitution of the cenobitic monasteries, if they should be left unexamined and not be guided by the proper control of reason, would collapse not before long. May the Triune God keep preserving inviolable up to the end of the present world all the things that have been formulated in order that thus the flock of Christ may be called light, in accordance with the statements of the gospels, and through it yet others also might be brought to edification.

May it be a truly chosen flock that heeds the voice of him who calls to life and by its examples be able to instruct many souls of men that see its correct way of life as a marvelous example. Let him, however, who shall even attempt to proceed towards the annulment of the present lifesaving rule of the *typikon*, in addition to not being listened to, be also alien to the hope of the Christians, because he has wanted to overturn and violently shake this peace-loving rule that has been established for the benefit of my fathers and brothers.

Chapter 42

Instruction to the superior: how he ought to be disposed towards the brotherhood

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate and fair with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. Yes, I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forebear with them all, support them instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving “seventy times [p. 294] seven” (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers. Also, to omit the rest, St. 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.”**²⁹

Chapter 43

Sworn order to one from a different [monastery] who is about to hold the office of superior

I adjure, by the Lord God and by the great martyr Mamas, him from a different monastery who is about to hold the office of superior in accordance with what has been prescribed above in

our monastery not to bring into the monastery with himself more than one brother, and him in the role of a disciple, as it were, from either intimates or acquaintances which he has. For, if he brings over more, many are the improprieties that will spring up from this. For it is inferred from this that those whom he himself will bring in from the outside he considers as genuine sons, while those whom he will find in the monastery he views as illegitimate, which is one of the most improper things. From this, offense and distrust is caused. But those rather he ought to consider as genuine and exceedingly beloved whom he will find in the monastery, who will both receive and honor him. These [brothers] he himself, too, has the obligation to honor and relieve in accordance with his ability, even if perhaps as human beings they have acquired certain small defects such as the length of life is disposed by nature to engender, that is to say, idle chatter, coarse jesting, license of tongue and other such things, in order that in him, too, the statement, “he who brings forth the worthy out of the worthless” (cf. Jer. 15:19) and so forth, will be fulfilled.

Chapter 44

Exhortation to the monks concerning the fact that they are not to question the superior in the things that he does as he is going to give to God an account of the sins he dared to commit, and that he is to be excommunicated if he does not correct himself

[= (22) *Evergetis* [18]]: If, then, your superior, brothers, conducts himself thus, as we said above, being both paternally disposed towards you and devoutly and piously tending the flock of Christ, you **will not question** him in any way **nor will** you **demand an account** of how he handles the affairs of the monastery. **For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability and every other cause for sin.**

Neither will the superior himself spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for his own relations and friends. [p. 295] **For by acting in that way, he will not be taking part in the divine mysteries.**³⁰ **For if we have judged that he should not be subject to the brothers in an examination of his actions, yet he will not really escape the unerring judge and the reproof of his conscience. Therefore, he should take care not to “fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31). For even though we are not capable of imposing on him a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet he will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon him in writing this. But if he is seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that he does not even fear the condemnation of God, but spends the wealth of this wholly poor monastery improperly, he will be excommunicated until he refrains from this unlawful action;** but, if he corrects himself, he shall be forgiven by God the Ruler of All.

Chapter 45

Another exhortation to all the brothers and to the protector himself concerning the fact that they are not in any blameworthy way to make both the choice and selection of the superiors, including the fact that one is not to spring upon such an office by his personal rashness and audacity

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 708–27]: Having, then, sufficiently treated of both the superior and all the other officials, we must turn our discussion to you, **O beloved children in the Lord**, and to the protector. **I entreat** you, therefore, **or rather, I instruct you and I call on God**

as witness of my instructions, 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 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 them, 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 dissension in your selection, but in unanimity and agreement you should choose the persons you select and with the counsel and judgment [p. 296] of the protector you should effect their selection and choice.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 800–814]: **If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp this office rashly and by one’s own judgment, making a display perhaps of his seniority or knowledge or sphere of work or noble birth or rank or offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in this office who has been selected by you after perfect scrutiny, even if he has been recently tonsured or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things, for no harm will come to the monastery from the latter.**

For “God is able even from stones to raise up children to Abraham” (Matt. 3:9) and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power, and wealth and nobility. As a witness to this the truly divine and great apostle clearly expresses it in the following words, “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty; and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are” (I Cor. 1:27).

Chapter 46

More detailed instruction to the brotherhood on how they ought to conduct themselves

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42]]: **So then all that we wish and is acceptable to God**—in my opinion at least—and to our fervent patron and helper, the holy great martyr Mamas, **and greatly beneficial for your help** has been discussed sufficiently; **in the future it will 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* of the monastery of *Evergetis* which is in effect today with you, **to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility** in every way, **to labor** in all kinds of ways **with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking”** (Col. 1:24) **in one another, not to stir**

up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul; furthermore to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money, and the filching of the monastery's possessions or in any other way in which the superior has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. [p. 297] You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.

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 perhaps, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for indulgence and 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. “Through many tribulations,” the Lord says, “we must enter the kingdom of heaven” (Acts 14:22). So then I beseech you all, “lead a life worthy of your calling” (Eph. 4:1), “present your bodies holy to the Lord” (cf. Rom. 12:1), “love one another” (John 15:12), “run well the race that is set before you” (cf. Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (cf. Phil 4:8). Do not fail to do the things “you have heard and learned” (Phil. 4:9). My brothers, “the appointed time has grown very short” (I Cor. 7:29). Remember your souls and our insignificance and lowliness, do not forget us in your prayers.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1318–24]: “The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory” (Heb. 13:20–21), through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy and Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, now and always and for ever and ever, Amen.

Chapter 47

Partial explanation concerning the ecclesiastical order and other conduct

[The brothers] are to be content with all the chapters that have been written above, as they have been written. Now it is necessary to speak briefly also concerning the ecclesiastical order that ought to be observed, as we have written in many places, in accordance with the *synaxarion* of the Monastery of *Evergetis*, which is in effect at the present time, without failure and omission.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 67–70]: So now we must turn our attention to the subjects

of our discourse and since we wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–95]: So after the worship of matins, [p. 298] the office of the first hour should be sung by you following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the following prayer should next be recited, “Thou who at all times and all hours.” After the prayer the customary fifteen genuflections should be performed by the able bodied on the bare floor. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner inasmuch as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out “God, be merciful to me the sinner” (Luke 18:13), then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say once “I have sinned against thee, Lord, forgive me.” But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch.

That should take place when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung during matins; but if it is, the performing of these genuflections should be omitted but three deep bows should be performed while at each of them the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to yourselves. Then after these genuflections or bows all should repeat the following prayer aloud with hands raised, “O eternal God” and “Thou who sendest out the light.” If, however, the superior should wish, let also the *short catechesis* from the words of the fathers be presented and let it be read by him before the three prayers, that is, or after the completion of the *troparion*.

All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following, “Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord” (Ps. 133 [134]:2) and “The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice” (Ps. 140 [141]:2) and “In every place lifting holy hands without anger and quarreling” (I Tim. 2:8). When the first hour has been completed, as we said, and the priest has spoken his customary prayer, all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the superior asking for your prayers like this, “Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,” you should answer, “May God save you, honored father, and you pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.” Then again the superior should say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.” Then rising, some must depart to their tasks, while others (will go) to their own cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter.

Let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind and at the same time most vigilant, doing what is pleasing to God. But if some are discovered to be conducting themselves in a disorderly manner, whether they are young or old and advanced in the monastic life, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the more devout or even by the superior himself. But, if they do not mend their ways they are to be punished. Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections. [p.

299] **For genuflections should not be carried out in the church when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung, as we have said.**

In your cells, however, you should always kneel down when you pray, but we will avoid this also in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas, during Easter week, or even the entire Pentecost. Let, however, those who so choose genuflect after the Easter week. So the ritual of the first hour should be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], lines 195–96]: The details concerning the third [hour] and sixth [hour] have been described earlier in the chapter concerning the divine mystery [of the Eucharist]. Consequently, we must speak also concerning the ninth [hour] and the lamplighting office. The **ninth** [hour], must be sung in the narthex **in the same way as the preceding hours**, the small **semantron** being struck for this [hour] and **calling us, as is usual**. By the holy great martyr Mamas I adjure the ecclesiarch at the time and the priest who has the priestly duties of the day not to delay the time of the striking of the **semantron**, I mean both that of the night and that of the day, but, as soon as this is struck, immediately they must begin the singing of the hymns. For the delaying, as I have learned by experience itself, is wont to produce many things that are harmful.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 196–240]: **The regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers should be carried out, as well as compline after the supper. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the first hour and incline your ear to the superior as he says, “Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in deed, word and in thought.” You should grant him forgiveness, saying, “May God forgive you, father.” But you also should beg this from him by adding, “Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in deed, word, and in thought,” then again he should pray for you and say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all.”**

Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock learns from it the appropriate hour and goes to the superior, receiving from him the required blessing, and then striking the small **semantron in the customary way, he will rouse you to sing the celebration of the midnight office in the narthex which he himself will also sing all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church, and then when he has sounded the great **semantron** and the [p. 300] bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship. The preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows.**

For after the striking of the bronze **semantron praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and as he praises God he should at once make the sign of the venerable cross with the censer in front of the holy table; and you replying “Amen,” should immediately [sing] a *trisagion* together with the twentieth psalm and the usual *troparia* and the *Kyrie eleison*, taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being sung. The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity,**

speaking as follows, “Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever.” After replying “Amen” the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins should be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes.

Such, then, is our pattern for your daily office which, moreover, ought to be performed with the admittance of neither addition, nor, in fact, subtraction of any sort. The hours of the great Lent, however, ought to be sung melodiously within the church, with the customary “Alleluia” and the readings.

Chapter 48

Advice and exhortation and soul-beneficial counsel to the superior at the time

Our spiritual father and brother in the Lord. The Word of God the Father, in addition to the other things with which he has benefited us, granted us this, too, [namely,] to be near the living even after death, and, though mortal by nature, to be almost immortal by the power of the spirit. In this respect writing certainly works wonders. Accordingly, I myself, too, even though I have already suffered death of the body, which is in accord with nature, and am covered by a tombstone, as you see, I am with you through this piece of writing and I use this as a mouthpiece and I offer it as the voice which I owe you. For I am not even left alone by the scripturally celebrated moth of the bones (Job 4:19, Is. 50:9, Matt. 6:19, Luke 12:33) that continuously stirs and incites me so as to write in brotherly manner once more in fuller detail and to suggest to you sincerely and affectionately some of the things that help [us] to please God.

I, the most pitiable of all men, am nudged to write not because [p. 301] I consider myself as knowing the ordinance of God more than you, whoever, in fact, you may be, but because I have been urged to this, that is to say, ordered, even if I am unworthy, by our master, the famed *mystikos* [George] of blessed memory, who has been mentioned in many places.³¹

Beloved one, truly great is the dignity of the guidance of souls and difficult to bear is the weight of the leadership of the brothers. For this reason it is necessary for him who has shouldered this to be continually sober and vigilant that he may not, having dozed a little while, be weighed down with the burden itself and be cast quickly to the very pit of destruction. For narrow and precipitous (cf. Matt. 7:14) is the road of life and the slight deviation from the center produces a destruction that is pitiable. For, according to one of the wise men, vices are annexed to virtues and are somehow very near.

It is necessary, therefore, inasmuch as the divine grace summoned you to this greatest and awesome and very rewarding ministry and rightly and fittingly has appointed you to the leadership of the brothers of our monastery of the famed among saints, holy Mamas, for you to arise and earnestly to entreat the Divinity by night and day to grant you pastoral skill and freedom from passions of soul and body and to clothe you with the breastplate of righteousness and truth in order that you may neither say nor, in fact, do anything in the state of passion.

For you must be angry without anger and dissemble the passions dispassionately for the ame-

lioration and benefaction of souls that are ill, and take up unto yourself the wars that invisibly come against the brothers from the Evil One, and have patience with their small-mindedness and weakness, and endure nobly their aberrations and their grumbings, and urge them with love and tender-heartedness to abstain from the soul-destroying deeds and the irregular and coarse habits, and most of all to live together with devoutness and discretion.

Even if, however, you see that some are disobedient to your words and choose to live indifferently, do not be discouraged or become remiss, but reprove and exhort and teach them the things that contribute to salvation. With genuine understanding do not give up admonishing some privately, each one individually, while others even openly. Do not think lightly of the things over which they perhaps demur and become angry whenever you give counsel; for double is the crown that you will receive in return, for teaching and advising the things that are proper and certainly also for not being distressed and irascibly disturbed over the things that they complain about loudly and are displeased. But if ever it will be necessary to be harsh, dispassionately you shall discipline and use astringent remedies, sometimes through punishments, sometimes through rather severe words, and sometimes by pretending to turn away and overlook.

For according to the variety of the passions and the degree of the faults you ought to apply also the correction, knowing this clearly that neither are all the ages equal, nor, indeed, the minds, and not the same bodily constitutions or habits or dispositions exist in all of them in the same manner. [p. 302] But neither are all the wars equal, but of those who practice asceticism one is tempted in this way while another in another way by the desires or the demons. Your good understanding must display paternal compassion equally to all and show mercy to all with an ardent and compassionate heart.

Let the lamp of discretion precede every injunction and order of yours to the brothers, and let everything that you ought to manage and accomplish and prescribe publicly or privately and recommend be adorned with discretion, and work at the thoughts of your soul which are for the general benefit with unerring scrutiny and thoughtful study and considerate judgment, not following your own will but rather in every way seeking after the common good. For, if you consider yourself entirely sagacious and abhor the advice of prudent men, you will easily be deceived and by the successive conflicting winds of the travails of self-reliance you will be like a reed being swung about here and there by violent winds.

Your piety must not make with your own hand the more particular payments, that is to say, disbursements, for the financial administration of the monastery and the brothers, for this is unworthy of a director of monks and a spiritual leader of souls.³² It befits us, according to the apostolic exhortation (cf. I Cor. 10:32), to “give no offense” to those on the outside and to remove, as it is possible, all excuse from which fault-seekers are able to find occasions for the calumination of our way of life, whom let us endeavor in all kinds of ways to ward off through our own irreproachable behavior. For from the latter we shall prove that we fulfill the Lord’s statement in the gospels, for he says, “Let your light shine before men” (that is to say, the shepherds and superiors) “that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven” (Matt. 5:16).

For it is not possible, it is not possible for the superior’s reputation to be preserved unsullied in any other way unless he sees to it that all income and disbursement and payment be made

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openly and with the consent of the community and through the hands of others in accordance with his [own] instruction. For this reason, in fact, we suggest to you that the disbursements of the monastery no longer be made through yourself but that you count the sum of *nomismata* and give them to someone of the more devout brothers in order that all disbursement might be made by him with both your knowledge and order, as we have shown with fuller detail in the chapter concerning the treasurer of *nomismata*.³³

These things, as the time permitted, we have suggested to your piety, projecting our love to you in brotherly manner and in every way working at both your irreproachability and the brothers' peaceful way of life and progress towards virtue. As for you, most honorable father, having received a small reminder from us, proceed to add from your part the things that are lacking, but [do so] appropriately as well as continuously. For "Give to a wise man an opportunity and he will be wiser" (Prov. 9:9); and I, for my part, call wise one who has in his heart the fear of God, since, in fact, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord" (Prov. 1:7).

These things are enough [p. 303] for your piety. Pray, however, for the sake of the Lord for me, who am in the darkness, who, have written, but not done. May the grace of our mankind-loving God and Savior, Jesus Christ, through the intercessions of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God, and of the holy and glorious great martyr of Christ, Mamas, be with you and with us. Amen.

+ The Signatures

+ The present *typikon*, after it had been produced with our knowledge at the behest of the celebrated master of blessed memory and my full brother, the *mystikos*, lord George, by the most honorable superior of the venerable monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, lord Athanasios, monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*, was signed also by me, as I am accustomed to sign, in the month of November, of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].

+ the *doulos* of the emperor, Theocharistos the Cappadocian.

+ I, Athanasios, the humble monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*, and lowly superior of the monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, after I had set forth the present *typikon* by order of our celebrated, supremely glorious master of blessed memory and new builder of our monastery, lord George the Cappadocian, who through the monastic habit was renamed Gregory, as well as by the will of his now surviving supremely distinguished full brother, lord Theocharistos, who also has affixed his signature on it above with his own hand, signed it in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].+

+ the lowly monk and steward from the same monastery, Gregory.

+ the lowly monk and ecclesiarch from the same monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, Theodoretos.

+ the monk and priest from the same monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, Sabbas.

+ the monk and priest from the same monastery, Kallinikos.

+ the other monk and priest Kallinikos.

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- + the monk and priest from the same monastery, Leontios.
 - + the monk and lowly deacon from the same holy monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, Athanasios. [p. 304]
 - + I, Basil, the lowly monk and treasurer from the same monastery, affixed my signature with my own hand.
 - + the monk from the same monastery, Isaias.
 - + the monk and sacristan from the same monastery, Joseph.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery of Saint Mamas, Kyrillos.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, Klemes.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, Symeon.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, Neophytos.
 - + the lowly monk, Antony, from the same monastery.
 - + the lowly monk, Nikephoros, from the same monastery.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, George.
- Those who signed by the sign [of a cross]³⁴
- + Sign of the monk, Luke, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of the monk, Hilarion, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Theodosios, monk from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Meletios, monk, the vine-dresser from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Basil, monk, the vine-dresser from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Gerasimos, monk from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Ioannikios, monk, the groom, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Meletios, monk, the baker, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Sabbas, monk, the gatekeeper, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of the monk, Hilarion, the gardener, from the same monastery.
 - + The humble monk of the same monastery of the great holy martyr Mamas, Kyrillos, signed last.

[Judicial Confirmation]

It has also juridical confirmation which runs somewhat thus:

- + The present *typikon* ought to have validity and durability for all time and not to be altered or nullified by anyone, since we have made also a *semeioma* upon it in the month of January, of the

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twelfth indiction, in the year 6672 [= 1164 A.D.].

+ The quaestor and *nomophylax* Theodore Pantechnes. [p. 305]

Two bulls, which contain under them all the quires, have been suspended also outside the book sideways on the binding of the quires. Of these one belonged to the judge and reads as follows:

Seal of the writings of Theodore Pantechnes

While the other belonged to the most honorable monk, who is indicated within, lord Athanasios of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and superior of the monastery, [of St. Mamas] and reads as follows:

Seal of the writings of monk Athanasios

This book, that is, the *typikon*, is covered with silk cloth and has nine silver clasps, eight almond-shaped studs and sixteen round bulls. Both of the latter are silver.+

[First *Semeioma*]

The *semeioma* that has been made for its confirmation reads as follows:

On Sunday, January fifth of the twelfth indiction, in the presence of lord Theophylaktos, the all-honorable archimandrite and superior of the venerable monastery of *Stoudios*; of lord John Dithetes, the supremely distinguished secretary of our mighty and holy emperor; of lord John Maurikas, the *kouropalates*; of lord Theodosios, the most honorable monk and steward of the monastery of *Stoudios*; of the monk Paul and priest [?] of the venerable monastery of the *Peribleptos*;³⁵ of the monk Theodoulos from the same monastery; of Akakios priest, Barnabas priest, Philaretos, Michael and Kyrillos, [monks] from the venerable monastery of *Stoudios*.

Having been summoned today to the venerable monastery of the renowned holy martyr Mamas, which is situated immediately opposite the cenobitic nunnery of Aristenai³⁶ and near the venerable monastery of Iasites,³⁷ we found assembled in the main church the most honorable monk and superior of the same monastery, lord Athanasios of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and the monks under him, who also will be successively indicated by name.

The monks of the aforesaid monastery said, in the presence of their most honorable superior, that the monastery of Saint Mamas, which formerly was under the patriarchal jurisdiction, used to be given by the patriarchs at various times to various *charistikarioi*, the greater number of whom used to abuse the monastery as landed property and to seek nothing else but what they were going to gain from it, and there was no concern for the monastery and its affairs. For this reason, in fact, the fortunes of the monastery were reduced to naught. For not only had all of the monastery's buildings fallen down, the church alone having been left standing, and that even without a roof, but even the monks were reduced to two [p. 306] and the latter did not reside at the monastery but went about searching for their daily sustenance.

Finally the same monastery was entrusted to the celebrated *mystikos* of blessed memory, lord George the Cappadocian, as *charistikarios*, by the late celebrated patriarch, lord Kosmas [II Attikos (1146–47)]. Accordingly, when the *mystikos* had taken over the monastery's affairs and seen that

it had been reduced to complete desolation and that the monastery had almost lost its very being, he became moved by a divinely inspired zeal and desired to set right the monastery's affairs and to bring it to its former condition or even better.

Because, however, he had a suspicion, which was not an unreasonable fear, that perhaps after his death or even after that of his successor in the management of the monastery, the latter may fall again into the hands of a *charistikarios* like the former ones who would use the monastery as they did, seeking after its revenues but taking no care of the monastery, and might destroy the outlays that will be made by him, he went to the late patriarch, lord Nicholas [IV] Mouzalon [(1147–51)],³⁸ and sought to have the monastery made independent and released from the patriarchal rights, which, in fact, was done at the request of the supremely distinguished *mystikos*—the late patriarch having listened to him—and a memorandum was made for the independence of the monastery.

This foundation of its independence aroused the eagerness of the *mystikos*. Having, therefore, taken courage that from now on he was not going to spend in vain and that the improvements made by him were not going to come to naught, he proceeded with a more lavish hand to lay down almost his entire wealth for the restoration of the monastery and of the monastery's affairs, having used as a fellow-worker for this purpose also the present-day most honored superior of the same monastery. For he undertook the whole burden and did not spare himself, pressing himself with relentless toils for the monastery's preservation. Whereas the expense was being furnished by the *mystikos*, the care for its affairs and each particular concern was exerted through the agency of the superior. He supervised the affairs, not permitting the expenditures to be laid down in vain, but for each of the things that were being done the best was to be accomplished.

While, however, the buildings were being constructed and the monastery had not yet been completed, the celebrated *mystikos* of blessed memory died, having entrusted the monastery to God and to his celebrated, supremely distinguished full brother, lord Theocharistos the Cappadocian, and to the superior himself, and having prescribed that for the future its way of life and preservation and the *typikon* of the monastery (in conformity with which the affairs of the monastery and the monks in it are going to be administered) be established through the agency of the same superior.

After, however, the death of the *mystikos* more buildings than the previous ones were built and were more splendid. For both the refectory was erected from its foundations, a bath was constructed both for the comfort of the monks but also for producing an income for the monastery,³⁹ and not a few other new buildings were erected, [p. 307] worthy of wonder and sufficing to prove that God accepted the purpose and offering of the celebrated *mystikos* of blessed memory. For [otherwise] he would not have entrusted to such a man his affairs after his death.

The *typikon* too, accordingly, was made in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.], on which both the celebrated lord Theocharistos of blessed memory and the superior himself affixed their signatures. This *typikon*, therefore, was put into our hands by the monks, the superior himself, too, being present and acknowledging his personal signature. This *typikon* ran thus in its beginning: “An extraordinarily great and divine thing is a God-loving and charitable soul,” while at the end thus: “These things are enough for your piety. Pray, however, for the sake of the Lord for me, who am in the darkness, who, have written, but not

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done. May the grace of our mankind-loving God and Savior, Jesus Christ, through the intercessions of our supremely pure Mistress, the Mother of God, and of the holy and glorious great martyr, Mamas, be with you and with us. Amen.” All of the *typikon*’s folia were sixty-one.

At the end of the completed [*typikon*] the following was written:

The present *typikon*, after it had been produced with our knowledge at the behest of the celebrated master of blessed memory and my full brother *mystikos*, lord George, by the most honorable superior of the venerable monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, the monk lord Athanasios of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*, was signed by me, as I am accustomed to sign, in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].

+ the *doulos* of the emperor, Theocharistos the Cappadocian.

After his there is the signature of the superior which reads as follows:

I, Athanasios, the humble monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and lowly superior [of the monastery] of the holy great martyr Mamas, after I had set forth the present *typikon* by order of our celebrated, most glorious master of blessed memory and new builder of our monastery, lord George the Cappadocian, who through the monastic habit was renamed Gregory, as well as by the wishes of his now surviving supremely distinguished full brother, lord Theocharistos, who also has affixed his signature above with his own hand, signed it in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].

After them the monks from the same monastery signed it (the names of the monks who signed it are presented as they were written above).

This book was sealed with a leaden bull of the same superior, which has letters on each side, reading: Seal of the writings of monk Athanasios. [p. 308] Which *typikon* we, too, have sealed with our leaden seal, which reads on each side: Seal of the writings of Theodore Pantechnes. We signed also after the signature of the last monk, having confirmed this *typikon* in order that for the future, too, it may have inherent credibility, and having written before the signature that such a *typikon* ought to have validity and durability for all time and not to be altered or nullified by anyone, since we have made also a *semeioma* upon it.

Jointly all the monks along with the superior himself proclaimed that they wished this *typikon* to be preserved firm and immovable in perpetuity, and, as long as the universe exists, the affairs of the monastery are to be managed by [this *typikon*]. Those who, during the existence of the universe, would be superiors, stewards, and the rest of the monks are to conduct themselves in conformity with it. Whosoever should attempt to subvert any of the prescriptions of the *typikon* and proceed to oppose the latter is to be thenceforth expelled from the monastery, having recourse to no help on account of the fact that he opposed the decree of the founders; inasmuch as the *typikon* had been made by the aforesaid monk and superior at the behest of the *mystikos* [George], who, indeed, had urged that it be made through the agency of the superior, and with the consent of the supremely distinguished lord Theocharistos, who, indeed, had affixed his signature upon it. To this lord Theocharistos, the *mystikos* himself, too, of blessed memory⁴⁰ had entrusted the care and *ephoreia* of the monastery. Since, in fact, two of the monks of the monastery, the monk Isaias and the monk Kyrillos, were missing, a place was left for them according to their appropriate rank so

that they might affix their signatures, after they had returned, and none of the brothers might be left without having approved this *typikon* and having affixed their signatures.

After these things had been compiled and confirmed according to custom, they were delivered on the aforementioned month and indiction, in the year 6672 [= 1164 A.D.]. The signature:

+ the quaestor and *nomophylax*, Theodore Pantechnes. His customary leaden bull, too, was suspended.

+ I, the *protonotarios* and *mezas logariastes*, signed the present copies of both the original *typikon* and the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely distinguished quaestor after they had been collated with the original. +

+ I, Theodore Pantechnes, the quaestor and *nomophylax*, signed the present copies of both the *typikon* and the *semeioma* made by me, having at the same time collated them with the originals and having found them to be identical. + [p. 309]

+ I, John Manoutes, the judge of the *Velum*, signed the present copies of the original *typikon* and of the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely distinguished quaestor after they were collated with the original. +

+ I, Thomas Aploucheir, the judge of the *Velum* and *epi ton hippodromon*, signed the present copies of both the original *typikon* and the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the most honorable superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely glorious quaestor after they were collated with the original. +

+ I, Leo Monasteriotes, the judge of the *Velum* and *tu hippodromou*, signed the present copies of both the original *typikon* and the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the most honorable superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely glorious quaestor after they had been collated with the originals. +

[Addition]

Addition after the deposition in the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* of the original *typikon* and the original inventory.

Already some years ago I did set forth three identical copies of the *typikon* and three of the inventory, the latter also identical, of which the two originals, both the *typikon* and the inventory, I deposited together with the original rights of independence of the monastery at the venerable monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*. [I did this] with the knowledge of the protector of the monastery⁴¹ and the wishes of the superior and all the monks. A juridical *semeioma* also was produced at the time of their deposition, made by the *kouropalates* and judge, lord Basil Liparites, on the fifteenth of the month of March, in the present fourth indiction, which *semeioma*, of course, ought also to be appended to the present *typikon*.

I, therefore, advise and enjoin the fathers at the time and my brothers, both the superiors and the rest, to insist that the things that are contained in it which contribute to the advantage of the monastery and to its preservation be by all means done in accordance with the contents of the aforesaid *semeioma*. Let him however, who does not wish to do so, whoever, in fact, he may be, be subject to the curses that have been recorded in the *typikon*. For it is for this reason that the present

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addition also has been set forth by me in the month of April of the fourth indiction
[= 1171 A.D.]. +

+ I, Athanasios, the humble monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and former superior of the monastery of the holy great martyr, Mamas, having set forth also the present addition, signed it. [p. 310]

[Second *Semeioma*]

+ Monday, the fifteenth of March of the fourth indiction. In the presence of lord George Pantechnes, Nicholas Exarchopoulos, and Eutybios Iberopoulos, the most honorable superior of the venerable monastery of Saint Mamas, lord Athanasios, accompanied by the monk and steward of the same monastery, lord Theophilos, and the monk and keeper of the store-houses, lord Isaias, summoned us today also to the venerable monastery of Christ *Philanthropos*, and in our presence and in the presence and hearing of the most saintly superior and treasurer of the same monastery, lord Isaias, the monk and priest, lord Theoktistos, the ecclesiarch lord Maximos, and the monk, lord Nikodemos, he [lord Athanasios] said that on the eighth day of this month, at the same monastery [of Christ *Philanthropos*], in our presence and in the presence of the most learned deacon of the Great Church of God, lord Constantine Ophrydas—representing the preeminent and *panyoikeiotatos* with our mighty and holy emperor, the *mystikos*,⁴² who is also the *ephoros* of his monastery of Saint Mamas—he gave to the sacristan of the same monastery of *Philanthropos* a box containing a chrysobull of our God-protected, most powerful and holy emperor, confirming the independence of the same monastery [of Saint Mamas]; a patriarchal *lysis*, pertaining to [the monastery's] independence, written in response to a memorandum by the *mystikos* of blessed memory, the lord George the Cappadocian; a patriarchal memorandum in favor of this independence; the inventory of the monastery and the *typonikon* (both in book form) as well as a *semeioma* issued for this *typonikon* by the now most glorious judge who was a quaestor at the time.⁴³

He gave this box to the same sacristan closed and sealed with a lead seal imprinted with the name of the same superior [Athanasios]. Upon giving this box to the [sacristan], [Athanasios] said that it must be deposited in the sacristy of the monastery [of *Philanthropos*] and that at no time at all should any or all of the enclosed titles be given either to the *ephoros* or to another party⁴⁴ from his monastery [of Saint Mamas], unless both parties representing the monastery and the *ephoros* were present. If, in an exigency, they are given out to either party in the presence of the other, as stated, after the elapse of three days they must be returned to the same monastery [of *Philanthropos*] and he who had taken them must not be permitted to retain them for more days.

At present [Athanasios] notifies also about this the most saintly superior and the aforementioned monks and through them the rest of the monks. For the security of the documents which were deposited, as stated, he adds the following, inasmuch as both the [superior] himself and the entire party of his monastery [of Saint Mamas] can be influenced:⁴⁵ [p. 311] even in the presence of the *ephoros*, the party of his monastery [of Saint Mamas] cannot otherwise take out one or several of the deposited documents, unless previously and in the presence of a judge, it hands over to the party of the monastery of *Philanthropos* the first and most important document pertaining to the properties of the monastery of Saint Mamas.

This document must remain in the aforementioned monastery [of *Philanthropos*] until that of the aforementioned documents which was taken out has been returned and deposited again in the presence of the same judge. When this will be done, when this [document] will be returned and deposited, the party of the monastery of Saint Mamas will be permitted again to take back the document of the same monastery which, as stated, had been given [as a guarantee] to the monastery of *Philanthropos*.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The corrections of A. Sigalas (*EEBS* 7 [1930], pp. 399–405) and V. Laurent (*EO* 30 [1931], pp. 233–42) to S. Eustratiades' edition of the *typikon* have been tacitly incorporated in the translation.

1. For this office, see Paul Magdalino, "The Not-So-Secret Functions of the Mystikos," *REB* 42 (1984), 229–40.
2. Kosmas II Attikos (1146–47), identified below in the First *Semeioma*.
3. Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51), identified below in the First *Semeioma*.
4. For this foundation, see also Addition and Second *Semeioma* below, and Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 527–29.
5. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [69].
6. Cf. [37] below.
7. (27) *Kecharitomene* [11] has "with only the names changed," which makes better sense.
8. In [1] above.
9. As stated above in this chapter; so also in [15] below.
10. For these documents, see the Prologue above and the First *Semeioma* below.
11. The liturgical *typikon* of the *Evergetis* monastery, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 256–614, also endorsed below in [46], [47].
12. In [3] above.
13. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
14. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
15. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
16. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
17. On the Artzibourians, see (20) *Black Mountain* [55] and note.
18. The reference is to the heresy of the *Tetraditai*: see (20) *Black Mountain* and n. 68.
19. Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, August 15.
20. Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.
21. See also (34) *Machairas* [132] and the Pachomian *Praecepta* [73], [75], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), pp. 34–35.
22. (34) *Machairas* [133] is similar; see also the Pachomian *Praecepta* [97], ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, p. 40.
23. (28) *Pantokrator* [14] is similar.
24. In [5] above.
25. *exomonitai*; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
26. In the First *Semeioma* below, there is a record of just such a bath having been constructed for the foundation.
27. *Thesaurus Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni*, ed. J. Mossay (Turnhout, 1990–91), p. 11.

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28. In the Prologue, [16] above and [40], [48], First *Semeioma* below.
29. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
30. (22) *Evergetis* [18] adds here “in the Holy Spirit,” completing a scriptural quotation from Rom. 9:1. This is important to the understanding of the text, which does not refer to excommunication but to the superior’s sinful participation in the liturgy. The subsequent statement (ed. p. 295, lines 9–11) supports this interpretation.
31. In the Prologue, [16], [37], [40] above and the First *Semeioma* below.
32. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [22] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32].
33. In [10] above.
34. These are the illiterate monks.
35. The edition has *tou monachou Paulou kai monachou Papa tes sebasmiias mones tes Peribleptou*, which appears suspect. For the monastery of *Peribleptos*, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 51–52.
36. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 218–22; it is also mentioned in passing in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [108].
37. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 255–56.
38. For this patriarch, see Alexander Kazhdan, “Nicholas IV Mouzalon,” *ODB*, pp. 1467–68.
39. See [28] above.
40. Theocharistos has evidently died in the interval between the completion of the *typikon*, which he signed in November 1158 and the present document, dated to January 5, 1164.
41. Presumably a successor to Theocharistos the Cappadocian, who was deceased before 1164; possibly the *mystikos* Nikephoros, author of (33) *Heliou Bomon* if he was still alive in 1171.
42. As in the Addition above, this is a reference to an unknown successor of Theocharistos the Cappadocian.
43. For these documents, see the Prologue and the First *Semeioma* above.
44. *Meros*: a “party” in a legal transaction.
45. The edition has *hair[etos]*, while Sigalas (*EEBS* 7 [1930], p. 405) reads *haireit(ai)*. The alternative translation, “for both [the superior] himself and the entire party of his monastery are elected,” does not make sense in the present context. By taking extra precautions for the safety of the documents, Athanasios clearly shows in this case his fear that the monks of Saint Mamas might succumb in the future to pressure by the protector or any other authority seeking to deprive the monastery of its independence.

Document Notes

Prologue. The historical references to the monastery’s foundation are treated again with more specificity in the First *Semeioma* below.

- [1] Choice of the superior. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], cf. parallel treatment in (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [2] Removal of the superior. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [13]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2] and (34) *Machairas* [88], [89], [90].
- [3] Role of the protector. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3].
- [4] Independent and self-governing status. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared previously with both (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4] and (34) *Machairas* [21].
- [5] Number of monks; voluntary entrance gifts inalienable. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5] and (34) *Machairas* [59].
- [6] Installation ceremony for officials. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6] and (34) *Machairas* [92].
- [7] Installation of the steward. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [13], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [14]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7] and (34) *Machairas* [81].

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- [8] Duties of the ecclesiarch. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8] and (58) *Menoikeion* [4].
- [9] Duties of the sacristan and archivist. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [9] and (58) *Menoikeion* [5].
- [10] Duties of the treasurer. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10].
- [11] Duties of the cellarer. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [23]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11] and (34) *Machairas* [96].
- [12] Duties of the gatekeeper. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12] and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
- [13] Charity for poor monks and laymen. A Group A chapter, copied by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13] and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
- [14] Superior may appoint other officials. A Group C chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [39]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [14].
- [15] Preservation of the *typikon*. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [15].
- [16] Reading of the *typikon*. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16] and (58) *Menoikeion* [9]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents.
- [17] Diet for non-fast days. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared previously with both (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], [46]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34) *Machairas* [61], [62] and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [18] Diet during fasts. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [10], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73], [76].
- [19] Diet to spite the Artzibourians; fellow-brethren to eat with other monks; blessing of the grapes. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19] and (34) *Machairas* [78], [79] (except for blessing). See other treatments of this diet in (20) *Black Mountain* [55], [90]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [19]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].
- [20] No secret eating; superior's inspection of cells. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], [50], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22], [27]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20].
- [21] No absences from the office. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21] and (34) *Machairas* [49]. See similar provision in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [80].
- [22] Length of the novitiate. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [37], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22] and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56], [57], [58], [60].
- [23] Exhortation to the officials. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [33], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23] and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [24] Demonstration of respect for the superior. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24]. (28) *Pantokrator* [14] is very similar; see different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents.
- [25] Maintenance of cenobitic life. See also [5] above. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [55]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [25] and (34) *Machairas* [11].
- [26] No kelliotic monks or imposed guests. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [53]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26] and (58) *Menoikeion* [11].
- [27] No access for women or resident laymen. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents and in (28) *Pantokrator* [18].
- [28] Clothing and bathing allowances. A Group A chapter, copied later by (34) *Heliou Bomon* [28]. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [25], [28] and related documents; (28) *Pantokrator* [15], [22]; and (31) *Areia* [T3], [T4].
- [29] Confession to the superior; exception. A Group A chapter, copied later by (34) *Heliou Bomon* [29]

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- and (58) *Menoikeion* [13]. See different treatment in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents, and in (28) *Pantokrator* [20].
- [30] Exhortation to confession. A Group C chapter, shared previously with (22) *Evergetis* [7]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30] and (34) *Machairas* [51].
- [31] Offices of the third and sixth hours. See also [47] below. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [31] and (34) *Machairas* [35].
- [32] Reception of communion. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [5], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39] and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [33] Maintenance of elderly monks. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [36]. See also the subsequent treatment of this issue in (55) *Athanasios I* [7].
- [34] Equality in food and drink; care of the sick; ban on servants. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [26], [41], [24]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], [57]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33] and (34) *Machairas* [87], [106], [107], [108].
- [35] No idle talking; no private possessions. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [21], [22]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [27]; and (30) *Phoberos* [39], [40], [41]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34]; (34) *Machairas* [87], [113]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [17].
- [36] No arguments over precedence. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [42]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35] and (34) *Machairas* [64].
- [37] Purpose of the inventory. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37] and (34) *Machairas* [94].
- [38] Exhortation to the protector. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [38] and (34) *Machairas* [161].
- [39] Commemoration of deceased monks. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [36]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39] and (34) *Machairas* [157].
- [40] Commemoration of the founder and benefactors. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [36]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]. Copied later by (34) *Machairas* [156]; see also the analogous provision in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [50].
- [41] Why the *typikon* was composed. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40] and (34) *Machairas* [162].
- [42] Instructions to the superior. See also [48] below. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [17]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], (34) *Machairas* [144] and (58) *Menoikeion* [19].
- [43] Instructions for a superior from another monastery. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [42]. See also the later treatment in (37) *Auxentios* [3].
- [44] Monks not to question superior; superior not to spend the monastery's wealth for friends or relatives. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [18]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43] and (34) *Machairas* [145], [146].
- [45] No partiality in elections; hostility to privilege. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [44] and (58) *Menoikeion* [18].
- [46] Final exhortation. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45] and (34) *Machairas* [163], [166], [168].
- [47] Summary of the canonical hours. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, judging from the content of [46] above, an apparent later addition to the document, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [3], [4], [6], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], [33], [35], [36], [37], [38], [39]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46] and (34) *Machairas* [30], [31], [32], [33], [34], [48].
- [48] Message to the superior. See also [42] above. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [47].

32. MAMAS

Judicial Confirmation. This document of the quaestor and *nomophylax* Theodore Pantechnes is dated to January 1164, more than four years after the *typikon*, which is itself dated to November 1158.

First *Semeioma*. This document, referred to in the Judicial Confirmation above, is dated to January 5, 1164. It contains a more specific history of the foundation than that found in the Prologue above. It also describes the *typikon* itself, the signatures to it, and the seal of the author Athanasios Philanthropenos.

Addition. This brief document, dated to April 1171, serves to introduce the Second *Semeioma* below.

Second *Semeioma*. This document, dated to March 15, 1171, is a record of the provisions taken to assure the safekeeping of the *typikon*, the inventory, and the foundation's other important charters. See also other security provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [40], (27) *Kecharitomene* [77], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [78].