



Constantin Claudiu Cotan

The Role of the Typikon in the Organization of Byzantine Monasticism in the 11th Century

Abstract

The Byzantines used the word Typikon to name certain kinds of documents, civil or religious. The Typikon, as a document, comprised a set of rules according to which a monastery operated. The Typikon is the foundation book of a monastery. Most times, this source consists of two parts. The first included the liturgical prescriptions, while the second comprised the directives of the founder observed by the monastic community in order to ensure peace. A new document, brebion (βρέβιον), was added to the two parts of the Typikon, which mentioned the properties of a monastic settlement. The founders issued these rules to ensure certain independence of the monasteries in relation to the authori-



Rev. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Constantin Claudiu Cotan, Assoc. Prof. of Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology “Holy Apostle Andrew”, “Ovidius” University of Constanta, Romania

ty of the State or of the Church and left the monasteries to be administered by private persons.

The founders of monasteries tried through the rules imposed to foresee any issue that could appear in the administration of the monastery. The majority of them appointed the hegumen at the head of the monastic community, the supreme authority whom all the others had to obey. The Typikon imposed equality among the monks from the point of view of the clothes and means. Manual labour was encouraged and intellectual activity, which took place in the libraries of the monasteries. The monks who loved education were encouraged to study. Although in the eleventh-century reading was no longer an end in and of itself, the monks were required at least to be able to read. This study presents some of the most famous Byzantine Typika of the eleventh century and their importance to the organization of Orthodox monasticism.

Keywords

Typikon, monasticism, liturgy, discipline, administrator

1 Introduction

Many Byzantine monasteries have been built and supported by aristocrats, emperors, and clerks due to their desire to have their sins absolved and be remembered in prayers throughout the centuries. Some of the founders have been buried in their own monasteries. The great concern of these donors has been to ensure the survival of their monasteries, which were threatened by the state or from the private persons who were trying to get hold of the estates they owned through the donations on behalf of those who raised them or who received these estates throughout the years. The Byzantine state tried to limit the monastic wealth

in order not to burden the lives of the monks called to pray and practice virtues, as well as administrate and take care of great estates or many flocks of animals, orchards of trees, or large vineyards. In November 1027, Patriarch Alexius I the Studites (1025-1043) issued a decree that established certain limits to the donations of monasteries (for example, other transfers were forbidden; it was forbidden for a men's monastery to belong to a woman, according to the principle of charisticariate, and the other way round as well) which needed the approval of the patriarch. Another document dated January 1028 regulated certain aspects of the good administration of the church properties and the restoration of discipline through the strict observation of the holy canons.¹

At the end of the first millennium, Byzantine monastic life flourished with about "7000 monastic settlements averaging between 10 and 20 monks."² In fact, the monks represented the spiritual elite of the Byzantine Church. This is why the great monasteries founded were based on dispositions included in a foundation document that specified many aspects concerning the functioning of the monastery both from a material and a spiritual point of view. The Typikon is the operational regulation of a monastery, its foundation charter.³ This was drafted by the founder or, at his initiative, designed to ensure the good operation of the monastery. The formulation of such regulations is not uniform. This is why we find, in these documents, besides general urges to observe the monastic rules, some special elements such as or-

¹ Spyros Troianos, "Byzantine Canon Law to 1100," in *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, edited by Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), pp. 115-69, here p. 167.

² Sfântul Simeon Noul Teolog [Symeon the New Theologian], *Viața și epoca. Scrieri IV*, translated into Romanian by Ioan I. Ică jr. (Sibiu: Deisis, 2006), p. 61.

³ Raymond Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au Moyen Age. Commende et typica (Xe-XIV^e siècle)," *Revue des études byzantines*, 22 (1964), pp. 5-44.

ders concerning the individual life of the monks, various liturgical rules, the governing and administration of the monastery, the establishment, and care for certain neighboring foundations (hospice, hospital, guest house, colony of lepers). 15 of the 31 such known documents date from the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

The Byzantines used the word *Typikon* to define a variety of documents, not all of them ecclesiastical. The monastic *Typikon* was, in this sense, a document comprising a set of rules according to which the monastery was to operate.⁴ The Byzantine monastic documents use various words to describe this set of rules. While trying to define the content of the term *ktetorikon typikon*, L. Allatius divided it into “liturgical” and “non-liturgical or *Ktetorika*” (from the term: founder). The non-liturgical part of the document was considered the foundation document of the monastery. Later, this simple classification was adopted by several scholars. There were also some other classifications, but most of them started from the classification established by Allatius.⁵ One of the modern classifications is presented by I. P. Tsiknopoullos.⁶ Two *Typika* have survived in a complete form: one drafted by Michael Attaleiates (*Diataxis*) and the second written by Timothy for the Monastery of Theotokos Euergetis.⁷ They comprise liturgical rules, regulations concerning the life of the monks, administration of the monastery, as well as orders especially imposed by the founder of the monastery. A *Typikon* may be a planned document, clearly drafted, divided into chapters or paragraphs, with titles and, sometimes, preceded by content. Alternatively, the *Typikon* could have the form of narration, in

⁴ Catia Galatariotou, “Byzantine *ktetorika typika*: a comparative study,” *Revue des études byzantines* 45 (1987), pp. 77-138.

⁵ Leone Allacci, *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Græcorum dissertationes et observationes variae I* (Paris, 1645), p. 6.

⁶ Ioannes P. Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά* (Nicosia: Κέντρον Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν, 1969), p. 36.

⁷ Catia Galatariotou, “Byzantine *ktetorika typika*,” p. 79.

which the elements, rules, historical and biographical events, canons, advice or orders concerning the religious rite, the diet or morality of the monks are all mixed together, more or less logically, in order to face the various issues imposed by monastic living. Some Typika are extremely long, while others are quite terse. They give us details about both the organisation of the monasteries and the measures the founders imposed. There were also Typika drafted by founders at their death and considered wills, which had, in their turn, the same value as the founding Typika of the monastery. The Typikon had to be read periodically, sometimes every month, or three times a year. In the monastery refectory was meant to be heard and understood by all monks and assimilated in the course of time.

The Typikon is the operational regulation of a monastery.⁸ Sometimes, the Typikon was accompanied by a *brebion*, an appendix that comprised the list of monastic properties. These documents consisted of three parts: the liturgical Typikon and regulations on monastic life, both of them based on the general monastic principles and on the ideas about monastic life the founder had, and the *brebion* that mentioned the properties of the monastery.

There are Typika drafted not by the founders of the monasteries but by their descendants. Hegumen Timothy is the second hegumen of the Monastery of Theotokos Euergetis and not its founder, but he is the one who drafted the Typikon of the monastery, which, although a modest one in the beginning had become a monastic structure of reference in his time. While writing the Typikon of the Monastery of Saint Nicholas of Kasoulon, Nicholas affirms that he is doing nothing more than writing down the regulation of the monastery's founder known by the community through oral tradition. Thus, the Typikon could be written not by the founder himself but by a monk who could have been related to the founder or by the following hegumen of the monastery,

⁸ Raymond Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au Moyen Age," pp. 5-44.

who, having become more and more important, needed such regulations of living.⁹

Hypotyposis, diatyposis, and diatheke are monastic documents connected to the foundation of a monastery or even parts of the Typikon. Ktetorikon typikon is mainly considered the one elaborated by the founder or by the later founder of the monastery. We know several Typika and editorial documents dating from the eleventh century: Diatyposis of Nikodemos for the Monastery of Nea Gephyra of Lacaedemon (1027), Hypotyposis of Timothy for the Monastery of Theotokos Euergetis (1065), Diataxis of Michael Attaleiates for the Ptochotropheion of Rhaidestos and the Monastery of Christ Panoikotirimos of Constantinople (1077), Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of Theotokos Petritzonitissa in Bachkovo (1083), Diataxis of Manuel, bishop of Tiberiopolis, for the Monastery of Theotokos Eleousa of Stroumistza (1085-1106), Hypotyposis of Christodoulos for the Monastery of Saint John of Patmos (1091), Diatheke and Codex of Christodoulos of 1093.¹⁰ Many monasteries and hermitages had no Typika, and thus led according to an oral tradition. From the tenth until the fourteenth centuries, the Typikon was one of the methods of defense of the monasteries against the abuses of the charisticariate. At the same time, the monks tried to use the Typikon as a way of getting rid of the bishop's authority, declaring themselves self-governing (independent), an attitude condemned by canonist Theodore Balsamon. The Typikon was thus seen as part of the religious legislation that could not act contrary to the general legislation of the Church and of the State. The Typikon was rather an instrument of moral persuasion than a legal act.

The authors of these Typika came from the aristocracy, as they declared themselves with this statute at the beginning of the documents. Michael Attaleiates introduces himself as πατρικίος,

⁹ Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine ktetorika typika," p. 81.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 85.

ανθύπατος, κριτής ἐπί τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ τοῦ βήλου, and presents the way he accumulated the property he was using for the shelter for poor people and the monastery he was setting up. Nikephoros the Mystic declares himself as *mystikos*, servant of the emperor, as he signs the foundation document of the monastery.¹¹ Gregory Pakourianos introduces himself as an aristocrat and imperial employee μέγας δομέστικος τῆς δύσεως and *sebastos*. Michael Attaleiates and Gregory Pakourianos included in the *Typikon* the list of all the goods and properties of the monasteries without drafting a separate *brebion*.

The founding of monasteries was proof of the founder's visible love for God. The founder was remembered in the prayers said in the church so that God should absolve his sins, or, as Theodore Metochites would confess in his *Typikon*, written in the fourteenth century at the renovation of the Monastery of Chora, for winning one's own soul.¹² The dedication days of the monasteries, usually to the Mother of God and the saints, proved the founder's attachment to them and his hope that these saints and the Virgin would intercede on his behalf on Judgement day. Pakourianos invokes the help of the Mother of God, of Saint John the Baptist, and of Saint George. The prayer of the monks was considered to be closer to the angels due to their pure life and better received by God for the remission of the founder's sins. The monks were the spiritual guides of the laics, more than the parish priests, because they represented the "angelic life," with no passions, which the laics tried to imitate through penitence and prayers. In order to achieve this purpose, indications were given in the *Typikon* for the liturgical services and remembrance of the founder.

Michael Attaleiates raised the shelter for poor people, certain that God will absolve his sins. Pakourianos founded the monastery for the same reason, thinking that God would take care of the soul of his dead brother Aspasio, in whose name he raised

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 89-90.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 92.

two of the three buildings for hosting the pilgrims and poor people. He moved the body of his brother to this monastery, where he was also buried. In 1074, both brothers made an important donation to the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos and drafted a Typikon for the purpose, which they signed in the Armenian language.¹³

Eustathios Boilas, a little nobleman of Cappadocia, served in the Byzantine administration and drafted a will (1056) that included the goods bequeathed to his two daughters who survived him. He dedicated through his will a series of goods for maintaining the church of the Mother of God that he had built, as well as for the church of Saint Barbara, where his mother, wife, and son were buried and where he wanted to be buried as well. He bequeathed gold and silver crosses for the two churches, medallions, several sacred vessels, silk and tablecloths for the altar, vases, chandeliers, relics of the saints, and icons.¹⁴

Certain monks known for their holiness appear surrounded by a true group of disciples. Luke the Stylite (†979) had disciples of all the levels of society in Anatolic Theme: fishermen, viculturists, and members of the aristocracy. The hagiographic narratives of the tenth-thirteenth centuries are different from those of Christian antiquity due to the fact that they give larger space to the presentation of the relations between the rural elites and the monk confessors. Luke the Younger (†953) received the strategos of Hellas in Phocis, and Lazaros of Mount Galesios (+1053) was consulted by the strategos of Thrace and by many aristocrats. These great father confessors offered advice dictated by the teachings of Christ, but they also made political and military prophecies.

¹³ Paul Lemerle, *Le Monde Byzantin. Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle Byzantin. Le Typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos (Décembre 1083)* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977).

¹⁴ Maria Parani, Brigitte Pitarakis and Jean-Michel Spieser, "Un exemple d'inventaire d'objets liturgiques: le testament d'Eustathios Boilas (avril 1059)," *Revue des études byzantines*, 61 (2003), pp. 143-65.

The founders considered the monasteries as their own homes. Irene Doukaina (1066-1138), the founder of the monastery of Kecharitomene and wife of Alexios I Komnenos, stipulated in the *Typikon* of the monastery that anyone of her descendants who might join the monastery should have special privileges, not obligated to live the life of the ordinary nuns. The privileges provided the right to have their own cell, two servants, favourite dishes and drinks, and the right to go out of the monastery accompanied for two or three days. Irene's daughter, Eudokia, and the other descendants of the family used the best buildings of the monastery.¹⁵ Pakourianos had also asked his relatives or those of the same social group to be received in the monastery. Other men could also be received as monks not related to him and even from a lower social category, but only if the number of the monks of the monastery was less than fifty.

2 The *Tipikon* of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople

Michael Attaleiates founded the monastery-hospice of Raïdestos, near Constantinople, in 1077, for which he drafted a *Diataxis*. The document also comprises a catalogue of the library of his monastery. Having founded and endowed the settlement, he ensured that this one would not fall under the imperial authority or that of the patriarch, a metropolitan, or any other authority. Michael Attaleiates invests in this religious unity in order to ensure the material future of his son Theodore whom he establishes as "heir, owner and administrator," as well as that of his direct successors. The growth of the importance of the monastery, the monks who donated their fortune when they joined the monastic life, the purchase of real estates, and the monastery-hospice raised by Michael Attaleiates increased the material income

¹⁵ Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine ktetorika typika," p. 97.

of his son Theodore, which was much more important than his salary of an imperial notary. In 1079, he received a confirmation from Nikephoros Botaneiates for the purpose. Attaleiates's Typikon offers very few elements on the life of the monks and on the liturgical orders, generally encountered in such documents. These aspects are supposed to have been treated in detail in a lost Typikon. This Typikon imposed the way of serving achieved under the supervision of the ecclesiarch personally chosen by Attaleiates, who had to be "familiar with the monastic rules of the Church." Although Attaleiates was not a great aristocrat, his monastery was dedicated to the aristocracy. The Typikon limited the number of monks to seven. They were allowed to have servants. Unlike Athanasius the Athonite, who forbade the eunuchs at the Great Lavra of Athos, Attaleiates allowed them if they were his own relatives or donors.¹⁶

Attaleiates wanted, first of all, to transmit the foundation as family property. This is why he appoints his son Theodore as director of the house for poor people (ptochotrophion). Measures of precaution were taken to be sure the foundation would not be secularised later on by the founder's descendants. Theodore and his heirs were entitled to choose and grant recognition to the superior and administrator. Theodore could also run the foundation directly, not obligated to choose a new superior. A superior of the monastery could be removed if he prejudiced or caused damages to the heirs. The administrator of the foundation had to present the earnings and expenses. The conflicts between heirs and the foundation were solved without the intervention of external authorities. The monks could make the heirs responsible only for alienating the properties donated and changing the rules. Yet, even in these conditions, Theodore could get only a "mild reproof."

¹⁶ Rodolphe Guiland, "Les eunuques dans l'Empire Byzantin. Etude de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines," *Revue des études byzantines*, 1 (1943), 197-238.

Attaleiates limited the number of monks in accordance with the income the properties could produce. Thus, he received an exemption from taxation for real estate. One-third of the annual income was granted to the monastery, and two-thirds were granted to Theodore as private profit. Theodore's heirs benefited from the same right. This is the most explicit proof of any Byzantine source of the right of a founder and of his heirs to a part of the "surplus" income of a private religious foundation. Attaleiates was willing to allow the foundation to adopt institutional self-governing only after his entire line of descendants would have been extinguished. He allowed the foundation to be taken over in such a case by the collateral relatives or even by female descendants. Attaleiates left several pages of his *Typikon* blank for writing down certain imperial chrysobulls, as well as for future properties. Attaleiates tried to protect his foundation against the interference of the emperors, patriarchs, and other religious officials. He forbids especially the appointment of a charisticary or of an outside protector. This is why he dedicated his monastery to the Savior Jesus Christ in order to frighten those who would have craved for its goods.

Most founders were afraid that their foundations would be acquired by a private administrator, a charisticary, who could have benefitted from the monastery's fortune for his personal purpose. This way of administrating certain monasteries turned out useful sometimes, the monks receiving in exchange everything necessary for living, and so could dedicate them to prayer. There also were cases when the administrator exploited the monasteries in his personal interest, without taking care of monks and maintaining the monastery, which then fell to ruin.

Patriarch John the Oxite of Antioch, who was a harsh critic of charisticariate, also recognised its benefits. Wherever the fortune was well administrated, it brought profit to the monastery. Michael Psellos turns out to be a good administrator. Most monasteries were submitted to charisticariate at a certain time in their history. According to this institution, the owner of the monas-

tery, no matter if it was a natural person (lay or religious founder, emperor, man of the Church, private person) or legal person (crown, eparchy, patriarchate, monastic community), donated, conditioned and temporary, the property and income to a person, lay in general, very seldom to a church person. Very often, this beneficiary simultaneously received the privilege to transmit this right of usufruct to a successor who could, in his turn, offer the rights to a third beneficiary who succeeded him. The origin of this institution is obscure, but it was present in the Byzantine Empire long before the eleventh century. Patriarch John the Oxite of Antioch affirms its presence in the time of iconoclasm, more exactly during the reign of Constantine V (740-775). The initial purpose was to take over the monks' concern for the administration of the monastery's fortune. The charisticary had to provide the food of the monks and everything needed for living. The emperors often had monasteries that were imperial or public property or were offered to their relatives, friends, or clients or to those who had accomplished their duties to the state and received such a reward. The danger presented by this institution was that instead of favouring the monks according to its initial purpose, it came to exploit the monastic properties only in their own interest. John the Oxite affirms that all monasteries were submitted to charisticariate. The rich monasteries were preferred at the expense of the poor ones, which needed financial support for their restoration and re-construction, for which the charisticariate institution was created in fact.¹⁷ Many times the monasteries were administrated as personal properties, and the monks turned into workers. The monasteries used to become residences for such owners who brought their relatives as well,

¹⁷ Albert Failler, "Le monachisme byzantin aux XIe-XIIe siècles. Aspects sociaux et économiques," in *Aspects de la vie conventuelle aux XIe-XIIe siècles. Actes du 5e Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Saint-Etienne, 7-8 juin 1974)* (Lyon: Cahiers d'Histoire, 1975), pp. 171-188, here pp. 183-85.

whose number came to equal that of the monks. These lay owners, sometimes even foreigners, who did not care about the contemplative life the monks wished to live, had only one purpose, namely, to receive income in quite a short time. Consequently, the monks who hardly had everything needed for surviving had to engage in the commercial field. In nunneries, the situation was even more disastrous. The administrator who lived in the monastery brought relatives of both sexes with him. John the Oxite mentions the abuse committed in such monasteries and condemns the new model of administration of the monastic estates. His account is exaggerated, but it includes much truth. Certainly, there were also good administrators, one of them Michael Psellos, for example, monk and statesman, who received several monasteries in administration.

3 Testament of Saint John of Rila

The will of Saint John of Rila, dating to the tenth century, is an example of a document of a monastic foundation whose author used the *Typikon* of Saint Theodore the Studite. Saint John of Rila supported the coenobitic style of living but urged the monks to sustain the solidary monks close to the monastery. This co-existence of the coenobitic and eremitic styles of life, identified in the life of Saint John, was characteristic of the Byzantine style. The author of the document proves good command of the ascetic tradition of late antiquity, using Saint Ephrem the Syrian, the *Life* of Saint Anthony the Great, founder of the anchoritic monasticism, as well as Saint Theodosius the Cenobiarch (Θεοδοῦσιος ὁ Μέγας), founder of the anchoritic monasticism. Saint John of Rila asked the monks to practice handmade work. Asceticism, passions, and the

fight for the improvement of this saint constituted a popular topic for hagiographers. Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo wrote the *Life of John of Rila*.¹⁸

Saint John's will has a genuine disciplinary content focused especially on appointing a successor. John announces his intention and withdraws in his hesychastic life. He expected his foundation to rely financially on its own efforts without wishing favours from kings and aristocrats. Saint John must have been worried that his monastery might fall under state control.¹⁹

4 Testament of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery

Unlike him, Saint Athanasius the Athonite raised the Great Lavra with imperial aid and succeeded in achieving equilibrium between the autonomy of the monastery and the material aid coming from Constantinople. Just like at the Monastery of Studios, at Mount Athos, we have many documents dating from the period of the foundation of the coenobitic monasticism by Athanasius. The regulations of Saint Athanasius the Athonite, as well

¹⁸ "Rila: Testament of John of Rila," translated by Ilija Iliev, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 1, edited by John Philip Thomas, Angela Constantinides Hero and Giles Constable, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), pp. 125-34, here pp. 125-28; A.-P. Péchayre, "Les vies du saint Jean de Rila," *Echos d'Orient* 37 (1938), nos. 191-92, pp. 385-90; Ivan Dujcev, "La réforme monastique en Bulgarie au Xe siècle," in *Études de civilisation médiévale (IXe-XIIIe siècles). Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers: Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 1974), pp. 255-264.

¹⁹ *Sfântul Ioan de Rila, făcătorul de minuni: viata, testamentul, acatistul*, translated from the Bulgarian into Romanian by Petre-Valentin Lica and Gheorghită Ciocoi (Bucharest: Sophia, 2003).

as the subsequent documents on which he left his imprint, have been kept at the Great Lavra and at Protaton.²⁰

The works of Saint Athanasius focus on the organisation of monastic life. The books entitled *Τυπικόν ἦτοι, Διατύπωσης*, as well as the posthumous one *ὑποτύπωσης* do not demonstrate any originality, having been compilations after the Catecheses and the Testament of Theodore the Studite (759-826).

The monastic rules were addressed to the monks who were living a coenobitic life, but they stipulated the possibility of the eremitic life for the diligent ones. The prayer was the focus of the monk's life celebrated in the community, just like the meals of the monks served at fixed hours. 14 out of the 28 chapters of the *Typikon* have been literally transcribed from the Testament of Saint Theodore the Studite. One of the stipulations of this official document was the women's interdiction to get into the territory of the "garden of the Mother of God." Before having been adopted by the Holy Mountain Athos, this interdiction was applied at the Monastery of Studios of Constantinople, after the reform of Theodore the Studite of 799.

According to this *Typikon*, the hegumen had absolute authority until death, as well as the right to appoint his successor:

Later on, Athanasius changed these private decisions; he mentioned in his testament written in 990 that the new hegumen had to be elected from among the trustees of the monastery, assisted by 15 of the brethren, chosen for this job according to their age and experience. After consulting the brethren, the trustees had the right to dismiss a hegumen who was no longer able to lead.²¹ At the same time, Athanasius established not only the number of monks of his community to 120 but also that of the monks who

²⁰ "Ath. Rule: Rule of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery," translated by George Dennis, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 1, pp. 205-31, here pp. 205-20.

²¹ Pierre Dumont, "L'higoumène dans la Règle de saint Athanase l'Athonite," in *Le Millénaire du Mont-Athos. 963-1963. Études et Mélanges*, 1 (Chevetogne: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 121-34.

were allowed to live outside the walls as hesychasts. He did not forbid the old practices of strict and solitary asceticism, which the hermits lived, but wanted only four monks of the brotherhood to adopt this style of life.

Before adopting this eremitic life, the respective monks had to live a long period of time obeying the hegumen. Athanasius emphasised the vote of absolute submission of the monks to the hegumen of their monastery, a fact echoed in the rules established by Saint Basil the Great.

The duration of the testing period of the newcomers, scriptural lectures at the meals, veneration of the Holy Cross, indications for clothes and footwear, and even the approval of monastic prisons have all Studite precedents. Besides the liturgical regulations, in which the processions to the Vesper service are mentioned, the monks are imposed handwork and even lecture, although it does no longer appear as an important task, as it was in the Studite Rule. However, the monks were asked to be able to read. In the Studite Rule, corporal punishment is stipulated for monks, but in Athanasius's Rule, a moderate punishment is mentioned, trying in this way to avoid the departure of the discontented monks from the monastery. Those who were showing their discontent were guided by a father confessor. We can even notice certain similarities between the Athanasian and the Benedictine rules.²²

5 The Tipikon of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos

The correspondence between Christodoulos, the founder of the monastery, with the ecumenical patriarchs, and a series of imperial documents related to his life and activity, are preserved at

²² Julien Leroy, "S. Athanase l'Athonite et la Règle de S. Benoît," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 29 (1953), pp. 108-22.

the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian of Patmos.²³ The foundation documents of the monastic community of Saint John the Theologian of Patmos, founded in 1088, stipulate that no more than 12 anchorites could live anytime outside the monastery and depend on it. Thus, their relationship with the monastery (coenobitic) is clearly explained. They had to come back to the monastery every Saturday, attend the vigil service that night followed by the celebration of the Sunday Divine Liturgy, and then go back to their secluded cells with enough food for one week. They also had to come to the monastery on the great feast days. While they were at the monastery, the anchorites had to eat at the joint dinner and not to speak with anybody but with the abbot. They were not allowed to speak with anybody at their huts during the week. As long as they were alone during the week, they had to have only one cold meal a day. The anchorites were submitted to strict obedience to the abbot. If they gave signs of disobedience, they had to come back to the monastery. Christodoulos considered, in his Typikon, that the accomplishment of the liturgical services was the most important responsibility of the monks. They had to be celebrated according to the liturgical Typikon of the Lavra of Saint Sabbas situated close to Jerusalem, which he must have known during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The moment he wrote his Rule in 1091, Christodoulos expected to be one superior and ten monks to assume a series of responsibilities, although, in 1093, the monastery had only eight monks. The coenobitic monks were allowed to practice calligraphy or other crafts, but not with profit production. The novitiate lasted six months for the pious or seriously sick ones and three years for all the others. Those who ran away from debts or had children to maintain were not admitted. Christodoulos asks the monks not to have any personal goods but for clothes and footwear. As for the personal servants, he accepted

²³ P. Renaudin, "Christodule, higoumène de Saint-Jean à Patmos, 1020-1101," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 5 (1900), pp. 215-46.

at last married laics, their wives, and children to help the monastery with more difficult work. Christodoulos intended the men to work around the monastery for five days and then go back to their wives and children for the weekend. In the end, he allowed the young men whose beards grew to become monks, confessing that he had also joined monasticism while young. But for the sub-prefect, the monks were not allowed to go any place where they could meet women.

Christodoulos appealed to a sort of private protectorate in order to ensure the leadership of his foundation and rejected any protectorate from outside the monastery. He was afraid that the monastery might come to be at the disposal of the charisticary or of an ephor. Yet, he appointed the imperial notary Theodosius at the head of the monastery as ephor. However, this one had no right to bring any relatives of his to the monastery, but he had authority as an administrator of the monastery, and its superior could not take decisions without his approval, risking even dismissal. The superior of the monastery was elected by monks. This one could be removed if he changed the rules imposed by the founder, embezzled, or if he changed the coenobitic life. Christodoulos rejected any inheritance of patronal privilege by his nephews. The superior of the monastery, the sub-prefect, and ecclesiarch had to sign for incomes. Christodoulos wanted to get imperial documents to consolidate the autonomy of his foundation and to offer it a series of immunities.

6 The Tipikon of Nikon of the Black Mountain

The Life of Nikon of the Black Mountain is known from the evidence provided by his writings: Interpretation of Lord's commandments (Pandektai), the Small Book, and a writing entitled

Taktikon.²⁴ Nikon tried to establish his own monastery, for which he drafted a Typikon. His attempt failed. Nikon of the Black Mountain adds elements of the canon law to the Typikon, proving good knowledge of the patristic tradition. He wrote a Typikon as nobody did before him. As for the liturgical orders, he asked for the observation both of those of the Monastery of Studios and of the Lavra of Saint Sabbas. He is also the first of the monastery founders who drafted a list of lectures for his monks, starting from his Typikon, Padektai, to the ascetic writings of Saint Basil the Great and the Life of Saint Pachomius the Great. Nikon appeals to scriptural and patristic support in order to sustain his observations. He knows the rules of the Monastery of Studios, the Lavra of Saint Sabbas, and those of the monasteries on Mount Athos. He admits that his rules may have drawbacks so that they could be improved if necessary. Nikon chose to deal with a controversy on the legitimacy of a fasting time for the Mother of God before the celebration of the Dormition, which he had supported in his writing entitled Pandektai. As an interesting matter of fact, he affirmed that if the teachings of a Church Father were good in a certain place, that did not mean that they were the same everywhere. Thus, he sustained the preservation of what is comprehensive and pure in the monastic life. The settlement of the liturgical duties was the most important concern of this pious man who preferred the liturgical Typikon of the Lavra of Saint Sabbas instead of that of Studios. Nikon drafted a liturgical Typikon based on the calendar with the feasts mentioned according to their significance. Nikon also asks the monks to practice lucrative activities, crafts, or hard handiwork. He asked for the pursuit of the working monks, and the superior was to rotate the monks to various activities, to the monastery's kitchen as well. Saturday and Sunday, the presence at the Divine Liturgy was compulsory, although not all the monks were communicated. The lecture of the psalms and

²⁴ Irénée Doens, "Nicon de la Montagne Noire," *Byzantion* 24 (1954), no. 1, pp. 131-40.

dinners took place with the participation of all monks. Nikon encourages private devotion as well. The monks' poverty is appreciated in Pandektai, and the asceticism encouraged the fasting for the Mother of God at the beginning of August. There are rules on the monks' outfit just like at the Monastery of Studios. The constitutional statute of the foundation is not discussed, only the superior of the monastery and the supervisor are mentioned. Nikon rejects monetary donations from strangers, wishing the monastery to maintain itself only with the monks' work. Here, too, the women were forbidden to enter the monastery.²⁵

7 The Typikon of the Monastery of Theotokos Euergetis

The first founder of the Monastery of Theotokos Euergetis (Benefactress) was a rich man from Constantinople named Paul, who raised a monastery outside the walls of the Byzantine capital in 1048 or 1049. Paul was the author of an ascetic florilegium called Evergetinos, divided into four volumes, which benefited from large circulation in the Byzantine world. The first volume presents the general principles of monastic asceticism, the second deals with the requirements of coenobitic life, the third with the personal morality of the monks, and the fourth describes the progress of spiritual life. The author emphasises the practical aspects of monastic life. Later on, Evergetinos inspired two other ascetic florilegia: one was that of Nikon of the Black Mountain, and the other of patriarch John the Oxite of Antioch, both of them important monastic reformers. Paul used, in his book, like bibliography, the writings of Saint Maximus the Confessor, those of Pseudo-Macarius, Evagrius Ponticus, Marcus Eremita, and the Great Catecheses of Saint Theodore the Studite.

²⁵ "Black Mountain: Regulations of Nikon of the Black Mountain," translated by Robert Allison, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 1, pp. 377-424, here pp. 377-84.

Paul Evergetinos bequeathed his foundation by will (lost at present) to his disciple Timothy, admitted as the second founder of the Monastery of Euergetis. He is the author of a Typikon and of the liturgical rules observed in the monastery. Timothy used the rules of the Monastery of Studios, the liturgical Typikon of the cathedral of Hagia Sofia of Constantinople, the Typikon of the monasteries of Mysian Olympus, and that of patriarch Anthony III the Studite (974-979). Timothy has also received imperial documents that recognized the independence of his foundation. Timothy's Typikon has also been used by other monastic regulations of other monasteries, such as Theotokos Kosmosoteira and Kecharitomene. The Euergetis foundation is not represented together with the great monasteries at the Council of Blachernae of 1094, which rehabilitated metropolitan Leo of Chalcedon, a great reformer of monastic life.

Saint Sava, archbishop of the Serbs, visited the monastery in 1235 during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The moment he drafted the regulations of the Monastery of Hilandar, Saint Sava was influenced by the Typikon of the Monastery of Theotokos Euergetis. The Monastery of Euergetis was the leader of an extremely influential reformative movement in Byzantine monasticism. The Monastery of Theotokos Euergetis benefited from appreciation with the monks due to its Studite regulations, financial management, strict control of properties, and responsible leadership. The founder of the monastery did not impose a fixed number of monks to be admitted but preferred to let the monastery's resources determine their number. The monastic community of Euergetis was divided into monks who were living permanently in the monastery and ensured the liturgical services and other services, and other monks, not so much educated, assigned to various tasks both inside and outside the monastery. The monks willingly accepted to work in the kitchen, cellar, and bakery. The Studite regulation was observed within the cycle of the religious services. The novitiate lasted six months, but the monks from other monasteries were received with reticence.

The superior of the monastery was the one who shrove the one to be tonsured into monasticism.

The Typikon of the monastery Timothy established emphasized sacramental life, shriving, and communication. The Liturgy was celebrated every day, but how often the monks were communicated depended on their moral state: those with the improved living were communicated three times a week, and the rest of them once a week or not at all. In all cases, the superior decided the frequency of the communication. No monk was allowed to abstain permanently from communication. The educated monks shrove to the abbot of the monastery and the rest of them to other father confessors. The abbot of the monastery was obligated to visit the cells of the monks and to confiscate the things not authorized. The monks were not allowed to exchange letters with their family or friends. According to coenobitic practice, all monks, no matter their rank, ate together, receiving the same dishes and drinks. The principle of equality was also applied to their clothes. Unlike the rules of Saint Theodore the Studite and Michael Attaleiates, the monks were not allowed to have servants.

The fasting and vigils were regulated by the liturgical Typikon. The diet of the monks was specified for the fasting days. The sick monks were allowed to have a bath, and the healthy ones could have a bath at least three times a year or when the superior considered it fit. This is the first mention of a bath installation in a monastery. Besides, it was a room with eight beds used as a sick room. Although there were no rules on the burial of the monks, a priest had to take care of the funerals.

The Typikon strengthens the idea of self-governance, also confirmed by the imperial documents received from Constantine IX Monomachos, known as the protector of certain monasteries. The idea was to protect the monastery from falling into the hands of private persons, at the discretion of the state authorities or of a charisticary. Timothy established, in his Typikon, that the monastery should have two abbots: an active one and the second one liable to succeed him after the first abbot's death. Later on,

Timothy established that only one could be an abbot, always present in the community, who could leave the monastery only on justified occasions. Timothy announced that he would choose the abbot to succeed him. This descendent had to select, together with the other monks, a steward to become the future abbot. The steward took care of the financial situation of the monastery. This one was assisted by three treasurers and by a skevophylax who was in charge of the holy liturgical vessels and cloths of the holy altar, by a person in charge with the monks' linen, cloths and footwear and by a cashier who registered the income and expenses.

The Typikon established that the real estate properties that made the financial basis of the foundation should not be alienated. They established the movable property had the same status (holy vessels, cloth of the holy table, vestments, icons, and books). In order to increase the administrators' responsibility when invested, they received the keys from the icon of Christ, our Savior, and from that of the Mother of God, for which they were responsible. When invested, the superior of the monastery benefited from a ceremony when the divine punishment was invoked in case he was not worthy of such a call.

Presents willingly offered when joining the monastery were allowed, provided they were unconditional, the one who gave them not waiting for special privileges. The donations once given could not be withdrawn, although the donor left the monastery later on: "That was because what once dedicated to God could not be taken back," an expression that has become an ideological credo of a generation of ecclesiastic reformers. Timothy did not reserve for himself the most significant part of the surplus the monastery registered, as Michael Attaleiates did for his son Theodore.

Although the initial founder of the monastery, Paul Evergetinos, was a well-to-do man, the monastery was against privileges. Nevertheless, aristocrats were also received after a shorter noviciate. Thus, John Doukas, brother-in-law of Alexios I Komnenos, was received, and the community also allowed him to drink wine

during the fasting period, as he donated the monastery a vineyard for the purpose. The Typikon also stipulated some philanthropic deeds by sharing food at the monastery gate, only to men, and taking care of the sick in the infirmary. There also was a cemetery for those who died in the monastery (xenotaphion). In order to remind the monks of their responsibilities, the Typikon of the foundation had to be read at the beginning of every month, during dinner time. The Typikon was re-formulated several times until the form was preserved from the period 1098-1118. The idea to systemize a founder's Typikon in chapters numbered has become a popular practice in the eleventh century and later on, too.²⁶ Timothy introduced several changes in the Typikon during his lifetime, which lasted until 1067. The Typikon also remembered Timothy together with the first founder, Paul Evergetinos. The Typikon of the Monastery of Theotokos Evergetis was the most influential Byzantine text of this kind that has ever been written; other founders also using it until the fourteenth century.²⁷

8 Gregory Pakourianos's Typikon for the Monastery of Theotokos Petritzonitissa in Bachkovo

Gregory Pakourianos's Typikon for the Monastery of Theotokos Petritzonitissa in Bachkovo is a document progressively moderate in the tradition of the Byzantine monastic reform of the end

²⁶ See Robert H. Jordan and Rosemary Morris, *The Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople (11th-12th centuries): introduction, translation and commentary* (London/New York: Routledge, 2016).

²⁷ "Evergetis: Typikon of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God Evergetis," translated by Robert Jordan, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, 2*, edited by John Philip Thomas, Angela Constantinides Hero and Giles Constable, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), pp. 454-506, here 454-71.

of the eleventh century. Gregory Pakourianos wanted to establish an independent monastery. He did not choose the harsh regime of Evergetinos, but a milder one, that of the Monastery of Panaghia in Constantinople. The Typikon was drafted in Greek, Georgian, and Armenian.

Pakourianos mentions 50 monks living in the monastery, perhaps, even more, his relatives who became monks with priority, and then the Georgian monks. As for the liturgical duties, the Typikon stipulates several monks, priests, and deacons to celebrate every day, singing religious hymns. The religious service was celebrated with pomp. At the Dormition of the Mother of God, the women were allowed in the church monastery. Besides the staff in charge of the religious service, the monastery had two administrators, a person to receive the pilgrims, a hospital attendant, a treasurer, and a supervisor. There also was the baker, the person in charge of the lamps, the doorkeeper, and the cellar keeper. Pakourianos sustained the principles of coenobitic life, the common dinner including, with the same food for all monks, with no right to eat in the cells, store food, or have their own animals. The Typikon allowed the monks to keep in touch with their families, if needed. The monks were not allowed to receive guests in their cells. An aristocratic monk was allowed to have a servant and also be exempt from certain duties.²⁸ Pakourianos does condemn the admittance both of the eunuchs and of the young boys in the monastery. This fact was in accordance with an older tradition specified by Saint Theodore the Studite. Pakourianos did not want to tolerate the monks who imposed themselves strict diets beyond those practiced by the monastery in its entirety. The clothes had to be distributed to all monks from the monastery warehouse. Pakourianos approved an allowance paid to the

²⁸ “*Pakourianos: Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* in Bačkovo,” translated by Robert Jordan, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 2, pp. 507-63, here 507-18.

monks on Easter Sunday so that they could buy everything necessary from a market close to the monastery. This allowance was granted according to the category of each monk.

Pakourianos wanted his foundation independent from any authority and entrusted the metropolitan of Philippopolis with keeping this statute. He has forbidden his relatives to have any claim to the monastery. The superior of the monastery was allowed to choose his successor. However, the abbot could not regulate anything on his own. The most important monks appointed the superior if the previous one died without choosing his successor. They also had the power to remove a superior who was not worthy and who alienated the goods of the monastery. Everything established by the superior was law obeyed by the others. Those who infringed these commandments were expelled from the monastery.

He demands the financial administrators to be accountable to their superiors. A fund for unforeseen needs was also created. Any extra saving was to be invested in real estate purchases. Pakourianos speaks with pride of his donations of icons, holy relics, lamps, and church vestments, also providing their inventory. He has forbidden the sale or rental of real estate, but accepted the presents of the laic benefactors for daily or common commemorations if they did not harm the monastery. The monastery had to maintain a school where six boys were instructed by an old monk to become priests. The Monastery also offered food and money to the poor people who came to its gate. Fairness was demanded towards the peasants who worked in the land of the monastery. The founder asked for three icon lamps to burn at his grave for his remembrance. He received, just like his contemporaries, an imperial chrysobull that confirmed the independence of his monastery.

9 Conclusions

The majority of the monasteries founders were aristocrats or even emperors. At the same time, building monasteries they wanted to reach salvation and eternal life. This is why they took care that their foundations should resist by instituting certain rules and principles to be observed by monks as well as by the church or imperial authorities. Thus, the *tipikon* emerged, a true will drafted by the founder who wished his name and of his family to be remembered at the religious services for the remission of the sins. The monastic *tipikon* has become literature presenting certain requirements that the monks accepted in the monastery were called to accomplish. Some of the wills drafted by founders also mention the number of monks accepted, and an additional document presents the movable and immovable properties donated in order to ensure the necessary food and clothes. Certain monasteries adopted harsh living, especially those raised by monks, while those built by the Byzantine aristocracy accepted a milder life and even comfortable for the monks coming from the noble class. The *tipikon* imposes not only rules of asceticism and morals, but also a true liturgical rite based on the Orthodox cult. *Tipikon* has become compulsory literature for the monks of the monastery. They had to know and obey the decisions imposed by the founder. The *tipikon* literature represents an important source for knowing the Byzantine spirituality

All the founding documents of the monastery dating from the eleventh century are rich sources that present the spirituality of a century marked by great political and religious changes. It is the period when the books of the rite are gradually defined, just like the religious rituals. The development of the cult was due to the *Lavra* of Saint Sabbas situated near Jerusalem, as well as to the Monastery of Studios. The Studite synthesis was developed through many hymnographic works that created the *Octoechos* (eighth century), *Triodion* (tenth century), and *Menaia* (eleventh century). In order to clarify the cult, which had become more and more complex, the liturgical *Typika* were issued (eleventh-

twelfth centuries). In the fourteenth century, the neo-Sabbaitic Typikon and ritual became the standard Byzantine ritual in the Orthodox Church, disseminated through Mount Athos and Hesychasm.²⁹

²⁹ Ioan I. Ică jr., *Canonul Ortodoxiei. I. Canonul apostolic al primelor secole* (Sibiu: Deisis, 2008), p. 299.