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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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27. *Kecharitomene: Typikon* of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* in Constantinople

Date: 1110–16¹

Translator: Robert Jordan

Edition employed: Paul Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè,” *REB* 43 (1985), 5–165, at 19–155.

Manuscript: Parisinus graecus 384 (autograph)²

Other translations: French, by Paul Gautier, *REB* 43 (1985), 18–148; Latin, by B. Montfaucon, *Anecdota graeca* (Paris, 1688), pp. 129–298, reprinted in *PG* 127, cols. 985–1128.

Institutional History

A. Foundation under Irene Doukaina Komnene

The convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, “Full of Grace,” was founded joined with a male monastery dedicated to Christ *Philanthropos* by the Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene,³ wife of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), probably in the early years of the twelfth century. The first reference to either foundation is in a colophon of a manuscript in the Esphigmenou monastery on Mount Athos, which mentions a certain Sophronios as superior of the *Philanthropos* monastery in 1107.⁴ The convent was built adjacent to the monastery; both were located towards the north-western corner of Constantinople in the Deuteron neighborhood,⁵ not far from the future site of the *Pantokrator* monastery which was to be founded a generation later by the founder’s son Emperor John II Komnenos (1118–43).

B. Subsequent History

According to the *typikon*, Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) donated [70] a patriarchal convent to *Kecharitomene* that was intended to serve as the convent’s mortuary chapel. The *typikon* itself seems on internal evidence to date from 1110–16. It is clear that Irene’s husband the Emperor Alexios was still alive at the time that it was written. After his death in 1118, it is generally assumed that Irene retired to *Kecharitomene* where she died on February 19, probably in the year 1123, though 1133 has also been proposed.⁶ Her daughter, the famous historian Anna Komnene,⁷ also retired here after the death of her own husband Nikephoros Bryennios ca. 1136–37. After 1148 Anna wrote her history, the *Alexiad*, at the convent. She apparently died here ca. 1153/54, becoming a nun only on her deathbed.

Little else is known of the convent subsequently, but either its *typikon* or, more likely, the lost *typikon* of its companion foundation *Philanthropos* was a source for (32) *Mamas* in 1158, which itself was the model for (33) *Heliou Bomon* in 1161/62. Then, much later, in the first half of

the fourteenth century, the surviving fragments of (47) *Philanthropos*, written for a Constantinopolitan convent, appear to use (27) *Kecharitomene* or some other text related to or derived from it. (39) *Lips*, an earlier document, also suggests some acquaintance with (27) *Kecharitomene*. The convent was still in existence in Palaiologan times, for both Stephen of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1348 or 1349, and the Russian deacon Zosima, who visited in 1419–22, mention it in connection with the relics of St. John Damascene, which are independently reported to have been present in an unnamed Constantinopolitan convent after 1261.⁸ No remains of the convent have been identified in modern Istanbul.

Analysis

That the Empress Irene should have been the author of this document, a *typikon* heavily influenced by the monastic reform movement, is certainly a testimony to the extent of the ideological victory that the reformers had achieved by the close of the eleventh century, for her husband Emperor Alexios Komnenos had once been in the forefront of their opponents. This is not to say that the empress betrays no traces here of behavioral patterns of more traditional patronage. She insists [4] on preferential admissions and special treatment for her relatives and other nobly-born ladies seeking admission to the convent, and, in an initiative that would have met with the disapproval of reformers of the eleventh century (though not some later ones), she imposes [3] a lay protectress on the foundation despite its independent and self-governing status. Yet in other important ways, particularly in the elaborate precautions taken against financial misconduct by the foundation's officials, the empress' *typikon* shows an actual intensification of concerns advanced by reformers like Leo of Chalcedon and John of Antioch in the early years of her reign.

A. Utility for History of the Reform Movement

Through careful examination of its relationships to other documents, (27) *Kecharitomene* yields important information on the history of the second generation of the reform movement that was active after the compilation of (22) *Evergetis*.

1. Analytic Groups of (27) *Kecharitomene*'s Chapters⁹

This document is itself an indubitable part of the Evergetian reform tradition, not just ideologically, but textually, for, like the contemporary (30) *Phoberos* (an independent but even closer copy), (27) *Kecharitomene* is heavily influenced by the content and also the wording of (22) *Evergetis*.¹⁰ Even so, thirty-nine of this document's eighty chapters are entirely new (Group A).¹¹ Of these, twenty-six treat material for which there are no equivalent chapters in (22) *Evergetis* (Subgroup A.1).¹² Another thirteen chapters have equivalent, but different chapters in (22) *Evergetis* (Subgroup A.2).¹³ These last treat subjects of common interest to the authors of these two documents, but without any textual linkage. There are, however, twenty-eight chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* in which there is textual linkage with (22) *Evergetis*. Of these, twenty-one are also linked textually to a later document, (32) *Mamas* (Group B),¹⁴ while seven are not (Group C).¹⁵ Finally, there is a group of thirteen chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* that are textually linked to the later (32) *Mamas* but not the earlier (22) *Evergetis* (Group D).¹⁶

2. Significance of the Analytic Chapter Groups

The original chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* (Group A) are of prime importance for determining the new concerns of the reform movement in the first decade of the twelfth century, that is, those of the generation of reformers active after the composition of (22) *Evergetis*. This is true in those cases (Subgroup A.1) in which there are no equivalent chapters in (22) *Evergetis* (see esp. [31]), but even more so in those (Subgroup A.2) that represent a rejection of the Evergetian textual tradition, though perhaps not of the overall philosophical approach of (22) *Evergetis*. Among the chapters in this last subgroup, the description of the duties of the steward [14] is notable as an example of the elaborate precautions prescribed here and elsewhere in the document against financial misconduct.¹⁷

Even those chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* textually dependent on (22) *Evergetis*, whether shared later with (32) *Mamas* (Group B) or not (Group C), demonstrate the Evergetian *typikon*'s continued relevance for contemporaries in the early twelfth century. These chapters can also provide useful information on contemporary developments of Evergetian institutions whenever they have been substantially rewritten with additional provisions, as [10], [25] were, for example, reflecting heightened concerns about preventing financial or administrative abuses. Considered separately, the chapters in Group B are valuable for identifying certain durable textual elements of the Evergetian reform tradition that survived all the way through the composition of (32) *Mamas* in 1158, while those in Group C are useful for identifying elements that did not, but were primarily matters of concern for the second generation of monastic reformers contemporary with the issuance of (27) *Kecharitomene* in the early years of the twelfth century.

The twelve chapters of Group D, that are shared with (32) *Mamas* but are not in (22) *Evergetis*, are useful for examining durable, long-term reform concerns that were articulated only after that document's authorship. These chapters represent the original contributions of the second generation of the reform movement. Among them, a twice-repeated injunction [2], [55] to maintain the cenobitic lifestyle at all costs and a series of careful descriptions of the duties of various officials [19], [20], [23], [24], [29], are prominent.

It should also be noted here that the empress' signature at the end of [78] indicates that the last two chapters [79] and [80] must be the result of a later addition, circa 1120–30, whose provisions on the whole weaken the reform credentials of the document.¹⁸

B. Model Typikon

This document's analytic chapter groups indicate that it was ultimately based on (22) *Evergetis*, but neither directly nor exclusively. Of the considerable amount of "new" material found in (27) *Kecharitomene*'s Group A, some but hardly all of it can be considered the original work of the author or her editor, and, moreover, there is other material in Group D that is clearly non-Evergetian. Therefore, it appears that (27) *Kecharitomene* reflects such Evergetian institutions and customs as it does through the mediation of another document, now lost, which must have adapted and rewritten the Evergetian *typikon* to reflect the concerns of a newly emerging generation of reformers, battle-hardened, as it were, in the successful campaigns against government requisitions of ecclesiastical property and, above all, the *charistike*.

One possibility is that this lost *Typikon* was that of the monastery of *Philanthropos*, the other half of the double monastery jointly founded by the empress with *Kecharitomene* (see [69], [77] below), but since this document likely was authored (at least nominally) by her too, the same reservations about the author's capacity for such a complete reworking of the Evergetian legacy in (27) *Kecharitomene* also apply to *Philanthropos*. Moreover, since *Philanthropos* and *Kecharitomene* were joint foundations, it is unlikely that the lost *typikon* of the former institution was, *mutatis mutandis*, substantially different from that of the latter on areas of common concern.

The *Philanthropos typikon* probably was the intermediary through which Evergetian content shared by (27) *Kecharitomene* and (32) *Mamas* was transmitted from (22) *Evergetis* to (32) *Mamas* and through it to (33) *Heliou Bomon*. The author of (32) *Mamas* had once been an official at *Philanthropos*, and so he must have used its *typikon* as a model after his recruitment as *Mamas'* superior rather than resorting to (27) *Kecharitomene*, which had been written for a nunnery.

Therefore, it seems most satisfactory to postulate an earlier document, utilized by the empress for the *typika* of both *Philanthropos* and *Kecharitomene*, that would have served the function of digesting and updating (22) *Evergetis* for the concerns of a new generation, its existence betrayed by the chapters in (27) *Kecharitomene* Group D. In the accompanying Chart One, this is identified as the "Lost *Typikon*."

C. *Lives of the Nuns*

1. Number of Nuns

The empress sets [5] the number of nuns at twenty-four, aside from the superior, two girls being reared in the convent, and six assistants. The latter might have been intended [4] for the personal service of high-born nuns from the imperial family. The empress was willing to see the limit set increase to thirty or even forty nuns if the convent should gain the additional endowment needed to support them.

2. Liturgical Duties

The empress endorses the continual performance of the canonical hours popularized by *Evergetis* and other reform monasteries. The regulatory chapters [32], [35]–[39] appear to utilize some of the language and procedures of (22) *Evergetis* [4], [6], but may in fact be drawn from a different but related source. Like her son the future Emperor John II Komnenos in (28) *Pantokrator*, the empress was very interested in prescribing lighting arrangements for various feasts [59]–[63], [72] in the church as well as for ordinary occasions [66]–[68]. On Holy Thursday, the superior was to re-enact [72] Christ's washing of the feet of his disciples in the narthex of the church. Only the nuns and the resident priest were to serve as singers in the church [75]; professional singers—mentioned for the first time in these documents—were not allowed to enter the convent.

3. Manual Labor

Manual labor also played an important part in the lives of the nuns. How this was coordinated with their liturgical responsibilities is not addressed directly. Work organizers were charged [27] with securing the necessary raw materials from the storehouse, distributing them to the nuns, and collecting the finished articles of clothing. The nuns worked [6] in part of their dormitory to the accompaniment of scriptural readings chosen by the superior. Work of any kind was not to take place [75] in the church, especially not during services.

4. Length of the Novitiate

As the text's editor Paul Gautier observed,¹⁹ the convent's nuns were divided [30], cf. [70] into two categories, those who received the so-called "small" habit after a novitiate of six months, and those who aspired to the "great" or "angelic" habit after serving a much longer probation, usually three years. Pious women already "practicing the monastic life in secular clothing" had only to serve six months. "Familiar and important personages," no doubt the nobly born, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37], could be tonsured whenever the superior decided was fit. The empress was glad to welcome [54] women who had been tonsured at other monasteries; this should be compared to the more guarded attitude of (22) *Evergetis* [37] and the outright hostility of (30) *Phoberos* [52].

5. Sacramental Life

The empress' *typikon* makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [5] in its own regulation [33] of the reception of the Eucharist, but does not, like its model, suggest a frequency for receiving the sacrament. She hoped to recruit [15] two eunuchs who were also ordained monks and who knew "how to read scripture well" to provide the sacraments for the nuns.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

In keeping with the reform movement's preference for cenobitic monasticism, the empress stresses in several places [2], [3], [51], [55] the utmost importance she placed on the preservation of the cenobitic lifestyle among her nuns. Moreover, the empress chose to give [56] her endorsement to the Evergetian version of cenobitic life by quoting from (22) *Evergetis* [26]'s provision for all the monks to share the same food, drink and clothing. The nuns were to embrace [50] a life of absolute poverty without personal possessions. The vice of secret eating, condemned by (22) *Evergetis* [22], receives [49] a special treatment here. Even a personal fast that a nun might choose to impose upon herself was not considered [51] to be an excuse for avoiding the communal table. Only the sick were excused [44].

The diet itself was regulated for ordinary days [46], for the Lenten fast [47], and for the other fasts of the year [48]. Dietary regulations during fasts generally followed the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10], with small ameliorations. A new feature is the empress' provision [45] of a second sitting at dinner for the servers.

Communalism was also the rule for sleeping arrangements and wardrobe. All the nuns were to sleep together [6] in a large dormitory room, visible to one another. Certain nuns were charged [28] with issuing garments, bedding materials, and supplies for the bath on the orders of the superior.

Despite her proclamations of allegiance to the principles of communal life, the empress was willing to bend [4] the rules for members of the imperial family. A princess who was unable to submit to the rigors of the cenobitic regime had the option of living in her own cell behind the apse of the refectory with the assistance of two servants maintained by the convent, but following the diet and liturgical regime of the rest of the nuns in so far as she was able.

7. Care of the Sick and Bathing

A cell was to be set aside [57] for care of sick nuns by a doctor who should be a eunuch or an old man. A sick nun would also be served [44] her meals here, and could bathe [58] as often as the doctor ordered. Healthy nuns were allowed to bathe once a month, in keeping with a more indulgent attitude common later in the twelfth century (cf. (32) *Mamas* [28]) that contrasts with stricter

provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [28], not to mention *Kecharitomene*' contemporary (30) *Phoberos* [46] which was unwilling to allow bathing to the healthy at all.

8. Relations with Family

Distinguished and noble women were allowed [17] to visit the convent once or twice a year; overnight visitors were lodged in the *archontarikion* near the gate. The nuns' own female relatives could make daytime visits with the same frequency; a nun's mother could stay overnight if her daughter were sick. Visits from male relatives were not allowed, except—under close supervision—for veneration [80] of the *Kecharitomene* icon, especially on the patronal feast. A nun could leave to visit [17] only a dying parent, and then only if chaperoned by two old nuns.

9. Burial

The empress provides [70] for the burial of the nuns in her foundation, the first time this subject is addressed in the Byzantine monastic foundation documents (other than for founders themselves). Since there was no room for burial within the convent itself, the empress got Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos to award her the patriarchal convent of *Ta Kellariais* to serve as a funerary chapel for *Kecharitomene*.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The empress desired [1] that her convent be “administered and managed in whatever manner I myself wish while I am preserved in this life,” that is to say, that she should be entitled to govern it as a traditional private religious foundation, but after her death *Kecharitomene* was to be an independent and self-governing institution. Though she was not willing, as the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [3] had been, to declare her convent to be constitutionally independent from its foundation, she provided for this independence sooner than the authors of either (10) *Eleousa* [18] or (19) *Attaleiates* [14]. In language that draws in part on (22) *Evergetis* [12], the empress exempts [1] her foundation from participation in the *charistike*, *epidosis*, *ephoreia*, or any other program for external administration or subordination to another ecclesiastical institution or governmental office.

2. Office and Responsibilities of the Protectress

Like her contemporary, the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [B5], the empress thought it essential to provide [3] a powerful protector for her foundation. As she puts it with unvarnished bluntness, it was important to see to it that the convent was “well supplied with people who would protect it so that plundering by those who rob other people's property should not take place.” For this purpose, she turned to the *ephoreia*, one of the traditional means of providing protection to ecclesiastical institutions (see above, Chapter Three). This was not to be an external protectorate conceded to a governmental office (which was prohibited in [1]), but as in (19) *Attaleiates* [10], would be based on hereditary transmission within the founder's family line, a kind of private ephorate, as it were.

For the holder of this office she chose the title of protectress (*antilambanomene*). The first incumbent was intended to be her daughter, the nun Eudokia, who was to reside in the convent. Like the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [B2], the empress intended to draw up a separate testament

[3] formally creating the *ephoreia*, but when Eudokia predeceased her, she apparently chose instead to add a chapter [80] to the *typikon* designating another daughter, Anna, as the first protectress. Thereafter, the empress intended for the *ephoreia* to be held by her direct female descendants, then her female in-laws, and finally other suitable female relatives in perpetuity.

The empress specifically denies [3] the protectress control over the convent's property; moreover, the protectress could not change the *typikon*, arbitrarily remove the superior, enroll or expel nuns, require financial accounts, or appropriate any assets. If the protectress was not a nun in residence, she was not even to enter [80] the convent except during the liturgy and for meetings on building maintenance (for this see also [74]). The empress' allotment of rights to the protectress was meager, including use [76] of certain well-appointed quarters adjacent to the convent, burial in the exonarthex [76], cf. [70] (but only if she became a nun), and liturgical commemoration [3]. Perhaps more significant is her substitution of the protectress for the preeminent monks [13] in a passage borrowed from (22) *Evergetis* [14] as the agent for the removal of an unfit or corrupt superior.

3. Role of the Superior

Although the empress is somewhat circumspect about stating it [1], the superior was to have the key role in governing the foundation. This is in accord with what reform opinion thought proper. The superior was to choose [25] all of the other officials of the convent, including the steward [14], and allow them to hold office "for a very long time" if she so chose. She also might play [11] an important, though not decisive, role in choosing her own successor.

4. Election of the Superior

The superior and "all the community" (not just the preeminent monks as elsewhere) were to select [11] three nuns distinguished by their piety and intelligence; after her death, the priest, in the presence of the protectress, was to pick at random from among the three names written on sealed slips of paper and left on the altar. The protectress was to play a more important though still not a decisive role in the election of a successor if the superior died suddenly. In that event, she would guide the community to make a choice of three candidates, even supplying a suitable outside candidate if necessary, but the final choice would still be made by lot.

5. The Convent's Other Officials

One of the distinguishing features of this *typikon* is its detailed description of the officers of the convent and their responsibilities. Some of these were evidently taken from a now lost source also used by (32) *Mamas*, specifically the chapters on the duties of the sacristan [19], the ecclesiarchissa and her assistant [20], the provisioner [23], the two treasurers [24], and the gatekeeper [29]; others may be original to this document, namely those on the steward [14], food buyer [21], the wine-pourer [22], the work organizers [27], and the storeroom treasurers [28]. The chapters on the refectorian [25] and the disciplinary official [26] were inspired by (22) *Evergetis* [31].

6. Patronal Privileges

The empress claims for herself some of the most important privileges of traditional Byzantine patrons. She reserves to herself the right to appoint both the superiors [11] and the stewards [14] during her own lifetime. She obliges [4] the convent to grant automatic admission to any of her

granddaughters who might wish to become nuns, and as noted above, she was willing to allow them to live in their own quarters, have a more substantial diet than the other nuns, and be attended to by servants. Even the scrupulous author of (23) *Pakourianos* [25], however, did not blush to require his foundation to provide preferential admission to his relatives. Among the more less controversial rights here are the empress' reservation [71] of memorial services for members of the imperial family and her provision [34] for liturgical offerings for both living and deceased relatives.

As noted above, the protectress' rights were more circumscribed; she was not to choose the superior and the latter was herself to choose the steward, although the protectress played a role [14] in the installation ceremony for the steward. Even the protectress' right to reside in quarters adjacent to the convent was structured in such a way as to prevent her presence and that of her family and retinue of male and female servants from disrupting the lives of the nuns. Yet the penultimate chapter in the *typikon* demonstrates [79] that the very close association of a privately founded religious institution like *Kecharitomene* with the private estate of the founder continued to be problematic even in this age of "independent" foundations.

In this case, as in that of (19) *Attaleiates* [5], [16], [17], the foundation and the founder's secular dwellings were not even physically separate from one another, but were linked here by a doorway [80] which the empress ordered to be kept locked. She bequeaths [79] use of her non-consecrated properties on the site to Anna, the intended protectress, and provides for continued rights of usage by her descendants for as long as the female line continues. Thereafter, the convent was to assume possession. In the meantime, the empress' relatives were free to erect new structures or make alterations on existing ones so long as these changes did not adversely affect the privacy of the convent.

7. Preservation of the *Typikon*

Since the *typikon* was to be the authoritative document governing the life of the community, the empress chose to stress its importance by providing [65] for its being read to the community (following (22) *Evergetis* [43]) "so that through continuous reading the instructions laid down might be especially permanent and indelible." Like the authors of (19) *Attaleiates* [40] and (23) *Pakourianos* [33], she also took precautions to assure the physical preservation of the *typikon*, providing [77] for three sets of the *typikon* and the inventory (preserved here as Appendix B) to be drawn up and placed in Hagia Sophia, in the sacristy of *Kecharitomene*, and in the possession of the protectress. The set of documents at *Kecharitomene*, drawn up on paper, were to be the ordinary working copies.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The chief financial officer, appointed [14] by the empress during her lifetime and by the superior thereafter, was to be the steward. He was to be a pious eunuch, supported by an assistant steward (*paroikonomos*) chosen [15] from among the two eunuchs who served as the foundation's ordained monks. In the usual course of events, the assistant would succeed the steward in his post. A lengthy new chapter in the *typikon* provides [14] a detailed list of the steward's responsibilities; he

was to receive a copy of this chapter as a reminder of them. These included the maintenance and repair of the foundation's buildings, the management of the revenues in cash and in kind produced from the landed estates and other properties which supported the convent, and striving to make the management of these properties "more profitable." If the steward was found to be in default of his responsibilities, the superior could remove him [14] in consultation with the protectress of the convent.

There were also the two treasurers [24] who, unlike the steward and his assistant, were to be selected by the superior from among the nuns in the convent. One was to control the cash box (*kibotion*) and the other the storeroom. The precise procedures set down for regulating disbursement of funds, under which the superior and the treasurers were required to act in concert and keep detailed records, recall those of (23) *Pakourianos* [26] rather than the less detailed prescriptions of (22) *Evergetis* [20]. This *typikon*'s regulation of the treasurers and their responsibilities is non-Evergetian, but is similar to that found in (32) *Mamas* [10].

The superior, steward, sacristan and the two treasurers were jointly responsible [24] for the maintenance and security of a second cash box in which surplus money was to be stored; this recalls a prudent feature of financial administration found in (23) *Pakourianos* [26]. Evidently reform monasteries were now repudiating the old principle found in (4) *Studios* [21], which itself had Basilian roots, that monasteries should not store up surplus money but instead distribute it to the poor.

The landed estates supporting the convent required lay property administrators who would be chosen by the superior based on qualifications listed [31] in the *typikon*. These are different from those found in (22) *Evergetis* [34], which is not employed here as a model, and include the requirement that the administrators "not be selected for any family connection or affinity."

A key to assuring financial security was holding [14] the property administrators to accurate accounts. The steward was to bring these to the convent annually for examination by the superior, who would issue exonerations to the administrators like those received by the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [33] from various emperors for his own administrative assignments. On occasion the property administrators might need to consult [17] with the superior in person, though direct contact was discouraged.

2. Inalienability of Property

In a chapter that is considerably stronger than its counterpart in (22) *Evergetis* [19], the empress endorses [9] the by-now well accepted precept of the reform movement that the foundation's movable and immovable properties should be inalienable. Any violation, no matter by whom, is declared to be "sheer sacrilege," strong words, considering that her husband the Emperor Alexios Komnenos had done much to provoke the reform movement to the formulation of this position through his confiscations of ecclesiastical properties earlier in his reign. The empress here appeals to the patriarch "who by the laws and canons has responsibility for this," the protectress, the nuns, and any concerned outsider to seek redress for any alienations that might occur in the future.

Like (22) *Evergetis* [19], however, the empress was willing [10] to permit emergency alienations of movable property should the convent or its possessions suffer great damage due to depredations of foreign invaders or from fire or earthquake. She defends her willingness to part with

movable but not immovable property on the grounds that “with the help of immovable property it is possible sometimes to acquire movable property, but the opposite is difficult.” Even so, the sale of movable property was to be to other ecclesiastical institutions, since “it is acknowledged by all” (though not, some decades before, her husband) “that what has once been consecrated ought not to be made public property.”

The alienation procedures themselves are similar but not identical to those in (22) *Evergetis* [19]. The sacristan and the priests of the convent are added to the list of officials who need to be present. As in *Evergetis*, a detailed list (*praktikon*) of valuation had to be drawn up to record the transaction; here, the protectress also needed to be informed.

3. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

The empress follows the example and adopts part of the language of (22) *Evergetis* [37] in forswearing [7] mandatory entrance gifts such as the renunciation (*apotage*), the customary gift (*synetheia*), and the refectorial (*trapeziatikon*). As at *Evergetis*, however, voluntary gifts, be they of movable or immovable property, were welcomed, though they could not be reclaimed if the donor later chose to leave the convent, for this would be sacrilege.

4. Other Sources of Outside Support

Reform founders understood that outside donations frequently came with undesirable strings attached that might serve to compromise a foundation’s independence. The empress welcomes [8] donations of movable and immovable property by lay people, but restricts their use to increasing the number of nuns who could be supported, supplementing the institution’s charitable distributions to the poor, and meeting the expenses of feasts and commemorations. Donations for such memorial services are noted in [71]. Donations were not to be used to increase the diet of the nuns (as was done even in the appendix to (22) *Evergetis*) or to institute other changes. Donors were not “to make any new rules on the pretext of their offerings or issue instructions opposed to our commands.” This was not a groundless fear, as (46) *Akropolites* [7], [8] illustrates.

The empress’ rejection [53] of external (i.e., non-resident) nuns (*exomonitides*) and imposed guests (*katapemptai*)—even notables and the very wealthy—followed reform opinion in rejecting these basic threats to the cenobitic order. The empress was unwilling to contemplate [76] an exception being made even to rules less crucial to the maintenance of cenobiticism, such as her prescription that lay people not be buried in the nuns’ mortuary church, even if “a large, expensive, and useful offering” to the convent needed to be turned down to preserve the principle.

5. Provisions against Financial Misconduct

In addition to the procedural precautions described above, the empress provided [13] for the removal of a superior guilty of doing favors for her relatives or stealing possessions of the convent. These grounds for removal are derived from (22) *Evergetis* [14]. The empress also turned to the Evergetian tradition in incorporating [14] the use of patronal icons in the investiture ceremony for the steward, thereby, like (22) *Evergetis* [29], seeking to enlist fear of heavenly powers as an inducement to officials to carry out their responsibilities honestly. The drawing up of a detailed inventory, preserved here as Appendix B along with a list of the convent’s incomes, Appendix A, is another feature of this *typikon* influenced by the reform movement that was intended to assist in the prevention of financial misconduct.

6. Building Maintenance and Repair

Since the desperate need of many older private religious foundations for rebuilding and repairs had been one of the original justifications for the now discredited program of the *charistike*, it is not at all surprising that reform founders would eventually see the importance of providing for building maintenance and repairs on their own. Among the authors of our documents, the empress was the first to do so, [73] giving the superior the responsibility for preservation, repair, improvement, and adornment as well as for the retiling of the roofs. She herself claims credit for structural additions to the church and the construction of the convent.

F. General Philosophy

Given the author's own exalted status in Byzantine society, it is perhaps surprising that her *typikon* shares much of the hostility to privilege found in (22) *Evergetis*.²⁰ She adopts the language of (22) *Evergetis* [17] in warning [12] that no one should usurp the superiorship or, she adds, "any other office," on grounds of seniority, professional background, noble birth or donations made previously to the convent. As we have seen, nuns were not welcome [53] even if they were from an exalted background and offered generous donations or subventions in exchange for being accepted. Nuns tonsured outside of *Kecharitomene* were welcomed [54], especially if they were not being imposed by imperial or patriarchal authority (that is, if they were not *katapemptai*, cf. [53]).

The empress also adopts [42] the condemnation found in (22) *Evergetis* [9] of those who quarreled about precedence in seating in the refectory, though in a much abbreviated form without the violent language. To be sure, the empress also insists [4] on preferential admissions and special treatment for nobly born ladies who wished to be nuns. However, even such a nun installed in private quarters in the convent was not to use them for meeting with the other nuns and causing division in the community (that is, as a place in which to set herself up as an independent locus of authority in opposition to the superior) on pain of expulsion by the protectress.

G. External Relations

1. Institutional Philanthropy

Like other institutions influenced by the monastic reform, *Kecharitomene* featured a role for institutional philanthropy. Because this was a nunnery in an urban setting, this role was kept small to avoid exposing the nuns to scandal. There was a daily distribution of bread [64] at the gate and a distribution of money and bread [59] on the patronal feast. Smaller donations took place [61], [63] on other feasts of the church year.

2. Fairness to the Peasantry

Similarly, *Kecharitomene* reflects in a diluted form the typical reform concern with the welfare of the dependent peasantry, listing [31] bringing "relief to the people in the properties" as one of the desired qualifications for the selection of the convent's property administrators.

Notes on the Introduction

1. So Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 149, but see also Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” p. 13, who proposed a date ca. 1110.
2. Described in Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” pp. 9–12; supplemented by Sainte-Croix 57 (12th–13th c.) from the lavra of St. Sabas for Appendix B, for which see Gautier, pp. 16–17.
3. For Irene, see Brand and Cutler, “Irene Doukaina,” p. 1009; Diehl, *Figures*, pp. 53–58; Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” pp. 6–9; Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 70–74; and Skoulatos, *Personnages*, pp. 119–24.
4. Sp. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1895), p. 176; for the *Philanthropos* monastery, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 525–27, “Christ Philanthrope,” and Sidéridès, “Philanthropou.”
5. For the location, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 298, and plate II, no. 31.
6. See Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 71, with n. 17; cf. Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” pp. 8–9.
7. For Anna Komnene, see Alexander Kazhdan, “Komnene, Anna,” *ODB*, p. 1142, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 176–97.
8. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 298; with Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1835), vol. 2, pp. 40–41.
9. For an illustration of the analytic groups proposed below, see Chart One: Analytic Chapter Groups of (27) *Kecharitomene*.
10. See Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” pp. 14–16.
11. Group A: Chapters (39) new to (27) *Kecharitomene*: [4], [5], [6], [8], [9], [14], [15], [16], [17], [21], [22], [26], [27], [28], [31], [34], [44], [51], [52], [54], [58], [59], [60], [61], [62], [63], [66], [67], [68], [69], [71], [72], [73], [74], [75], [76], [77], [79], [80].
12. Subgroup A.1: New chapters (26) with no equivalent in (22) *Evergetis*: [4], [6], [8], [15], [21], [22], [27], [34], [51], [60], [61], [62], [63], [66], [67], [68], [69], [71], [72], [73], [74], [75], [76], [77], [79], [80].
13. Subgroup A.2: New chapters (13) with equivalent (but different) chapters in (22) *Evergetis*: [5] = (22) *Evergetis* [23]; [9] = (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [14] = (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [16] = (22) *Evergetis* [15]; [17] = (22) *Evergetis* [39]; [26] = (22) *Evergetis* [31]; [28] = (22) *Evergetis* [30]; [31] = (22) *Evergetis* [34]; [44] = (22) *Evergetis* [30]; [52] = (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [54] = (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [58] = (22) *Evergetis* [28]; [59] = (22) *Evergetis* [11].
14. Group B: Chapters (21) with textual links to both (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas*: [1], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (32) *Mamas* [4]; [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [5]; [11], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [1]; [12], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [16], [17] and (32) *Mamas* [45]; [13], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; [18], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29] and (32) *Mamas* [6]; [25], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [31], [33] and (32) *Mamas* [23]; [30], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; [32], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47], [31]; [35], [37], [38], and [39], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [40] and [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; [47] and [48], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; [56], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [57], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [41] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [70], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; [78], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43] and (32) *Mamas* [46].
15. Group C: Chapters (7) with textual links to (22) *Evergetis* but not (32) *Mamas*: [10], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [33], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5]; [36], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6]; [41] and [43], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [64], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [65], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [43].
16. Group D: Chapters (13) with textual links to (32) *Mamas* but not (22) *Evergetis*: [2] = (32) *Mamas* [5]; [3], cf. (32) *Mamas* [3]; [19] = (32) *Mamas* [9]; [20] = (32) *Mamas* [8]; [23], cf. (32) *Mamas* [11]; [24], cf. (32) *Mamas* [10]; [29] = (32) *Mamas* [12]; [45], cf. (32) *Mamas* [17]; [46], cf. (32) *Mamas* [17]; [49], cf. (32) *Mamas* [20]; [50] = part of (32) *Mamas* [20]; [53], cf. (32) *Mamas* [26]; [55] = (32) *Mamas* [25].
17. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [10], [24], [25], and [31].

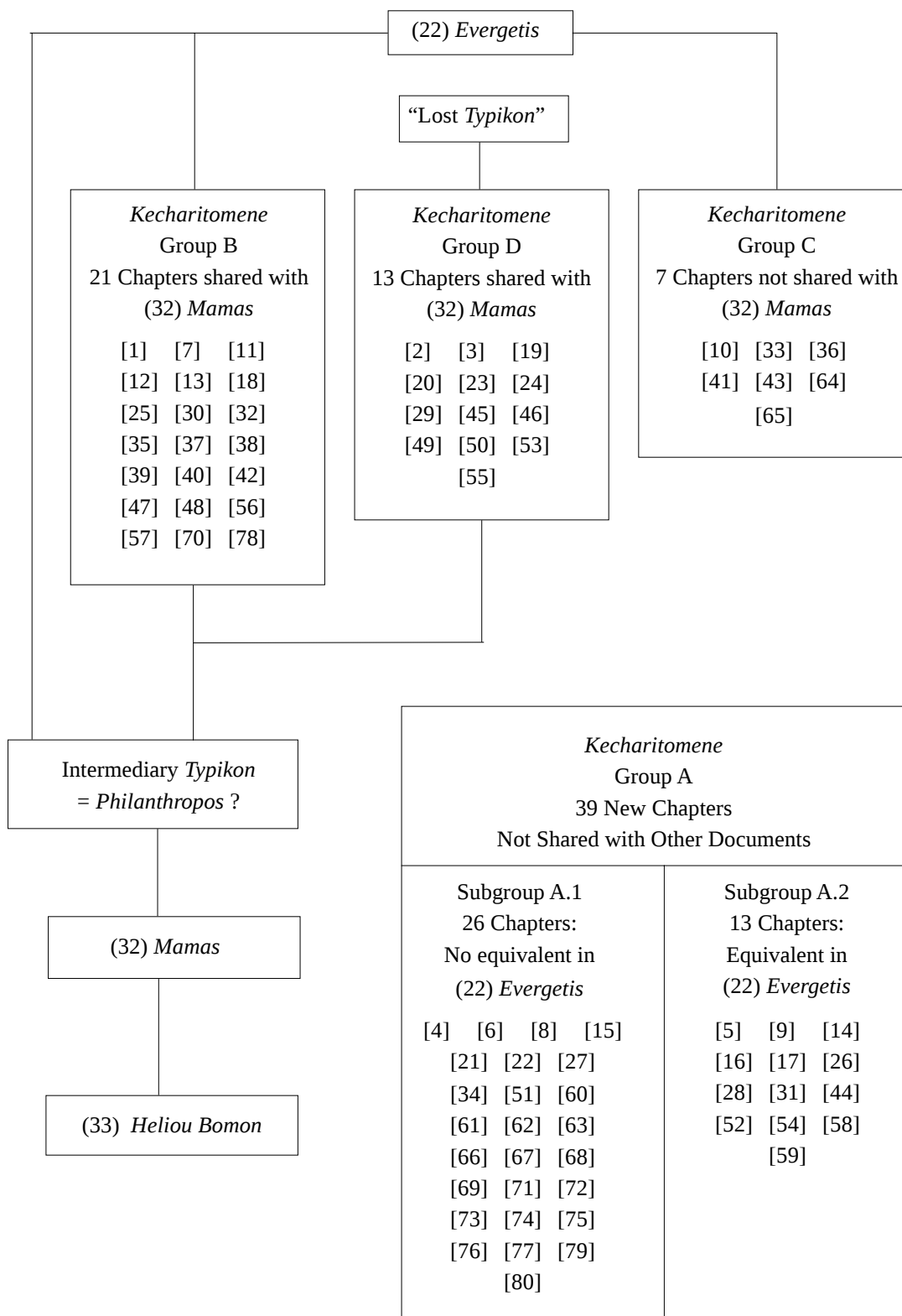
18. Gautier, "Kécharitôménè," p. 14.
19. Gautier, "Kécharitôménè," p. 76, n. 9.
20. For a different assessment, see Galatariotou, "Women's Communities," pp. 271–76, 289–90.

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(27) *Kecharitomene* is the first of six *typika* written for Byzantine convents that have survived. The later examples of *typika* for womens' monasteries are (39) *Lips*, (40) *Anargyroi*, (47) *Philanthropos*, (54) *Neilos Damilas*, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis*. The works cited in the General Bibliography, XXI. Women in Byzantine Monasticism, are part of the impressive scholarship that has been done in recent years on this subject.

Chart One: Analytic Chapter Groups of (27) *Kecharitomene*



TWELFTH CENTURY

As noted above, this document shares substantial portions of the text of (22) *Evergetis*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

Rule of the revered convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* newly built from its foundations and established by the most devout Augusta, Lady Irene Doukaina, in accordance with her command and intention explained and set out [here].

[Prologue]

O Mother of God [who gave birth to] the Living Word without birth pangs, and after his birth [became] again an all-holy and precious vessel of virginity, your Son and God was the source and provider of many great good things for us, truly our Savior Jesus and “God with us” (Is. 7:14), which is the great and revered meaning of the name Emmanuel, according to the holy Isaiah, who created what exists from what did not and bestowed on us well-being by all his gifts, who honored us with reason and gave us intelligence and perception as standards to judge reality, and by these [faculties] distinguished us from the animals on the earth and set up man to rule over them, while he is being ruled from above. “What shall I render to the Lord for all the things wherein he has rewarded me?” (Ps. 115:12). He has brought to his handiwork a providential care, never up to now halting the rich springs of his goodness towards us, ever since he set the heavens in a circle, divided up time, poured out the air and spread the earth underneath, and appointed man as overseer of the visible world.

So these [acts] are indeed great and worthy of the power which has created and preserves them, as great David says, “Who will ever seek out his mercy and truth?” (Ps. 60 [61]:8). But what a good gift the bountiful visitation of the Holy Spirit gave us in you and the power of the Most High overshadowed you (cf. Luke 1:35) and rendered you a spiritual and living temple to him. Without defilement or change, out of your all-holy virgin blood there came into existence and became subject to time and was born without a father he who was born from his Father without a mother before eternity. But what a good gift he gave us in you, as I said before, he who is the giver of the other good things to us, when he raised you up as a ladder and spread you out as a bridge leading or conducting mankind to heaven. Even if the whole of heaven had happened to become one voice, I do not think it would have worthily declared or praised the greatness of this gift [p. 21] which was worthy of God. “For who can utter the mighty doings of the Lord or who will show forth all his praises?” (Ps. 105 [106]:2). Or what tongue, O Mother of God’s Word full of grace, will relate the miracles that have come about at different times through you, by which the divine “foundation of faith in God remains unshaken” (Col. 2:5) and the “strongholds of impiety are destroyed” (Prov. 21:22) and Christ’s sacred religion is firmly established on the “foundation of the apostles” (Eph. 2:20)? Who could speak of the greatness of your miracles? Who will relate the wonders that occurred at different times? Who will confess your mighty works or praise your miraculous signs, by which you strengthen the Empire and destroy tyrannies, and cause the most Christian nation to dwell in the hope of future well-being?

What word would come to me, O divine mother of all things supernatural, either as I related simply or tried to praise the magnificence of your wonderful deeds on my behalf from my earliest years to this point in my life, and tried to describe the flood of your goodness towards me ever since my birth? For with regard to my birth—O ornament of our race with most saving power and, as is fitting, the much talked-of cause of rejoicing for the assemblies in heaven at the heavenly festivals—by the favor of God and your care and help my life had its beginning in a pious family¹ and one naturally suited to virtue; and with regard to my upbringing and education my instruction was under the finest principles and habits (let envy and the unpleasantness of boasting be kept away) which did not induce laxity or perversity. This was totally the gift of God and of you his mother. With regard to my true arrival at adulthood, whom of all men or women did you guide in every way thus as you did me, your servant, with the greatest ease, you who “are clothed” in spiritual and truly unfading “fringed garments” (Ps. 44 [45]:14), an adorned queen standing at the right hand of the Pantokrator? For when you had surrounded or flooded my life on all sides with human prosperity and placed nothing of earthly human abundance far from my surroundings, you led me even further, for reasons you know, to the summit of human good fortune—the position of empress.²

Furthermore you have granted [me] much fruitfulness in the Purple, adding to my calling and relationship as a mother those of both a maternal and paternal grandmother.³ [p. 23] For these reasons you extended the period of imperial power as far as today in your glorious defenses of the emperor [Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118)] in terrible and dangerous crises, in his great triumphs bringing safety to the empire of the Romans achieved with you as his ally over barbarians, and in the recovery of our dearest ones from diseases or their deliverance “from the throat of a pouncing lion” (Ps. 21 [22]:21). May you “add days to the days” (Ps. 60 [61]:7) of the emperor and be his irresistible ally against barbarians, so that your inheritance, and the great city [of Constantinople] entrusted to you, be preserved as an ever-flourishing root and ever-flowing font of piety.

So in these matters leaving it to the tongues of angels, whatever the tongues of angels happen to be, to praise and worship your greatness and your undefiled purity which is above the highest and oldest thrones and the Cherubim, and to thank you in a spiritual way for your compassion and mercy towards us, all that I bring to you in return is most fervent love, you who with your First-Born and Only-Begotten maintain the most providential and saving love for humanity. And the great and fearful dignity of your motherhood of God is a subject of much joyful talk and very dear to my heart and an unceasing thought, and I think of your holy childbirth with the purest pleasure and delight. No other utterance or statement is so very pleasing to me as the wonders and mystical truths concerning you, and the ever-flowing stream of good things that come to us from God through you, the intercessor. For in these matters I know that there is nothing in us worthy of your holiness which is beyond word and thought, just as there is nothing worthy of the One who became poor to take from you our substance, we who possess nothing of ourselves but are entirely God’s. For when you gave birth to the Immaterial Word beyond words, you were then granted self-sufficiency and perfection, and material things are of no value [to you].

Since it is impossible for human beings who still live and move in this world to show the ardor of their faith in you in a human way by more divine and immaterial offerings, imitating and copying the condescension and humility of the Word, I myself have built for you, the mother of the Word, a holy temple from those who are around us and are of our kind for you, “the holy and

wonderful temple in righteousness” (Ps. 64 [65]:5), in the words of your forefather, the great David, and have “established” in it “solitary” singers of praise (Ps. 67 [68]:6) for you and the Divine Bliss from [the members] of the chaste female sex among us, dispensing to each of them from your great gifts to me the yearly and daily necessities in accordance with their physical needs. [p. 25] Furthermore I have set up the life of devotion for them cenobitic in everything, establishing and ensuring for this divine company an absence of distraction from all sides in the matter of their holy way of life. They in hope and with devout prayer are running the race ever since they made that noble vow “in the presence of God and his chosen angels” (I Tim. 5:21) concerning this holy convent, and not even in this have my hopes in you failed, virgin Mother of God, and choirs of angels whom the gospels declare to rejoice and exult greatly at a person’s salvation (cf. Luke 15:7) will always be offering thanks for this to you.

Thus then I built the holy convent for you who bore “the Great Shepherd of the sheep” (Heb. 13:20) in the abundance of my love for God, and brought a rational flock to you, the mother of the First and Only Shepherd according to the wise Solomon (cf. Eccl. 12:11). In what way would anyone rightly address you, the one favored by God (cf. Luke 1:28), the one beyond the visible and intelligible world, the one who passed beyond the bounds of nature, the mediatrix between God and men, (but why list the many things?) truly the Mother of God in virgin purity. Since you have gently tested the faith of my heart, receive my offering with favor and do not thrust away my oblation, nor “turn away your face from” your child (Ps. 26 [27]:9), but add a happy ending to an auspicious beginning, and you, wholly without blemish, spread your “wings,” as Moses says (Deut. 32:11), “silvered” with the gifts of the All-Holy Spirit (Ps. 67 [68]:15), and then protect this lovely convent from the lion who goes about seeking whom he may devour and prowls around its holy precincts in hunger and guile.

Preserve this flock which is dedicated to your majesty secure for ever, O virgin and mother, and fortify the sisterhood’s feminine nature in virtue, holding your all-powerful right hand over this good flock continuously, so that the old deceiver and serpent (cf. Rev. 12:9) might not find one Eve among them again nor whisper his deadly tricks in her ears as he leads her to “the snare of Hell” (Prov. 9:19), but that they all living together in the holy place under your most powerful protection, might buzz around this hive most diligently, to use another expression, cultivating the fruit of virtue which is sweeter than honey, “bowing down” without defilement to the Almighty “in the holy courtyard of God” (Ps. 95 [96]:9), “rendering a sacrifice of praise” (Ps. 115:7) to God “seven times a day, praising the judgments of divine righteousness” (Ps. 118 [119]:164), praising the Divine Bliss and your majesty for the decrees of the Deity beyond all being, “rising” with David “at midnight” (Ps. 118 [119]:62) and without [other] thoughts lifting [p. 27] holy hands during the night to the Holy of Holies (I Tim. 2:8; Ps. 133 [134]:2) in their churches blessing God the Lord who came forth from [the people of] Israel, casting off their dust and giving their minds wings, being slaves of the Lord, ardent in spirit, “considering how to stir up one another to love and good works” (Heb. 10:24) as the divine apostle says.

In this, O favored mother of the Word and queen of all, preserve this flock for me and keep it safe, so that then all their wickedness and ignorance may be driven out and through cleansing they may always walk towards purity and their supplications may reach and gain entrance “to the ears of the Lord Sabaoth” (James 5:4) and then he may send to us from there every thing that is for

the well-being of the priesthood, the empire, and the Christian community, so that as a result the one who rules the empire of Christ may also in sincere devotion rule his subjects and labor to bring about peace and stability in the world, preserving the whole nation in goodness and routing barbarians, both those seen and unseen, those who wait for his back to be turned and those who try to strike him from in front, both those from beyond our boundaries and those of our own race or vipers in his bosom, something to be deprecated and repudiated. [Preserve] this your emperor and his descendants, since he is in other respects and in the matter of this my offering a like-minded helper and loyal fellow-servant. This fine company of my flock, praying to be kept safe for a very long time in a community living according to Christ, always needs your assistance and mighty aid, as is reasonable, in this very great request that brings salvation to the world, for if this is missing and divine help is not present, no good action is easy to accomplish for anyone at all.

These are our thank-offerings to you for the past, Mother of God and mistress of all creation, and our supplications for the future. In this turbulent and very stormy life may we lodge under your wings, since the person who is not protected underneath them but lives in the midst of the world or at the center of worldly affairs finds it difficult, or even completely impossible, not to be burnt as he walks on coals or not to be scratched on thorns or not to be cut on swords. Throughout this present variable life with its many movements at least may we have you, “the beauty of Jacob” (Ps. 46 [47]:4), as our champion unassailable in every way, since we have fixed all the anchors of our hopes on your goodness, and in our future life may we find you again a protector at the great and fearful judgment-seat of your Son and King, when [p. 29] those who act righteously will understand more purely and clearly the words of the great good news in lovely Nazareth about the incarnation in you of the Unutterable Word and the swaddling-clothes in the manger at holy Bethlehem (cf. Luke 2:10–12). So these are our thank-offerings and supplications to you, the very splendid and divine ark of the sanctuary; but what concerns your holy convent and the establishment of what we have prescribed for it is as follows.

1. Concerning the fact that the convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* should be independent and under its own control [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 539–41; 547–63]

I wish that the convent of my Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* set up by me be administered and managed in whatever manner I myself wish while I am preserved in this life through the grace and fervent intercession of the same Lady, and after my death (for being mortal I expect to die and know the common obligation of our nature) that it **should be independent and under its own control**, a stranger to all mastery and ownership, and that 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 what will be expressly laid down here by me. **It should neither be made subject to imperial or ecclesiastic or personal rights** at any time 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 orphanage or other bureau or any hospital but remain for ever only under the authority of the virgin Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, to whom it has in fact been dedicated and **it should be governed and administered by the superior** at the time in accordance with our present instructions. For my most powerful emperor, Lord Alexios Komnenos, whom I pray the Lord God grant to live a long life

and reach a grand old age, will have the same authority over the convent as I. But after my most powerful emperor has departed from this life, I do not wish the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* to be administered and managed by anyone at all, but remain for ever independent and under its own control as has been settled above in more detail, but it should be administered and directed under its own authority by the superior in it at the time in accordance with the command of this present rule.

But if anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over this our convent and set it under the power of someone else, whether he be an emperor, or a patriarch, or some other [p. 31] member of the clergy or of the senate, or the superior herself, or its steward, or simply one of its sisters at present 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 will also “be accursed,” as the holy apostle says (Gal. 1:8) and subject to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, because of the fact that out of a fervent heart and faith we established a convent from a very small part of the benefits conferred on us by the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* and we entrusted it to the authority and power of our Mother of God *Kecharitomene* herself, wishing it to be independent from simply everyone. This **that wretched person wretchedly planned with malicious and deceitful intent to place under the power of persons who are perhaps corrupt and wicked and who look to nothing else but pernicious gain.**

2. Concerning the necessity for those following the monastic way of life in the convent of the *Kecharitomene* to pursue the cenobitic way of life

It is right that something be said more clearly and briefly next concerning the way of life of the nuns and the whole organization of life in the convent. What will be prescribed on this matter will be compatible with what has been clearly stated and declared by the divine fathers with regard to those who have recently renounced the world. For they decided and laid it down that those who recently fled from the very stormy world and took refuge in the calm harbor of the 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 I wish, I very much wish, that the nuns in the convent of the virgin Mother of God *Kecharitomene* should live in a cenobitic order and way of life and that the rule of this constitution should always be in force in it, unchanged and unaltered and unshaken by every misfortune, perverted or changed in no way during the existence of this whole age, nor altered for any reason or pretext whatsoever, neither because of wealth or poverty, neither through scarcity or abundance, nor any other plausible reason or pretext whatsoever, but the cenobitic order and way of life should be completely preserved in every way unbroken for ever.

Even if the entire income of the convent should happen to be reduced to what would be enough for two nuns, we wish them to live in the cenobitic way and conform [p. 33] to the rule for this way of life. If any of the mothers superior wants the opposite to this, the nuns are to speak against it, and if the nuns want the opposite, the superior should resist; but if they all should agree

the protectress of the convent should defend what I have laid down. But if she is led astray by them, we grant permission to anyone who wishes to fight for a holy object, if this is not done by our relatives, and to go to court for goodness itself and the reward for this, to seek that what we have laid down should be effective and that those chiefly responsible for the dissolution of the cenobitic way of life be expelled from the convent and not consider this a small achievement but one that is very great and brings salvation.

3. Concerning those appointed to protect the convent and concerning their power and the fact that the things that I will prescribe about the convent in my will are of equal importance with this rule, which must be for ever unchanged and unaltered

Since it was necessary for my majesty to be concerned how the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, after the departure of both of us from this world, would be well supplied with people who would protect it so that plundering by those who rob other people's property should not take place, as would happen if it were not guarded with some protection and security, this I have done and with the finest management I wish my most beloved daughter, the nun Lady Eudokia⁴ Born-in-the-Purple, to look after it, support and defend it, and keep away by every means those who try to injure it, and whenever there is perhaps a danger of any of the provisions of this rule being infringed she should prevent it, seeing that she is a nun and is going to reside in this convent. Moreover after she has departed to the other world ladies will be appointed to the oversight and *ephoreia* of the convent to whom my majesty will give this right, either by means of a supplement added to this rule⁵ or some document recording my last wish. For as regards the things that I shall prescribe in my last wishes [p. 35] concerning this convent and all the things in its possession, I wish that they also should have force, as if they had been written in this my rule and then that they should also remain forever unaltered in the same way as the things prescribed here. Yet if I should wish in my will to alter some of the things written by me in this document, this I will always be able to do, and no distinction will be made between this my rule and my last wish, in as much as all the decisions of my majesty in both documents concerning matters in the convent have great and equal force, unless some of the things written here, as has been stated, will be annulled by my will.

For this reason none of those who have been entrusted with the protection of the convent by my majesty should have control over any property in it, or pervert any of the provisions in this rule, or remove the superior, or enroll nuns, or introduce and expel them, or demand any accounts either of the superior herself or the steward or one of the nuns in the matters they manage and look after, or demand knowledge of the income and the expenditure, or try to get anything at all from the convent, or appropriate anything whatsoever or try to issue instructions. For we are entrusting the undisturbed management of the convent and of all the things in its possession to the superior herself and the nuns in accordance with the specification of the rule. We place the aforesaid women in charge of the convent for this purpose only, namely to support and look after it and its possessions, to pacify the nuns who are perhaps offended, and drive away those who wish to trample on the rights of the convent or infringe any of the things laid down in this rule. It will be enough for them to be commemorated each day in the convent only and after their deaths for their names to be inscribed on the holy diptychs. For we wish this our rule to have undisturbed and unviolated authority for ever, receiving no supplement nor suffering any deletion or change. For never will be

violated anything that has been or will be laid down in this document, nor will an alteration or change be accepted in any way from anyone whatever, not even at a critical moment, even if much better edicts and arrangements are brought upon the convent either by the superior herself or the protectress of the convent as a result of which the convent and its possessions are expected to increase greatly and its situation to improve. [p. 37]

4. Concerning those of our granddaughters who have been tonsured and who have been permitted to live here, and those women of illustrious and noble life who come to this convent and are tonsured in it, and how they should live in the convent

If any of the daughters of my dearly beloved Lady Anna⁶ Born-in-the-Purple or of dearly beloved Lady Maria⁷ Born-in-the-Purple will wish to have her worldly hair cut in this convent or even enters after having her hair cut somewhere else, she will have to be accepted, and if she is willing to abide by the same rule and regulation, keeping to the way of life and diet and living accommodation and all the other conditions of those who practice the religious life in this convent, and introducing nothing different and at variance with the communal life of the remaining nuns, she is acceptable both to God and to me as concerns her very noble transformation and right conversion. But if perhaps as a result of her customary very luxurious way of life she were not able to change to one too harsh, she herself will communicate her own thoughts and actions to the common father of the nuns, confessing to him in the same way as the rest of the nuns, but she will follow the diet and the singing of psalms as far as she is able in the cell that will be given to her, that is the small *tropike* built behind the apse of the nuns' refectory close to their enclosure together with its lavatory and the rest of the necessary attendance that goes with this room. She will live on her own and eat more food than the usual diet of the other nuns, as both the situation of the tonsured [lady] demands and the discretion of the superior directs, and she will be permitted to have also two free women [p. 39] or even slaves acting as her servants, and they must be maintained by the convent.

However since the convent has been declared to be inaccessible to men, if in fact she were to wish to meet some of her family, or a pressing need demands it, she will not be allowed to bring them inside the convent but she will go out with the consent of the superior to the exit that leads to the gate, and when she has talked to them there, she will enter into the convent again keeping it inaccessible to men, as has been said. But if one of these women is not able to abide by the regulation laid down for the rest of the nuns in this our rule concerning going out of the convent, she will be permitted by the superior, if some unfortunate circumstance has happened to her, to leave the convent with one of the very old and devout sisters, whichever one the superior wishes. The nun will return immediately and she, when she has seen her sick relative for two or three days, will return to the convent. But if her sick relative is in fact breathing his last, she will remain there until he reaches the end of his life, if his end is delayed for one or two days or even longer, and then she will return to the convent.

Also if someone else who is very illustrious and has a devout disposition were to wish to cast off her worldly hair in this convent or were to enter after her hair was cut elsewhere, she also will have to be accepted. If she is willing to abide by the same rule and regulation keeping to the way of life and diet and living accommodation and all the other conditions of the nuns in this

convent, she is acceptable to God and me. But if perhaps she were to shrink from the communal living, in this point only will it be possible for her to differ from the whole way of life and condition of the nuns, that is for her to have the aforementioned *tropike* for her private accommodation, being allowed to have also one servant maintained by the convent to minister to her. But in any other matters strict observance of communal living will not be neglected by the superior in the case of these women, except for what has been laid down here about them. For we did not prescribe that these women should be accepted for the destruction and disordering of the cenobitic way of life; for the distinction specified in their cases is sufficient. But if perhaps one of all these were to try to injure the convent in some way, and there are many examples of foolishness, or receive some of the nuns in her own cell and converse with them causing offense and division among the whole community, and if the superior is not able to get her to mend her ways, she will be removed even against her will by the protectress of the convent at the time. [p. 41]

5. Concerning the number of the nuns

So the nuns of the most pure Lady and Mother of God *Kecharitomene* will be twenty-four in number, who must devote themselves to the service of the church and the singing of psalms and the ministries of the convent continually. But if through the favor of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* the [wealth] in the possession of her convent should increase considerably by any way, so that there is sufficient to provide for more, the limit of nuns should be fixed at thirty or should even be allowed to surpass this by a little and be set at as many as forty. But we forbid that those practicing the religious life in the convent should be more than this, though the superior should not be included in this number nor indeed the two girls; for we also prescribe that two girls should be reared in the convent and brought up and educated and prepared and be tonsured at the appropriate time. Nor should the six servants be included whom we prescribe to be in the convent to serve the community, and if these are not sufficient another one or two will be brought in. Also we allow the increase in the nuns to be up to forty, if the nuns keep unbroken the rule and terms of their cenobitic way of life which we have laid down, and their number does not hinder their strict observance of it. But if the increase of nuns becomes a cause of anarchy, we specify that this number should be totally void. For our concern is chiefly for the cenobitic way of life of the nuns, and not that there should be many nuns.

6. Concerning the fact that all the nuns should remain in one house

So all these women must sleep in one dormitory which was recently built by my majesty and set aside for this very purpose, all visible to all, so that the more indolent may imitate the conscientious as an “encouragement to virtue and good works” (Heb. 10:24). But if the number of the nuns is too big for the size of the room, those for whom there is no room in the dormitory that has been set aside will live in a part of the adjoining room. The other part of the room will be useful to them when they are devoting themselves to their handiwork under the gaze of the superior, whatever it is that she should decide for each of them, while one of them [p. 43] is reading a portion of the Holy Scriptures, whatever seems to the superior to be appropriate and conducive to spiritual pleasure and alleviates the toil of manual labor. The dormitories recently built by my majesty and set aside for the nuns for their rest, and the remaining cells inside the convent set aside for the nuns

for a use of any sort, will remain in the same form and the same condition, neither becoming two-storied nor being altered in any other way.⁸

7. Concerning the fact that those who are going to be tonsured should be tonsured free of charge, and when the offering will be acceptable

We wish that those who enter should be accepted and have their hair cut as a gift and be counted in the aforesaid number of sisters without any gift. For neither will anyone provide a renunciation nor a customary gift nor will an offering be sought—neither that termed refectorial nor any other described by whatever name. For such things are a cause of insubordination, arguing, and disobedience for those who provide them, and not only are these people harmed very much as a result, but also they become an evil example among the rest of the community. Therefore I wish and prescribe that those who are going to have their hair cut be received into the convent as a gift without an offering of any kind and without them being asked for anything at all. But if one of them were to wish of her own free will to offer something of her 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 our all-pure Lady *Kecharitomene* and is going to be for the maintenance of the convent and to commemorate and help the soul of the giver ought not to be rejected.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1154–61]: Yet **she who makes an offering must not suppose that because of this she has any preference over the rest of the sisters, but she should be treated in the same way as every one else and will have to follow the rule of the convent. But if she ever tries to leave the convent tempted by demons—there are many examples of fickleness—and would like to take what she has given back, it must not be given to her whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated 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, the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege carries.** So whoever makes an offering of private movable or immovable [p. 45] property should read the preceding words here, and if she makes her offering with a free motive pleasing to God, neither with the intention of getting it back later, nor seeking some preference over the other sisters as a result of it, then indeed her gift should be accepted and dedicated to *Kecharitomene* by whom she will be recompensed with the reward of her faith.

8. Concerning the fact that the movable and immovable property consecrated by lay people to the convent of *Kecharitomene* with a motive that is pleasing to God should be accepted

But if some lay person or one of our children or one of our other relatives or someone completely unrelated to us moved by an intention that is pleasing to God and by his own choice should choose to consecrate some movable or immovable property to the convent, we approve most readily his God-pleasing choice, knowing that he receives from God a recompense many times greater. We wish the income from the immovable property consecrated by him not to be spent to increase the diet of the nuns or to bring about any other change in our instructions, but to add to the number of nuns submitting themselves to the same rule, for distributions to the poor, as he wishes, and for the expenses of feasts and commemorations. For it will not be possible for those bringing offerings to make any new rules on the pretext of their offerings or issue instruc-

tions opposed to our commands, but the nuns will accept the things that have been offered with a motive that is pleasing to God, and will carry out whatever those who make the offerings prescribe concerning commemorations and distributions, but nothing more than this, as has been said before.

9. Concerning the fact that all the movable and immovable property set apart for the convent should be inalienable

I wish everything that has been set apart or will be set apart for the convent or that which will accrue in any way, not only immovable property but also the movable, to remain immovable and inalienable in its possession, not being given away nor removed, nor sold, nor disposed of in any way whatsoever, even if double or triple or ten times as much were given for the object being alienated. For to do such a thing or to consent to it taking place is sheer sacrilege, and he who has done such a thing or is responsible, whether he be an emperor, or patriarch or official, or private person, or superior of the convent, or one of the nuns in it, will render account to the Fearful and Just Judge. I specify that the immovable property that has been alienated be restored again to the convent by the efforts of the most holy patriarch, who by the laws and canons has responsibility for this, of the protectress of the convent, of the rest of the nuns who are to remind [her] and recall this [property], and anyone else wishing to seek revenge for the sake of piety. [p. 47]

10. Concerning when the movable property of the convent can be alienated

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19], ed. lines 851–53; 858–63]: So then alienation of the immovable property will be completely forbidden; and my majesty considers alienation of the movable property to be reasonable for one reason only, namely whenever some great damage has been done to the convent or the possessions in its control **from foreign attack or fire or earthquake**, and the convent is without money to repair the damage. For in that case I permit some of the movable property to be alienated for the repair of the immovable property, and then the alienation should take place to holy churches and divine chapels so that sacred objects might continue sacred and holy things might not be made public property. For it is acknowledged by all that what has once been consecrated ought not to be made public property. We choose the alienation of movable property in order to repair the immovable property for no simple-minded or chance reason, as someone might think, but because the income from immovable property is able to help the convent to a much greater extent, and because with the help of immovable property it is possible sometimes to acquire movable property, but the opposite is difficult. Also we do not allow this alienation to take place in this way without examination, nor secretly, nor in a corner, nor with the knowledge of some section of those in the convent but unknown to the rest, but it should take place when **the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarchissa**, the sacristan, **and the rest of the preeminent officials** and the priests of the convent **gather together for this purpose**, decide about the proposed expenditure, and consider the category of the object to be alienated; then certain people are called in who have precise knowledge of the object to be sold off and publish a **detailed list** of valuation,⁹ which must be deposited and kept with the documents of the convent, and all this takes place with the knowledge of the protectress of the convent.

11. Concerning how the superior must be chosen and installed

The choosing and installation of the superior must now be discussed. For as my majesty has already appointed the superior who has been appointed, if a superior is needed again while I am alive, she will be appointed by me, but after my death this regulation of mine will be in force. For I prescribe that if the death of the superior then in office is expected and known in advance, all the community should go to her, and by the common decision of both them and her, since she has knowledge of the conduct and way of life of each of the nuns, three should be chosen who are distinguished for their mode of life, excel in intellect and good sense, and are wiser and more skilled than the others in the leading and tending of souls, being women recognized and acknowledged as such, whether [p. 49] some such women are found among the officials or among the rest of the nuns.

But if the superior should happen to depart from this life unexpectedly, without giving any consideration to her successor or making anything known, then, when the whole community has gathered by itself, it should make its choice of the three in the presence also of the current protectress of the convent. But if a rift should occur and a dispute arise among them concerning the choice, which I pray does not happen, the protectress of the convent will resolve the argument favoring the judgment of the group which excels in virtue and the spiritual life, but she will always be careful to make her decision freely and dispassionately, unless she wishes to see the Judge and Master of all creation perversely influenced against her because she perhaps perverted the course of justice in an unjust decision, which I pray does not happen. Those are the instructions concerning the selection.

The selection and installation of one of the chosen women will be carried out in this manner. On three similar pieces of paper of the same size the following words will be written by the spiritual father of the nuns, "Master, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou who knowest the hearts [of men], by the intercessions of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, reveal to us sinners whether thou hast judged this our sister worthy of the position of our superior," and again the same words will be written on the other pieces of paper with only the names changed. When the pieces of paper have been stamped with a seal by the protectress of the convent, they will be placed on the holy table by the priest during vespers on Saturday in the sight of the protectress and the community, or, if some feast of Our Savior Jesus Christ or of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God should occur then, after a vigil has been completed and you have made whole-hearted supplication to God from a contrite heart, my most venerable mothers, since the matter for which we made the supplication is important and on it hangs the maintenance of the convent and equally its destruction as well as the hope of salvation.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 633–40]: On the next day when the divine liturgy has been celebrated, after the completion of this and 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," "Glory," "Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold" (Ps. 79 [80]:14), "And now," "Only-Begotten One of the Same Substance."** The priest 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 genuflections repeating 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.” [p. 51] After these genuflections, when the priest himself has performed **three full genuflections in front of the holy table** and, still dressed in his priestly vestments, is repeating the same invocation, he will choose and 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 her own seal upon it, she will recognize her own seal, and, as all watch, the piece of paper will be opened and the owner of the name written on it will be revealed. Then as our **typikon and the staff** are lying in the place before the holy altar she, after performing three genuflections, will take these objects, pondering and considering with herself from where she takes them, and to whom she promises to protect them, and that angels are recording her promise and are the ones who are going to lead her to that fearful place of judgment to give account of the fulfilling of her promises. Then she will stand in the place assigned to the superior, and everyone will offer her the divine greeting [with a kiss]. After the greeting, glory will be offered to God and the dismissal will follow with the priest’s customary prayer. She will be your superior thereafter; you will revere her as a mother, and have an obedient attitude towards her as the one **appointed by God**.

So it is my prayer that there will always be among you yourselves an abundance of women worthy of the leadership, and that there will never fail to be nuns naturally suitable for this office in this most holy convent of the *Kecharitomene*, and whenever a need to appoint a superior arises, the selection can take place from the nuns themselves who practice the religious life here, seeing that with God’s help they have laid down a very good foundation of the monastic and cenobitic way of life and in keeping with the foundation are building the edifice of the virtuous community. But if there is not an abundance of three such nuns in the convent but only two are found worthy of such leadership, they will be sufficient, and when the names of these two only are written down, the events that follow will proceed as has been stated. But if, something my majesty prays does not happen, there appears to be no one worthy of this leadership in the convent, then the protectress of the convent at the time will find a second nun from another convent, someone reverent and proven as suitable for the position of superior. Then again when the names of these two have been written down, the one in the convent and the one brought from outside, as has been stated, the procedure will be observed as it has been written down, and then the one approved by it and shown to be worthy will be appointed to the position of superior.

12. Concerning the fact that the selection of the superior and the appointment of officials also should be carried out dispassionately

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 707–27]: **Well then, we also entreat** you, our most venerable mothers, when you are obliged to carry out the selection of the superior, and the choosing of the rest of the officials [p. 53] is being done by the superior, **there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality or irrational favoritism, but the judgment and testing should be made by you truly, with a strict purpose and correct judgment, as if the eye “that beholds all things” was watching** (Sir. 15:19). **So then, do not resort to quarreling and dissension in your selection, but choose the one who has been selected with unanimity, peace, and love.**

[= *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 800–07]: When the selection and choosing is taking place there

will be no one **who will usurp unworthily the office of superior** or any other office, **making a display perhaps of her seniority or sphere of work or noble birth or her offering of some property or money. But the one who is to be preferred** among you, will be whoever is such as the passage above described, **whether she happens to have been recently tonsured or** came to the convent from a secular life.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 764–80]: Therefore **you should reserve all affection, all submission, and all obedience for your superior, as one of the divine fathers has said in these words, “for if those who care for us are going to render account for us, how will we not submit to them in everything, and obey and serve them as the other parts of the body do the head?”**¹⁰ As the Divine Apostle also says, “Obey your leaders and submit to them, for they are keeping watch over your souls as men who will have to give account” (Heb. 13:17). But for my sake may you maintain love, peace, and harmony with one another, burning with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, instructing (Rom. 15:14), comforting (1 Thes. 4:18), forbearing (Eph. 4:2), exerting yourselves strongly to achieve whatever is good or brings salvation, whatever is virtuous and worthy of praise (cf. Phil. 4:8). For Our Lord Jesus Christ says “this is my commandment to you that you love one another even as I have loved you” (John 15:12) and “by this all men will know that you are my disciples if you love one another” (John 13:34).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual mother and guide of this holy flock, be moderate, and in your concern for the sisters, maintain in everything a motherly affection towards them, yes, we entreat you, care for them all, support them all instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, as St. Basil says in these words, “the superior himself like a father caring for true children will watch over the need of each one, and will bring them as far as he can suitable healing and care, and will support the member that is truly weak, whether physically or spiritually, with love and fatherly affection.”**¹¹

13. Concerning the removal of the superior who does not act as she ought to

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 644–58]: **So much for those matters. What** is about to be said **next** concerning the one who will be superior after our death and those who will be mothers superior after her, [p. 55] **I did not wish to commit to writing, for it should not be necessary to remove from this position and rank someone who has previously been selected for this. Also this would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact our nature had been unchanging and immutable, but since that is impossible—for later we 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, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as 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—for these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible.**

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–74, 694–700]: **So if the superior should continue unchanged, properly maintaining her virtue through which she was thought worthy of that rank, she will not be removed from this office but remain firm. But if time proves her to be**

unqualified and unsuitable, either because she has exercised her leadership of the sisters **in a careless and indifferent manner, or because she has been doing favors for her relatives, or has been appropriating some of the convent's property herself, or has been betraying or subjecting it to someone else, or totally disregarding any of the [instructions] in the rule, following her own wishes and therefore has been proved unsuitable for the guiding of souls, if then living wickedly she were ever to take stock of herself and give up her evil ways and embark on the road that leads to the higher things and salvation, let her stay and be the superior. But should this same woman still not give up her evil ways, but in fact indulge in them more widely, we instruct** the protectress of the convent **to remove that worthless woman from your leadership,** and again another selection and vote be held and an appointment of another superior in accordance with the above instructions.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 701–02]: **But the one removed** from the position of superior, **if she** were removed from it because of old age or lack of intelligence and **wished to remain** and reside in the future in the convent as one of the sisters and be subject to the superior in everything, provided that she neither destroyed in any way the good order of the convent nor was the cause or object of mischief, she should stay then in the convent. But the one who clearly contributed to the destruction of the convent's structure and its discipline and way of life and to the disregarding of the instructions in this rule of my majesty should be completely driven out so no cause for offense may arise for the rest.

14. Concerning the fact that the steward in the convent must be a eunuch of godly life

My majesty prescribes that there should be a steward in the convent administering the properties that belong to it according to the decision of the superior, and managing matters in them according to her wish. There is one already appointed by my majesty, and if another is needed, another will be brought in by my majesty. [p. 57] But whenever I depart from this life, he will be appointed by the superior either from among those who carry out the liturgy in the convent, that is if one of these is active and worthy of being the steward, or even someone from outside, approved and appointed in the following manner. After he has been selected following an inquiry and knows what he has to do, he will be revealed to the one who has the oversight of the convent in order to be acknowledged by her, then entering the church of the convent and remaining for a short time while **a trisagion is performed by the sisters,**¹² falling down he will prostrate himself both before the other divine icons of the saints and before the revered and all-holy icon of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. Then when he has kissed it and the priest has prayed the prayer for the dismissal, he will go out of the church and from that moment be the steward and will look after the convent's properties, receiving a private copy of this chapter which makes clear his duties.

The oversight of all the immovable property belonging to the convent both inside and outside the capital will be a task requiring zealous attention, as will the accounts of the caretakers and building superintendents, the retiling of the convent and of the properties in its possession which is carried out every year with suitable care, the repair of buildings which perhaps collapse in the convent; on the instruction of the superior, he must devote his efforts and attention to this. In addition he should concern himself with the revenues from legitimate endowments and with the management of everything in the properties and houses to make them more profitable, and should

not allow those who at the time are looking after these things either to be careless in protecting and increasing them or to appropriate some of the income and make private profit. But his oversight in these matters should be exercised carefully and the revenues brought to the convent unaltered, and the crops and other items dispatched at the appropriate time, the ships that should transport them being dispatched in good time; the money should be brought to the convent and in the presence of the steward handed over to the superior and the treasurer, with a receipt for it signed by them and then entered in the income and expenditure of the treasury. But if the steward is away perhaps, staying in properties outside the convent, the handing over to them of the money that is being paid in should take place in the presence of the assistant steward. But if the assistant steward is also away in properties outside the convent, the money should be brought to the superior and the treasurer alone, and the receipts signed by them as has been stated.

The steward should be careful to make accounts of the caretakers at the appropriate time and not defer them, but more importantly he should go round the properties everywhere and observe the caretakers themselves and the properties, and be keen that these should increase; he should also visit the places that belong to the convent in the City, [p. 59] as is possible, and thus by his very deeds demonstrate his work as steward and bring to the convent the accounts of the caretakers and building superintendents made annually by him, and hand them over to the superior each year so that they may be scrutinized by her and then an exoneration of the caretakers issued by her. But if perhaps one of the stewards then in office should be discovered not carrying out these things according to the above description, he will be removed from his stewardship, and when the superior consults with the protectress of the convent concerning the report on this man, another person will be appointed such as the passage above described.

Briefly, my majesty gives this instruction: let everything be managed by the steward at the time with the knowledge and consent of the superior. He will also have an assistant steward, one of the assigned priests in the convent, as will be described, and his task will be to list all the revenues coming into the convent—money, crops, and other items—and know about these. But when the steward is perhaps not present, on the authority of the superior he will carry out her instructions.

15. Concerning the priests

There must be two priests around the convent; they should be eunuchs and monks, venerable in their way of life, gentle, restrained, knowing how to read the holy words of divine scripture well. But if through a shortage of these they are not monks, they should nevertheless be eunuchs of proven virtue and piety, so that the community may be helped towards the practice of virtue by their holy blessings and acceptable prayers and may raise a pleasing song “to the ears of the Lord of hosts” (James 5:4); and he, accepting their supplications on our behalf, will graciously forgive our sins on the day of judgment (cf. Matt. 6:12; 12:36).

Of these two priests one will also be the assistant steward as has been explained more fully in the chapter on the steward. Whenever the steward is either dismissed as unsuitable perhaps or departs from this life, the assistant steward, if he is worthy to act as steward, should be appointed steward, and in his place another priest should be introduced at once, the sort of person that the passage above described.

16. Concerning the fact that all the nuns should be subject to one spiritual father

I wish all the nuns to confess their thoughts to one spiritual father who is a eunuch very distinguished for virtue, and, as a result of his age and monastic life, has gained much experience in the hearing of confessions and is capable of administering appropriate remedies to souls who make confession. [p. 61]

17. Concerning the way that visitors must speak with the nuns; who they must be and when

Even though it has been stated by the fathers in many places in the monastic regulations that monks do not have any family relationship on earth, yet because of human weakness we order that if a woman should visit the convent, the mother of a nun perhaps, or a sister, or a brother's wife, she will enter the convent with the permission of the superior, and when she has eaten with the nuns the food that has been set out, she will depart in the evening. If she came to see a relative who is in good health, she will do this once or twice a year, but if it was to see someone sick with a serious disease, if she is the mother, she will stay in the convent and sit beside her sick daughter, and on the second day when she has eaten the same food as the nuns she will depart in the evening. But if it happens to be a sister or a brother's wife or a sister's or brother's daughter who has come to see her, she will quite definitely depart in the evening on whatever day she comes.

But if it is a man who had come to see her, her father perhaps or a brother or a sister's husband, in no way will he enter the convent. For my majesty specifies that this be untrodden by any men and be for ever barred to them, but when a man knocks outside, after the superior has been told, the nun whom the caller wishes to see will go to the gate at her command and the superior will go with her, if she wishes and is able, or on her instruction one of the oldest and most venerable nuns, and when the gate has been opened the caller will stand at the gate, talk to the nun briefly, and go away. But if the nun whom the father or brother or sister's husband has come to see is perhaps sick and is in such a condition that she cannot reach the gate, none of them even then will enter the convent. But if the sick nun were to wish and consider it necessary to see her relative who has called, she should be carried in a litter, and when she has reached the gate, see him there, and be brought back.

For to give men an excuse to enter the convent and not have the outside gate at once barred against them all is a great burden to my majesty and ill-considered. For I have a fear that some harm from an attack of the devil might come to those who are married to the Holy Bridegroom, and for this reason I think it appropriate that men be barred from all entry, and so I command it. The same rule should apply even if a man should visit the convent to speak with the superior. But if perhaps the father or mother of one of the nuns were to be sick and be in such a condition as to be breathing his last, and the nun whose father or mother was ill were to wish and think it necessary to see her sick father or mother, she will leave the convent with the permission of the superior, taking along with her two of the oldest and most godly nuns, and when she has seen her sick father perhaps or her mother, she will return to the convent in the evening, not allowing herself in any way to stay anywhere outside the convent. [p. 63]

Moreover we do not wish those who take care of the property of the convent and those who visit the convent for other reasons, for whom it is necessary and useful to be seen by the superior, to speak to her inside the convent, but she will go out beyond the inner gate with two or three of the

most devout old women and speak with the visitors between the two gates, and give consideration to the convent's property and then come back again into the convent keeping it untrodden by men, as has been said. But if there were no compelling business for which she was likely to go out and speak with those entering, she should not go out but be informed either by the steward or by the priest, and she should carry out what seems to her beneficial.

If a woman should come to the convent to see her, we leave the matter to her decision, for she would not dare to have a conversation with someone who visits from outside, contrary to the monastic rules. But if a woman of a distinguished and noble life, a lay person or nun from outside the convent, will wish to visit the convent because of the virtue of the nuns leading the religious life in it, she will in no way be prevented, but will enter it with the permission of the superior, and when she has eaten along with the nuns will depart in the evening. But if the visitor were to wish and think it necessary to stay in the convent, she will remain in it and leave on the following day. This will happen once or twice in the year, in the case of each of the devout women who visit. Those who arrive in this way will rest in the room for official visitors near the gate and will enter and leave the convent through the entrance there.

18. Concerning the person by whom the installation of the officials must be made and how

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29]]: The superior will be the one carrying out both the selection and the installation of all the officials of the convent, selecting and installing by her own decision. For 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 along with them the words about this office copied from this rule of my majesty. **After a trisagion** has been completed the one set apart for the office will approach, **genuflect three times, receive the keys, and after this will bow her head to the superior** having prostrated herself before the feet of the superior and got up again. She will install her, addressing these words to her "The most pure Mother of God *Kecharitomene* sets you apart for this office." [p. 65] However in the case of the offices **for which there are no keys**, the words of installation spoken by the superior **will be sufficient for the installation** and the receipt of the written instructions concerning each office from the place in front of the holy sanctuary, as has been described. It is necessary that the officials receive from the place in front of the holy sanctuary personal instructions for the office entrusted to each of them, so that [each] may know from where she is receiving her office and in what way she promises to manage it.

19. Concerning the sacristan

I wish there to be a sacristan in the convent who must guard the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, and think worthy of every kind of care the things handed over to her in a written and reliable inventory of transfer. Similarly, the same official must receive the wax that is brought into the convent, and record in detail the expenditures on it, and render an account to the superior. The same official must with the help of women inside the convent make the prescribed quantity of candles for the year according to the weight laid down by my majesty for all the lighting of the church, and hand them over to the ecclesiarchissa, who will carry out the lighting of the church in the way that will be described in what follows. This official must hand over to the ecclesiarchissa 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 her and guard them; and the things surplus to requirements she must keep in the sacristy shut up and sealed by the superior, and she is required to hand back everything that has been entrusted to her whenever she 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 that will be described.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [32], ed. lines 1012–18]: **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, she will be responsible to the all-pure Mother of God Kecharitomene from whom in fact she received her keys.**

The same person will be not only sacristan but also archivist, receiving with a register all the papers containing the rights of ownership of the convent, and will guard these, thinking them worthy of every kind of care, and will not allow them to become moth-eaten. When a need for some document occurs, on the instruction of the superior she will bring out the required document and hand it over, noting down what sort of document it is and who received it. When a few days have passed after this, she will remind the superior [p. 67] and recall the document that was produced, as has been described, and will not allow it to be lost. Since the wax coming into the convent is greatly in excess of the outlays, my majesty prescribes that only five *kentenaria* of it be kept for the church and the remaining requirements, and the rest at the time it comes in be immediately sold and the proceeds devoted to the other expenses of the convent.¹³

20. Concerning the ecclesiarchissa

The ecclesiarchissa moreover, being appointed by the superior, will be whoever seems to her fit and suitable for this office, receiving from the sacristan at the time of her appointment with an inventory everything that should be used in the church of the convent, and at the proper time the other things suitable for daily use or for use during the feasts. She will look after the customary decoration of the church and the lighting laid down for each occasion in this rule, receiving from the sacristan the made-up candles as prescribed in the rule, both those prescribed to be burnt for daily use and those for each feast, and she should look after the orderly condition of the church during the singing of the psalms as is customary for ecclesiarchissai. The ecclesiarchissa ought always to have an assistant ecclesiarchissa working with her, ministering and assisting in the office assigned to her.

21. Concerning the official who takes in the food and issues it, and the register of these things that she must make

Similarly we instruct the official taking in and issuing all the provisions of food for the convent to list them in detail, how much and when and from where, and to see that the issue is clearly in accordance with the instruction of the superior, if she is going to ensure that her office is free from blame and scandal, and to inform them all if she is going to maintain peace and avoid giving offense to the whole community.

22. Concerning the wine-steward

The superior will also appoint a wine-steward who must receive all the wine both old and new that is brought into the convent, list this, and issue it when she is instructed by the superior. [p. 69]

23. Concerning the provisioner

The superior will also appoint a provisioner who must receive all the crops and the legumes also, and issue these on the instruction of the superior, and take care of these things in every way, so that they are not perhaps ruined by neglect in the granaries.

24. Concerning the office of the treasurers

Now I must speak about the keeping and listing of monetary income and expenditure. For we prescribe that there should be two treasurers in the convent, one of whom should control the box for monetary income and expenditure and the other should control the storeroom for clothes; for she will also be called the treasurer. The treasurer of the monetary income along with the other treasurer in charge of the storeroom with the knowledge of the superior and in her presence will list all the monetary income that comes into the convent, what sort it is and from where, and on the instruction of the superior removing from it whatever amount of money the superior wishes, and recording this in a small register, she with the other treasurer will take it and pay it out when the superior instructs her. A detailed note will be made by her of the payment of this money, and she will bring the note back after paying the money in full, and a calculation will be made by the superior in the presence also of the other treasurer, and lists of the money paid out in this way must be set out on a special register and placed in the treasury; then the treasurer will take more money again on the instruction of the superior and this will go on continuously. Moreover the box of this money for income and expenditure must be sealed by the two treasurers and the superior herself.

But we wish another box to be placed in the sacristy sealed by the superior, the steward, the sacristan, and the treasurers, which must contain the stored-up money. So when in the fullness of time some money of an old issue is found to be superfluous by the mercy of the *Kecharitomene*, since it happens then to be of no use to the convent, this should be stored up in the aforementioned box which is to be unsealed and sealed, as has been described above, and a note should be made of the deposit of money. Conversely, if some misfortune should happen to the convent—which I pray does not happen—with the result that it does not have the means for its expenditure from anywhere else, this box can be unsealed again by those who sealed it, and an amount of money removed and this given to the treasury and the payments can proceed as has been described above. [p. 71]

25. Concerning the refectorian and her office

[= (22) *Evergetis* [31], ed. lines 997–1005]: Along with the other officials which the way of life of those living in a community obviously needs, the superior will appoint a refectorian also, who serves whatever **the cellarer supplies her with and during the meal itself she must go around the refectory** silently and quietly and if she should see any of **the sisters** causing annoyance and being disorderly **or whispering**, she ought to gently **remind** them of **silence** and advise

them **to sing in their heart** and refrain from conversation. Furthermore the strict adherence of the sisters to proper observance will be her concern, and to be aware of **which of them was absent during grace and who** was missing **from the meal**, and **to make a report** about each one **to the superior** who by her own selection and choice appoints those who ought to hold office and will have the power to allow those who blamelessly carry out the office entrusted to them to occupy them for a very long time, if she wishes, but to remove as unsuitable those who do not carry them out as they ought, which I pray does not happen, and appoint others instead. In these cases the superior will act in accordance with her own decision and pleasure.

I exhort all those entrusted with an office of any sort, even the lowest, and as a favor I ask each of them to exercise her own office well and in a way pleasing to God, and have the sort of attitude towards the fulfillment of what is connected with it as those who are entrusted with the things of God and will have to render an account for them to God, as is the truth indeed. For the merciful God mercifully receives for himself what is done by us for each other, as the Holy Gospels teach us in which he clearly says, “As you did it to one of these, you did it to me, and as you did it not, you did it not to me” (Matt. 25:40).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [33], ed. lines 1036–58]: **I entreat them to apply themselves wholeheartedly to their offices and not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they have lost benefit to themselves** by being absent from the divine services as a result of being occupied with their offices, **but** I bid them **be more cheerful and joyful** because the Lord has given them the strength through the intercessions of his virgin mother *Kecharitomene* **to serve their own sisters in imitation of him, who says “I came not to be served but to serve and give my life as a ransom for many”** (Matt. 20:28; Mark 10:45).

You see, sisters, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. So you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those devoting 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 [p. 73] and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of 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 is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like the “Heavenly Father” (Matt. 5:48).

So why do you give up the treasure house and culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing when thus having reached 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,” she says, “because of our failure to carry out the rule;” but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to your failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. 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.

26. Concerning the appointment of a disciplinary official and her office

Moreover the superior will appoint also a disciplinary official whom she by her own selection considers worthy of this office. She should be in charge of the monastic way of life and orderliness, and keep a close watch during the communal gatherings and the singing of hymns, lest any of the sisters anywhere should neglect the singing and talk to each other, and neglect speaking with God but have a conversation one with another. She should also watch them during the communal gatherings for eating so that they remain quiet and orderly as befits nuns. Furthermore in all aspects of their life and behavior she should keep a close watch on their actions, and if she sees any of them either sitting with each other and talking foolishly or remaining idle and lazy by themselves—those whom the great apostle orders not to eat (II Thess. 3:10)—or doing something else incompatible with a monastic profession and foreign to a spiritual way of life that is pleasing to God, she should approach them gently like a sister, and quietly and lovingly instruct them in what they should do and advise them of what is beneficial, that, ceasing from whispering which brings no benefit, or rather is harmful to the soul—for no other reason than those who are involved are distracted from their communion with God—they should devote themselves to the giving of praise to God, and fix their minds on what is being sung, and flee from the source “of all evil, laziness” (Sir. 30:28), copying David who was wise in divine matters when he says “I am alone” (Ps. 140 [141]:10), and remain quietly in their own places either applying themselves to prayer or doing some work with their hands to rout pernicious *akedia* and meditate continuously on frightening death [p. 75] and recall unceasingly the fearful day of judgment. One of these nuns who are occupied with the handiwork, the one instructed by the superior, will read the holy and saving words of the Holy Scripture for all to hear.

27. Concerning the work organizers

The superior will appoint two of the nuns, whichever ones she selects from the rest, to be in charge of the work. They must take from the storehouse material useful for the handiwork of the nuns with a note at the time and give this out to those who are working on the instruction of the superior. Again with her knowledge they must take back the articles made with the materials that were given out and hand them over to those working in the storeroom for clothes with a note so that these can be issued on the instruction of the superior.

28. Concerning the treasurers in the storeroom for clothes

The treasurers of the storeroom for the clothes of the nuns—for these also will be called treasurers—should receive all the things that must be used for the clothing of the nuns with a note and give them out on the instruction of the superior whenever she wishes. These same nuns will also receive all the other things for the service of the nuns, that is blankets, pillows, bed covers, articles necessary for the bath, in short, everything, and they will give them out whenever the superior instructs them, making notes of the issue of these things and rendering an account to her.

29. Concerning the gatekeeper

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 convent without the

knowledge of the superior. For this reason the chapter dealing with these things, namely how and when and which of the visitors should speak with the nuns, will be copied out and put into her hands, so that having a knowledge of the words of the rule she might remind the superior, and on her instruction the conversations may take place in accordance with the intent of the rule. Moreover the one appointed to this office must be an old woman and by the testimony of the whole community a person of godly life. Each evening she will bring the keys to the superior. Nor will she see relatives who have come to see her without the permission of the superior, but with her permission she will see them in whatever way she is permitted. Furthermore [p. 77] my majesty does not wish her to remain continuously at the gate, but prescribes that she should sit with the community in the house set apart, and if there is a need for her to visit the gate, being informed by the bell that she is called to the gate, she will go on the instruction of the superior, and when she has fulfilled her office, whatever it is, she will come back again and sit down with the rest.

30. Concerning how long a woman who enters from outside and is going to be tonsured must stay in the convent¹⁴

If those women, who are going to be tonsured and make up the prescribed number of the nuns, wish once they have lost their hair to put on the robe of submission and the cloak only, they will wait for the period of six months. But if some happen to be familiar and important personages so that it is known what sort of people they were in their lives and they are well aware of the way of life and conduct of the convent, they will have their hair cut in accordance with the rule, when the superior judges it beneficial. Those who wish to put on the holy habit at once, if they are devout women and were practicing the monastic life in secular clothing, will not wait for the period of testing—that is three years—which the holy fathers laid down as a rule for a trial and test in the case of those whose state of life is different, but in the case of these women the period of six months will be sufficient for a complete trial, and then they will get their desire as has been declared by the holy fathers. But if they happen to be women who have no knowledge and are not known, after remaining in the convent for one week they will put on monastic cloaks, and being ordered to serve in tasks according to their abilities, they will persevere for three years in the convent, not being thought worthy of the great and angelic habit, until the three-year period of their trial is passed and proves them acceptable and worthy of such a way of life. For the regulations laid down to meet these cases require that this period of time should remain in force, except when a serious disease occurs and forces the period of testing to be reduced. [p. 79]

31. Concerning who should be sent to take care of the properties of the convent

The men who are sent to take care of the properties of the convent must not be selected for any family connection or affinity or any other reason of that sort, but the superior and the steward at the time must put a lot of care into finding people who are reputable and content with little, who bring relief to the people in the properties and appropriate nothing that belongs to the convent, and are experienced in husbandry. The superior will have the authority to send out these men and to decide who will succeed them whenever they are found to have strayed from uprightness. The steward must oversee them whenever he is sent by the superior to inspect the storehouses and receive the accounts of the caretakers and manage everything as he ought.

32. Concerning the office of the first, third, and sixth hour

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–117]: But having spoken up to now about these matters, come now, we shall discuss in future the ecclesiastical office and, in order to begin with the light, let us begin with the first hour of the day imitating God in this, who began his formation of the world with the creation of light. **So then after the completion of the worship of matins**, we must continue with **the first hour in the customary way and at the end of this the following prayer should be said, “Thou who at all times and all hours.” After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed**, by the more able ones from the ground without a *prie-dieu* but **by the weaker ones with a low support** and aid. The genuflection consists of fifteen prostrations, of which the first three must be performed in a more unhurried manner and slowly enough in the standing up and the bending of the knees, that each of you is able **to say each time three times while standing with hands stretched out, “God, be merciful to me the sinner”** (Luke 18:13). **Then when you have knelt down with your head on the ground, you should say three times in the same way, “I have sinned against Thee, Lord, forgive me.”** You must perform three genuflections like that, **but the remaining twelve more quickly**, so that each of you can say once when kneeling and once when standing **the aforementioned words of supplication**. You will not perform the kneeling down and the rising up when each of you wishes in a disorderly and confused manner, but as one body, kneeling down together and getting up together, [p. 81] **using as a guide for both actions the ecclesiarchissa** who is standing in front of the holy sanctuary and is indicating by her kneeling when to kneel and by her rising when to rise.

This is the procedure on the day when “Alleluia” is chanted instead of “God is the Lord.” (Ps.117 [118]: 27) However, if the day has an office and dismissal hymn, and “God is the Lord” is sung, the first three genuflections will be performed with the words of supplication, as previously stated, but the twelve will be omitted and will in no way be performed in the church but in your dormitory; moreover after the three slower genuflections you will say aloud with hands stretched out, **“Eternal God, the Maker of all creation.”**

After this prayer a reading of the *catechesis* will be set out for you, **and after the reading** you will perform **the prescribed trisagion which is for us**. While God wishes me to live, I command you to say these *troparia*: “Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy on us,” “Gloria,” “Good Hope of the world,” “And now,” “No one who has recourse to you.” But when I have died I command you to say *troparia* of repose: “Remember, Lord, as Thou art good, Thy servant,” “Gloria,” “Give her repose, Our Savior,” “And now,” “No one who has recourse to Thee,” “Refuge and Might.” In addition to this say, *Kyrie eleison*, fifteen times and then **you will add on this prayer, “Thou who sendest out the light.”** Moreover you will pray **all the prayers with hands stretched out**.

When the aforementioned prayer has been said and the priest has spoken the customary prayer, you will all fall on your faces to the ground, **and the superior**, being your leader in all goodness will say as follows, **“Pray for me, sisters, to the Lord, that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.”** You will answer, **“May God save you, honored mother, and you also, pray for us, holy mother, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.”** Then she again praying will say, **“May God through the prayers of our fathers save us all.”** Then standing up proceed to the communal house of your

shared life, and when you are there, **you will avoid every foolish distraction**, but all of you will apply yourselves to your work, while one of you, whoever has been ordered by the superior, sits in the middle and reads whatever she has been instructed to; for the reading will prevent all foolish and useless or even harmful conversations and will secure great benefit for those who are willing to attend to it.

33. Concerning the *mesoria* of the first, third, and sixth hour, the *typika*, the holy liturgy, and the holy partaking

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 140–45]: When the proper time comes, the semantron will be struck and at that point you will sing the *mesoria* of the first hour, then the third and the sixth hour [p. 83] with their *mesoria*, prayers, and prostrations, wherever the superior wishes, either in the dormitory or in the exonarthex of the church. You will sing the *typika* in the narthex of the church; however **when there is a vigil**, you will not perform a prostration in your dormitory **because of weariness from the vigil**, neither **during the Twelve Days** nor during the whole of Pentecost **nor yet during the nine days after the feast of the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God** and those after that of the Transfiguration of my Savior Christ,¹⁵ nor on the actual feast days of the twelve glorious and all-blessed Apostles, nor on any Saturday. But the holy and divine liturgy must be celebrated each Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, and during the feasts. Moreover it must take place during the fasts, as the *synaxarion* prescribes.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 160–90]: I instruct you, sisters, that while the divine liturgy is being celebrated you keep yourselves very attentive and stand full of fear and dread. For very holy and awesome and dreadful, surpassing all speech and understanding, are the happenings during this most precious sacrifice of the all-pure body and blood of Christ Our True God, during which you must be especially attentive and chase away every foul thought and only think about the great, divine, and fearful mystery beyond our comprehension which is being celebrated. **Then those who have been allowed to partake must partake of the divine elements.** Therefore, since partaking of the elements is an illumination of the soul for those who are nearly worthy, the one who partakes unworthily, eats and drinks judgment upon himself, as the Divine Apostle says (cf. I Cor. 11:27–29). We wish you to partake of these very frequently; nevertheless we entrust the decision on the divine partaking to your spiritual father with the knowledge also of the superior. **But for someone to consider herself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. The one who does this will be condemned as one who carries out her own wish. However it is permitted that those who should partake sing the office for the holy partaking, make together a common genuflection to one another to grant forgiveness and then partake of the life-giving elements.**

34. Concerning how many loaves must be offered during each liturgy and by whom

During the divine liturgy each day seven loaves will be offered, one for Our Lord, another for our Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, another for the saint of the day, another as a ransom and for the remission of my most mighty emperor's sins and mine, another for the nuns who have died, another for our parents¹⁶ [p. 85] and other relatives who have died, and another for our living children and sons-in-law¹⁷ and our other relatives. After our death the aforesaid loaf

will be offered specifically for the remission of our sins, and this will be done for ever. But if one of the two of us should die before the other, one loaf will be offered again specifically for the one still alive, another then for the one who died. But after the death of the one who was living, again one loaf will be offered for both of us.

Each Saturday *stauria* must be offered on behalf of our parents and children and daughters-in-law who have predeceased us and for those who will die in the future, one for every four, and these people must be inscribed on the diptychs and must be remembered according to the description in the rule. Other *stauria* besides those for the deceased will be offered similarly each Sunday on behalf of those who are alive and are recorded on the diptychs and in the rule.

35. Concerning the ninth hour, vespers, and the night office

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 195–98]: Similarly we wish the *mesoria* of the ninth hour to be sung in your dormitory, when the small semantron is struck; but you must sing **the ninth hour in the same way** as **the hours previously** described with its *mesoria* and prostrations **when the semantron calls** you all **as is usual**. **The office of vespers** will be performed by you according to the description in **the synaxarion and immediately afterwards the night office**. Since at the present time six *troparia* are sung in the night office with each canticle, after our departure to the Lord four must be sung according to the *synaxarion*, and there must be two for the dead.

36. Concerning compline

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 199–200]: The office of compline will be carried out by you **after supper** in the exonarthex of the church **during which you should genuflect**, unless “**God is the Lord**” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is sung.

37. Concerning the night office

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 201–13]: After the completion of compline when **the priest has recited the customary prayer, you will fall** on your faces to the ground facing the superior. When she has said to you, “**Forgive me in the Lord, sisters, for I have sinned in deed and word and thought**” [p. 87] and when she has prayed for you and said “**May God forgive us all through the prayers of our fathers,**” then begin **the night office according to the regulation**, when you have reached the dormitory. You should perform this office either inside your dormitory or outside it, as the occasion demands and the superior wishes; when this has been completed **you should turn to sleep full of spiritual joy**.

38. Concerning the midnight office

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 218–21]: At the appropriate time when the nun carrying out the office of the ecclesiarchissa makes a deep bow to the superior and **has struck the semantron**, you will arrive and perform the midnight office in the narthex of the church; and the ecclesiarchissa, when she has woken you, will not be absent but will sing with you and light the lamps of the church. When you have completed the singing of the midnight office, the great semantron will be struck and furthermore **the bronze one** also. Then you will begin the office of matins, **the preliminary part of which** will be described next.

39. Concerning the preliminary part of matins

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 222–39]: **After the bronze semantron has been struck, the priest will give praise to God making the sign of the venerable cross with his censer before the holy table.** Then when you have completed a *trisagion* to accompany the praising of God, **you will sing the nineteenth and twentieth psalms with the usual troparia and the Kyrie eleison** as evenly and attentively as possible. These will be sung by you as long as my most mighty emperor is alive—and may it be a very long time, O Lord and O Mother of God—but whenever he departs this life, the psalms sung by you will be “The Lord is my shepherd” (Ps. 22 [23]:1) and “Praise is due to thee, O God, in Zion” (Ps. 64 [65]:1); the *troparia* will be those for repose: “Remember, Lord, give him repose,” “Our Savior,” “Gloria,” “And now.” After the completion of the *trisagion*, **the ecclesiarchissa will begin the six psalms** singing them **slowly and carefully** and **with a quiet voice so that the rest can follow her without stumbling or error**, and can complete the words of the psalms by themselves. **Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins will be performed according to the description in the synaxarion.** [p. 89] As the *synaxarion* will lay down the most exact details about the procedure for the holy fasts, so you must carry out the other instructions and in particular the vigils every Sunday, and at a feast of Our Lord, and at the remembrances of the rest of the saints, which the *synaxarion* details.

Yet here showing consideration for your weakness my majesty has decided something more compassionate concerning vigils. For I wish and lay it down that the vigils that will be celebrated for the feasts of the Lord, God, and Savior and for those of the all-holy Lady and Mother of God should last all night, also that for the Great Canon and that for the Holy Passion, and further that for the Exaltation of the venerable Cross and that for the holy chief apostles Peter and Paul, but you should carry out those on Sundays, unless of course one of the feasts of Our Lord should occur on those days, at the beginning of the third hour in summer and at the beginning of the fourth in winter. If two vigils should happen to occur in one week, one for a feast of Our Lord, the other being one of those specified for Sundays, we order that the one for Our Lord, whether it precedes or not, should last all night, but the one for Sunday should be performed at the beginning of the sixth hour so that in that way having rested a little, you might be more eager for what is before you. Also my majesty wishes you to get up for matins on a day after an all-night vigil and sing matins one hour later than is usual so that your bodies may be revived from weariness and restored again to their proper strength.

40. Concerning the summons to the refectory and the behavior in it

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 337–57]: Since my decisions about ecclesiastical offices have been discussed, I must now speak about the nuns’ eating. Well then, when the holy and **divine** liturgy has been completed they must remain **in the narthex waiting for the summons** to the communal refectory by the semantron as is usual. **When the semantron has been struck**, they must go out with the ecclesiarchissa, **make obeisance to the superior, and then beginning the customary psalm** in a quiet and fitting voice, that is the one that begins “I will extol thee, my God and King” (Ps. 144 [145]:1), they must **walk quietly to the refectory**, and when they have completed the psalm, **sit down** in an orderly manner **in whatever way the superior arranges** their seats. **Then they should gratefully partake of what is set out without noise and distur-**

bance, while a reading as is usual takes place; **the superior only may speak, if she wishes** to say something, and she must do so quietly, and the one who must answer her must use a very quiet voice and **as few and concise phrases as possible**, so that when there is the utmost quiet in the refectory, you may attend only to the reading, and cheer and gladden your souls with it and nourish your bodies with what is set out. [p. 91]

41. Concerning the position if someone is disorderly during the meal

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 357–63]: If **someone** during the meal **were to cause a disturbance and be disturbed, cause noise and be noisy, and ruin the reading with untimely and improper** words, destroying the calm and quiet conditions, **she ought to be silenced by the refectorian** with quiet advice and admonition. If she ceases, she should be allowed to stay, but if she persists, **she should be removed from the refectory, even if she is unwilling**, by a decree of the superior who, if she wishes, will impose on her **the penalty of going without food or** will teach **her self-control in another way, as she** decides.

42. Concerning the position if someone argues about precedence in seating

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 374–82]: **If any one** of you were to be fanned by the breezes of evil to such an extent that she concerned herself with vainglory and precedence in seating **putting forward as an excuse** that she has resided longer in the convent or any other **sphere of work** whatsoever, **I command in the Lord that she be allocated the last place** and if she were to be corrected, thanks are due to God, **but if she should remain uncorrected, she is to be driven out of the convent so as not to infect the others with this filth.**

43. Concerning the fact that they should not seek anything from each other

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 384–419]: Moreover **while you eat you will** in no way **share either any food or drink with each other, even so much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water]** when it is much hotter than it should be, but the **one who needs some such thing will ask the superior** for what she needs **with** as much **reverence** and solemnity as possible, and if she gains her nod of approval, she will obtain her request. **If not, she will restrain herself and sit in silence, giving thanks** because of the command of God. Then when you have eaten, you will get up from the table, and on the completion **of the specified office and the prayer**, you will go away to your dormitory.

44. Concerning the fact that the communal refectory table is obligatory for those who are healthy and concerning the sick

Those of you who are healthy will have no excuse or reason to reject this table prepared for you in common, and no excuse will be sufficient for you to reject the gathering for the communal meal. But those who are seriously ill, so much so that they are unable to get up out of bed [p. 93] or sleep peacefully but cause a disturbance and are disturbed, will obtain rest and more attentive treatment in a private cell on the decision of the superior. The superior will show more attentive concern for those who are sick, as if they were her own limbs, providing them with things appropriate for their nourishment and giving thought to their other comfort.

45. Concerning the fact that there should also be a second sitting

So then, after the nuns have got up from the table, there should be a second sitting of loaves and courses set out, whatever has been set out on the table for the first sitting, and those who served should eat. But it must not be allowed—something which I forgot to lay down in the case of the first sitting—for anyone standing up from the table to take with her anything of what had been set out, neither bread, nor anything else, also none of the nuns should ask to take with her either cooked food or legumes or anything else, but they must all eat together.

46. Concerning the food on ordinary days

On ordinary days on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday your food at the midday meal will be two dishes, or three if the superior decides, of fish and cheese; on Monday two or three dishes of legumes cooked with olive oil, and shellfish if there are any; on Wednesday and Friday, two or three dishes of legumes cooked with olive oil and vegetables similarly treated. If on these days, I mean on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday a refreshment is supplied by some devout people, or a feast of Our Lord occurs, or of one of the twelve Holy Apostles, or of the famous martyrs or hierarchs, then you should eat fish, with the superior taking care of this, unless a refreshment should come from other people.

On all the ordinary days your drink will be of the larger measure; but when the superior decides, it will be increased as much as she wishes. At supper on the same days bread and vegetables in season and small fruits will be set out for you at the discretion of the superior; your drink will be distributed with the larger measure.

47. Concerning the food during the Great Lent

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 435–36, and [10], lines 438–50]: **This is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year, but not during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, [p. 95] on the first day of the first week of which, that is on Monday, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the subsequent days of this week a table should be set, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and you will drink hot water seasoned with cumin. However on Friday you should eat two dishes of food, one cooked with olive oil, the other without olive oil, and drink wine distributed in the larger measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore, which the superior must celebrate as a duty and give you refreshment on Saturday and feed the community with shellfish.** But if a refreshment were to be provided by some devout person, you will be fed also on fish.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 451–76]: **You should carry out the first week of the great and holy Lent in that way. But on all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast three cooked dishes with 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 both on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on Thursday of the Great Canon. But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, both with olive oil; and your wine will be measured out with the smaller measure. Moreover on Mondays two cooked dishes will**

be set out before you, of which one will be with olive oil, the other without olive oil, and your wine will be measured out with the smaller measure, **which is half the larger**. On Wednesdays and Fridays there will be two cooked dishes but without olive oil and for your drink wine measured with the smaller measure. But **if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints** or the feast of the Annunciation¹⁸ should happen to fall on any Monday or Tuesday or Thursday or Saturday or Sunday, **you must eat fish and the wine must be distributed in the larger measure, either with fish bought by the convent or through a refreshment sent by devout people**. But if one of the aforesaid feasts should happen to be celebrated **on one of the days of the first week**, you are to eat the same food as on Tuesdays and Thursdays of the other weeks of the holy Lent and wine must be distributed **in the larger measure**. But then on all the other days of the holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, unless a refreshment is perhaps sent by someone on Saturday or Sunday.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 480–505]: **When the feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible partaking of fish provided by the convent 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. Rather you will receive a refreshment because of the feast, [p. 97] since for three days of that week, that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday it is right that you should live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavored with cumin. If the aforementioned feast of the Annunciation should fall on the Monday and Tuesday of the great holy week or on Holy Thursday, you will partake of shellfish only. But if it should fall on the Wednesday of Holy Week or Good Friday or on Holy Saturday itself, on Wednesday of Holy Week and on Good Friday, you will be content with some cooked legumes and vegetables accompanied by olive oil. **You should partake of wine also in the larger measure**.

But on Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided, for because of the feast you will not break the fast of Holy Saturday, on which day alone we have been instructed by the canon to fast from everything, but you should observe all the more the commands of the divine fathers¹⁹ and you should achieve, according to Gregory the Theologian, all the other good things that is in them as far as you can. He says “For to celebrate a feast is this, to gain a treasure for our soul from what is firm and established, not from what is voided and becomes rotten, [things] which beguile our senses a little, but do us in my opinion a very great harm.” Again, “Let the body’s own trouble be sufficient for the body (cf. Matt. 6:34). Why does a flame need more wood or a wild animal more abundant food in order to become more difficult to restrain and unimaginably more violent? Therefore for these reasons a feast should be celebrated spiritually.”²⁰

So on Holy Thursday, whenever we do not celebrate the feast of the Annunciation, **your meal will be composed of dishes and wine in the larger measure**, as on the Tuesdays and Thursdays of the remaining weeks of Lent. **However on Good Friday**, unless the aforementioned feast of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God should occur, **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**.

But on Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided and there should only be a collation as is customary, even if the feast of the Annunciation of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God occurs.

In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles will be laid down immediately next.

48. Concerning the food during the fast of the Holy Apostles and that of the Nativity of Christ

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 509–24]: **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 [p. 99] at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above. There on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil and drink wine of the larger measure;** and on Tuesdays and Thursdays two or three similar dishes, as the superior wishes; on Saturdays and Sundays you should partake of fish provided by the convent, unless a special refreshment is sent by someone, and on all these days the wine will be of the larger measure. Furthermore on all the days a **supper should be set for you of bread** and raw vegetables and fruits that happen to be at hand and the **wine should be of the larger measure because of the heat and dryness of the season. But if a refreshment were to come in,** even on another day, **you should partake of the fish on that day gratefully.**

The fast of the Holy Nativity of Christ will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles²¹ in both food and drink, and the whole canonical office will be in accordance with the *synaxarion*. The diet during this fast **will differ from that** during the fast of the Holy Apostles **in these two points only.**[First], **you will eat once for when a fast is being observed your meal will be set out at the ninth hour, and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” is not sung at matins.** On the other days a small supper will be set out for you, because the midday meal does not take place at the ninth hour but earlier. [Second], the wine will be distributed in the smaller measure at supper, on the days when you are allowed to take supper. But during the feast of the Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple²² you will eat fish—even if no one brings any as an offering—and on the other days whenever it is offered by someone.

49. Concerning not eating in secret

So since instructions have been thus laid down for you concerning food, we also introduce the matter of abstinence from secret eating and drinking. Avoid this to the utmost of your power, continually keeping 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. [p. 101]

50. Concerning poverty

So that you may easily surmount this trap of the evil one, we are imposing on you the

utmost poverty which can be of the greatest service, and preserving this you would without effort escape the danger of secret eating and drinking. For what would the person who has nothing taste? So then, practice utmost poverty, not only as regards money even to the extent of an obol, but also in food and drink even to the smallest amount. For in order that you may not transgress this command of ours, we instruct the superior to examine you whenever and as often as she wishes, and to allow you to have nothing more than the things allowed by the cenobitic rule.

51. Concerning the fact that the nuns must not be despondent at the precepts of the rule concerning the cenobitic way of life

Not only should you not be despondent at these our precepts and instructions nor burdened by them, but rather it is reasonable that you should rejoice and exult, because freed from all worry you will have one task without distraction, namely care and concern for your spiritual salvation. For we have prepared for you a common table lacking none of the necessities. This you will maintain for ever inevitably and without hesitation, avoiding it in no way. For even if someone because of an ascetic practice says that she wishes to be absent from the common table, yet according to the great Basil²³ since it is possible for her being present to taste each of the things that are set out but not eat them—a statement which is accustomed to overthrow the conceit that comes from fasting—the only acceptable reason for being absent from the common meal is an illness which is known to the superior of the convent.

52. Concerning the fact that all the housekeeping expenses of the nuns should be covered by the revenue of the convent

I prescribe that garments and cloaks and headcloths and the rest of the things you need should be provided for you from the revenue set aside for the convent, and be bought in advance and stored away at the appropriate time. The appropriate time is when these items are not in short supply, but when they are very plentiful and are sold very cheaply. I prescribe that simply all your necessary provision, so that I need not enumerate individual items, is to come from the convent. These things will be done in this way so that the name of community [p. 103] may be true and not imperfect in the case of the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. There will always be managers of these things and overseers appointed by the superior, taking care that not only are the new items not damaged, but also that the worn items are repaired. We instruct that these things be carried out in this way so that you may remain free from all worry about your life, but with one continuous task, namely to pray for yourselves and us.

53. Concerning the fact that external nuns or imposed guests should not be received into the convent

I wish that there should neither be any external nuns or imposed guests nor any called such. Therefore I instruct that an external nun should in no way be received, whether she is a woman of exalted station in life, or the possessor of great wealth and as a result either brings or promises an ample and generous offering in order to gain certain specified living allowances. For such a thing amounts to the violation of our decision and instruction. For we opened the gates of the convent freely and without any gift whatsoever to those who embrace the cenobitic way of life and seek to

have or receive nothing more than what has been laid down by us, and we do not accept in any way a gift made with some specific aim which perverts what we have laid down.

Who would send an imposed guest to an independent convent, a convent dedicated and entrusted to the mighty hand of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* and having her as its champion? Who would want the totally unblemished mother of the Word to make war on him by doing a favor for a corrupt person? No one would ever wish this, he would not be so foolish. For no small reward is laid up for the person upholding the wishes of those who made offerings to God, but everlasting punishment has been made ready for those who try to set them aside and pervert them.

54. Concerning the fact that virtuous nuns tonsured at another convent should be received unless they use imperial or governmental authority

Moreover if any nun, priding herself on a life pleasing to God and possessing a good name for this and showing clear traces of virtue, either through a yearning for the convent or a love of the way of life in it or even a friendly attitude [p. 105] towards us, were to wish to become a part of the community, we are ashamed and blush to refuse entry to such a person. In that case we prescribe that she be received, as it is said, with open arms, and the more so if she comes without having recourse to imperial authority or using governmental assistance or that of a patriarch, but in accordance with the observances explained by the holy fathers in the ascetic rules concerning those who move from one convent to another. For how else could we have shown that virtue is to be prized and thought important by those with sense?

However what has been said about such a nun will in no way be taken as a precedent for those who are not like her. Nor will it provide room for a pretext for those who seek pretexts to throw established procedure into confusion, transform and change good precepts, and not go straight towards the prescribed objective but bend it to their own wish. For if someone were accepted as being the kind of person as the passage previously proclaimed, but proved to be not like that—for we humans change most of all things—and appeared to be harmful to the convent or those in it and of no benefit, the superior will be able with the appropriate respect and gentleness to bar her from life in the convent in the future and send her away with prayers.

55. Concerning the fact that the cenobitic way of life should never be changed

Reference has been made many times and in many places²⁴ in this document to the cenobitic way of life, and it will be discussed again now as briefly as possible. For there is something I wish, I wish very much; I wish that the cenobitic way of life and constitution remain in the convent unaltered and unchanged for as long as this whole world exists, not perverted or altered for any reason, nor removed for any reason or excuse whatsoever, neither because of wealth nor poverty, neither because of shortage nor abundance, nor for any other specious reason or pretext of whatever kind, but that the cenobitic way of life and constitution should be preserved in every way for ever unbroken. Even if the whole revenue of the convent should happen to be reduced to being sufficient for two nuns, we wish them to live cenobitically and conform to the rule of this way of life. If one of the mothers superior wishes the opposite, the nuns are to oppose her; and if the nuns, the superior should resist them; and if all of them were to agree, the protectress of the convent should defend what has been laid down by us, and if she also were to consort with them, we grant

permission to anyone who wishes to strive for a pious action, and go to court on behalf of goodness itself and the reward for it, and seek to make our instructions effective, and drive from the convent those chiefly responsible for the abolition of the cenobitic way of life and not to think that this is a small achievement but a very great one that brings salvation. [p. 107]

56. Concerning the fact that apart from the sick the food and drink and clothing of all the nuns should be the same

[= (22) *Evergetis* [26]]: **In addition to these we give you this instruction that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same—I mean the superior, the ecclesiarchissa, those who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life, and those who are inferior to them in these matters. For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.**

57. Concerning the fact that a doctor should call at the convent and concerning the care of those who are sick

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1250–51; 1254–56; 1259–62]: It is necessary also that a doctor should live at our convent for the care and visitation of the sisters who are sick, a eunuch or an old man, calling at the convent and visiting those who are sick and bringing means of healing appropriate to the diseases. But the superior herself **must carry out the care of the sick not in any perfunctory manner**, but according to what is necessary and possible **in food and drink and other necessities**. She **must set aside a special cell** for them to rest and buy medicines when the time is suitable, and prepare and store in it all the things useful for those who are ill. **But our sick sisters emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint, by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of much less seen or eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources provide for them.**

58. Concerning bathing

It remains for me to discuss bathing. So we order that the nuns who are healthy should have a bath each month, but those who are sick, as often as the doctor who is deciding on the disease should say that bathing is beneficial. He also will speak about the appropriate food for the disease. [p. 109]

59. Concerning the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God

At the very beginning of the feast of the Dormition of our Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* the crater lamps must be removed and the silver chandeliers with many lights must be hung up and the silver pot-shaped lamps and silver crater lamps, and all of them should be filled with oil and water, and lit. Candles with cotton wick each weighing six ounces must be fixed in the *lamnai* of both the *templa* and the images for veneration to fill them, and candles with cotton

wick of one *litra* must be fixed in the candelabra with twelve candleholders standing in front of the holy icon of the Mother of God set out for veneration. In the church four large candles of six *litrai* each must stand in the candlesticks and two of six ounces on each side of the holy altar, and candles of four ounces must stand on the tombs wherever they are, one on each, when the remains have been interred. Rose-essence and bitter aloes and incense must be supplied from wherever the superior sees that it is possible. Loaves of three *modioi* and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia* must be distributed at this feast in the gateway to our brothers, the poor, and sufficient *trachea nomismata* must be provided for the purchase of fresh fish for the table of the sisters who are leading the religious life.

60. Concerning the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God

At the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God²⁵ they must light six of the standing candles in each of the candelabra with twelve candleholders, and six at the *templon*, and a sufficient provision [of food] must be supplied for the nuns. The feast of the Exaltation of the venerable and life-giving Cross and the feast of the martyr St. Demetrios and the feast of the Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple must be carried out similarly. [p. 111]

61. Concerning the feast of the Nativity

At the feast of the Nativity of Christ the lighting will be similar to that for the feast of the Dormition and the provision [of food] for the nuns will be similar. The distribution at the gate will be of loaves of two *modioi* and four *trachea nomismata* [in *noummia*]. This lighting will be sufficient also during the feast of the Epiphany. The distribution at the gate will be the same as that at the aforementioned feast, that is the Nativity of Christ, and the provision [of food] for the nuns will be similar.

62. Concerning the feast of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple

At the feast of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple²⁶ they must light six of the aforementioned standing candles in each of the candelabra with twelve candleholders, and at the *templon* similarly six each. The feast of the Annunciation and the feast of Palm Sunday will likewise have the same lighting.

63. Concerning the lighting for the Holy Passion

Moreover the lighting for the feast on Holy Thursday will be the same as that for the feast of the Dormition.²⁷ Likewise the distribution at the gate will be the same as that for the aforementioned feast, apart from the provision [of food]. Holy Easter Sunday will have the same lighting and distribution and provision of food as that for the feast mentioned above.

The feast of the Ascension and the Feast of Pentecost, and likewise that of the Holy Apostles²⁸ will have the same lighting and provision [of food] as that for the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God. The feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ must be celebrated in the same way as that of the Dormition of the Mother of God, but the distribution should consist of [loaves] of two *modioi* of grain and four *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*.

64. Concerning the fact that a distribution at the gate should take place each day

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. line 1183]: It is obligatory that a distribution take place at the gate each day of loaves of a third of a *modios* of grain or of one *modios* of grain for three days, since the leftovers from the table must also be distributed each day, so that, through your joyful almsgiving to our brothers, **you also may receive joyful and abundant mercy from God.** [p. 113]

65. Concerning the fact that the rule should be read each month in the hearing of all

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1313–14]: This instruction must be observed in every respect no less than the rest, or even more so, as it is the source and reason for the unaltered observance of what has been laid down and for the whole setting up of the convent, I mean the **reading of the *typikon* on the first day of each month** in the hearing of all those in the convent, so that through continuous reading the instructions laid down might be especially permanent and indelible, and successful in forming the habit of carrying them out. They must be kept in force and effective by total observance, unbroken and unaltered like divine laws, neither made obsolete and obliterated by time, nor weakened by any attack or violent change, nor consigned to oblivion through laziness, nor repudiated as burdensome through lack of discipline.

66. Concerning the daily lighting of the holy church

So then the daily lighting in the holy church should be like this. Lamps must be kept burning continuously night and day, one in the conch of the apse, one before the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, one on the *templon*, one in the narthex, and another in the exonarthex. Whenever remains come to be interred in a tomb, one lamp must be lit.

67. Concerning the crater lamps that hang around the dome and the rest of them

Every second one of the crater lamps that hang in the middle of the *choros* must be lit at the beginning of the services that are usually celebrated in the church, at matins, vespers, and the liturgy; and they must be extinguished again at the end of these. The same thing should be done concerning all the lamps of the *templon*.

68. Concerning the candles that must be lit

Candles must be lit to burn continuously night and day, one in the sanctuary, and one before my Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. The candelabra with twelve candle holders must stand always at the images for veneration. One candle must be lit on these each day during the singing of the psalm, and one at the *templon*, and they must be extinguished during the dismissal. Three must be lit at the feasts which are not listed in the rule. Similarly three must be lit also at the *templon*. But at the very important feasts already mentioned, instead of burnt-down candles whole ones must be fitted, which must be kept again so that they can be used in the daily lighting until they are completely burnt up. [p. 115]

69. Concerning water

Since after much effort my majesty was able with the assistance of God to bring ever-

flowing water to my monasteries,²⁹ and two cisterns of equal capacity have been constructed, I prescribe that the convent and the imperial houses which my majesty built should be supplied with water by one, and the monastery by the other. If a break occurs in these pipes, it must be repaired by those who receive this water. Since it was decreed by my majesty that there be two conduits to bring this water, one person from the one monastic establishment and another from the other should take care of them. If a break ever occurs in the aqueduct bringing this water, an appraisal should be obtained from one of the *tribounoi* and the expenditure contributed by both of the monastic establishments equally and the aqueduct repaired and the water kept ever-flowing.

70. Concerning the burial-place of the nuns

That is how those matters have been managed and those are the instructions. Since it was necessary to establish a burial-place for the interring of the remains of those nuns who go away to the Lord, but the confined situation of the convent did not provide us with room for the building of such a place, my majesty received from the great church of God the convent called *Ta Kellaraias*³⁰ which was patriarchal, but is now dedicated to the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* as a burial-place of the nuns leading the religious life in it, as the memorandum of the most holy and ecumenical patriarch, Lord Nicholas [III Grammatikos],³¹ made on this matter also clearly states. We also decree that there should be four nuns in it, receiving from the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* each of them each year eighteen maritime *modioi* of grain each, twelve maritime measures of wine each, fifty *litrai* of cheese each, one *modios* of legumes each, and for their allowance twenty-four *trachea nomismata* each, and for their clothing allowance one *hyperpyron nomisma*. Furthermore we decree that a lay priest be assigned there to serve in this convent both in the singing of psalms and the lighting and all the appropriate care, and that it be decreed that he receive what is necessary for this service from the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* from which items for the lighting of the lamps in this burial place should be supplied, namely two maritime measures of oil each year and twelve *modioi* of grain. [p. 117]

We prescribe that the transporting and burial of the nuns who die should be carried out as follows. The customary things done for the dead nun should be carried out in the exonarthex, I mean both the singing of psalms and all the clothing of the remains, and then she should be transported to the convent of the Mother of God called *Ta Kellaraias* with the bier carried either by her sister nuns or by the female servants with as many of the nuns following her as the superior orders. She is to be buried there in the tombs of the nuns, where only the nuns who practice the religious life in the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* must be buried.

No one who is not on the list of this community is to be buried with them, even though she were a relative of the superior or of another of the nuns or a friend or acquaintance, nor even on the instruction of the protectress of the convent, so that the burial-place of the nuns may not become a stranger's burial place. But if anyone tries to do this, she will receive condemnation from God for her transgression of the rule, and will be prevented by the protectress of the convent. Moreover one vault will be assigned for the burial of the female servants of these nuns, another for the mothers superior, another for those wearing the great habit, another for the rest of the nuns and female servants, as many as are nuns and virtuous, and another for the nuns in the convent of *Ta Kellaraias*.

When the sisters who went away with the nun who died have returned to their own convent, they must not go away there any more, but the commemorations on the third, ninth, and fortieth days for the nun who died should be sung by the priest appointed there and be carried out by the nuns in the convent.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1086–92, 1118–21]: **They also should be remembered every day with *ekteneis* in the divine liturgies and at matins and vespers until the fortieth day, and an offering should be made specifically for a nun until the completion of her forty-day commemorations. The ecclesiarchissa must note down the commemorations of each of those who die and write their names on the diptychs, so that their commemorations may not be forgotten and may be performed without fail. Moreover we urge the priests to consult the diptychs during every liturgy in order to commemorate those listed on them, so that they may not bear the accusation of forgetting and omitting them.**

A common commemoration of all the nuns must take place each Friday after the office of lamplighting, unless a feast prevents it; the nuns must sing a canon for the dead and carry out also a *parastasimon*, and an *ektenes* should be made for all those who have already departed. Moreover, a supplication should be made on the Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday of Pentecost for the nuns who have already departed, one for each name, and they should be commemorated. Likewise, during the commemorations for each one a liturgy should be celebrated for her and an offering made, and on the Saturday of Meatfare and on the Saturday [p. 119] of Pentecost the nuns must receive one offering of bread each, to commemorate their parents and relatives, and after the oblation has been made the offerings should be assembled by the gatekeeper and a distribution should take place at the gate.

71. Concerning different commemorations that must be performed annually

Having given sufficient instructions now concerning the matters of the convent, we decree and issue instructions now also concerning our parents, brothers according to the flesh, and children who have died, and those who will die. For the commemorations for all those expressly set out below will be celebrated at the times and on the days recorded in this way.

We wish a night office for the dead to take place with a *parastasimon*, and the lighting in the church to be more abundant than the usual, and during the liturgy an offering should be made and *kollyba* offered for the deceased, and he is to be remembered in *ekteneis* during the night office and matins and the liturgy and vespers. The usual table should not be set out for the nuns, but food should be bought and they should be fed as we previously decreed should happen at the feasts of Our Lord, at whatever season the remembrance of the dead person happens to be. However if the commemoration were to occur on Wednesday or Friday, they will eat shellfish only, except for the commemoration of my most mighty and holy emperor. For at his commemoration, even if it should occur on a Wednesday or a Friday, fish in liberal quantities will also be bought for a meal for the nuns. For it is necessary that the person who is special among mankind should gain a special commemoration. But on all the non-fast days at the commemorations for the rest of our relatives they will eat fish. But if a commemoration for someone were to occur on any of the days of the Great Lent, the night office will be held only on Friday evening of that week, during which the commemoration occurred, and on the following Saturday the nuns will have a refreshment of

shellfish. However, if someone were to come bringing fish for them, they will eat these also. The other two fasts have every day free for the holding of commemorations. We also wish the distribution at the gate to take place on that day, as will be made clear in the naming of each. [p. 121]

The commemoration for my most mighty emperor, Lord Alexios Komnenos, must be performed on whatever day he dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of ten *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and eight measures of wine, and twelve *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. I wish my commemorations to take place on whatever day I leave this body, and be exactly the same as those for my most mighty emperor. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son of my majesty, the *basileus* Lord John,³² Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day he dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter-in-law of my majesty, *despoina* Lady Irene,³³ his wife, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son of my majesty, the *sebastokrator* Lord Andronikos,³⁴ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way.

The commemorations for the dearly beloved son-in-law of my majesty, Caesar Lord Nikephoros,³⁵ must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son of my majesty, Caesar Lord Isaac,³⁶ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son-in-law of my majesty, *panhypersebastos* Lord Nikephoros,³⁷ must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son-in-law of my majesty, the *pansebastohypertatos* Lord Constantine,³⁸ must be celebrated on whatever day he dies similarly in other respects, but the loaf should be of three *modioi* [of grain] and three *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. [p. 123] The commemorations for the dearly beloved granddaughter of my majesty, Irene Doukaina,³⁹ the daughter of *Caesarissa* Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies, and there must be abundant lighting and a special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of four *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and four *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*.

The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the *Caesarissa* Lady Anna,⁴⁰ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia* distributed. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the Lady Maria,⁴¹ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the Lady Eudokia,⁴² Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter-in-law of my majesty, the *sebastokratorissa* Lady Irene,⁴³ must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way, but loaves of three *modioi* should be distributed.

The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter-in-law of my majesty, the *Caesarissa* Lady Irene,⁴⁴ must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. The commemorations

for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the Lady Theodora,⁴⁵ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. On the 14th of October the commemorations must be celebrated for the holy master and dearly beloved father of my majesty of blessed memory, the *protoproedros* and *protovestiarios* and *megas doux ton scholon* in the East, Lord Andronikos Doukas,⁴⁶ who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed his name to Lord Antony, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, [p. 125] and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns.

On the 21st of November the commemorations must be celebrated in the same way for the sanctified mistress and mother of my majesty, the Lady Maria,⁴⁷ who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed her name to Lady Xene. On the 12th of July the commemorations must be celebrated in the same way for Lord John⁴⁸ of blessed memory, the dearly beloved father-in-law of my majesty. On the 1st of November the commemorations must be celebrated in the same way for my sanctified Lady⁴⁹ the mother-in-law of my majesty. On the 9th of January the commemorations must be celebrated for the dearly beloved brother of my majesty, the *protostrator* Lord Michael Doukas,⁵⁰ and there must be abundant lighting and a special fare for the nuns. On the 20th of February the commemorations must be celebrated for the dearly beloved sister of my majesty, the most honorable, honorable Lady Theodora,⁵¹ who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed her name to Lady Irene, and they must be carried out in the same way.

The commemorations must be celebrated on whatever day he dies for the dearly beloved brother of my majesty, the *pansebastos*, *sebastos* Lord John Doukas,⁵² who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed his name to Lord Antony, and they must be carried out in the same way. The commemorations must be celebrated on whatever day she departs to the Lord for the dearly beloved sister of my majesty, the *pansebaste*, *sebaste* Lady Anna Doukaina,⁵³ and they must be carried out in the same way.

Our children, when they depart to the Lord, will be inscribed on the diptychs of those who have already died, and the commemorations for them all will be celebrated in the manner declared above.⁵⁴ But if some of them perhaps dedicate to the convent important movable or immovable property, their commemorations must be celebrated in accordance with their regulation.

72. Concerning the washing of the feet that is going to take place on Holy Thursday

Moreover on Holy Thursday the washing of the feet must be carried out by the most venerable superior in the narthex of the church, where the washing of the feet by the Savior has been portrayed, according to the procedure contained in the *synaxarion* and the rule contained in it. [p. 127] The divine festival of light during the world-wide feast of Epiphany will also be celebrated in the same narthex, in which the *phiale* stands, with the bronze chandeliers hanging in it and receiving their full lighting. In the same way the chandeliers of the church must also be lit then, and two candelabra with large candles stand on this side and on that of the *phiale*.

73. Concerning the fact that no alterations should be made to the buildings of the convent

Since the long-suffering mercy of God towards me approved of this project, and I still remaining in this life have completed all the buildings of the convent, transforming in it the divine church itself, restoring the very beautiful narthex, and adding an exonarthex of Carian wood⁵⁵ and

have built the whole convent to reach this form and state that I had decided, I wish and desire that, as all the things in it were built by me, they should remain thus and be kept unchanged and unaltered. If in time some of them should suffer destruction whether small or greater, or be diminished by some chance accidents, they should be restored again with God's help to the same form without any delay and postponement, and that they should never in any way be changed, either to produce a greater establishment or for any other reason whatsoever. For I do not wish any alteration to be made in them, neither another improved establishment of these buildings compared with the present one, nor even that another gate be added or side-gate or simply any means of entry to the convent from another place, in addition to the one that exists today on the instruction of my majesty.

Since my majesty built a wall of rubble masonry⁵⁶ behind the resting-place of the nuns, that is their common dormitory, setting aside a place in this way for their rest and relief, I do not wish a gate ever to be opened at all in this wall or a side-gate, or a door of any sort or a window or a bow slit or a small opening of any sort, and if damage ever occurs to this wall or a collapse of any kind, the portion that has fallen down or has been destroyed should be restored again in rubble masonry so as to quickly return to its previous form. [p. 129]

The most venerable superior must have complete responsibility for both the preservation and repair of the whole convent and for the improvement, adornment, and retiling of everything in it, but above and beyond everything, of the holy church of God, and she must not despise the smallest thing, but even if the damage should be as little as one glass lamp, she must fill up the place of the missing piece with another piece at once, and I decree that the retiling of the whole convent be carried out with utmost care.

74. Concerning the fact that the convent should remain unobserved from all sides

Moreover this decision of my majesty is no less important than any of those declared before, and ranks with the most necessary, deserving no casual consideration and care. For since the whole dwelling of the nuns is completely unobserved from all sides, I wish what has been set aside by my majesty for their practice of the religious life to be preserved for ever with God's help. Although it is obvious to anyone who is willing to judge correctly from the context and meaning of what has already been written that to establish a [place] of observation of [the convent] is undesirable and quite contrary to the intention of my majesty, nevertheless I thought it necessary to specifically and expressly forbid such an innovation. So because of this my consideration of the matter my majesty dismisses and completely rejects the observing at any time in any way whatsoever of any of the places inside the enclosed area which has been assigned to the way of life of the nuns, either of their courtyard, whether the outer or the inner, or of the enclosure from any side, whether from the imperial buildings or the others, whether from their outer or inner courtyard, whether by the decision of one of the protectresses of the convent or in any other way. It will never be possible at all for anyone for whatever reason, even if it seems in some way to be reasonable, to establish any observation of the activities of the convent either by means of a balcony and a top story or a door or a side door or a window or any moderately sized opening.

But if anything like this is dared by anyone, even if it should be done unintentionally, it will be for the protectress of the convent at the time of necessity to decide at once on the harm arising from it, and even if this is very small, remove it without any investigation or discussion. For, as

has been made clear, since my majesty took care to ensure that the way of life of the nuns dedicated to my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* would remain inside their holy convent completely unobserved by every person, so the situation with regard to this has been made secure. Furthermore, it will be forbidden for any buildings either to be attached or built on to the dividing brick wall of both the outer courtyard and the enclosure of the convent, after the departure of my majesty from this present life, or for any other structure to be freshly built, but rather it will be prevented in every way, since my majesty wishes this wall also to remain in the same form and in the same condition as it is found to have on the day of my departure to God, and that it should not receive any change of any sort whatsoever at any time either by way of an addition or diminution. [p. 131]

75. Concerning the fact that chanters should not be assembled during the feast but that the convent should be untrodden by these also

Since I have completely forbidden entry into this holy place by men, as has already been made clear, I do not at all wish even that chanters should ever enter the church in it either on the day of a feast perhaps or for a commemoration, but that the nuns only themselves who happen to be there at the time should be the chanters along with the devout priests appointed in the convent.

Since it is customary for the sacrament of unction to be celebrated by seven priests once a year on the eve of Palm Sunday in the church at the cemetery, or at the burial place, I decree that it should take place. While this is being performed there, one of the seven priests should enter the convent and conduct the prayer for the anointing with holy oil for the nuns, anointing them at the same time, and leave at once.

The religious processions which must be made by the nuns in the convent according to the ecclesiastical tradition will not last long and they will go out from the church through the narthex and along [the path] which goes on from there as far as the [oratory of the] Dormition of our most-pure Lady and Mother of God, the one outside their common dormitory, with the priests of the convent carrying the holy gospel and the venerable cross, and the progress of their advance will cease there, and when the priest has made an *ektenes* there, they will return again to the church.

Moreover in this holy church of the convent (for it appeared necessary to me to add this, since it must be abominated, even if perhaps to some it does not seem an abomination) the performance of any handiwork must not go on either at the time of hymn-singing or during the reading or at any other time.

76. Concerning where and how those of our daughters and granddaughters who choose to be buried in the convent must be buried, and how their commemorations should take place

If ever any of our daughters or daughters-in-law or even of our granddaughters, to whom the *ephoreia* of the convent has been assigned and the use of the more sumptuous buildings, should choose to be buried in this convent (for it is not unreasonable to discuss this also), this will be possible for her if she has assumed the monastic habit, but not at all otherwise, and she will have a place in the exonarthex for the burial of her remains, making her own tomb according to her own wishes.

The commemorations of those who will be buried thus in this convent and the lighting of lamps on the tombs of those who have not chosen to dedicate anything at all in the convent will be

carried out as my majesty decreed, [p. 133] with one lamp lit for each tomb to burn continuously; but [the commemorations] for those who were glad to offer and dedicate something of their own possessions by their own decision and choice, will be carried out in whatever way they decree from what is given by them, that is, as an addition to what has been decreed by us.

But it will not be possible for any of them all, whether an official or a private person, whether a superior or a nun, or even if that person makes a large, expensive and useful offering to the convent, on any pretext to plan the removal of any of the remains that will be buried in it, much less to accomplish it, or to discuss in any way burial or joint burial with these. For my majesty by this present document itself keeps everyone from such a plan and action.

77. Concerning the number of inventories and rules that have been made for the holy convent of the *Kecharitomene* and where each must be deposited

Since three rules have been drawn up by us on parchment covered with precious fabric and three inventories, that is including the present rule and the inventory of dedications to the convent, we decree that two of these—that is the rule and the inventory—should be deposited in the divine, inviolable, and holy sacristy of the Great Church of God, as that is also where the [documents] of the monastery of *Philanthropos* are, that is the rule and the inventory, so that for all time what we have decreed in it concerning the monastery of *Philanthropos* and what was dedicated to it may be indelibly preserved. Two others are to be in the possession of the protectresses of the convent at the time, so they can have an accurate knowledge of what we decreed in these. The other two, the rule and the inventory, should be deposited in the sacristy of the convent of *Kecharitomene*. Moreover the other two volumes, one of which is in the form of the rule and the other in that of the inventory, both being of paper will be for daily use in the convent.

78. A consoling exhortation to the nuns

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42]]: **So then these should be the wishes of my majesty and I hope it may be said that they are acceptable to God and my most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* and are greatly beneficial for your help; in the future it will be your concern [p. 135] 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, 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, to labor all of you 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 convent’s possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever 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 convent to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat differ-**

ent, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. 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 most revered mothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm and pass by those that bring salvation. For nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For you did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as you could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, “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 dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who toil, strive, and 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” (Heb. 12:1). **Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things** (Phil. 4:8). **Do not fail to do the things “you have heard and learned”** (Phil. 4:8–9), holy mothers, **“the appointed time has grown very short”** (I Cor. 7:29), **remember your souls.**

For in thinking over these things for you, it is likely that I should have forgotten myself, who am full of every wickedness and am disposed to be careless in every way with regard to the commands of God. Because of this I earnestly beg your community never to forget our souls, but in your prayers to support us continuously who are unworthy of heaven and earth, bearing in mind, if nothing else, our great and fervent [p. 137] eagerness and our zeal directed both towards the establishment of your holy convent, and the gathering of your community, and organizing the things that support its material independence and spiritual benefit, for no other purpose at all except the care of your own souls and continuous praying for our insignificance, which we pray you never forget. But even if we are absent in the body, you should think that we are present with you in spirit and that we fall at your feet and appeal to your company very piteously and with burning tears to pray for us who have sinned against God more than all men, and, what is more, beg for more goodness from him through your holy prayers. So **may you not forget to pray for our insignificance.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1318–22]: **“May 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 Life-Giving Spirit** through the intercessions of our Mother of God *Kecharitomene*.

Irene Doukaina in Christ Our God the faithful Empress of the Romans.⁵⁷

79. Concerning the more sumptuous buildings newly built in the convent by my majesty

It is necessary also to discuss what is reasonable concerning the very sumptuous buildings newly built by my majesty in the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. For when my

majesty built more splendid buildings around this revered convent, apart from those necessary for the convent and supplying all the needs of the nuns for their way of life, it wished my [daughter] of blessed memory, the nun Lady Eudokia,⁵⁸ Born-in-the-Purple, to have these and use them for her own residence and repose, but since she was snatched away before my hopes were realized and went to “the eternal dwelling-places” (Heb. 13:20–21), it was necessary for my majesty to decree what it decided about them.

This I have in fact done, and I decree that after my departure from this life my most beloved [daughter] the *Caesarissa* Lady Anna,⁵⁹ Born-in-the-Purple, should possess and occupy without hindrance, while she lives, not only all the cells in which she resided while I was alive, but also all the buildings in the convent of *Kecharitomene*, that is all those which were for the use of my majesty and our children and our servants both men and women, together with the outer courtyard [p. 139] situated immediately next to the inner courtyard of the more sumptuous buildings. For a written instruction concerning the other courtyard which was once used as a vineyard but was changed into a courtyard, will be issued by me at some time and will be in force.

Furthermore, she should possess the church of St. Demetrios⁶⁰ with the two bathhouses and a third of the spring water that is brought into the buildings of the convent, that is, just as I possess them, and she must have complete freedom to build other new buildings, whatever kind she wishes, and to change those that exist, both the imperial and the other ones, in whatever way she chooses, and alter them to whatever form she wishes, observing this only, namely, not to set a new burden of any sort whatsoever on the dividing wall of both monasteries, that is that of *Philanthropos* and that of *Kecharitomene*, nor to have a place overlooking them.

After her death I decree that my most beloved granddaughter Lady Irene Doukaina,⁶¹ the daughter of Lady Anna, should have the use, possessions, and occupation of all the immovable property listed above and the remaining rights, inalienable and without any proviso. After the departure from this life of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, only the buildings overhanging the dividing wall and looking towards the garden of the monastery of *Philanthropos* must be destroyed, in which today resides the aforesaid lady, Born-in-the-Purple; and this wall must be raised by a further two cubits.

But after the death of Lady Irene, if her mother, Born-in-the-Purple, dies leaving a will, I decree that she should bequeath these imperial buildings and the others to whichever of her children or grandchildren or great-grandchildren, whether male or female, she chooses. But if her mother departs from this life before the Lady Irene, or even after her but has not settled this matter, for it is not important, then the right of possession and occupation of the buildings listed above and the other things will pass to the oldest male or female descendant, child or grandchild or great grandchild of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, moreover with this provision, that if the person to whom this right will belong departs from this life leaving a will, he has the power to pass on these to whichever of the children, grandchildren, and so on descended from him that he wishes. But if he should not have any descendants or does not settle this matter, then the aforementioned right passes again to the oldest male or female descendant of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, and this proviso is to continue thus for ever, as long as there remains enough of those descended from the line of the aforementioned lady, Born-in-the-Purple.

The lady Born-in-the-Purple will bequeath this right in her will not only to her children or

grandchildren or great-grandchildren, as has been stated above, but also to one of her daughters-in-law married to one of these, whomsoever she wishes, and this lady will possess these in the same way, unless she were to consider a second marriage. [p. 141] For if she were so inclined, she will immediately lose this right which will always pass to the line of the lady Born-in-the-Purple. It must happen like this without any change also in the case of all the other daughters-in-law to whom this right will belong, by being passed on from those who have possessed this, as has been described above. For it will be possible not only for the lady Born-in-the-Purple but also for those who are descended from her to pass this on in their wills, if they should wish, to one of their daughters-in-law married to the men descended from them. For we must admit one thing, that even though we specifically mention the male sex only yet the female sex also must be understood by this and considered equally designated, as far as the chapter regarding these buildings is concerned.

But if, something I pray does not happen, the family fails so that there is no descendent from the line of the family of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, remaining, then I decree that these buildings should be restored to the power of this convent, and the buildings of the outside courtyard should be transformed into rented properties, and the convent should reap the revenue from them, and they should take down those of the inner courtyard and use the material and the site as the convent wishes for profitable gardens and orchards, all the revenues from which the convent will gain with those also of the bathhouses.

Moreover those who at the time are to have the occupation and the dwelling in the aforementioned buildings will live in them in a reverent manner, and will not cause any distress at all to the convent of *Kecharitomene*. But they will have the power to build where they wish inside the boundary of the buildings granted to them, and to such a height that they do not look down on any of the parts of either the monastery or the convent, but they will not prop any building on the empty walls around the convent or its buildings but the buildings will be completely free-standing just as they have been made by us. The use of these [buildings] will in no way whatsoever be granted to strangers, either by sale or hire or exchange or gift or mortgage or pledge or by any other means whatsoever by any of the people prescribed to have the possession and occupation of the aforementioned buildings, and the one who possesses this right will simply not be allowed to lodge anyone else in them, having perhaps a personal residence elsewhere. For this we completely forbid.

But if ever—and may this not happen—the person who at any particular time has the use of the buildings of the convent—for I must repeat again my words about them—incurs any civil or private liability of any kind whatsoever connected with money or a criminal charge or should even be found guilty of treason, my majesty does not wish these buildings or their use to be made liable, but remain free of all liability. If the liability is one regarding money, that person who has the use of these buildings should possess and occupy them again, even if all the rest of this person's wealth is perhaps forfeit by law to his creditors. For this use and possession of these buildings and all the things in them must be above all debt liability, since my majesty passes them on in this way to those who are going to possess them. But if he should be indicted for a crime or on a charge of treason and should be ejected from this usage, the usage must revert to the person summoned next, according to the proviso [p. 143] and definition given above. But if perhaps there should be no [descendants] left, [the buildings] will return to the controlling convent.

If also perhaps some day—may this not happen—these buildings are burned down partially or totally, my majesty does not wish the usage to come to an end, because the residential buildings have been destroyed, but the person who then has the right of this usage according to the above regulation should again have it and possess these rights and use them, as has been described above, having the power to rebuild the buildings on the sites of those that were burnt, of whatever kind he can, though the provisos concerning the way these buildings should be passed on and go from one to another must be kept, just as has been described more clearly above, and be in force and operate. However it will not be possible for anyone to give away the site of these buildings to anyone for a garden or for the building of rental property, but to build other buildings again in place of them of whatever kind he can in order to reside in them, and we decree that the one who uses the place differently contrary to this decree of ours should be ejected from those [buildings] and they should pass to the person summoned after the man or woman who has been expelled, as has been discussed above.

Moreover I wish all these commands and provisos that have been discussed to remain secure with the party of the convent not having the power to go against the decrees of my majesty here in any way whatsoever. For with these provisos my majesty has thus created and creates the attachment of these immovable rights to the party of the convent, and in the aforementioned ways instructs that the control of them be attached to the convent. If perhaps the party of the convent possesses some rights from some documents or from elsewhere in respect of these buildings and the others and the whole of their surrounding area, my majesty does not wish that anything else should be done in respect of them contrary to what has been laid down here. For my majesty, since it has established the whole convent and the properties around it and in its control at great personal expenditure and cost, has the power in every way to decree in respect of these immovable properties whatever it decides, and wishes its decrees to remain unchanged; and if the nuns were perhaps to attempt to try something else, those chiefly responsible among the rest for this attempt will not be received favorably by any court of law, and will be expelled from the convent.

80. Concerning those who must have the *ephoreia* of the convent

Since it was inevitable that someone should be appointed by me to protect the convent, and be active in preserving the instructions in the rule unbroken in every way, and moreover my majesty decreed, in the chapter⁶² concerning those who should protect the convent, that my dearly beloved daughter, Lady Eudokia, Born-in-the-Purple, should take care of it [p. 145] and exact vengeance on those who perhaps try to harm it, and be zealous in preserving unbroken the instructions in the rule published by me. But she, because of my sins, as has been mentioned, departed this life, and I decree that after my departure from this life my most beloved [daughter] the *Caesarissa*, Lady Anna, should have the *ephoreia* of the convent; and after her death, my dearly beloved daughter, Lady Maria, Born-in-the-Purple, should have the *ephoreia* of this convent along with my dearly beloved granddaughter, Lady Irene Doukaina, the daughter of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple. But when these depart from this life, this *ephoreia* should go to the other daughter of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, or to a granddaughter or a great-granddaughter and so on, for my majesty wishes her daughters and granddaughters and great-granddaughters and so on, as long as the female line continues, to oversee the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, the one who is the eldest.

TWELFTH CENTURY

But if the female line descended from the often mentioned Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, fails, then the protection of this convent will pass, as a result of this written decree of my majesty, to one of the daughters-in-law married to one of those descended from the lady, Born-in-the-Purple, that is the one married to the eldest. Again this arrangement will be preserved until the daughters-in-law married to the males of the family fail, as long as this is observed, namely, that the woman who is going to oversee the convent does not enter into a second marriage after the death of her husband. If perhaps she gains the appointment to the *ephoreia* and then turns aside to a second marriage, she will at once be deprived of the *ephoreia*, and it will pass to the one summoned after her. This proviso must be observed in the case of them all.

Moreover after these all fail, it will pass to the lady from the most distinguished of our family, but she will not be the one who surpasses the others in age but the one in fact whom the nuns practicing the religious life in this convent at the time will choose with their superior. This will be maintained like this for ever, for as long as this present age lasts.

The one who has the right of the *ephoreia* will never enter the convent at any other time except during the liturgy, and when this finishes she will leave at once, unless some meeting is proposed which is necessary and is connected with the maintenance of the convent and then with two or three women. But if one of our noble female relatives or another woman should happen to be with her, she alone will enter the convent together with her, but not a single man, because we decree that the convent is to be completely untrodden by men and continuously closed even to eunuchs themselves.

But if some of our male children and sons-in-law married to our daughters or even of our grandsons will wish to enter the convent, through a desire for us or because of some matter necessary for the convent, they will enter as far as the exonarthex in the company of the protectress of the convent, themselves alone with her, and stand until the liturgy is completed. After the completion of this, [p. 147] when the nuns have gone away to their dormitory, they will enter the church with only the superior left behind with two or three of the oldest and devout nuns, and when they have had an appropriate conversation with them and venerated the [icon] of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, they will leave. They will do this once or twice a year and at the feast of the Mother of God.

Moreover my dearly beloved daughters, Lady Anna and Lady Maria Born-in-the-Purple and my most beloved granddaughter, Lady Irene Doukaina, will have the liberty, whenever they wish, to attend the church at all the divine services, and at the time of the meals to eat with the nuns but with [only] two or three of their women.

The door which leads into this convent from the direction of the imperial buildings will be closed on the inside by the superior and on the outside by the protectress of the convent. All the other things discussed in the third chapter concerning the oversight must be maintained unchanged for ever.

Concerning the delimitation of the convent

The dividing wall of the convent of *Kecharitomene* begins from the gate of entry to the convent situated in front of the public road, which comes from the direction of the convent of St. Anna of Deuteron,⁶³ and goes eastwards keeping close to the same public road and goes on as far as the

27. KECHARITOMENE

lavatory of the infirmarian of the convent which is opposite the end of the balcony of the buildings [by] the oak tree of the convent. In length it is forty-eight cubits, and separates the buildings of the convent on the left from the public road on the right. It curves away a little, keeping close again to the same public road, and goes away as far as the lane behind the cells of the patriarchal convent of St. Nicholas.⁶⁴ In length it is fifty-three cubits, and separates the buildings of the convent on the left from the public road on the right. It turns to the north keeping close to the lane, separating the church of St. Nicholas on the right from the buildings of the monastery on the left. In length it is eighteen and a half cubits. It bends to the east for a distance of three cubits, then veers a little to the north for a distance of one cubit. It bends back eastwards again for a distance of five cubits, then again turns eastwards for four and a half cubits and bends again to the east for a distance of four and a half cubits. It turns back again northwards separating the buildings of St. Nicholas on the right from the buildings of the convent on the left and continues as far as the wall of the two-story building [housing] the wardrobe [p. 149] of my majesty; in length it is twelve cubits. It turns a little towards the west for a distance of two cubits then goes northwards again for a distance of twenty-three cubits separating the alley in front of the workshop of the convent on the left from the buildings of my majesty on the right. Up against this wall is placed the *omphaitos* belonging to [the building housing] the wardrobe of my majesty and the balcony built from Carian wood which is of the same dimensions as the uncovered balcony. It turns to the west separating the alley and the workshop of the convent on the left from the houses of my majesty on the right for a distance of fifteen cubits. It bends to the north separating the empty space behind the sanctuary of the church of the convent on the left from the houses of my majesty on the right for a distance of sixteen cubits. It turns back westwards separating the colonnade of the church of the convent on the left from the *tetrakarikoxylon* of my majesty on the right for a distance of nine cubits. It turns back again northwards separating the oratory of my majesty on the left from the *tetrakarikoxylon* on the right for a distance of twelve cubits in which also there is only . . .

TWELFTH CENTURY

Appendix A [p. 148]

The vineyards paying tax⁶⁵ to the holy convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* situated around the exterior of [the convent of] Zoodochos Pege.⁶⁶

	<i>mod(ioi)</i>	<i>(nomismata)</i>	<i>k(okkia)</i>
Basil Kalogerites	2 5/6	—	23
Tzignogoulina the widow	3	1	—
Polypeirina the widow [p. 149]	2 1/2	—	20
Demetrios Kanokes	5 1/5	1	18
Kanokes the priest, his brother	3 1/2	1	4
Apostoles Lithognomon	6 1/10	2 (?)	1
Gounares Kentarchos	5	1	16
John Tzibitzoulos	5 1/3 and 3 <i>lepta</i>	1	2 (1/2)
Konstas Galotes	2 1/4	—	18
Manuel Koursares	2 1/8	—	17
Lampadares Panopoulos	4 1/10	1	9
[p. 150]			
Theodore Keporos	6	2	—
(total) (<i>hyperpera</i>)	15	(<i>kokkia</i>) 8 1/2	
(total) (<i>hyperpera</i>)	12		

The *chrysoteleia*⁶⁷ of our convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene*; the property outside our courtyard.

	<i>(nomismata)</i>	<i>k(okkia)</i>
The house of Sophianos with its land	2	—
The house of Euphemia near Sophianos	—	15
The house of Bardales, that is of Kourasmene	—	15
The house of Kapassou	1	—
The house of Angelina, the priest's wife	—	12
The house of her daughter	1	—
The house of Souroumina	—	12
The house of Garatzias	—	15
The house of Syropoulos with the vineyard	3	—
The house of Pelekanos	1	—
The house of Boutzas	1	—
The house of Theodora Kathare, who is in the old age home	—	12
The house of Gerakares	—	12

27. KECHARITOMENE

	(<i>nomismata</i>)	<i>k(okkia)</i>
The house of Roudroa	1	3
The house of Thomais, the stepdaughter of Tzoukena	–	12
The house of Tzoukis	1	–
The house of Chamopournea	–	12
The house of Katakalos; Mamitzonites has it	–	18
Another house near this one	–	21
(total) (<i>hyper</i>) <i>p(y)r(a)</i>	17	<i>k(okkia)</i> 13

John Serbos for the small vineyard (?) [p. 151]

The *chrysoteleia* of the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, outside the chronological limits (?)⁶⁸ of the first indiction.

	(<i>nomismata</i>)	(<i>kokkia</i>)
Rent [of] the bakery	20	–
Rent [of] house next to the warehouse	2	12
Rent [of] house once belonging to Sophianos	5	–
House of Tzegoudes	–	15
House of Sophianos, the maker of rush mats	1	–
House of Latouros	1	–
House, a workshop of the same man		
Another house of his son-in-law	–	12
Rent [of] house near it	2	–
Two houses of Apedou	1	12
House of Mauraganos	–	21
House of Maurianos		
Another of the same man, total	1	12
The vine dressing		
House of the priest Zagaras	1	9
House of Thomais	–	21
House of Michael Charastias	1	3
House of Triantaphylos	–	12
House of Mauros	1	–
House of miller's wife	1	–
House of Charatzias	–	15
And a vineyard measuring a small <i>modios</i>	1	12
John Serbos, a small <i>modios</i>	6	18

TWELFTH CENTURY

	(<i>nomismata</i>)	(<i>kokkia</i>)
Palaiologos as a result of purchase from Apedou	1	12
(total)	50	9
And from the tax of [<i>zoodochos</i>] Pege	10	12
And from the workshop	20	—
And from Galatas	3	—
The priest has [his] allowance for the year	20	—
The man who looks after the vineyard has [his allowance] for the year	42	—
The church has [its] expenditure, wax and oil	12	—

[p. 152]

Appendix B

with the [following] lines: O Queen full of grace, Irene presents a gift of the wood of the Cross to your convent. Inside it [is] the venerable wood with six gold caskets (?)⁶⁹ and with gold: the middle of this [is] silver the inner of the reliquary silver-gilt with six silver reliquaries the lids of which are silver-gilt depicting the scourging of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, the Resurrection, and Christ greeting the Marys, with a larger of silver with gold inlay and two other small

<Another> reliquary fully *tzapotos* inside and out⁷⁰ silver-gilt having depicted on its doors St. Peter and St. Paul and [the venerable] wood on the outside of the doors it has hierarchs [St. John] Chrysostom and St. Nicholas; on the inside on this side and that of the venerable wood [are] silver reliquaries and above and below is an encaustic inscription in [the following] lines: The faith of the empress Irene gained a protection of herself and her husband and children, the holy passion of the most revered of the relics of the martyrs also with large silver rings (?)⁷¹ and p....
..... and two glass jewels.

Another reliquary, silver-gilt all over for the venerable wood, having its lid depicting the Crucifixion with the Mother of God and [St. John] the Theologian and the evangelists; on the outside of the lid the <Crucifixion> and inside the reliquary the venerable wood completely covered with silver, and it has depicted on it the Crucifixion above and St. Stephen below and six <other> of the Cross St. John on this side and St. [Mary] Magdalene on the other side; it has and *katovlia* and a lock (?)⁷² with a silver key and

Another reliquary *tzapotos* all round having depicted above St. Demetrios and inside of St. Demetrios himself and on top with a deep purple cross. [p. 153]

..... silver-gilt, and two others, two silver-gilt icons, the first [of] St. Peter and the other [of] St. Paul.

27. KECHARITOMENE

Suspended between these pillars, a small silver *tzapotos* having the four evangelists.

<Another icon> depicting the Dormition [and] the birth—both of the Mother of God—the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, the Baptism, and Christ enthroned and the Mother of God similarly. <Another> [icon] St. Theo <Another> [icon]

About <painted on wood> and unadorned [icons].....

<Another> large icon <painted on wood> for the sanctuary [of] the most holy <Mother of God> and Child.

<Another> similar large icon [of St. John] the Theologian.

Another similar icon [of] St. Basil.

Another icon with wings, [of] the prophet Daniel and other saints.

Another of St. Eupraxia, Christ *Antiphonetes*, and the most holy Mother of God.

<Another> [of] the martyr St.

<Another>

Another icon [of the] Forty <Martyrs>.

<Another> of the most holy Mother of God.

Another icon

<Another>

<Another>

<Another>

And another icon [of] <the> three <hierarchs> ... [St. John] Chrysostom and St. Gregory the Theologian.

Another old icon.

Another similar icon.

Another icon [of] the Mother of God and Child with a silver-gilt frame with various saints depicted and various glass jewels.

Another new icon, painted on wood, [of] Christ enthroned, and below similarly the Mother of God and on this side and on that of both of them [Sts.] Peter and Paul and the Saints Theodore with a silver-gilt frame and a similar ring.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Another small silver icon [of] the Crucifixion and another small one similarly of silver [of] the Nativity of Christ.

Two *amparateines*⁷³ icons with gold studs, one with a ring of silver with gold inlay, the other with a similar golden ring and [both] were ruined by age. [p. 154]

Concerning the *templa*, the lilies,⁷⁴ the crosses, the arched candlestands⁷⁵ above these, the holy doors, the capitals⁷⁶ the doorposts,⁷⁷ and the curtains woven with silver and gold fixed on the pillars.

..... of the holy sanctuary various decorated holy crosses of silver with gold inlay along with their complete *Hexapteryga* [and] various saints.

Three other [crosses] stand inside the *templon*, silver-gilt with various glass jewels and on their sides two silver-gilt lilies weighing six *litrai*, twenty-six *hexagia* and above [them] similar silver-gilt lilies weighing eight *litrai*.

The holy doors of the sanctuary of silver completely [covered with] gold inlay [depicting] the Annunciation, with all their [complete set of] identical studs, weighing altogether ten *litrai*, <that is> fifty-eight *hexagia* and their studs four.

The doorposts of the holy doors of silver completely [covered with] gold inlay depicting Christ and the Mother of God weigh three *litrai* *hexagia*.

<The curtains> of the four pillars bearing a representation of a cross [and the] portraits of <various> saints.

About the venerable crosses.

A silver-gilt cross which stands inside the sanctuary *tzapotos* from head to foot, silver-gilt, having on the front side of it and the back eleven [pieces of] silver enamelling with various glass jewels and a complete [set of] pendants⁷⁸ and six complete arched candlestands (?) above.⁷⁹

Another small cross completely made of gold with six similar pendants and various glass jewels.

Another plain silver cross *tzapotos*, small, with two bosses (?)⁸⁰ missing from it.

Another two small crosses, one of which is larger [and] has Christ depicted across the middle; on the back of it [is] an inscription; the other one [is] small and without a covering, but was of gold.

Another small black with

Another wooden [reliquary] containing the relics of St. Demetrianos. [p. 155]

Concerning the sacred patens and chalices and [other] patens.

One set of silver-gilt paten and chalice, together with a spoon, *ithmos* and asterisk, weighing eight *litrai* and one ounce.

27. KECHARITOMENE

Another set of silver paten and chalice, plain, with bands of gold inlay, together with an *ithmos*, asterisk and spoon.

Another set of paten and chalice, similar in all respects [to the former set] together with an *ithmos*, asterisk and spoon. Both [paten and chalice] are of silver. These two similar sets of paten and chalice weigh twelve *litrai* eight ounces.

Another set of paten and chalice resting on a foot, plain, together with an *ithmos*, asterisk and spoon. Both [paten and chalice] are of silver, with a cross and stars of gold inlay. [The set] weighs five *litrai* and ten ounces.

Another small silver paten with gold inlay of octagonal shape for the sacrament; it weighs two *litrai* seven ounces.

Another large paten for the bread offerings

Notes on the Translation

1. The Doukas family, for which see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 1–15.
2. Irene, who was born ca. 1066, married Alexios Komnenos ca. 1078 and became empress in 1081 with the accession of her husband to the throne; see Brand and Cutler, “Irene Doukaina,” *ODB*, p. 1009.
3. Irene was the mother of Anna, Maria, John (the future emperor John II Komnenos), Andronikos, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Michael, and Zoe. There are provisions below in [71] for the commemoration of all of her children except for Michael (born 1097) and Zoe (born 1098). Of Irene’s ten known grandchildren, only Anna’s daughter Irene Doukaina is mentioned in this document (see [71], [79], [80] below).
4. Eudokia Komnene, Irene’s third daughter, born 1089 or 1094 (Kazhdan, “Liste,” p. 236), for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 254–59, and [71], [79] below.
5. As [79] and [80] in fact were; cf. Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” p. 14.
6. Anna Komnene, Irene’s eldest daughter, born 1083, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 176–97, and [71], [79], [80] below.
7. Maria Komnene, Irene’s second daughter, born 1085, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 198–202, and [71], [80] below.
8. See also [73] below.
9. *praktikon*.
10. Unidentified quotation.
11. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
12. Possible quotation from (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. line 611.
13. The candles were manufactured at the convent.
14. This chapter is a paraphrase of (22) *Evergetis* [37]; see Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” p. 76, n. 9, and p. 77, n. 11.
15. Feast of the Dormition, August 15; feast of the Transfiguration, August 6.
16. Andronikos Doukas, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 55–59, and Maria of Bulgaria, for whom see Gautier, “Kécharitômenè,” p. 124, n. 37; see also [71] below.
17. Living children: Anna, Maria, the future emperor John, Andronikos, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Michael, and Zoe, though Michael and Zoe are omitted in [71] below. Sons-in-law: Nikephoros Bryennios, husband of Anna; Nikephoros Katakalon, husband of Maria; and Constantine Kourtikios, husband of Theodora, are mentioned below in [71], while George Botaneiates, husband of Zoe, is not.
18. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Holy Martyrs, March 9; feast of the Annunciation, March 25.

TWELFTH CENTURY

19. C. Trull. c. 89 (R&P 2.512); *Constitutiones apostolicae*, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1864), pp. 284, 288–89.
20. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio in Pentecosten*, PG 36, col. 429B.
21. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from the Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28; fast of the Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
22. Feast of the Entrance into the Temple, November 21.
23. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 18 ([LR 18]), PG 31, col. 965.
24. In [2] and [51] above.
25. Birth of the Mother of God, September 8.
26. Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple, February 2.
27. As discussed in [59] above.
28. Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29.
29. *Kecharitomene* and the male monastery of *Philanthropos*, for which see [77] and [79] below.
30. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 188.
31. Patriarch of Constantinople, (1084–1111); see Alexander Kazhdan and Anthony Cutler, “Nicholas III Grammatikos,” ODB, p. 1467.
32. John II Komnenos, the future emperor (1118–43) and Irene’s eldest son, born 1087, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 203–28, and the bibliography for (28) *Pantokrator* below.
33. Irene of Hungary, died 1134, who is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [32], [35], and [44].
34. Andronikos Komnenos, Irene’s second son, born 1091, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 229–37. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
35. Nikephoros Bryennios, husband of Irene’s daughter Anna Komnene, for whom see Alexander Kazhdan, “Bryennios, Nikephoros the Younger,” ODB, p. 331. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
36. Isaac Komnenos, Irene’s third son, born 1093, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 238–54, and the bibliography for (29) *Kosmosoteira* below.
37. Nikephoros Katakalon Euphorbenos, husband of Irene’s daughter Maria Komnene, for whom see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 121, n. 27. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
38. Probably Constantine Kourtikios, first husband of Irene’s daughter Theodora Komnene; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 121, n. 28, and p. 122, n. 35.
39. Irene Doukaina, Irene’s granddaughter by Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios, born ca. 1105, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 326–30 and [79], [80] below.
40. Irene’s eldest daughter; see also [4] above and [79] below.
41. Irene’s second daughter; see also [4] above and [79] below.
42. Irene’s third daughter; see also [4] above and [79] below. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
43. Wife of Irene’s second son Andronikos Komnenos; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 122, n. 33.
44. Wife of Irene’s third son Isaac Komnenos; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 122, n. 34.
45. Theodora Komnene, Irene’s fourth daughter, born 1096, for whom see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 122, n. 35, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 259–64.
46. Irene’s father, who died in 1077; see also [34] above. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
47. Irene’s mother, who died shortly before 1095; see also [34] above. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
48. The *kouropalates* John Komnenos, father of Irene’s husband Alexios I Komnenos, who died 1067, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 49–57. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
49. Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexios I Komnenos, patron of Christodoulos of Patmos, and founder of the Christ *Pantepoptes* monastery in Constantinople, for whom see Abrahamse, “Women’s Monasti-

27. KECHARITOMENE

- cism,” p. 48, Charles Brand, “Dalassene, Anna,” *ODB*, p. 578, and Skoulatos, *Personnages*, pp. 20–24. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [32].
50. The *protostrator* Michael Doukas, Irene’s eldest brother, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 63–66. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
51. Theodora Doukaina, Irene’s youngest sister, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 75. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
52. John Doukas, Irene’s second brother, monk and patron of *Evergetis*, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 66–70, and Skoulatos, *Personnages*, pp. 145–50.
53. Anna Doukaina, Irene’s younger sister and wife of George Palaiologos, a partisan of the Chalcedonian reform movement; see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 74–75. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
54. See also [34] above.
55. Tentative translation of the otherwise unattested *karikoxylon*. See Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 126, n. 46.
56. *enchoregos*.
57. Original signature; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 10.
58. Irene’s third daughter, who died after 1118; see also [3] and [71] above.
59. Irene’s eldest daughter, who did in fact retire to the convent after her husband Nikephoros Bryennios’ death ca. 1136–37; see also [4] and [71] above and [80] below.
60. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 91.
61. See the mentions of her in [71] above and [80] below; the date of her death is unknown.
62. See [3] above.
63. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 35–37.
64. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 373–74.
65. *hypotele ampelia*. For the tax on vineyards, see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 150, n. 15.
66. For this convent, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 223–28.
67. *chrysoteleia*. On this tax, see A. Kazhdan, “Chrysoteleia,” *ODB*, p. 455.
68. *ta ekstos chronika indiktionos a’*.
69. *boutia*.
70. *tzapotos*: the meaning of this term is uncertain. It is thought to denote either a silver or gold revetment or the technique used to ornament the metal by means of a hammer and chisel. See Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, p. 68, note to lines 8 and 17. The term is still used in the latter sense (*skalistos*) by old silversmiths on Mount Athos, according to Professor Tsames of the University of Thessalonike who very kindly discussed the word *tzapotos* with us.
71. *kichroule*.
72. *tzikos*.
73. *amparateines*: we are most grateful to Professor Tsames for suggesting that the reference may be to *elektron*, since the latter is known in the demotic as *amparo*. See K. Langitsis, *Etymologiko Lexiko tes Neoellenikes* (Athens, 1978), s.v. *amparo*. For candelabra made of *elektron*, see (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [6] and footnote 57 where the meaning of *elektron* is discussed.
74. *krina*.
75. *kamarai*. On these candlestands, used also over icons, see (61) *Eleousa Inv.*, p. 1677, n. 56.
76. *kephalides*.
77. *harmosphinia*.
78. *meta kataseiston*: for which see Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, p. 68, note to line 11.
79. *kamarai*.
80. Reading *melon* for *milon*.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Document Notes

- [1] Free and self-governing constitution. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [12]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], and (34) *Machairas* [21]. See also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [18], (24) *Christodoulos* [A16], (28) *Pantokrator* [69], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (30) *Phoberos* [33], and (31) *Areia* [M12], [T12].
- [2] Maintenance of the cenobitic life. See also [51], [55] below. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], and (47) *Philanthropos* [1], [2], [3], [4].
- [3] Role of the protector. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [3] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3]. Amended by [80] below.
- [4] Special privileges for founder's relatives. A Subgroup A.1 chapter; cf. other treatments of this issue in (23) *Pakourianos* [25] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [50]. Amended by [80] below.
- [5] Number of nuns. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; cf. other treatments of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [23], (23) *Pakourianos* [6], (28) *Pantokrator* [19], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48], (30) *Phoberos* [42], (31) *Areia* [M4], (32) *Mamas* [5], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5].
- [6] Common residence in one dormitory. A Subgroup A.1 chapter.
- [7] No mandatory entrance gifts. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [37] on irrevocability of voluntary offerings; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], and (34) *Machairas* [59]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A] and (31) *Areia* [T6].
- [8] Conditions for acceptance of outside gifts. A Subgroup A.1 chapter; cf. treatments of this issue in (20) *Black Mountain* [85], (22) *Evergetis* [36], (23) *Pakourianos* [20], (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6], and (46) *Akropolites* [8].
- [9] Inalienability of consecrated property. A Subgroup A.2 chapter. For exceptions to the general rule, see [10] below.
- [10] Regulations for emergency alienations of movable property. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [19].
- [11] Election of the superior. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [13] for the investiture ceremony; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [1] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1]. See also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [5], (24) *Christodoulos* [A18], (26) *Luke of Messina* [11], [12], [13], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [32], and (30) *Phoberos* [35].
- [12] No partiality or favoritism in choice of officials. A Group B chapter; quotes (22) *Evergetis* [14], [16], [17]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [42], [45], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], [44], and (58) *Menoikeion* [18], [19].
- [13] Removal of the superior. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [2], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2], and (34) *Machairas* [88], [89], [90]. See also provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [16], (23) *Pakourianos* [19], (24) *Christodoulos* [A20], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], and (30) *Phoberos* [35].
- [14] Qualifications and duties of the steward. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; cf. other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [13], (24) *Christodoulos* [A21], (28) *Pantokrator* [64], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], (30) *Phoberos* [35], (31) *Areia* [T7], (32) *Mamas* [7], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7].
- [15] Duties of two eunuch priests. A Subgroup A.1 chapter; cf. other treatments of qualifications of priests in (19) *Attaleiates* [30]; (23) *Pakourianos* [7], [24]; (39) *Lips* [6]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [79].
- [16] Confession of nuns to a eunuch spiritual father. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; cf. later provisions for nuns (39) *Lips* [11] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [111].
- [17] Visitation procedures. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; the ban on male visitors is analogous to the ban on women in (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents. See also later provisions for visitations in (39)

27. KECHARITOMENE

- Lips* [15], [16]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [75], [76]. The absolute ban on male visitors is amended in [80] below.
- [18] Installation ceremony for officials. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [29]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [6], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6], and (34) *Machairas* [92]. See also the provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35] and (30) *Phoberos* [18].
- [19] Duties of the sacristan. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis* [32] except for the brief quotation of the latter's provision of tenure of office for officials; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [9], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [9], and (58) *Menoikeion* [5].
- [20] Duties of the ecclesiarchisssa. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [8], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], and (58) *Menoikeion* [4]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [93].
- [21] Duties of the food buyer. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with later documents. See also (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [88].
- [22] Duties of the wine stewardess. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [23] Duties of the provisioner. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [11] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [96].
- [24] Duties of the two treasurers; cash reserve fund. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [10] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10]. (23) *Pakourianos* [26] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94] also provide for cash reserves.
- [25] Duties of the refectorian; exhortation to all officials. A Group B chapter; copies (22) *Evergetis* [31] and [33]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [23] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37], [39], (30) *Phoberos* [48], and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [26] Duties of the disciplinary official. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [31], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37], (30) *Phoberos* [48], and (34) *Machairas* [114].
- [27] Duties of the work organizers. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See (20) *Black Mountain* [80], (34) *Machairas* [86], and (37) *Auxentios* [7] for officials with similar responsibilities.
- [28] Duties of the treasurers of the wardrobe. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents. See different provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [30], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36], and (30) *Phoberos* [47].
- [29] Duties of the gatekeeper. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [12], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12], and (58) *Menoikeion* [7]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [116].
- [30] Length of the novitiate. A Group B chapter; paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [37]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56]. See also treatments in (23) *Pakourianos* [25], (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], and (30) *Phoberos* [51].
- [31] Qualifications and duties of the property managers. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents. See different provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [34], (23) *Pakourianos* [16], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40], (30) *Phoberos* [49], and (34) *Machairas* [109].
- [32] Offices of the first, third and sixth hours. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [4]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], cf. [31], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [31], [36]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [10], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [9], and (30) *Phoberos* [9].
- [33] Regulation of the *mesoria*, the liturgy, and reception of the eucharist. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5]. See also treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], (32) *Mamas* [32], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [34] Offerings of bread at the liturgy. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [35] Prescriptions for the ninth hour, vespers, and the night office. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. See also treat-

TWELFTH CENTURY

- ments in (10) *Eleousa* [7], (20) *Black Mountain* [11], [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], and (34) *Machairas* [42], [43].
- [36] Office of compline. A Group C chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [13], [14], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [44].
- [37] Night office. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15] and (30) *Phoberos* [12].
- [38] Midnight office. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [45], [46]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [15], [16], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], and (30) *Phoberos* [12].
- [39] Office of matins; celebration of vigils. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6] for discussion of matins; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [39]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [17], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], and (30) *Phoberos* [13].
- [40] Behavior in the refectory. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (34) *Machairas* [63]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [33], (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], and (30) *Phoberos* [21].
- [41] Discipline of the disorderly at meals. A Group C chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos* [21], and (34) *Machairas* [63].
- [42] No arguments about precedence in seating. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35], and (34) *Machairas* [64]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], (30) *Phoberos* [22], and (31) *Areia* [T3].
- [43] No sharing food and drink. A Group C chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23] and (30) *Phoberos* [22].
- [44] Communal meals obligatory except for the sick. See also [47] below and (10) *Eleousa* [13]. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [45] Second sitting for meal servers. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [17] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]. See also provision in (28) *Pantokrator* [9].
- [46] Diet on ordinary days. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [17] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [37], [38], [47], [57], (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], and (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [5].
- [47] Lenten diet. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [56] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], [27], [28]; (30) *Phoberos* [27], [28]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; and (43) *Kasoulon* [9].
- [48] Diet for the fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [76]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [38R], [54], (23) *Pakourianos* [10], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (30) *Phoberos* [29], [30], (31) *Areia* [T5], and (43) *Kasoulon* [3].
- [49] No secret eating. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [20] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [71], [72]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]; (28) *Pantokrator* [9]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23], [47]; and (30) *Phoberos* [23], [41].
- [50] superior to inspect cells. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [20] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. See also provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [27], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], and (30) *Phoberos* [45].
- [51] Advantages of cenobiticism; attendance at common table mandatory. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [52] Communal purchase and provision of clothing. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other docu-

27. KECHARITOMENE

- ments; cf. other treatments of this issue in (20) *Black Mountain* [75], (22) *Evergetis* [25], (23) *Pakourianos* [9], (28) *Pantokrator* [22], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], (30) *Phoberos* [44], (31) *Areia* [T4], (32) *Mamas* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (34) *Machairas* [102].
- [53] No external nuns nor imposed guests. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [26], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26], and (58) *Menoikeion* [11]. See also treatment of this issue in (31) *Areia* [M15].
- [54] Nuns tonsured elsewhere welcomed. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents; cf. other treatments of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [37], (23) *Pakourianos* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [52], (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [60].
- [55] Maintenance of the cenobitic life. Repeats some of the text of [2] above; cf. [51]. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [25] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [25].
- [56] Equality in food, drink and clothing. A Group B chapter; copies (22) *Evergetis* [26]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [106]. See also provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [4], [13], (23) *Pakourianos* [4], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], and (30) *Phoberos* [45].
- [57] Provision for a doctor, care of sick nuns. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [41]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [108]. See also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [28], (28) *Pantokrator* [10], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61], and (30) *Phoberos* [55], [56].
- [58] Bathing. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents; cf. other treatments of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [28], (28) *Pantokrator* [13], [15], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], [113], (30) *Phoberos* [46], (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28].
- [59] Feast of the Dormition. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents; cf. other treatments of patronal feasts in (10) *Eleousa* [13]; (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (23) *Pakourianos* [11]; (28) *Pantokrator* [7]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; (30) *Phoberos* [32]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [48]; and (34) *Machairas* [27], cf. [29].
- [60] Feast of the birth of the Mother of God and other feasts. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also treatment in (34) *Machairas* [28].
- [61] Feast of Christmas. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also treatments in (28) *Pantokrator* [7] and (34) *Machairas* [34].
- [62] Feast of the Presentation of the Lord. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [63] Lighting of the church for Holy Week and other feasts. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also the provision in (28) *Pantokrator* [7].
- [64] Daily charitable distributions at the gate. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [38]. See also treatments in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [11], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], (30) *Phoberos* [54], (32) *Mamas* [13], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13], (34) *Machairas* [118].
- [65] Monthly reading of the *typikon*. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [43]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59], (30) *Phoberos* [59], (32) *Mamas* [16], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16], (34) *Machairas* [167], and (58) *Menoikeion* [9].
- [66] Lighting of the church. See also [67], [68] below. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. (28) *Pantokrator* [6] makes a similar provision.
- [67] Lighting of crater lamps. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. These lamps also mentioned in (28) *Pantokrator* [6].
- [68] Illumination with candles. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also (28) *Pantokrator* [6].
- [69] Maintenance of the aqueduct and water pipes. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also provisions in (32) *Mamas*, Prologue.
- [70] Burial of nuns; commemorations for nuns and benefactors. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [36] for the regulation of commemorations; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39]; and (34) *Machairas* [156], [157]. See also provisions in (21) *Roidion* [B12]; (23) *Pakourianos* [20], [21]; (28) *Pantokrator* [56]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54]; and (30) *Phoberos*

TWELFTH CENTURY

- [50].
- [71] Commemorations for members of the imperial family. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See other provisions for commemorations of the founder and his relatives in (22) *Evergetis* [36], Appendix; (23) *Pakourianos* [21]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B5]; (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [32], [44], [72]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [50]; and (34) *Machairas* [154].
- [72] Observances for Holy Thursday and the Epiphany. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See other treatments of the feast of Epiphany in (4) *Stoudios* [A38], [B37] and (20) *Black Mountain* [92].
- [73] No structural alterations to the convent. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [74] Convent to remain unobserved from all sides. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [75] Male singers banned; procession on the eve of Palm Sunday; no handiwork during services. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents, made up of miscellaneous disciplinary regulations. See also (39) *Lips* [39] for the ban on male singers.
- [76] Burial and commemoration of the founder's tonsured relatives. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [77] Preservation of the *typikon* and the inventory. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also security provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [40], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [78], and (32) *Mamas* [Second *Semeioma*].
- [78] Founder's final instructions. A Group B chapter; makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [42] and a part of [43]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [46], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (34) *Machairas* [163], [166], [168]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57] and (30) *Phoberos* [59]. Note the empress' original signature at the end of this chapter.
- [79] Inheritance rights to secular residences within the nunnery. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. According to Gautier, "Kécharitôménè," p. 14, this chapter and [80] below are in a different hand from the rest of the document.
- [80] Succession to the protectorate; access by male relatives; virtualizing rights for female relatives; door to the imperial buildings. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. Amends [3] by designating an alternate protectress, [4] by conceding additional patronal privileges, and [17] by allowing male relatives restricted access.
- Delimitation of the convent. See similar property delimitations in (35) *Skoteine* [40] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145].
- [Appendix A] Lists of vineyards and taxes due. Note that properties are not tax exempt. See contemporary inventories of immovable properties in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 9] and (28) *Pantokrator* [65], [66].
- [Appendix B] Inventory. See contemporary inventories of movable properties in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5], [INV 6], [INV 7], [INV 8], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; and (31) *Areia* [T11].