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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments

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3. *Theodore Studites: Testament of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople*

Date: 826¹

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition employed: PG 99, cols. 1813–24 = J. J. Sirmond, *Opera varia*, ed. J. de la Baume, vol. 5: *Sancti Theodori Studitae Epistolae aliaque scripta dogmatica* (Paris, 1696), pp. 80–88.

Manuscript: Parisinus graecus 891 (1136 A.D.)²

Other translations: Latin, by Sirmond, *Opera varia*, vol. 5, pp. 80–88, reprinted in PG 99, cols. 1814–23; Bulgarian (partial), by I. Goshev, “Pravilata na Studijskija monastir. Vvod, tekst i izjasnenija,” *Godishnik na Sofijskiya Universitet VI. Bogoslovski Fakultet* 17 (1939–40), 5–75, with translation at 17–21 and commentary at 21–24.

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery

The Monastery of St. John the Forerunner Stoudios can be traced back to its foundation by a private benefactor, a certain Stoudios who was consul in 454.³ Mango (“*Studios Basilica*,” p. 122) has shown that the monastery church (*katholikon*)—reportedly founded on the site of an earlier parochial church—was built before 454, possibly in 453 or, as recent archaeological evidence suggests, as early as 450.⁴ This church, which survives today as a ruin in Istanbul—the city’s oldest remaining ecclesiastical building of any size—is to be found in the southwestern corner of the old city in the former Psamathia region, near the Golden Gate. The church may have been built, as Mango suggests, in the anticipation of serving as the reliquary for the head of St. John that contemporaries believed had been discovered in 453 in Emesa, though the new foundation did not succeed in gaining this valued relic.

A few years later, perhaps in 460, Stoudios installed a group of the “sleepless monks” (*akoimetoï*), famous for their continuous liturgical services throughout the entire day, at a monastery attached to the church.⁵ Monks observing this usage continued to staff the monastery down to the end of the eighth century, except perhaps for a decade or more after the iconoclast Emperor Constantine V (741–775) expelled the capital’s iconodule monks in 765.⁶ The names of some of the monastery’s superiors are known, and there are a few incidental historical references, but the monastery did not play an important role in Byzantine ecclesiastical history for the first three hundred years of its existence.⁷

B. Theodore the Studite

The foundation achieved prominence when in 798 or 799 the iconodule Empress Irene summoned our author, Theodore, then director with his uncle Plato of a private family monastery at Sakkoudion

in Bithynia, to Constantinople to assume the leadership of the Stoudios monastery, where fewer than ten of the sleepless monks had survived the iconoclast persecution.⁸ The constitutional status of the monastery at this point is obscure. It may well have been seized by the imperial government under Constantine V, which a grant by Irene to Theodore at this time would seem to suggest. In any event, Theodore chose to treat Stoudios as a private foundation, analogous to Sakkoudion—which continued in operation—as well as at least three other monasteries then under his control.⁹ As Kazhdan has noted (“Theodore,” p. 2045), Theodore’s intent, only partially realized, to be sure, was to create “an independent monastic organization able to resist imperial coercion.” Desirable as this goal must have seemed to iconodule patrons, many of whose foundations had been confiscated or even secularized under Iconoclasm, it proved impossible of attainment during Theodore’s lifetime, though the number of monks submitting to his authority is said to have ranged as high as 700–1000, apparently including those resident in the dependent houses (*metochia*) as well as at Stoudios itself.¹⁰

Theodore was a principled but also a highly contentious personality. He had generally bad relations with most of the Byzantine rulers after Irene. Even the iconodule Emperor Nikephoros I (802–811) was no exception, for he carried out the exile of the Studite leadership to the Princes’ Islands decreed by a church synod in 809 after Theodore refused to be reconciled to Patriarch Nikephoros I (806–815) in the Moechian controversy.¹¹ Dobroklonsky (*Prepodobnii Theodor*, vol. 1, p. 652) suggested that the resentment by other superiors of the monastic reforms Theodore was promoting (for which see the discussion below in (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform) may have been a factor in the Studite superior’s downfall. Theodore was able to maintain a lively correspondence with various individual members of his monastic communities (which had been dispersed by the authorities) throughout this period of exile, which came to an end after the accession of Michael I (811–813).¹²

Theodore was exiled again in 815 after refusing to acquiesce in a revival of Iconoclasm under Emperor Leo V (813–820).¹³ Just before his departure, Theodore divided his monks into small groups and recommended that they disperse so as to avoid governmental pressure. Stoudios was reopened in Theodore’s absence, however, by the renegade monk Leontios, who thenceforth served as the monastery’s superior.¹⁴ Most likely Theodore never regained control of the Stoudios monastery. Finding himself in strict confinement under the watchful eye of the metropolitan of Smyrna from 819 to 821, Theodore wrote a letter in the form of a last testament in 819.¹⁵ Though Theodore was freed and recalled to Constantinople in 821 after Michael II (820–829) became emperor, he was unable to reach an accommodation with the new ruler.¹⁶ Instead, he seems to have gone voluntarily into exile again, probably in 823, first to the peninsula of St. Tryphon near Cape Akritas southeast of the city, and later to Prinkipo in the Princes’ Islands.¹⁷ He died there in November, 826, after having gotten his disciple and chosen successor Naukratios to write down his final *Testament*, which is translated here.¹⁸

C. Theodore’s Immediate Successors

It is unlikely that Theodore’s successors were able to return to the Stoudios monastery until after the death of the last iconoclast Emperor Theophilos (829–842). Shortly thereafter, the translation of the remains of Theodore and his brother Joseph from their original burial site on Prinkipo to

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Stoudios took place on January 26, 844.¹⁹ True to his teacher's ways, Naukratios (superior, 842–47) quarreled with the new orthodox Patriarch Methodios I (843–47) even though the latter's iconodule credentials were impeccable. Details are available from the hagiographic life of Naukratios' successor Nicholas the Studite (superior, 847–50 and 853–858).²⁰ This source also supplies us with the names of several other Studite superiors of the mid-ninth century as well as a discussion of Nicholas' refusal to accept Photios (858–67) as patriarch, preferring as he did to remain loyal to the deposed Ignatios (847–58).

D. Stoudios as an Imperial Monastery

In the early tenth century, during the final years of the reign of Leo VI (886–912), Stoudios seems to have changed over from its traditional oppositionist posture to being a predictable supporter of imperial authority, whose superiors and other high officials were entrusted by the emperors with many important missions, such as the Studite monk Euthymios whom Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) sent to Mount Athos to adjudicate disciplinary problems, a mission that resulted in the issuance of (12) *Tzimiskes* (see below, Chapter Two). Also, beginning in 902 when Leo VI expelled Leo Musikos from the palace and had him imprisoned at Stoudios, the monastery came to serve the convenience of the emperors for this purpose as well, down into the 1070s.²¹ In the eleventh century, three former emperors were sent into exile at Stoudios: Michael V Kalaphates in 1042, Isaac I Komnenos in 1059, and Michael VII Doukas in 1078.²² The monastery's ability to supply three patriarchs of Constantinople, Antony III (974–979), Alexios Studites (1025–1043), and Dositheos (1189–1191), also testifies to its intimate connections with the imperial government. Therefore, it appears likely on circumstantial evidence that Stoudios had been an imperial monastery since circa 900, and perhaps considerably earlier.

E. Stoudios in the Last Centuries of the Empire

The monastery was quiescent during the Komnenian era and does not appear to have played an active part in the Evergetian monastic reform movement as it progressed throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Stoudios lost part of its relics during the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and was left abandoned in a neighborhood that became a sheep pasture. In 1293, Constantine Palaiologos, a brother of Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328), restored the monastery by putting a new roof on the church, shoring up its walls, and recruiting new monks.²³ By the late fourteenth century, Stoudios ranked once again as the most honored monastery in Constantinople.²⁴ The monastery and its superiors continued to play an active part in Byzantine history right up to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, at which time, however, the monks were likely dispersed and the foundation's thousand-year history as a monastery came to an end.²⁵

F. Conversion of the Church into a Mosque in Ottoman Times

Sultan Beyazid II (1481–1512) granted the buildings on the site to the Albanian Ilyâs (Elias) bey b. Abdullah, his *imrahor* or "stable-master," who converted the church into a mosque, which has henceforth been known as Imrahor or Mirahor Camii.²⁶ Evidently most of the monastery soon disappeared, since the traveler Peter Gilles found no trace of it during his visit to the site in the mid-sixteenth century. A fire that swept the old Psamatia neighborhood in 1782 damaged the

mosque severely, but it was rebuilt in 1820. After an earthquake struck in 1894, the building fell into ruins.

G. Archaeological Evidence from the Site

Although no adequate excavation of the site or survey of the building has ever been completed, the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople under Panchenko cleared the site, excavated a fifth-century crypt under the sanctuary, and made some preliminary observations in 1907–1909.²⁷ A few years later, Ebersolt and Van Millingen both published some plans before another fire damaged the remains further in 1920.²⁸ It has been determined that the monastery must have been located along the south side of the church's atrium, but only a cistern remains from that part of the foundation.²⁹ Old photographs, however, show that there was once a two-columned groin-vaulted chapel of middle or late Byzantine construction located over the corner of the cistern that must have been preserved down to the nineteenth century.³⁰

Analysis

Judging from the large number of provisions it shares with an earlier letter of Theodore's to his disciple Nicholas, Theodore's *Testament* must be considered a final copy of a work long in gestation.³¹ Therefore it should not be seen as reflecting only the reduced circumstances of the author's confederation of monasteries at the time of his death in 826, when the Stoudios monastery itself had been out of his control for over a decade. It is also just one of several important witnesses to Studite monasticism, for which we have an extraordinary wealth of source material, including the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios*, the next document in our collection.³²

The *Testament* illustrates the dramatic development of the testamentary format which took place in the two hundred years that had elapsed since the composition of (1) *Apa Abraham*. Unlike the latter, this testament has a great deal of regulatory content, though it may be considered to fall a little short of the scope of a *typikon*, even an early example of the genre like (4) *Stoudios* written for Theodore's own foundation after his death. A profession of orthodox faith heads up the document, a new feature, but one with subsequent parallels (e.g., (7) *Latros* [1] ff., (10) *Eleousa* [2], and (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.).

Theodore enthusiastically (but vaguely) endorses [13] the patristic "canons and laws," especially those of Basil of Caesarea. There is, however, not much explicitly Basilian content in this document, which is true generally of Theodore's ascetic writings.³³ One readily apparent borrowing, the endorsement of the teaching of catechism [11], appears to have Pachomian roots, perhaps through the mediation of unidentified Palestinian ascetic sources of which our author was especially fond.³⁴

A. Lives of the Monks

The core of this document is made up of a series of injunctions in the style of the "canons" in the Syro-Palestinian tradition. The author directs most of his commandments to the superior; there are only a few general admonitions [25] ff. to the monks. An important theme in the injunctions is the avoidance of sexual temptations. Perhaps this is a recollection of perils that were more immediate when the foundation was being directed from the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. Theodore

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is mostly concerned about women in this connection [9], [15], [16], [17], although he also forbids the superior an adolescent disciple [18], and there is a curious prohibition of female domestic animals [5] (to be repeated in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31] and elsewhere).³⁵ Maintenance of sexual segregation evidently was difficult, especially in an urban and aristocratic milieu, and Theodore explicitly allows for exceptions [16]. Total segregation (as espoused later by (42) *Sabas*) was not thought to be practical.

B. Constitutional Matters

The transmission of the monastery, the principal concern of (1) *Apa Abraham*, is our author's first concern here too after his profession of faith. Theodore exercises his patronal right to appoint his successor (not named, but known to be his disciple Naukratios). Subsequent superiors were to be chosen by the community, a common arrangement in medieval Byzantium which had the effect of lessening patronal influence after the next generation (cf. the arrangements in (10) *Eleousa* [16], cf. [11]).

An important theme in Theodore's admonitions to the superior is his concern, shared with the author of (1) *Apa Abraham* [5], that the superior not permit the monastery's resources to fall into the hands of outsiders; to this he adds the injunction that the superior not misuse the monastery's property for his own use either [3]. This reflects a strengthening of the notion of institutional integrity even within the context of private ownership.

It is important to view this document in the context of its association with a private religious foundation whose claim to independence from state control Theodore had been able to uphold with only partial success during his lifetime. Indeed, he had lost the Stoudios monastery itself, originally a gift from Empress Irene that her successors felt free to revoke twice, in 809 and in 815. In addition to confiscation, secularization was another threat, particularly during the bitter iconoclastic controversy in which Theodore and his monks had generally stood in opposition to imperial policy. Even aside from the extraordinary dangers of the times, for a superior of noble birth, kinship ties posed potential conflicts of interest [8]. The superior is explicitly told not to prefer eminent and powerful persons to the interests of the community [23].

Philosophically, Theodore preferred a consultative to an authoritarian style of rule, if not for himself (which seems doubtful), then at least for his successors. Accordingly, the superior was to supervise [22] the performance of the monks in various offices in conjunction with the "foremost brothers." Generally speaking, he was not to act [24] in any area without consulting with "those who are foremost in knowledge and prudence regarding the issue in question." Theodore even suggests [25] that the community itself is the ultimate source of authority within the institution by virtue of the fact that the monks have assented to the choice of their leader.

C. Financial Matters

Though there is no direct testimony, it would appear that the monastery itself was supported by the income from a landed endowment [4], cf. [21], worked, evidently, by free labor, since both agricultural and personal slaves are explicitly forbidden. Nothing is said about any manual labor engaged in by the monks, though we know from other sources that monks were engaged in agricultural labors at the Studite monasteries outside Constantinople, though not at Stoudios itself.³⁶

The author may have feared to arouse jealousy on account of the monastery's wealth, for modest clothing [19] is recommended for the superior and he is instructed not to flaunt the institution's wealth [20]. The monastery itself is not to store up gold; charitable distributions are enjoined for "sharing abundance" [21]. The superior is also ordered not to administer the monastery's finances personally, but to appoint officials for this task [24]. This separation of administrative and financial responsibilities is part of our author's preference for consultative (as opposed to authoritarian) rule.

D. Subsequent Influence

Overall, then, this is a distinctive document that is very much a product of the preferences and concerns of its time despite the author's stated allegiance to the revival of patristic tradition. It had the good fortune to be associated with the manuscript tradition of Theodore's popular *Small Catecheses*, with the result that it followed that work into wide circulation, particularly in the twelfth century at the very time that the later Evergetian monastic reform movement was coming to dominate the empire's religious life. Yet its earliest impact on the documents in our collection is to be found on (13) *Ath. Typikon* in the ninth century, which freely incorporates, generally verbatim, no less than 18 of the 27 chapters into which we have divided Theodore's *Testament*. While there would be no further literal quotations, such Studite institutions as the mandate [22], [24] for consultative rule and the ban [21] on accumulating cash assets in the monastery would be incorporated in the constitutions of later Byzantine monasteries.

Notes on the Introduction

1. The *Testament* was prepared shortly before Theodore's death on November 11, 826; see *Naucratii confessoris encyclica de obitu sancti Theodori Studitae* (BHG 1756), PG 99, cols. 1824–49, at 1844B, cf. Michael the Monk, *Vita S. Theodori (Vita B)* 66, PG 99, cols. 324D–325A.
2. There are many other witnesses, for the *Testament* is preserved along with Theodore's popular *Small Catecheses*; see Leroy, "Petites Catéchèses," p. 337, n. 37.
3. The standard history, though much dated, remains E. Marin, *De Studio*, supplemented by B. Panchenko, "Ha. Ioannes Studios," *IRAIK* 14 (1909), 136–52; 15 (1911), 250–57; 16 (1912), 1–359; Alexander Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," *ODB*, pp. 1960–61, provide summary accounts of the history of the monastery.
4. Sources for the foundation are: *Anthologia Palatina* 1.4, ed. Hugo Stadtmüller (Leipzig, 1894); *Suda*, ed. Ada Adler, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1935), p. 438; Theodore Lector, *Historia ecclesiastica* 384, ed. G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1971), p. 108; cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, a.m. 463, ed. Karl de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1883–85), p. 113. For archaeological evidence from brick stamps, see Urs Peschlow, "Die Johanneskirche des Studios in Istanbul," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982), 429–34.
5. For the *akoimetoï*, see General Bibliography, X. Early Constantinopolitan Monasticism.
6. Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 765, ed. de Boor, pp. 443–45; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 31; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 430.
7. For a list of superiors, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432.
8. *Vita B* 19–20, PG 99, cols. 257B–260A, and "Theodore of Studium, *Laudatio Platonis* 32, PG 99, cols. 833D–836A; for the date, which cannot be precisely determined, see Henry, "Theodore," p. 47. Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 202, 205, rejects the traditional view that the move to the capital was motivated by the appearance of Arab raiders in Bithynia as mentioned in Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 799, ed. de Boor, p. 473.

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9. Leroy, "Réforme," p. 206, nn. 191–93.
10. *Vita B* 20, *PG* 99, col. 260C (1000 monks); Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 806, ed. de Boor, p. 481 (700 monks); rightly qualified by Henry, "Theodore," p. 49, Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," p. 1960, and Leroy, "Réforme," p. 206, n. 200.
11. *Vita B* 27, *PG* 99, col. 269; Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 809, ed. de Boor, p. 484; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 47; Henry, "Theodore," pp. 64–65.
12. Henry, "Theodore," p. 66, n. 1, based on Dobroklonsky, *Prepodobnii Theodor*, vol. 1, p. 671, reports 22 surviving letters from this period, with another 180 now lost. Notable among the surviving letters is one edited by R. Devreesse, "Une lettre de s. Théodore Studite relative au synode moechien (809)," *AB* 68 (1950), 44–57, that was addressed to Basil, superior of the monastery of St. Sabas in Jerusalem. For Theodore's recall to Constantinople, probably in 812 (so Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 387), see *Laud. Plat.* 40, *PG* 99, col. 844C, and *Vita B* 28, *PG* 99, cols. 272D–273A, with Henry, "Theodore," p. 68.
13. *Vita B* 37, *PG* 99, col. 288B, with Henry, "Theodore," p. 81; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 48, and J. Pargoire, "La Bonita de s. Théodore Studite," *EO* 6 (1903), 207–13.
14. *Vita A* 40–41, *PG* 99, cols. 196–97.
15. *Ep.* 22, ed. Georgios Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, vol. 1 (Berlin-New York, 1992), pp. 57–62, with Henry, "Theodore," p. 83.
16. *Vita B* 48, *PG* 99, col. 304; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 49; Henry, "Theodore," pp. 84–87, who at 88, n. 1, following Dobroklonsky, *Prepodobnii Theodor*, vol. 1, p. 859, n. 5, is surely right to challenge Gardner, *Theodore*, p. 197, 199, in her assertion that Theodore temporarily regained Stoudios at this time.
17. Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 49; Henry, "Theodore," p. 88.
18. Naukratios, *Encyclica de obitu s. Theodori Studitae*, *PG* 99, cols. 1824–49; *Vita B* 66, *PG* 99, 324D–325A; with Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 49, and Henry, "Theodore," p. 90.
19. See Van der Vorst, "Translation."
20. *Vita s. Nicolae Studitae*, *PG* 105, cols. 863–926; for a list of the superiors, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 433.
21. For details and references to the sources, see Janin, *Géographie* vol. 3, p. 437.
22. For details and references, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 427, with Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," p. 1960.
23. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia* 6.5, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829–55), p. 190; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 149–50.
24. See Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. 1, pt. 6 (Paris, 1979), no. 2714 (March 1381) = MM 2, p. 22, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 431, and Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," p. 1960.
25. For details and references, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432.
26. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 150.
27. Results published in Panchenko, "Ha. Ioannes Studites" see comments by Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 19–20, and *Byzantine Churches*, p. 143.
28. Ebersolt and Thiers, *Églises*, pp. 3–18; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 35–61.
29. Mathews, *Early Churches*, p. 22.
30. Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, p. 144.
31. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 31–34, with cross-references to (3) *Theodore Studites* in the Document Notes below.
32. For a discussion of the other sources for Studite monasticism, see below (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform Movement.
33. See Leroy, "Influence," p. 491.
34. See the Pachomian *Precepts and Institutes* [15], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), p. 57, and trans. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 2 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), p. 171; for Theodore's partiality to Palestinian sources, especially Dorotheos of Gaza, see Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 188–90.

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35. See also (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23]; (15) *Constantine IX* [3].

36. See Leroy, "Réforme," p. 204, with references in nn. 185–86, and "Vie," p. 37, n. 2, cf. p. 39, n. 1.

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Translation

The *Testament* of our father, the holy, inspired confessor Theodore, the Studite superior, which was read aloud before his final repose.

[Preface]

Since this wretched body of mine has fallen into a constant state of ill health and I am unable to summon all of you—my sons, brothers, and fathers—at the time of my departure because the monasteries are located in diverse places and especially because some of you have journeyed afar on business, I have heeded the words of the sacred David, “I prepared myself and was not terrified” (Ps. 118 [119]:60); and again, “My heart is ready” (Ps. 56 [57]:7). Since the hour of my passing out of this life has already arrived, I have hastened to draw up this *Testament* beforehand. I thought that this was a fitting and sure method for you to hear my final utterance and discern exactly what I believe and think, and what sort of person I leave as a superior to succeed me so that you might thus enjoy harmony and peace in Christ—that peace which the Lord left to his holy disciples and apostles as he was about to return to the heavens.

Concerning Faith¹

Therefore, I believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit—the holy and consubstantial and primal Trinity, [in whose name] I was baptized and regenerated and perfected. I confess God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit—the three are one with respect to divinity just as conversely the one is three with respect to individual persons. For the Trinity is one God according to substance although it is divided by the distinction of persons. I also confess that one of the Trinity, our Lord Jesus Christ, came into the flesh out of immeasurable charity, that is to say for the salvation of our race, having assumed the flesh from the holy and blameless Mother of God.

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He was born of her womb in accordance with the law of nature save for human procreation as the divine prophecy had foretold. This same Christ is dual [in nature], whole and complete in his divinity so that that which he was suffered no change, and whole and complete in his humanity so that that which he assumed lacked nothing. The same Christ is one in person as he is made manifest in two natures. So also he is manifest in two wills and two energies through which he acted in accordance with both things divine and things human. [col. 1816]

In addition, I follow the six holy and ecumenical councils and reject every error of heretical association. I also follow the Second Council of Nicaea which was recently assembled against the accusers of Christ. I accept and revere the sacred and holy images of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Mother of God, of the apostles, prophets, martyrs, and of all the holy and just. Moreover, I ask for their undefiled intercessions to propitiate the Godhead. With faith and awe I embrace their all-holy relics as full of divine grace.

I also accept every God-inspired book of the Old and New Testaments as well as the biographies and divine writings of all the holy fathers, teachers, and ascetics. I say this on account of the crazed Pamphilos who has come from the East attacking these holy people—I mean Mark, Isaiah, Barsanouphios, Dorotheos, and Hesychios²—but not the Barsanouphios, Isaiah, and Dorotheos who belonged to the fellowship of the headless ones³ and had the same number of horns as did the ten-horned one,⁴ for these men were anathematized by the saintly Sophronios in his booklet.⁵ These last individuals are obviously different from those aforementioned men whom I accept as part of the patristic tradition after having questioned the patriarch Tarasios,⁶ who recently held the office of bishop [of Constantinople], and other trustworthy men, both natives and Easterners. Moreover, the image of Barsanouphios was placed on the sacred altar covering of the Great Church together with the holy fathers, Antony, Ephraem, and others.⁷ Also, I have found no impiety in their teachings, but on the contrary, much of spiritual assistance. I will accept them until some charge against them has been proven by a synodal inquiry. For, if these very men should appear worthy of anathema or others whom they have led to heresy, may they be anathematized and cursed, totally anathematized from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In addition, I acknowledge that the monastic life is lofty and exalted, even angelic, pure of every sin on account of its perfect way of life. It is clear that the monastic life must be ordered according to the ascetic rules of the holy Basil the Great and not by half measures so that some in one place choose some rules and let others go. For, one cannot choose to lead this life lawfully in some other fashion without the three revealed orders of the divine ladder.⁸ Nor is it possible to own a slave or a domesticated animal of the female sex because this would be alien to the religious profession and dangerous to souls.⁹ I have treated such things cursorily since there is not time to explain them fully, but only to prevent some from holding an inferior opinion of me contrary to what I truly think and believe. [col. 1817]

Concerning the Superior

Having treated of these points in this way, I shall speak in second place about the superior. Now as the first one I leave the lord, my father as well as yours, the most holy recluse and father who is

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both a luminary and a teacher. This man has been set before both you and me in the Lord and is established as the head even though he has removed himself to perfect his humility in solitude by imitating Christ. Through his directions and prayer I trust that you will be saved, if indeed on your part you show him attentive and ready obedience. Thereafter, elect someone by a common vote in a godly fashion and in the manner which the fathers have established, for my desire is to support whomever the community finds suitable.

But now, my father and brother, whoever you are, before God and his chosen angels I entrust all the community in Christ to you so that you may receive it. But, how should you accept? In what grand manner should you guide them? In what fashion should you guard them? As the lambs of Christ! As your own dear limbs! Cherish and respect them, loving each one of them with an equal measure of charity since each man cherishes the limbs of his body equally.¹⁰ Open your heart in sympathy, welcome them all in mercy. Nurse them, reform them, make them perfect in the Lord. Sharpen your understanding with prudence; rouse your will with courage; make your heart steadfast in faith and hope. Lead them forward in every good work. Defend them against spiritual enemies. Shield them, regulate them. Introduce them to the place of virtue. Distribute shares in the land of tranquility. Therefore, I give you these rules which of necessity you ought to uphold.

Rules for the Superior

1. Therefore, save for grave necessity, you shall not alter at all the constitution and rule which you have received from my lowliness.
2. You shall not possess anything of this world nor store up anything for yourself as your own, not even one piece of silver.
3. You shall not divide your soul and heart by attachments and cares other than for those whom God has entrusted to you and I have handed over, those who have become your spiritual sons and brothers. You shall not use the things of your monastery for those who were at one time yours according to the flesh—either for your relatives or friends or associates. Neither in life nor after death shall you do this for these aforementioned people—neither according to the requirements of charity nor the rules of heredity. For you are not from those of the world so that you have to share with those of the world. But if some should cross over from the life of society to our order, then you should take thought for them in imitation of the holy fathers.
4. You shall not possess a slave either for your own use or for your monastery or for the fields since man was created in the image of God. This institution has been allowed only to those in worldly life just as marriage is. It is necessary for you rather to dedicate yourself spiritually as a slave to your brothers of the same spirit, [col. 1820] even though when appearing in public you are reckoned their lord and teacher.
5. For necessary duties you shall not have an animal from among those of the female race since you have renounced completely the female sex. You shall not have one either in the monastery or in the fields as no one of our holy fathers did nor does nature herself allow it.
6. You shall not ride on horses or mules when not necessary; rather you shall travel by foot in

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imitation of Christ. If it should be necessary, however, let your beast of burden be a colt.

7. You shall always be vigilant that all things in the community be held in common and be indivisible and that nothing be owned on the part of any individual, not even a needle. Your body and your soul, nothing else, should be divided up for all your spiritual children and brothers in the impartiality of love.

8. As a fugitive from the world and from marriage, you should have no part of adopting those of the world as brothers or engaging in spiritual relationships¹¹ with them since such practices are not found in the fathers, or if they have been found, then only rarely so that they do not constitute a law.

9. You shall not dine with women other than your mother according to the flesh and your sister, whether these be women in religious life or lay persons. I do not permit this unless some pressure or necessity should require it as the holy fathers warn.

10. You should not go out frequently or roam about unnecessarily, leaving your own flock. For, it is desirable that you have time to spend with the flock and be able to save these sheep endowed with reason, but most wily and given to straying.

11. You shall always be on your guard to teach catechism three times a week in the evening either by your own agency or through another of your children since this is the salutary tradition of the fathers.

12. You should not grant what they call the little habit and after that the great one, for the habit like baptism is one according to the usages of the fathers.

13. You should not transgress the laws and canons of the holy fathers, above all those of the holy and great Basil. Whatever you do or say, you should do it in accord with the testimony of the Scriptures or of patristic custom without violating the command of God.

14. You shall not leave your flock and transfer to another one or return to an office without the approval of your own community.

15. You shall not have a friendship with a woman in religious life nor enter into a women's monastery. Nor shall you speak alone with a nun or a woman of the world unless necessity at some time compels you and then with two persons from either party present since one person is easily influenced as they say.

16. You shall not open the door of the monastery for any woman at all to enter unless it is absolutely necessary. If you are able to meet discreetly, this opportunity should not be rejected.

17. You shall not make for yourself a lodging or a secular house for your spiritual children in which there are women and go there frequently. [col. 1821] Rather you shall choose to attend to your temporary and essential needs at the home of pious men.

18. You shall not have an adolescent disciple in your cell out of affection, but you shall be served by various brothers and by a person above suspicion.

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19. You shall not possess very distinctive and expensive clothing besides the priestly vestments. Rather, you shall put on humble clothes and shoes in imitation of the fathers.

20. You shall not spend lavishly either for your own lifestyle or for the reception of guests. This will distract you since it belongs to a life devoted to pleasure.

21. You shall not store up gold in your monastery, but you should share your abundance of whatever sort with those in need at the portal of your court as the holy fathers did.

22. You shall not take charge of the treasury room nor assume the cares of stewardship, but let your key be the greatest care of souls, of loosing and binding according to the Scriptures (cf. Matt. 16:19). You shall entrust the gold and other necessities to the stewards, the cellarers, and as seems appropriate to each service, all under your manifest authority. Together with the foremost brothers, you can take an account of each administration and transfer the offices to whichever person you decide.

23. You shall not place the person of any other man, eminent and powerful according to the present age, ahead of that which benefits the community. Nor shall you shrink from laying down your life even to the point of bloodshed in guarding these godly laws and commands.

24. You shall not make or do anything according to your own opinion whether regarding a spiritual or a physical matter of any kind. First, you should not act without the advice and prayer of your lord and father; second, without the advice of those who are foremost in knowledge and prudence regarding the issue in question. For there is need of one advisor or perhaps two, three, or more as the fathers have instructed us and as we have discussed in detail.

All these commands and whatever else you have received, you shall guard and observe that you may do well and prosper in the Lord. Far be it from [me] to say or even think of the opposite.

Rules for the Brothers

[25.] Now it is time for you, my children and brothers, to hear my most pitiful voice. Accept the lord your superior as you all selected him.¹² It is not possible for anyone in any way to choose any other life for himself other than that which is laid down. This is a bond of the Lord. Looking upon him with respect and honor, embrace him as my successor. Just as you did with me, so with him too observe the rule of obedience and do not think less of him because he has been recently appointed in the Lord. Nor should you expect anything more than the gifts which were given to him by the Holy Spirit. It is sufficient that he maintain that which was laid down by my humility. Love me, my children, and keep my commandments (cf. John 14:15). Keep peace among yourselves, [col. 1824] and marching in a heavenly fashion, preserve your angelic profession inviolate.

[26.] Hating the world, do not return to the works of the world. Having been loosed from the bonds of physical attachments, do not be bound again to the affections of the flesh. Having denied all pleasures and perishable things of the present life, do not depart from your struggle with obedience through negligence and become the sport of demons.

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[27.] Stick to the race of obedience until the end so that you will “obtain the unfading crown of righteousness” (cf. I Pet. 5:4 and II Tim. 4:8). Led by humility, you should always deny your own will and pattern yourselves only after the judgments of your superior. If you keep in mind these things and if you should guard them to the end, you will be blessed. For the chorus of martyrs will receive you. Wearing crowns in the kingdom of heaven, you will enjoy the eternal blessings.

Epilogue

So farewell now, my children. I set out on a journey with no return, a journey which all those of old have traveled and on which you will set out in a short while after carrying out the duties of life. I do not know, my brothers, where I am going or what judgment awaits me or which place will receive me. For I have not completed a single good work before God. Rather I am responsible for every sin. But still, I rejoice and am glad that I am going from the world to heaven, from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom, from temporary lodging to true abode, from strange and alien lands—for I am a sojourner and a stranger as all my fathers were (cf. Ps. 38 [39]:12)—to my very own country. Still more boldly I will declare that I return to my Master, to my Lord and my God whom my spirit has loved, whom I have acknowledged as Father, even if I have not served him as a son. I have possessed him before all else, even if I have not served him as a noble slave. Raving, I have spoken these things, but I have said them for you so that you will take heart and pray for my salvation. If I achieve it, see, I give you my word before the truth that I will not be silent, but shall boldly beseech my Lord and Master for you all that you shall flourish, be saved, and multiply. I expect to see, receive, and embrace each and every one of you as you depart from the world. For I have such faith that, since you have observed his commands, his goodness just as he did here will also preserve you in the coming age for the same purpose: to sing the praises of his all-holy power. My children, remember my humble words. Keep the advice I have given in Christ Jesus our Lord in whom is glory and power forever and ever, Amen.

Being sixty-seven years old, our all-holy father and great confessor Theodore went to sleep in the month of November, the eleventh day, a Sunday, at the sixth hour, the fifth indiction, the year 6335 [A.M., = 826 A.D.].

Notes on the Translation

1. For an analysis of Theodore’s profession of faith and a discussion of the historical circumstances that promoted it, see Henry, “Theodore,” p. 173, n. 1.
2. Mark the Hermit: pupil of John Chrysostom, opponent of Nestorianism, and superior of a monastery at Ankyra in Galatia, who died sometime after 430; Isaiah: probably Isaiah of Skete or Gaza, fifth-century Egyptian monk who, Henry, “Theodore,” p. 173, n. 1, believes is identical with the Monophysite of this name condemned below; Barsanouphios: hermit who lived in the lavra of Seridos at Gaza, circa 540, and author of a collection of spiritual letters, for whom see Beck, *KTL* 395, and S. Vaillhé, “Les lettres spirituelles de Jean et de Barsanuphe,” *EO* 7 (1904), 268–76; Dorotheos of Gaza, pupil of Barsanouphios, superior of a cenobitic Palestinian monastery, and author, circa 540–60, of ascetic treatises that influenced Theodore the Studite, for whom see Beck, *KTL*, p. 396; Hesychios, perhaps

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- Hesychios of Jerusalem: for whom see B. Baldwin, "Hesychios of Jerusalem," *ODB*, p. 924. Some of the individuals cited here were important sources for the doctrine and institutions of the Studite monastic reform (see below, (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform, C. The Sources of Theodore's Reform Program). Their accuser, Pamphilos, is probably to be identified with the 6th century presbyter, Pamphilos of Jerusalem, author of a tract against the Monophysites. See Beck, *KTL*, p. 379
3. Barsanouphios: Monophysite bishop of the sixth century condemned by Sophronios, for whom see Beck, *KTL*, p. 395; Isaiah, moderate Monophysite of the fifth century and author of ascetic tracts, for whom see L. Petit, "2. Isaïe," in *DTC*, vol. 8, pt. 1, cols. 79–81; Dorotheos: a sixth-century Monophysite bishop; *akephaloi*, the "headless ones," a name for the extreme Monophysites who refused to accept the *Henotikon* issued by Emperor Zeno (474–491) in 482.
 4. *dekakeratos*: derisive epithet of Monophysites. See Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.
 5. Patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638); the reference is to his letter to Patriarch Sergios (610–638) of Constantinople, ed. *PG* 87.3, cols. 3148A–3200C, that was read out during the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 681; see Henry, "Theodore," p. 173, n. 1.
 6. Patriarch of Constantinople (784–806).
 7. Antony: Egyptian monk († 356), recognized as the founder of anchoritic monasticism; Ephraem: Ephraem Syrus († 373), Syriac monk, regarded as the founder of Syriac monasticism.
 8. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi*, *PG*, 88, cols. 632A–672B: renunciation (*apotage biou*), freedom from desire (*aprosatheia*), and solitude (*xeniteia*).
 9. See below, [5].
 10. For the anatomical analogy, drawn from Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae*, *PG* 31, cols. 1381B, 1396B, 1417BD, etc., see Leroy, "Réforme," p. 199.
 11. The reference is to *adelphopoiia* (the adoption of a brother or sister for reasons of mutual support) and *synteknia* (baptismal sponsorship). On these spiritual relationships and the obligations and legal impediments they created, see R. S. Macrides, "Adelphopoiia," *ODB*, 19–20; eadem, "Godparent," *ODB*, p. 858.
 12. Naukratios, Theodore's designated successor.

Document Notes

- [1] Inalterability of the constitution (*typos*) and rule (*kanon*). *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 31, lines 4–6, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30].
- [2] Ban on personal possessions. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 31, lines 6–7, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30].
- [3] Prohibition on use of monastic property for friends or relatives. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 31–32, lines 7–16, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30].
- [4] Ban on personal or agricultural slaves. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 16–21, is similar. This is probably a feature of Theodore's reform program intended to return monasticism to the economic self-sufficiency more common in monasteries of late antiquity; possibly anticipated by his uncle Plato at the Sakkoudion monastery. See discussion by Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 191–92, with Pargoire, "Loi monastique." Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31].
- [5] Ban on female domestic animals. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 21–24, is identical. See discussion by Pargoire, "Loi monastique," and Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 191–92. Leroy believes this is not moral legislation but an attempt to curtail cattle breeding and the attendant commercial activity to which that might give rise. This seems to have been the motivation for related legislation in (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23] and in (15) *Constantine IX* [3], but see (45) *Neophytos* [19] where the identical prohibition is motivated by fears of bestiality. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31].
- [6] Ban on the use of horses or mules. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 24–26, is similar. See subsequent related provisions in (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], and (15) *Constantine IX* [3]

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- [7] Communal ownership of property. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 26–33, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32].
- [8] Ban on adoptions and spiritual relationships with lay people. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 33–36, is identical. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32]; alluded to later by (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].
- [9] Ban on dining with women. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 37–39, is similar. See also [15] and [16] below. Alluded to later by (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].
- [10] Condemnation of frequent and unnecessary absences. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 32–33, lines 40–43, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33].
- [11] Teaching of catechism. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 44–46, is similar. See provision for catechetical instruction in (4) *Stoudios* [B16], [21], [36], with Leroy, “Petites Catéchèses,” p. 335. *Vita B*, PG 99, col. 264A, identifies the tracts read as being from the *Small Catecheses*.
- [12] Rejection of distinctions in monastic dress. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 47–49, is similar. By the time (4) *Stoudios* [A2] was drawn up by Theodore’s successors, the distinctions had become accepted. See discussion of this issue in (9) *Galesios* [130] and (36) *Blemmydes* [9].
- [13] Endorsement of patristic laws (*nomoi*) and canons (*kanones*). *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 50–53, is similar. See discussion of Theodore’s respect for patristic precedent in Leroy, “Réforme,” pp. 187–90, with a partial list of patristic sources utilized at p. 188, n. 58; for an inventory of Theodore’s Basilian citations, see “Influence,” p. 495. The Basilian reference here is probably to Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae*, PG 31, cols. 1305–20.
- [14] Requirement of community approval before the superior can transfer to another office. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 54–55, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34].
- [15] Ban on relations with nuns or private conversations with any women. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 56–59, is identical. See also [9] above; for a later discussion of this problem, see (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].
- [16] No access by women to the monastery. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 60–62, is similar. This principle is adopted later by (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents.
- [17] Ban on frequenting inns or private residences frequented by women. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 63–66, is identical. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34].
- [18] Ban on adolescent disciples. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 33–34, lines 67–69, is identical. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34].
- [19] Recommendation of humble clothing. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 70–71, is identical. For Theodore’s views, see Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 192, with references to our author’s other writings. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33].
- [20] Ban on lavish personal spending and entertainment by the superior. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 72–74, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33].
- [21] Ban on accumulating cash assets. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 75–77, is similar. Compare to contrary provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [26] in the eleventh century and (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94] in the twelfth; in the late thirteenth century, however, (37) *Auxentios* [9] returns to the Studite practice.
- [22] Superior not to administer finances directly. See also [24] below. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 77–83, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32]; a possible influence on other later documents, e.g., (32) *Mamas* [48] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [48]. Similarly, the governing role accorded to the “foremost brothers” is adopted in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] and documents following it closely like (30) *Phoberos* [35], [38], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], [35]. Collaborative rule would become even more common in late Byzantine monasteries (see below, Chapter Nine).
- [23] Interests of outsiders not to be preferred to those of the community. Not in *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [35]. See subsequent discussions in (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents.
- [24] Recommendation of consultative rule. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 83–90, is similar. See

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also [22] above.

[25] – [27] Rules for the brothers. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [56]. See discussion by Leroy, “Influence,” p. 505, of the importance of obedience (*hypotage*) to Theodore’s conception of monasticism.