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*Holy Women of Byzantium:  
Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*

*edited by Alice-Mary Talbot*

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BYZANTINE SAINTS' LIVES IN TRANSLATION

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HOLY WOMEN OF BYZANTIUM

*Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation*

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# HOLY WOMEN OF BYZANTIUM

TEN SAINTS' LIVES IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Edited by Alice-Mary Talbot

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Lives (*vitae*) of medieval saints reflect the great variety of individuals who came to be venerated as holy men and women: hermits, monks and nuns, abbots and abbesses, emperors and empresses, popes and patriarchs, housewives, former soldiers and prostitutes, even Jews who had converted to Christianity. The process of sanctification is still not fully understood and needs further study, especially in the case of Byzantium, but can be summarized as follows. In both the western and eastern medieval worlds, popular veneration preceded official church recognition of the sanctity of a holy man or woman. Usually a cult developed first at the local level (e.g., at a parish church or monastery): pilgrims would flock to the saint's tomb in hope of receiving healing from his or her relics; there would be a special annual commemoration, usually on the anniversary of the saint's death, which became the saint's feastday; a *vita* might be written and an icon painted; eventually the saint might be recognized by the local church hierarchy and his or her name inscribed in a register of feastdays. But canonization in the strict sense, that is, official ecclesiastical acknowledgment and proclamation of the sanctity of an individual by pope or patriarch, did not occur in the West until the tenth century, and in Byzantium only in the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Hagiography (i.e., writings on the lives and miracles of saints) has been the focus of study in recent decades by both western medievalists and Byzantinists. *Vitae* were originally written to demonstrate the sanctity of the holy man or woman portrayed, and to serve as sources of edification for the faithful. The biographies describe the ways in which these pious individuals manifested their sanctity: through mortification of the body, performance of miracles, prophecy, and charitable activity. *Vitae* have long been used by medievalists as a source of data on the life history of saints, religious controversies, and

<sup>1</sup> See A.-M. Talbot, "Canonization," in *ODB* 1:372, and eadem, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite* (Brookline, Mass., 1983), 21–30, with further bibliography.

monastic institutions. More recently, scholars have come to realize that the incidental information provided by these texts is invaluable for understanding everyday life and *mentalites*;<sup>2</sup> in contrast to histories and chronicles, which were usually written in Constantinople and focus on political, military, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical affairs, many saints' Lives have an urban middle-class or rural setting, and thus present useful data on life in provincial cities and the countryside, and on the routine existence of ordinary families. In addition to shedding light on historical events—such as church councils and religious controversies; famines, plagues, and enemy invasions; the foundation of monasteries and daily monastic routine—hagiographical narratives illuminate aspects of everyday life, such as diet, clothing, child-rearing, education, modes of travel, accidental injuries and diseases, the cult of relics, the construction of churches, and the role of icons.

Dumbarton Oaks is launching a series of English translations of medieval Greek Lives of saints to bring a selected group of these biographies of holy men and women to the attention of a wider public. It is hoped that this new series will make available in translation a genre of medieval Greek text that has hitherto been relatively inaccessible. At present, the majority of the Byzantine Greek texts that have been translated into English are narrative histories or writings of the Church Fathers;<sup>3</sup> these should now be complemented by other types of materials. This project to translate saints' Lives is not, in fact, a new idea, but one rooted in tradition, for many of the Greek Lives of saints were translated into Latin, Slavonic, Syriac, Armenian, Geor-

<sup>2</sup> Although a pioneering study was made in the early 20th century by A. P. Rudakov (*Ocerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym greceskoj agiografij* [Moscow, 1917; repr. London, 1970]), western European Byzantinists long remained unfamiliar with his work and were slow to follow his lead in using hagiographic texts as a source for Byzantine social and cultural history. This approach has now been embraced by such scholars as A. P. Kazhdan, A. E. Laiou, E. Patlagean, H. Magoulias, G. Vikan, and H. Maguire, to name but a few. A Dumbarton Oaks project is establishing a computerized database of information on everyday life and *realia* derived from the Lives of saints of the 8th through 10th centuries. For recent work on this subject by western medievalists, see D. Weinstein and R. M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> The best list of Byzantine sources available in translation has been compiled by E. A. Hanawalt, *An Annotated Bibliography of Byzantine Sources in English Translation* (Brookline, Mass., 1988).

gian, and Arabic during the early Christian and Byzantine centuries to make them accessible to non-Greek speakers.<sup>4</sup>

The new Dumbarton Oaks series will focus on the Greek Lives of holy men and women of the eighth to fifteenth centuries, few of which have been previously translated, but will include a few earlier *vitae* as well. For the initial phase of the series three volumes are planned, the first two comprising collections of *vitae* of holy women and of saints of the so-called iconoclastic period (ca. 730–843), the third being the lengthy Life of the eleventh-century monk Lazaros of Mt. Galesios. The series is aimed at a broad and multitiered audience: students and general readers who wish to learn more about the cult of saints, monasticism, and everyday life in Byzantium; scholars of the western medieval and Slavic worlds who want to do comparative studies in hagiography and monasticism; and Byzantine specialists who will find these volumes convenient selections of important *vitae*, accompanied by relatively extensive annotation and bibliography.

The rationale for devoting the first volume of the series to selected Lives of female saints is the notable paucity of translations in English (or indeed any western European language) of the *vitae* of Byzantine holy women, especially for the post-Justinianic period.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, an attempt has been made to include most of the *vitae* of holy women of the middle and late Byzantine

<sup>4</sup> For example, as early as 373 the *vita* of St. Antony the Great was translated into Latin. See the introductions to the *vitae* of Mary/Marinos and Mary of Egypt for discussion of the widespread translations of these popular texts.

<sup>5</sup> For female saints of the 7th to 15th centuries, the single *vita* translated into English is J. O. Rosenqvist, *The Life of St. Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Uppsala, 1986). The picture is rosier, on the other hand, for holy women of the 4th to 6th centuries: see K. Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina* (Toronto, 1987); the *vita* of Synkletike, trans. by E. A. Castelli, in *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook*, ed. V. L. Wimbush (Minneapolis, Minn., 1990), 266–311; the *vita* of Olympias in E. A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom and Friends* (New York, 1979), 127–57; Symeon Metaphrastes' *vita* of Matrona of Perge in K. Bennisser, *Gender and Sanctity in Early Byzantine Monasticism: A Study of the Phenomenon of Female Ascetics in Male Monastic Habit* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984), 118–54. It should be noted that the Lives of repentant harlots (Mary of Egypt; Pelagia; Thais; and Mary, the niece of Abraham) translated by B. Ward (*Harlots of the Desert* [Kalamazoo, Mich., 1987]) are all based on medieval Latin translations of the original Greek texts.

centuries,<sup>6</sup> which are relatively few in number, in addition to some earlier saints who exemplify certain types, such as nuns who adopted male monastic habit and female hermits.

The issue of female sanctity in Byzantium has received considerable attention in recent years, sparked by the pioneering article of Evelyne Patlagean in 1976.<sup>7</sup> The attitude of Byzantines toward female saints reflects their general ambivalence about women: they were torn between the Old Testament statement that God made humankind, both male and female, in His image (Gen. 1:27), and the portrayal of Eve as causing Original Sin by succumbing to the temptation of the serpent (Gen. 3). The teachings of the New Testament sent mixed messages as well: Paul wrote that in Christ “there is no male and female” (Gal. 3:28), but at the same time taught that women should be subordinate to their husbands (Eph. 5:22–24, Col. 3:18), should cover their heads while praying (1 Cor. 11:5), and remain silent in church (1 Cor. 14:34); Christ’s chosen disciples were all male, but Mary was the instrument of man’s salvation by giving birth to Christ. The cult of the Virgin was highly developed in Byzantium; countless church dedications to the Mother of God and Her widespread depiction in icons and monumental painting, on seals and coins, testify to Mary’s enormous popularity.

Despite the ambivalence of Christian teachings, misogynistic attitudes that resulted in the inferior status of women came to predominate in Byzantine society.<sup>8</sup> It is, thus, not surprising that after the early Christian era of martyrdom few women came to be considered holy. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (a late tenth- or early eleventh-century liturgical collection of short hagiographical notices, organized according to the church calendar) reflects the drastic decline in the numbers of female saints over the centuries: it in-

<sup>6</sup> The *vita* of the empress Theophano has been excluded because an English translation is promised by P. Cesaretti; the *vita* of the empress Theodora, wife of Theophilos, will appear in the volume of iconodule saints.

<sup>7</sup> Patlagean, “La femme deguisee.”

<sup>8</sup> To cite a few recent monographs and articles on these subjects: J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme a Byzance*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1990–92); A. E. Laiou, “The Role of Women in Byzantine Society,” *JOB* 31.1 (1981), 233–60; eadem, “Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women,” *ByzF* 9 (1985), 59–102; C. Galatariotou, “Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender,” *BMGS* 9 (1985), 59–102; L. Garland, “The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women,” *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 361–93.

cludes fifty-five women (exclusive of groups) martyred during the persecutions of the third and early fourth centuries, fourteen holy women of the fourth and fifth centuries, four from the sixth century, none from the seventh, and eight from the iconoclastic era of the eighth and ninth centuries. By way of contrast, the *Synaxarion* lists sixty-four male saints for the iconoclastic period.<sup>9</sup> For subsequent centuries, the numbers of new female saints provided with *vitae* are also very low: five in the tenth century, one each for the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, one for the fourteenth, and none in the fifteenth.<sup>10</sup> However, these figures may not present a completely accurate picture, as textual evidence always depends upon accidents of survival of manuscripts. Moreover, because so many saints were venerated at the local level, in some cases no *vita* may have ever been produced.<sup>11</sup>

The reasons for the imbalance between male and female saints are still not fully understood, but must reflect societal attitudes toward women, the phasing out of most consecrated offices for women after the sixth century,<sup>12</sup> the much larger proportion of monks compared with nuns, and the greater opportunities during the middle and late Byzantine centuries for monks to

<sup>9</sup> These figures are taken from A. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," *BZ* 84–85 (1991–92), 392, 395, 405–7.

<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, in the post-Byzantine period some new women saints were recognized by the Orthodox church, both in Greece and Russia; cf. E. M. Walsh, "The Women Martyrs of Nikodemos Hagiorites' *Neon Martyrologion*," *GOrThR* 36 (1991), 71–91; C. Cavarinos, *St. Methodia of Kimolos* [Modern Orthodox Saints, 9] (Belmont, Mass., 1987); B. Meehan, *Holy Women of Russia* (San Francisco, Calif., 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Cf., for example, the cases of Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina and Thomas, both abbesses of the Palaiologan period. Although miracles took place at Choumnaina's tomb (*Nicephorus Gregoras. Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, III [Bonn, 1855], 238), she was never recognized as a saint because of her anti-Palamite views. Further on her, see A. C. Hero, "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *ByzF* 9 (1985), 119–47. The historian Sphrantzes included a "mini-*vita*" of his godmother Thomas in his *History*, stating that she was viewed as a holy woman by her contemporaries; yet her name was never inserted into the official church calendar of commemoration of saints. See *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401–1477*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), chap. 18, pp. 32–36; Eng. trans. M. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by Georgios Sphrantzes, 1401–1477* (Amherst, 1980), 21, 37–40.

<sup>12</sup> After the 6th century the offices of widow and deaconess, so important during the formative years of Christianity, virtually disappeared, as did the consecrated lay virgins.

adopt a solitary and rigorously ascetic lifestyle, in contrast to the cenobitic form of monasticism exclusively approved for women.<sup>13</sup> Women's convents also became more cloistered and contemplative in contrast to those of late antiquity, which placed greater emphasis upon charitable service in the community.<sup>14</sup> It must also be remembered that even though the numbers of new female saints decline during the later centuries of the Byzantine Empire, the dearth of holy women was offset by a tremendous surge in the veneration of the Theotokos from the sixth century onward<sup>15</sup> and by the continuing popularity of biblical women saints and female martyrs (e.g., Thekla and Barbara).

A definite transformation in type of female saint occurs over time. The women martyrs of the first four Christian centuries were followed by transvestite nuns and female hermits in the fifth and sixth centuries,<sup>16</sup> then by cenobitic nuns and married laywomen in the eighth through tenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> The gory deaths of female martyrs are succeeded by a trend to harsh mortification, which renders the female body virtually sexless (e.g., Mary of Egypt), or by a form of asceticism in which women deny their gender by dressing as monks (Mary/Marinos, Matrona), or wanton depravity followed by sincere repentance and a life of abstinence and isolation (Pelagia; Thais; Mary of Egypt; Mary, the niece of Abraham). There is also the occasional virgin who is consecrated to monastic life at a tender age (Elisabeth the Wonderworker). After the seventh century there is a remarkable shift to married women in the ranks of female saints,<sup>18</sup> although earlier types of saints are occasionally

<sup>13</sup> On this, see A.-M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *GOrThR* 30 (1985), 1-2, 16-18.

<sup>14</sup> This observation was made by an anonymous referee who commented that as a result "one has far less public context for establishing sanctity."

<sup>15</sup> As demonstrated compellingly by Av. Cameron in her articles "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *JTS* 29 (1978), 79-108, and "The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople," *Byzantion* 49 (1979), 42-56.

<sup>16</sup> The classic study of Byzantine transvestite nuns is Patlagean, "La femme déguisée."

<sup>17</sup> This observation was first made in Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," esp. 617-23.

<sup>18</sup> Although the numbers of married holy women are particularly striking in the 9th and 10th centuries, there were earlier role models such as the mother and sister of Gregory of Nazianzos. Gregory commemorated his sister St. Gorgonia (d. 370) in a funeral oration that resembles a *vita* in many aspects, praising her devotion to her husband and children, piety, asceticism, and charity. He eulogized his mother Nonna

found.<sup>19</sup> Many holy women of the ninth through thirteenth centuries entered monastic life after being widowed (Athanasia, Theodora of Thessalonike, Theodora of Arta); other married women attained sanctity without ever having taken monastic vows (e.g., Mary the Younger, Thomais, plus the empresses Theophano, Irene, and Theodora, wife of Theophilos).<sup>20</sup> In contrast, relatively few male saints of the middle Byzantine period were ever married.<sup>21</sup> It must be admitted, however, that while marriage is not viewed as an obstacle to sanctity, it is not always presented in a positive manner. Matrona, Mary the Younger, and Thomais were all abused by their husbands in one way or other, and found marriage a form of martyrdom.

The few women whose sanctity was recognized in the middle Byzantine period were restricted to local cults<sup>22</sup> and, with one exception, their *vitae* are preserved in a limited number of manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, no strong iconographic tradition developed for the women saints of the middle and late Byzantine periods; surviving images are known only of Theodora of Thessalonike and Theodora of Arta.<sup>24</sup>

Judging from the number of surviving manuscripts of their *vitae* and the

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for similar virtues in his funeral oration on his father. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, *or.* 8 and 18, chaps. 7–12, 21, in PG 35:789–818 and 992–1000, 1009; Eng. trans. in L. P. McCauley et al., *Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose* (Washington, D. C., 1953), 101–18, 124–28, 135.

<sup>19</sup> Thus a transvestite nun, Anna/Euphemianos, and a female hermit, Theoktiste of Lesbos, are known from the 9th century. On the decline in female hermits, see Talbot, “A Comparison,” 16–17.

<sup>20</sup> For more extensive discussion of the phenomenon of the married laywoman saint, see A. Laiou’s introduction to the *Life* of St. Mary the Younger, below, pp. 239–52.

<sup>21</sup> Among the few who come to mind are St. Philaretos the Merciful (8th century), Euthymios the Younger (9th century), Philotheos of Opsikion (uncertain date), and Cyril Phileotes (11th–12th centuries).

<sup>22</sup> E. g., Athanasia at Aegina, the two Theodoras at Thessalonike and Arta respectively, Mary the Younger at Bizye. Although Thomais was a Constantinopolitan saint and venerated at the local convent of the Theotokos τα μικρά Ῥωμαίου, her feastday is not included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, so her cult must have been very minor indeed.

<sup>23</sup> One each in the case of Athanasia and Thomais, two each for Theodora of Thessalonike and Mary the Younger. Only the *vita* of Theoktiste achieved wide popularity, as attested by the twenty-seven manuscripts in which it survives.

<sup>24</sup> The former is depicted in a fresco at Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, the latter in a bas-relief on her sarcophagus in her convent at Arta. The sculpted image of Theodora

frequency of their artistic representation in monumental church decoration, icons, and seals, the most popular female saints of the Byzantine era were, in fact, those of the first through sixth centuries: martyrs (e.g., Thekla, Euphemia, Barbara, and Catherine); transvestite nuns (e.g., Theodora of Alexandria, Euphrosyne of Alexandria); and repentant harlots (e.g., Mary of Egypt). To their number can be added images of sainted empresses like Helena, the mother of Constantine, and to a lesser extent the iconodules Irene and Theodora.<sup>25</sup>

A recent study has emphasized that not only women embraced the cult of female saints: the audience for the *vitae* of holy women included both sexes, and virtually all known hagiographers were male.<sup>26</sup> This latter conclusion is borne out by the evidence of the ten Lives in this volume, of which six were definitely written by men.<sup>27</sup> There is no conclusive evidence as to the gender of the anonymous authors of the other four *vitae*.

It is also clear that both male and female pilgrims visited the shrines of women saints; in fact, a tabulation of miraculous cures effected by the holy women in this volume reveals a fairly even balance in the gender distribution

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of Arta should perhaps be discounted, as it is not intended to be a holy icon, but rather a dynastic portrait. [After this volume went to press, an article appeared questioning the identification of the figure as Theodora; cf. *vita* of Theodora of Arta, below, note 53.]

<sup>25</sup> For research in progress on these questions, see C. L. Connor, "Female Saints in Byzantine Monumental Decoration," *BSCAbstr* 17 (1991), 48–49, and J. Cotsonis, "Women and Sphragistic Iconography: A Means of Investigating Gender-Related Piety," *BSCAbstr* 19 (1993), 59. I thank Sharon Gerstel for advice on this subject.

<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to Claudia Rapp for sharing with me a copy of her unpublished paper, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and their Audience" (scheduled to appear in *DOP* 50 [1996]). Her conclusions are supported by the observations of J. Cotsonis; see note 25, above. The only two attested medieval Greek female hagiographers are Sergia, who wrote an account of the translation of the relics of St. Olympias (*BHG* 1376), and Theodora Raoulaina, who composed a *vita* of Theodore and Theophanes Grapti (*BHG* 1793). The Syriac *vita* of St. Fębronia (written in the late 6th to early 7th century) was supposedly written by Thomas, a fellow nun; cf. S. P. Brock, S. A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, Calif., 1987), 150 and 176.

<sup>27</sup> The *vitae* of Matrona, by an anonymous male hagiographer; Mary of Egypt, attributed to Sophronios, and indubitably composed by a male author; Theoktiste of Lesbos, by Niketas Magistros; Athanasia of Aegina, by an anonymous male author; Theodora of Thessalonike, by Gregory the Cleric; Theodora of Arta, by the monk Job.

of those who sought healing.<sup>28</sup> Women occasionally sought healing from female saints for specifically female complaints, such as menstrual disorders, breast cancer, and drying up of breast milk,<sup>29</sup> but they also approached holy men (or their relics) with similar complaints.<sup>30</sup>

One may conclude then that only a small percentage of Byzantine saints were women and that, with the exception of a few early martyrs and ascetics, they were not widely venerated in the Byzantine church. Thus the Lives of those women who did achieve sanctity are of particular interest for the insights they give us into attitudes toward the status of women in Byzantium. Moreover, these texts present a considerable amount of information on Byzantine domestic households, the spiritual life of laywomen and the plight of battered wives (as in the *vitae* of Mary the Younger and Thomais), the foundation and growth of monasteries (*vita* of Matrona), the daily monastic routine (*vita* of Theodora of Thessalonike), and the development of popular cults (especially the *vita* of Athanasia, Theodora of Thessalonike, Mary the Younger, and Thomais). Our understanding of the everyday life of Byzantine women would be much poorer without these sacred biographies, which open a door into the cloister and into the homes of ordinary people.

#### *A Note on the Translation*

The aim of the translators has been the production of a text that is close to the original Greek, yet at the same time readable and comprehensible. It has proved impossible to impose stylistic uniformity on the work of nine different

<sup>28</sup> Five of the *vitae* in this volume include accounts of miracles. Elisabeth healed four men and one woman (plus other unspecified women), Athanasia five men and six women, Theodora of Thessalonike seven men and nine women, Mary the Younger twenty-one men and eleven women, and Thomais eight men and five women.

<sup>29</sup> See *vitae* of Elisabeth (pp. 117, 130–31), Mary the Younger (Chap. 15), and Thomais (Chaps. 13–14). See also the remarks of P. Halsall in his introduction to the *vita* of Thomais, note 7.

<sup>30</sup> Thus, hemorrhaging women were healed by Athanasios of Athos and patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople, and women with lactation problems were cured by Symeon the Stylite. Cf. J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Turnhout, 1982), *vita* B, chap. 72; A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite* (Brookline, Mass., 1983), 112; P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Symeon Stylite le Jeune*, 1 (Brussels, 1962), chap. 138, p. 129.

contributors, hence variations in style reflect the taste of the individual translator rather than that of the hagiographer. The editor has attempted, however, to maintain consistency in the translation of terms such as “blessed” for *οσιος* (*όσια*), “superior” for *ήγουμενος* (*ήγουμενη*), and “steward” for *οικονομος*.

Greek proper names and technical terms have been strictly transliterated for the most part, except in instances where a traditional latinized or anglicized form (e.g., Homer, Thebes, Constantinople) is well known. The anglicized form of Greek first names that are common in English (e.g., Mary, John, Peter) has also been adopted.

The use of pointed brackets (< . . . >) indicates the insertion of words to clarify the meaning of a phrase, for example, “the <previous> miracle,” while square brackets ([ . . . ]) represent an additional phrase of identification, e.g., “the mother superior [Anna].”

Scriptural citations are taken from the Lancelot Brenton translation of the Septuagint and from the King James Version of the New Testament.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The King James Version was chosen over the more accurate translation of the New Revised Standard Version, because its archaizing language harmonizes better with the Brenton translation of the Septuagint. In a few cases where the Brenton or King James translations are misleading, the translators have substituted their own rendering.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### *Scriptural Citations*

*Septuagint* (all citations are based on the numbering of the L. C. L. Brenton edition, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* [London, 1851])

Gen.	Genesis
Ex.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus
Num.	Numbers
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Josh.	Joshua
Judg.	Judges
Ruth	
Ki.	Kings
	N.B. 1–2 Sam. in OT = 1–2 Kings in Sept. 1–2 Kings in OT = 3–4 Kings in Sept.
Chr.	Chronicles (= Paralipomenon of Sept.)
Ezra	
Esth.	Esther
Job	
Ps.	Psalms (first number = Sept. numbering, number in parentheses = OT numbering)
Prov.	Proverbs
Eccl.	Ecclesiastes
Song of Sol.	Song of Solomon
Is.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Dan.	Daniel
Hos.	Hosea
Joel	
Amos	
Obad.	Obadiah

Jon.	Jonah
Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum
Hab.	Habakkuk
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Hag.	Haggai
Zach.	Zachariah
Mal.	Malachi

*Apocrypha*

Macc.	Maccabees
Tob.	Tobit
Jdth.	Judith
Sir.	Siracides (Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach, Ecclesiasticus)
Sap.	Wisdom of Solomon (Sapientia Solomonis)

*New Testament*

Mt.	Matthew
Mk.	Mark
Lk.	Luke
Jn.	John
Acts	
Rom.	Romans
Cor.	Corinthians
Gal.	Galatians
Eph.	Ephesians
Phil.	Philippians
Col.	Colossians
Th.	Thessalonians
Tim.	Timothy
Tit.	Titus
Philem.	Philemon
Heb.	Hebrews
James	
Pet.	Peter
John	epistles to John
Jude	
Rev.	Revelation

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*ABME* Ἀρχεῖον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
*ActaAntHung* *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*  
*Akrop.* *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols.  
 (Leipzig, 1903)  
*AnalBoll* *Analecta Bollandiana*,  
*ArchDelt* Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτικόν  
*Basilics*, ed. Scheltema et al.  
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*BHG* *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3d ed., ed. F. Halkin  
 (Brussels, 1957)  
*BHG Nov. Auct.* *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae  
 graecae*, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels, 1984)  
*BHO* *Bibliothèque hagiographique Orientale*, ed. L. Clugnet  
 (Paris, 1891–)  
*Bibl.sanct.* *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1961–70)  
*BMGS* *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*  
*BollGrott* *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*  
*BSCAbstr* *Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers*  
*ByzF* *Byzantinische Forschungen*  
*ByzSlav* *Byzantinoslavica*  
*Byz. Saint* *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham 14th  
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*BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*  
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G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1955–56), 179–263, 453–511; 25–27 (1957), 783–852

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DOP

*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

DuCange, *Glossarium*

*Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* (Leiden, 1688; repr. Paris, 1943)

EEBS

Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν

EO

*Echos d'Orient*

EtBalk

*Études balkaniques*

Gautier, "Kecharitomene"

P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Theotokos Kecharitomene," *REB* 43 (1985), 5–165

Goar, *Euchologion*

J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960)

GOrThR

*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*

GRBS

*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Gryson, *Ministry of Women*

R. Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (Collegeville, Minn., 1976)

Homer, *Il.*

Homer, *The Iliad*

Homer, *Od.*

Homer, *The Odyssey*

HThR

*Harvard Theological Review*

IRAİK

*Izvestija Russkogo Arheologiceskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*

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- JOB* *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- JWalt* *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
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