

DUMBARTON OAKS HAGIOGRAPHY DATABASE

Co-Directors: Alexander Kazhdan
Alice-Mary Talbot

Research Associates: Alexander Alexakis
Stephanos Efthymiadis
Stamatina McGrath
Lee Francis Sherry
Beate Zielke

Project Assistants: Deborah Fitzl
Peter Goodman

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE DATABASE PROJECT

Hagiography was one of the most important genres of Byzantine literature, both in terms of quantity of written material and the wide audience that read or listened to these texts. The Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database Project is designed to provide Byzantinists and other medievalists with new opportunities of access to this important and underutilized corpus of Greek texts. Included in the database is information from the Greek *vitae* and *martyria* of one hundred and nineteen saints of the 8th-10th c., accounts of the translations of their relics, and collections of miracles, as well as notices from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (a 10th-century liturgical collection of brief hagiographical notices). The project provides a subject index (the database proper) on many aspects of Byzantine civilization, from everyday life to liturgical vessels to toponyms.

In recent decades the study of hagiography (here defined as writings about saints and their posthumous cults) has greatly increased among western medievalists and Byzantinists alike. The groundwork for this study has been laid by the Bollandist Fathers in Brussels with their monumental publication of Greek and Latin saints' lives, the *Acta Sanctorum*, in 71 volumes (Paris 1863-1940), in their journal *Analecta Bollandiana* (1882-present), and in the *Subsidia Hagiographica* (81 volumes to date). The goal of the Bollandists has been to make available reliable editions of hagiographic texts and to distinguish between historical and legendary saints; they have been particularly interested in the biographies of saints, the history of monasteries, and ecclesiastical history in general. Among others who have laid the basic groundwork for contemporary study of Byzantine hagiography one should mention P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and A. Ehrhard.

Another approach adopted by a number of western medievalists and Byzantinists has been to study the information which the *vitae* provide about the civilizations that produced them, data not only about material culture, but also about the mentality of the audiences for whom *vitae* were an edifying as well as entertaining form of literature. Hagiographic texts not only furnish the medievalist with a vast amount of material for study that supplements the often scanty narrative and documentary sources, but, even more importantly, they shed light on aspects of medieval life neglected by chronicles and histories. The latter tend to focus on major cities, on the imperial court, on papacy or patriarchate, on war and diplomacy. Hagiography, on the other hand, often deals with provincial cities and villages; it opens a window onto the lives of ordinary people, onto family life, childhood games and education, modes of travel, the construction of churches and monasteries, illness and demonic possession, and the miraculous healing power of saints and their relics.

Supporters of a "macrocosmic" approach to the study of saints' Lives, what Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell call "hagiographic realism," argue forcefully that saints "shared the material and social experiences of [their] compatriots and [their] class."¹ The user of these texts must be aware that they present two aspects: "reality" itself and the hagiographers' vision of reality. Although hagiographic data must be treated with caution because of the prevalence of *topoi* (i.e., commonplace motifs frequently repeated), at the same time *topoi* reflect a collective mentality which is of considerable inter-

est to the historian. Of particular importance is the indirect and inadvertent information provided by these texts; although data about the social background of saints, for example, may reflect a societal desideratum or cliché, not reality, information about *realia* is much more trustworthy, because it is often incidental to the main point, i.e., to the miracle or to the saint's virtuous qualities. Generally, one must beware of anachronisms introduced by a later biographer; many of the *vitae* in our database, however, seem reliable in that they were written by a disciple within a generation of the saint's death, and often the historical data can be independently verified.

As long ago as 1917 the pioneering Russian scholar A. P. Rudakov wrote a book on Byzantine culture as portrayed in hagiography (*Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* [Moscow 1917]), but his study has remained little known. In recent decades a number of Byzantinists, especially in France and the United States, have revived the approach of Rudakov and have begun to use the evidence of hagiographical texts to explore new dimensions of social history such as the family, marriage, sexuality and the role of women and children. One could cite, for example, the extensive use of hagiographic material in Peter Brown's cultural studies,² in Evelyne Patlagean's seminal works on the family and social and economic structures,³ in studies on Byzantine childhood and education by Ann Moffatt and Héléne Antoniadis-Bibicou;⁴ Alexander Kazhdan's and Catia Galatariotou's articles on Byzantine sexuality⁵ and Angeliki Laiou's and Alice-Mary Talbot's studies of women and the family also come to mind.⁶ Other areas for which saints' lives furnish abundant data are everyday life in Constantinople and provincial cities (Gilbert Dagron),⁷ agrarian life (Michel Kaplan and H. J. Magoulias),⁸ travel (Elisabeth Malamut, Angeliki Laiou),⁹ medicine (Alexander Kazhdan, H. J. Magoulias),¹⁰ art (Robin Cormack, Henry Maguire),¹¹ magic and popular religion (Dorothy Abrahamse, Gary Vikan, Frank Trombley, H. J. Magoulias).¹² This type of investigation of hagiographic sources is paralleled for western Europe in the work of such medievalists as Donald Weinstein, Rudolph Bell and Caroline Bynum.¹³

Scholars tend, however, to use a relatively small number of *vitae*, those which are well-known and easily accessible. It is extremely time-consuming to read a large number of *vitae* (most of which lack indices or even chapter headings) in search of information on a single topic of interest. The D.O. project is therefore designed to make possible a *systematic* search of all Greek *vitae* of the saints from a given century on any topic, i.e., to provide a comprehensive database. The user of our database will be able to make broad searches, under such categories as "medicine," "monasticism" or "agriculture," or specific searches on individual words such as "nun," "plow" or "barley gruel". The material is organized thematically, rather than alphabetically, to facilitate search by subject.

The pilot phase of the project focussed on saints who lived in the 9th century; the second phase, the Greek *vitae* of saints of the 10th century, and the third phase, now complete, the Greek *vitae* of the saints of the 8th century. We chose these centuries because they represent a period rich in the development of the cults of saints and the production of *vitae*, and relatively poor in other sources for social history. This was an era when Byzantium was fully established as a medieval civilization quite distinct from its Roman predecessor. This transformation is reflected in a general trend away from *vitae* originating from a wider geographic area to *vitae* originating from select regions and cities. It was also the epoch which witnessed the iconoclastic dispute and is thus of special interest to historians of religion and art.

¹ *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom*, (Chicago, 1982), 2, 7.

² P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 61 (1971), 80–101; *idem*, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, (New York, 1988); *idem*, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, (London-Binghamton, New York, 1982).

³ E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4^e–7^e siècles*, (Paris; The Hague, 1977); *eadem*, *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance IV^e–XI^e siècle*, (London, 1981).

⁴ A. Moffatt, "The Byzantine Child," *Social Research* 53 (1986), 705–723; H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine (du VI^e au XII^e siècle)," *Annales de démographie historique* (1973), 77–84.

⁵ A. Kazhdan, "Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 44

(1990), 131-143; C. Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender," *BMGS* 9 (1984/85), 55-94.

⁶ A. Laiou, "Η ιστορία ενός γάμου: ο Βίος της αγίας Θωμαΐδος της Λεσβίας," *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1989), 237-251; *eadem*, *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XI^e-XIII^e siècles*, (Paris, 1992); A.-M. Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," *DOP* 44 (1990), 119-129; *eadem*, "Byzantine Women, Saint's Lives and Social Welfare," in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*, edd., E. A. Hanawalt, C. Lindberg (Kirksville, MO, 1994), 105-122.

⁷ G. Dagron, *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*, (Brussels, 1978); *idem*, "Les moines et la Ville: Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451)," *TM* 4 (1970), 229-276.

⁸ M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle: propriété et exploitation du sol*, (Paris, 1992); H. J. Magoulias, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources for Byzantine Agrarian Life in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *GOrThR* 35 (1990), 59-70.

⁹ E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, (Paris, 1993); A. Laiou, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1980), 84-114.

¹⁰ H. J. Magoulias, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the VIth and VIIth Centuries," *BZ* 57 (1964), 127-150; A. Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 38 (1984), 43-51.

¹¹ R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons*, (London, 1985); A. Kazhdan, H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *DOP* 45 (1991), 1-22.

¹² D. Abrahamse, "Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period," *ByzF* 8 (1982), 3-17; G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 38 (1984), 65-86; F. Trombley, "Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity," *HThR* 78 (1985), 327-352; *idem*, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370-529*, 2 vols. (Leiden and New York, 1993-1994); H. Magoulias, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries, A. D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons," *Byzantion* 37 (1967), 228-269.

¹³ For Weinstein and Bell, see fn. 1; see also C. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, (Berkeley, CA, 1987); *eadem*, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, (New York, 1991).

ORGANIZATION OF THE DATABASE

1. Saint Records

A saint record has been prepared for each *vita*, with fields containing the following information: name, birth and death year of saint, name of author if known, date of composition; geographical area of saint's activity. **It should be noted that in many cases the dates can only be approximate because of insufficient information. Users should always consult the introduction to each *vita* for discussion of the chronology of the saint and the composition of the *vita*.**

The final field includes the edition used for the data entry and the Greek text, with notation of journal reviews that suggest emendations and corrections to the original edition.

2. Database Records

The database proper consists of records in which data extracted from a saint's *vita* is entered in a tripartite classification (Category-Subcategory-Word [with Proper Name or Toponym substituted for Word when appropriate]). The page and line numbers of the passage from which the data has been extracted are entered at the top of each record.

The record also includes a "note field"; the key words or phrases, transliterated into Latin letters (because the software does not support foreign fonts), are included here to indicate which Greek words or phrases are selected for entry. Where appropriate, notations are added to the effect that the word/phrase entered has been used in the original text metaphorically or as a simile (to alert the user that the word is not meant literally), or that it is from a proverbial expression or part of a quotation from an earlier author. Metaphors and similes have been included because we feel it is important to categorize the domains from which the Byzantines derived their metaphorical language. Words and terms from Scriptural citations are generally omitted.

The search possibilities are numerous and very flexible. Thus one can look for all entries relating to Medicine in the *vita* of St. Theodora of Thessalonike or entries on "scalpel" in all the *vitae*. One can look up a category, subcategory or individual word or combinations of words. For example, a researcher interested in predictions of death can call up all records in which the words "death" and "prediction" appear together. One can also search for toponyms and proper names; for these two last categories of material, the staff has prepared descriptive information which whenever possible is based on the entry from the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. (See Comment boxes on the search screen.)

3. Greek Texts

For the convenience of the user, who may not have access to many of the hagiographic texts used in the database, and in order to provide a context for the words or phrases entered into the system, the database module is complemented by a link to the Greek texts of each *vita*. Each *vita* is divided up into files containing discrete paragraphs which are linked to individual data records.

The Greek texts have been retyped from the original editions. Many of these editions are almost a century old, lack a critical apparatus, and in some cases were poorly printed. We have therefore endeavored to present an "improved version" by making two types of corrections: 1) we have made tacit corrections in orthography (especially in the case of itacisms), accentuation, breathings and punctuation; 2) where the reading of a word in the text appears erroneous, we have suggested an emendation, sometimes based on the proposal of a scholarly journal review; emendations are indicated by square brackets and the word "lege: ". The deletion of words or letters from the original text is indicated by { }, the addition of words or letters by pointed brackets < >. **Users are, however, strongly advised to consult the original Greek text to confirm the precise reading, and to take advantage of the critical apparatus and notes provided by the original editor.**

The separate Greek files attached to the database records are not searchable for Greek words at present. The user can, however, search for those Greek words which have been entered in the database by searching for the transliterated word in the notefield.

The continuous text of most of the *vitae* of the 8th, 9th and 10th-century saints is available through the cards in the Saints' List. Go to the Saints' List, click on the name of a saint, and then click on the

underlined phrase Greek text, at the bottom of the card.

It should be noted that the Greek texts of certain *vitae* have not been included because copyright permission was refused by the publishers [for a list of those *vitae* see below pp. 7–8].

4. Miracle Records

A special feature of the database is separate files with English summaries of each healing miracle.

The user is forewarned that there is an estimated overall error rate of approximately 2% in the data entry, and any analysis or statistical compilations based on the database should take this error rate into account.

PREFACE TO THE *VITAE* OF 8TH, 9TH AND 10TH C. SAINTS

It should be noted that for the purposes of this project, an “8th-c. saint” has been somewhat arbitrarily defined as a saint whose death year fell between 700 and 799, 9th-c. saint” one whose death year fell between 800 and 899 and a “10th-c. saint” one who died between 900 and 999. Thus the database includes (with a few exceptions, noted below) all saints who died between 700 and 999. Among the “10th-c. saints” are to be found Athanasios of Athos and Nikon ho Metanoieite, who died ca. 1000, for whom the exact death date is uncertain.

The project has attempted to include virtually all the 8th, 9th and 10th-c. saints for whom a *vita* or synaxarion notice is preserved. A few holy men and women of this era have been excluded, typically because their *vita* survives only in the version of Symeon Metaphrastes or was written many centuries later or is an extremely rhetorical work with no concrete information. For the 8th c. saints, the *vita* of the twenty martyrs of Mar Saba, martyred in 797 (*BHG* 1200), was omitted because this text came to our attention too late to be entered in the database. Among the 9th-c. saints the following were omitted: 1) Eudokimos, of whom two *vitae* survive, one by Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 607), the other possibly by Constantine Akropolites (*BHG* 606); 2) Theodore and Theophanes Graptoi for whom survive an *enkomion* by Theophanes of Caesarea (*BHG* 1745z), a *vita* by Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 1746) and a *vita* by Theodora Raoulaina (*BHG* 1793); 3) Barbaros, for whom there is only a *logos* by Constantine Akropolites (*BHG* 220); 4) Martha of Monemvasia (*BHG* 1175), the subject of an edifying tale by the 10th-c. bishop Paul (ed. J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs*, [Paris 1987], 110-115), is dated by Halkin, for example, to the 9th or 10th-c. but is omitted because her dates are so uncertain and it is not sure that she was commemorated as a saint. Halkin lists no feast day for her; 5) the empress Irene has been omitted because her *vita* belongs to the genre of historical chronicle rather than hagiographic composition.

For 10th-c. saints the following are not included: 1) Arsenios of Kerkyra whose *akolouthia* (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀρσενίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κερκύρας) [Corfu 1873] was not available to us; 2) Basil the Younger; 3) Euphrosyne the Younger (d. 922/23) whose *vita* survives only in a 14th-c. version by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos; 4) Euthymios of Madyta (d. between 989 and 996), for whom there is only a 13th-c. *enkomion* by Gregory of Cyprus; 5) Paul Xeropotamites, whose *vita* survives only in an 18th-c. version of no historical value; 6) Symeon Metaphrastes, whose death date (ca. 1000?) is uncertain, and for whom there survives only an *enkomion* by Michael Psellos; 7) Photios of Thessaly (d. after 995), for whom there survives only a very rhetorical *enkomion*; 8) Nicholas of Bounaina, for whom survive a *vita* by an otherwise unknown Nicholas (*BHG* 2308) and a *vita* by the priest Archaikos (*BHG* 2309).

It should be noted that the continuous Greek texts of the following *vitae* have been omitted because of failure to secure copyright permission:

(* means that the Greek text is not available in the continuous textbase, but only divided into paragraphs and accessed through individual record cards in search citations)

Antony the Younger (supplement only)

*Athanasios of Athos (vita A and B)

*Athanasios of Methone

Bakchos the Younger

Blasios of Amorion

*Christopher and Makarios

Constantine the Jew

*Euthymios of Sardis

Evaristos

*George, bishop of Mytilene

*Gregory of Dekapolis

John Eremopolites

*Kliment of Ohrid
Kosmas the Monk (partial)
Loukas the Stylite
Mary the Younger
Nikephoros of Medikion
*Niketas Patrikios
*Peter of Argos
*Peter of Athos
Peter of Atroa
Phantinos the Younger
Prokopios of Dekapolis
*Theokletos of Lakedaimon
Theoktiste of Lesbos
Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia (anonymous vita and vita by Theophylaktos)
Thomais of Lesbos

The following texts can be accessed in continuous form through the saints list.

Andrew in Tribunal
Andrew of Crete
Anna of Leukate
Anna-Euphemianos
Anthousa, daughter of Constantine V
Anthousa of Mantineon
Antony Kauleas
Antony the Younger (partial)
Athanasia of Aegina
Athanasios of Paulopetrion
Athanasios of Traianos
David, Symeon and George
Demetrianos
Dounale-Stephen
Elias of Helioupolis
Elias Spelaiotes
Elias the Younger
Eustratios of Agauros
Euthymios, patriarch of Constantinople
Euthymios the Younger
42 Martyrs of Amorion (v. Euodii)
42 Martyrs of Amorion (v. Michaelis)
George Limnaiotes
George of Amastris
George the Neophanes
Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople
Germanos of Kosinitza
Gregory of Akritas
Hilarion of Dalmatos
Hypatios and Andrew
Ignatios of Bathyrhyax
Ignatios, patriarch of Constantinople
Ioannikios (v. Petri)
Ioannikios (v. Sabae)
Irene of Chrysobalanton
John of Damascus

John of Gotthia
John of Kathara
John of Polyboton
John the Psichaites
Joseph the Hymnographer
Kallinikos, patriarch of Constantinople
Kosmas the Hymnographer and John of Damascus
Kosmas the Monk (partial)
Lazaros the Painter
Leo of Catania
Loukas the Younger of Stiris
Makarios of Pelekete
Martyrs from Thrace
Martyrs in Bulgaria
Methodios I, patriarch of Constantinople
Metrios
Michael Maleinos
Michael of Zobe
Michael Synkellos
Naum of Ohrid
Nicholas of Stoudios
Nicholas the Monk
Nikephoros I, patriarch of Constantinople
Nikephoros of Miletos
Nikephoros of Sebaze
Niketas of Medikion
Nikon ho Metanoeite
Paul of Kaioumas
Paul of Latros
Paul the Obedient
Peter of Galatia
Peter the Patrikios
Philaretos the Merciful
Philotheos of Opsikion
Plato of Sakkoudion
Sabas the Younger
Sergios Niketiates
Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem
Stephen Neolampes
Stephen of Chenolakkos
Stephen of Sougdaia
Stephen the Sabaite
Stephen the Younger
Tarasios
Theodora of Kaisaris
Theodora of Thessalonike
Theodora, wife of Theophilos
Theodore of Edessa
Theodore of Kythera
Theodore of Stoudios
Theodosia of Constantinople
Theokleto
Theophanes the Confessor

Theophano
Theophilos the Confessor
Thomas Dephourkinos

We hereby express our deep appreciation to all the publishers and scholars who kindly granted permission for the electronic reproduction of their texts.

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LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

- AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*... 71 vols. (Paris 1863-1940)
- AB = *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes [1882-])
- AHG = *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 13 vols., ed. J. Schirò (Rome, 1966-1983)
- AIPHOS = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* (Université Libre de Bruxelles: 1932/3-)
- BACBelg = *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politique de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (Brussels 1899-1918; title change to *Classe des Beaux Arts* [1915-])
- Beck, Kirche = H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: 1959; 2nd ed. 1977 = *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Abteilung 12; *Byzantinisches Handbuch* T. 2, Band 1)
- BHG = *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*³ (3 vols. in 1, ed. F. Halkin) (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes [1957]) = *Subsidia Hagiographica* 8a
- BHG Auct. and BHG Nov. Auct. = *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*,³ (ed. F. Halkin; incl. vol. 4, *Auctarium*) (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes [1969] and vol. 5, *Novum Auctarium* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes [1984])
- BHO = *Bibliothèque hagiographique Orientale* = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (edd. Socii Bollandiani and P. Peeters) (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes [1910]; reprt. Profondville: 1954)= *Subsidia Hagiographica* 10
- BiblSanct = *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome 1961-70)
- BNJbb = *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher: Internationales Wissenschaftliches Organ...* (Berlin: Wilmersdorf Verlag [1920-49?])
- de Boor, Theoph. = C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1883-85)
- Bryer-Herrin, Iconoclasm = A. A. Bryer, J. Herrin, *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham 1977)
- BS = *Byzantinoslavica: sborník pro studium byzantsko-slovanských vztahu* = *Revue internationale des études byzantines* (Prague: Academia [1929-]; suspended publication 1939-46)
- Byzantion = *Byzantion: revue internationale des études byzantines* (Paris; Liège; Brussels: [1924-])
- ByzF = *Byzantinische Forschungen: Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik* (Amsterdam: Hakker [1966-])
- BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Munich; Leipzig [1892-])
- da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" = G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1955-56) 179-263; 453-511; 25-27 (1957) 783-852
- da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce" = G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 309-69
- da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile" = G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles," *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959-60) 89-173
- DA = *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Weimar; Marburg: Simons [1937-]; earlier title: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*)
- Delehay, *Mélanges* = H. Delehay, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Brussels 1966)
- DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 25 vols. (Paris 1912-)
- DictSpir = *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, 16 vols. (Paris 1932-1994)
- Dobroklonskij, Feodor = A. P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij*, 2 vols. (Odessa 1913-14)
- DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection [1958-])
- DTC = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 18 vols. (Paris 1903-72)
- Dujčev, *Medioevo* = I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, 3 vols. (Rome 1965-71)
- Dvornik, *Photian Schism* = F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge 1948)
- EEBS = Ἑπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (Athens 1924-)

- EEPhSPTH* = Ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπετηρίδα τῆς φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Τμῆμα φιλοσοφίας (Thessalonike, 1927-)
- Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* = A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1936-52 = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Reihe 4.5-7; ganze Reihe 50-52)
- EP* = *The Encyclopedia of Islam* ², vols. 1- (Leiden-London 1960-)
- EkAI* = Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια (Istanbul: ἐκ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ τυπογραφείου [1880?-1923])
- EO* = *Échos d'Orient* (Paris 1897-1942); superseded by *Études byzantines* and *Revue des études byzantines*
- Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae* = G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1992)
- Ferrante, *Santi italogreci* = N. Ferrante, *Santi italogreci in Calabria* (Reggio Calabria 1981)
- FGHBulg* = *Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae* = *Grutski izvori za Bŭlgarskata istorija* (Sofia 1954-)
- Follieri, *San Fantino* = E. Follieri, *La Vita di San Fantino il Giovane* (Brussels 1993)
- Gero, C.V. = Stephen Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the reign of Constantine V*, [CSCO 384, Subsidia 52] (Louvain, 1977)
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- Guilland, *Titres* = R. J. Guilland, *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantin* (London: Variorum Reprints 1976)
- Hester, *Italo-Greeks* = D.P. Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality of the Italo-Greeks* [Analekta Vlatadon, 55] (Thessalonike, 1992)
- Hunger, *Lit.* = H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich 1978 = *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* : Abteilung 12, Byzantinisches Handbuch, Tome 5, Bände 1-2)
- HUkSt* = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute [1977-])
- IRAİK* = *Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* = *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople* (Odessa and Sofia: [1892/6?-1912])
- IzvInstBŭlgSt* = *Izvestija na Instituta za Bŭlgarska istorija* (Sofia: [1951])
NB: after 1951 title changes to *Izvestija na Instituta za istorija i Bŭlgarska Akademiia na naukite* = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Histoire, Académie des Sciences de Bulgarie. Section d'Histoire et de Pédagogie*
- IzvORJaS* = *Izvestija Otdelenija Russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* (St. Petersburg: [1895-1928?])
- Janin, *ConstantinopleByz.* = R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*² (Paris 1964)
- Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* = R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris 1975) = *Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 2
- Janin, *ÉglisesCP* = R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, 3: *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed., (Paris 1969)
- Jenkins, *Studies* = R. J. H. Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London: Variorum Reprints 1970)
- JÖB* = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* (before 1969: *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*) (Vienna 1951-)
- Laurent, *Corpus* = V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, 2 vols. in 5 pts. (Paris 1963-81)
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- Levčenko, *Rus-VizOtn* = M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskich otnošenij* (Moscow 1956)
- LexMA* = *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich 1977-)
- LThK* = *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg 1957-1965/7?)

- Mai, *Novae patrum bibl.* = A. Mai, *Novae patrum bibliothecae*, 10 vols. (Rome 1852-1905)
- Maistor* = *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. A. Moffatt (Canberra 1984)
- Malamut, *Route des saints* = E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris 1993)
- Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* = B. Menthon, *Une terre de légendes: L'Olympe de Bithynie: ses Saints, ses couvents, ses sites* (Paris 1935)
- MM = F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna 1860-1890)
- Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* = G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols. (3rd ed., Berlin 1983 = *Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten* 10-11)
- Muséon* = *Le Muséon: revue d'Études Orientales* (Louvain 1882-)
- NCE* = *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols., (New York 1967)
- NSion* = Νέα Σιών: ἐκκλησιαστικὸν περιοδικὸν σύγγραμμα (Jerusalem 1904-)
- ODB* = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., edd. A. P. Kazhdan, et al. (New York 1991)
- OrChrP* = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome 1935-)
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- Patlagean, “La femme déguisée” = E. Patlagean, “L’histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l’évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance,” *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 17 (1976) 597-623, repr. in eadem, *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IVe-XIe siècle* (London, 1981), pt. XI
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, 161 vols in 166 pts., ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris 1857-1866/1904?)
- PPSb* = *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* (Moscow and St. Petersburg? 1881-1916)
NB: see also *PSb*
- PSb* = *Palestinskij Sbornik* (Moscow and Leningrad 1954-)
NB: continues *PPSb*
- RBK* = *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart 1966-)
- RE* = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 24 vols, edd. A. F. von Pauly; rev. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart 1894-1972; *Supplementbände* 15 vols., 1903-)
- REB* = *Revue des études byzantines* (Paris and Bucharest 1943-)
- RHE* = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain 1900-)
- ROC* = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* (Paris 1896-1946)
- RSBN* = *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* (Rome 1964-); original title [1924-1963] = *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*; 1924-1927 title = *Studi bizantini*
- RSBS* = *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* (Bologna 1981-1989)
- Schilbach = E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970)
- Scholz, *Graecia Sacra* = Cordula Scholz, *Graecia Sacra. Studien zur Kultur des mittelalterlichen Griechenland im Spiegel hagiographischer Quellen* (Frankfurt 1997)
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- Ševčenko, *Ideology* = I. Ševčenko, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London : Variorum Reprints 1982)
- Starr, *Jews* = J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (Athens 1939)
- ST* = *Studi e Testi* (Rome 1900-)
- SyllogePPSb* = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Συλλογὴ Παλαιστίνης καὶ Συριακῆς Ἀγιολογίας [= *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* 57] 19.3 (1907)
- SynaxCP* = *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels 1902, rpt. Louvain : [1954])
- Talbot, “Byzantine Women” = A.-M. Talbot, “Byzantine Women, Saints’ Lives, and Social Welfare” in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*, ed. E.A. Hanawalt and C. Lindberg (Kirksville, MO, 1994) 105-22

- Talbot, *Holy Women* = A.-M. Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, D.C., 1996)
- TIB = *Tabula Imperii byzantini*, ed. H. Hunger (Vienna 1976-)
- TM = *Travaux et Mémoires* (Paris 1965-)
- TRE = *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin-New York 1992-1994)
- Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* = W. T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842* (Stanford, 1988)
- Tsames, *Meterikon* = D. G. Tsames, *Μητρικόν: διηγήσεις, ἀποφθέγματα καὶ βίοι τῶν ἁγίων μητέρων τῆς ἐρήμου, ἀσκητριῶν καὶ ὁσίων γυναικῶν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας*, 7 vols., (Thessalonike, 1990-1997)
- Vasiliev, *ByzArabes* = A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 4 vols. (Brussels 1935-1968)
- Vasiliev, *Russian Attack* = A. A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860* (Cambridge, MA, 1946)
- Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* = V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg 1908-1930; rpt. The Hague 1968)
- VizObozr = *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* = *Revue Byzantine* (Dorpat 1915-17)
- VizVrem = *Vizantijskij vremennik* (Leningrad and Moscow 1897-1927; 1947-)
- Vlasto, *Entry* = A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: an introduction to the medieval history of the Slavs* (Cambridge 1970)
- ZapANist.fil.,ser.8 = *Zapiski imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk: Istoriko-filologičeskoe otdelenie* = *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, VIIIe Série: classe historico-philologique*, 13 vols. (Petrograd 1895-1922)
(NB: after 1918 title changes to *Zapiski Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk: Istoriko-filologičeskoe otdelenie* = *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie, VIIIe Série: classe historico-philologique*)
- Zlatarski, *Ist.* = V. Zlatarski, *Istoria na Bŭlgarskata dŭrŭŭava*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1918-40; rpt. 1971-72)
- ŽMNP = *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveščeniija* (Leningrad 1834-1917)
- ZRVI = *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Srpska Akademija Nauka* (Belgrade 1961- ; earlier title: *Zbornik radova* 1952-1960)

VI. Alphabetical List of 8th, 9th and 10th c. Saints with *BHG* numbers

<u>Andrew in Tribunal</u>	BHG 111
<u>Andrew of Crete</u>	BHG 113
<u>Anna of Leukate</u>	SynaxCP 835-840
<u>Anna-Euphemianos</u>	BHG 2027 SynaxCP 170.18-20; 173-8
<u>Anthousa daughter of Constantine V</u>	SynaxCP 597-600
<u>Anthousa of Mantineon</u>	BHG 2029H
<u>Antony Kauleas</u>	BHG 139 ODB 125
<u>Antony the Younger</u>	BHG 142-3A ODB 126
<u>Athanasia of Aegina</u>	BHG 180-80B
<u>Athanasios of Athos (A)</u>	BHG 187 ODB 219
<u>Athanasios of Athos (B)</u>	BHG 188 ODB 219
<u>Athanasios of Methone</u>	BHG 196
<u>Athanasios of Paulopetron</u>	SynaxCP 483.22-36
<u>Athanasios of the monastery of Traianos</u>	BHG2047N
<u>Bakchos the Younger</u>	BHG 209B
<u>Blasios of Amorion</u>	BHG 278 ODB 294
<u>Christopher and Makarios</u>	BHG 312
<u>Constantine the Jew</u>	BHG 370-70C ODB 506
<u>David, Symeon and George</u>	BHG 494 ODB 589
<u>Demetrianos</u>	BHG 495
<u>Dounale-Stephen</u>	BHG 2110
<u>Elias of Heliopolis</u>	BHG 578-79
<u>Elias Spelaiotes</u>	BHG 581 ODB 687
<u>Elias the Younger</u>	BHG 580 ODB 687
<u>Eustratios of Agauros</u>	BHG 645
<u>Euthymios of Sardis</u>	BHG 2145-6 ODB 756
<u>Euthymios the Patriarch</u>	BHG 651 ODB 755
<u>Euthymios the Younger</u>	BHG 655 ODB 757
<u>Evaristos</u>	BHG 2153-53C
<u>Forty-two Martyrs of Amorion (v. Evodii)</u>	BHG 1214 ODB 800
<u>Forty-two Martyrs of Amorion (v. Michael)</u>	BHG 1213 ODB 800
<u>George Bishop of Mytilene</u>	BHG 2163-63B
<u>George Limnaiotes</u>	BHG 692
<u>George of Amastris</u>	BHG 668-68E ODB 837
<u>George the Neophanes</u>	SynaxCP 530
<u>Germanos I of Constantinople</u>	BHG 697
<u>Germanos of Kosinitza</u>	BHG 698
<u>Gregory of Akritas</u>	BHG 2166 SynaxCP 372-4
<u>Gregory of Dekapolis</u>	BHG 711 ODB 880
<u>Hilarion of Dalmatos</u>	BHG 2177-77B SynaxCP 731-4
<u>Hypatios and Andrew</u>	SynaxCP 62-64
<u>Ignatios of Bathyrhyax</u>	BHG 2183G
<u>Ignatios Patriarch</u>	BHG 817-18C ODB 983
<u>Ioannikios (v. Petri)</u>	BHG 936 ODB 1005
<u>Ioannikios (v. Sabae)</u>	BHG 935 ODB 1005
<u>Irene of Chrysobalanton</u>	BHG 952 ODB 1010
<u>John Eremopolites</u>	BHG 2187H
<u>John of Damascus</u>	BHG 884
<u>John of Gotthia</u>	BHG 891

John of Kathara	BHG 2184N SynaxCP 631-4
John of Polyboton	SynaxCP 279-80
John the Psichaites	BHG 896
Joseph the Hymnographer	BHG 944-47D ODB 1074
Kallinikos the Patriarch	SynaxCP 917-920
Kliment of Ochrid	BHG 355 ODB 1133
Kosmas the Hymnographer and John of Damascus	BHG 394
Kosmas the Monk	BHG 2084
Lazaros the Painter	ODB 1197 SynaxCP 231-234
Leo of Catania	BHG 981B
Loukas the Stylite	BHG 2239 ODB 1253
Loukas the Younger of Stiris	BHG 994 ODB 1254
Makarios of Pelekete	BHG 1003-03C
Martyrs from Thrace	BHG 2264 SynaxCP 414-6
Martyrs in Bulgaria (811 AD)	BHG 2263 SynaxCP 846-8
Mary the Younger	BHG 1278 ODB 1310
Methodios I	BHG 1278 ODB 1355
Metrios	BHG 2272 SynaxCP 721-4
Michael Maleinos	BHG 1295 ODB 1276
Michael of Zobe	SynaxCP 98
Michael Synkellos	BHG 1296-97F ODB 1369
Naum of Ochrid	BHG 1316Z
Nicholas of Stoudios	BHG 1365 ODB 1471
Nicholas the Monk, Former Soldier	BHG 2311 SynaxCP 341-4
Nikephoros I Patriarch	BHG 1335-37E ODB 1477
Nikephoros of Medikion	BHG 2297-9
Nikephoros of Miletos	BHG 1338
Nikephoros of Sebaze	BHG 2300
Niketas of Medikion	BHG 1341-42A ODB 1482
Niketas Patrikios	BHG 1342B-E SynaxCP 325-7
Nikon ho Metanoeite	BHG 1366 ODB 1484
Paul of Kaioumas	BHG 1471
Paul of Latros	BHG 1474 ODB 1608
Paul the Obedient	BHG 2363
Peter of Argos	BHG 1504 ODB 1638
Peter of Athos	BHG 1505-06E
Peter of Atroa	BHG 2364-5 ODB 228
Peter of Galatia	SynaxCP 121-24; 125-6
Peter the Patrikios	BHG 2365U SynaxCP 791-4
Phantinos the Younger	BHG 2367 ODB 1646
Philaretos the Merciful	BHG 1511Z
Philotheos of Opsikion	BHG 1535
Plato of Sakkoudion	BHG 1553-53C ODB 1684
Prokopios of Dekapolis	BHG 1583
Sabas the Younger	BHG 1611
Sergios Niketiates	SynaxCP 777-8
Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem	BHG 1217
Stephen Neolampes	BHG 2404T
Stephen of Chenolakkos	SynaxCP 392-394
Stephen of Sougdaia	BHG 1671
Stephen the Sabaite	BHG 1670
Stephen the Younger	BHG 1666
Tarasios	BHG 1698-98C ODB 2011

<u>Theodora of Kaisaris</u>	BHG 2424M
<u>Theodora of Thessalonike</u>	BHG 1737-41E ODB 2038
<u>Theodora wife of Theophilos</u>	BHG 1731-35 ODB 2037
<u>Theodore of Edessa</u>	BHG 1744-44I ODB 2043
<u>Theodore of Kythera</u>	BHG 2430
<u>Theodore of Stoudios</u>	BHG 1754-59M ODB 2044
<u>Theodosia of Constantinople</u>	BHG 1774E
<u>Theokleto</u>	SynaxCP 914.3-34
<u>Theokletos of Lakedaimon</u>	BHG 2420
<u>Theoktiste of Lesbos</u>	BHG 1723 ODB 2055
<u>Theophanes Confessor</u>	BHG 1787Z-92F ODB 2063
<u>Theophano</u>	BHG 1794-95F ODB 2064
<u>Theophilos the Confessor</u>	SynaxCP 100
<u>Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia (v. Anonymi)</u>	BHG 2452
<u>Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia (v. Theophylacti)</u>	BHG 2451
<u>Thomas of Lesbos</u>	BHG 2454 ODB 2076
<u>Thomas Dephourkinos</u>	BHG 2458

INDIVIDUAL INTRODUCTIONS TO THE 8TH, 9TH AND 10TH-C. SAINTS

Andrew in Tribunal

Virtually nothing is known about the life of Andrew “in Tribunal (ἐν Κρίσει),” an iconodule martyr of the 8th c., except that he was a native of Crete (not to be confused with the hymnographer saint, Andrew of Crete [no. 102]) and was probably a monk. Ševčenko (*Ideology*, pt. V:2) has even doubted his very existence. Andrew came to Constantinople during the reign of Constantine V (741-775), engaged the iconoclast emperor in debate, was flogged, imprisoned and dragged through the streets of the capital, where he finally bled to death after a fisherman cut off his foot. He was subsequently buried by iconodules in a place called “Krisis,” which may designate a place of burial for criminals (cf. *SynaxCP* 152). Or conceivably it could refer to the convent of ἡ Κρίσις, first attested as the burial place of Philaretos the Merciful in 792. He was commemorated on October 17, 19 and 20. There is no firm proof of the year of his death, but it has traditionally been placed in 766 or 767, a period of intensified persecution by the iconoclasts.

The anonymous *martyrion* of Andrew focusses on the holy man’s debate with the emperor and subsequent martyrdom, and provides little other information. It is usually dated to the second half of the 9th c. The *martyrion* was subsequently revised and included in the Metaphrastic collection.

Editions:

AASS Oct. 8:35-142

(metaphrastic version) AASS Oct. 8:142-149; PG 115:1109-28

Studies:

BHG 111-112

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B. Laourdas, “Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἐν τῇ Κρίσει καὶ ἡ Κρήτη ἐπὶ εἰκονομαχίας,” *KretChron* 5 (1951) 32-60

G. da Costa Louillet, “Saints de Constantinople...,” *Byzantion* 24 (1954/5) 214-216

Janin, *EglisesCP* 28-31

Th. Detorakes, Οἱ ἅγιοι τῆς πρώτης βυζαντινῆς περιόδου τῆς Κρήτης καὶ σχετικὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλολογία (Athens 1970) 197-210, rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 89 (1971) 441f; B. Th. Kontobas, *Kleronomia* 12 (1980) 468f

Andrew of Crete

The main source for the biography of the hymnographer Andrew of Crete is the *vita* written by the patrikios and quaestor Niketas. Born in Damascus ca. 660 to pious parents George and Gregoria, he did not learn to speak until the age of 8. As a youth he was tonsured (as *anagnostes*?) in Jerusalem by the “patriarch” (actually *topoteretes*) Theodore (674-686); subsequently he was rapidly promoted to ecclesiastical offices, first notary, then assistant to the *oikonomos*. He came to Constantinople in 685, and remained there for some years, being ordained deacon at H. Sophia and serving both as *orphanotrophos* and as administrator of the poorhouse of τὰ Εὐγενίου. He was later appointed archbishop of Gortyna in Crete (before 711). Andrew is said to have defended a Cretan fortress against the attack of Arab raiders. He also built a *xenon* and a church of the Virgin Blachernitissa, and restored

other dilapidated churches. From Theophanes we learn that in 712 Andrew went over for a time to the Monothelite cause, but soon returned to Orthodoxy. He was recalled to Constantinople in 730, and died in exile on the island of Lesbos in the church of St. Anastasia on July 4 of the 8th indiction (= 740).

Andrew was a famed writer, who not only composed the *Great Kanon* and other poems, but sermons and hagiographical texts (e.g., enkomia for Patapios and Therapon) as well.

The date of composition of the *vita* and the identification of the author Niketas have been subject to much discussion. The oldest manuscript of the *vita* is Athos, Vatopedi 79, of the 9th or early 10th c. Scholars have placed Niketas anywhere from the 8th to the 10th c. Most recently Auzépy has asserted that the *vita* was written, shortly after Andrew's death, during the reign of Constantine V (741-775). A revised version of the *vita* is known from 11th-c. manuscripts. In the 14th and 15th c. Joseph Kalothetos and Makarios Makres drew upon Niketas when they produced their eulogies of Andrew.

Editions:

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:169-179, 422-424, rev. S. Šestakov, *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 173

B. Laourdas, "Μακαρίου τοῦ Μακρῆ, Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης, τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου," *KretChron* 7 (1953) 63-74

Th. E. Detorakes, "'Ανέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀνδρέαν Κρήτης," *EEBS*37 (1969/70) 85-94

Studies:

BHG 113-114c

L. Petit, *DAcL* 1.2 (1907) 2034-2041

L. Petit, *DThC* 8.2 (1925) 1522

S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1659-1661

G. Bardy, *DictSpir* 1 (1937) 554f

M. Jugie, *Catholicisme* 1 (1948) 525f

F. Caraffa, *BiblSanct* 1 (1961) 1142

H. Kraft, *LexMA* 1 (1980) 609

J. Irmischer, *DizPatr* 1 (1983) 192f

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1 (1991) 92-93

Bardenhewer, *Geschichte* 5 (1932) 152-157

Beck, *Kirche* 500-502

Ch. Loparev, "Opisanie nekotorych grečeskich žitij svjatyč," *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 345-348

S. Vailhé, "Saint André de Crète," *EO* 5 (1901/2) 378-387

A. Vinogradov, "Sv. Andrej, archiepiskop Kritskij," *Christianskoe čtenie* (Febr. 1902) 247-269, rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 557

I. Denisov, *Žitie sv. Andreja Kritskogo* (Moscow 1902)

S. Eustratiades, "'Ανδρέας ὁ Κρήτης ὁ Ἱεροσολυμίτης," *NSion* 26 (1934) 673-688; 27 (1935) 3-10, 147-53, 209-17, 269-83, 321-342, 462-77

Th. Xydes, Ἀνδρέας ὁ Κρήτης ὁ πρῶτος κανονογράφος (Athens 1949)

Th. Detorakes, Οἱ ἅγιοι τῆς πρώτης βυζαντινῆς περιόδου τῆς Κρήτης (Athens 1970) 160-190, rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 89 (1971) 441f; B. Th.Kontobas, *Kleronomia* 12 (1980) 468f

L. G. Westerink in *Nicétas Magistros, Lettres d'un exilé* (Paris 1973) 45f

M.-F. Auzépy, "La carrière d'André de Crète," *BZ* 88 (1995) 1-13.

Anna of Leukate

Anna (d. after 917) was born to a noble and rich family, allegedly in the reign of Theophilos (829-842). The phrase ἐν τῷ Λευκάτῃ presumably refers to her birthplace, probably to be identified with Cape Leukate in the Gulf of Nikomedeia. During the reign of Basil I (867-886), an Arab who had

recently emigrated to the empire demanded the hand of the young woman, now orphaned. The emperor personally approved of the marriage, but Anna resisted. Thanks to her prayers, her undesirable suitor died. In thanksgiving Anna took vows at a monastery of the Theotokos where she remained for fifty years, famed for her abstinence and mortification. At her death she was buried in a communal family tomb. Some time later her body was found to be uncorrupted and fragrant, and became a source of healing miracles for demoniacs, the blind and lame, and victims of all sorts of other afflictions.

Her biography, preserved only in synaxarion notices, may have been written around the middle of the 10th c. The chronology of the synaxarion notice is somewhat suspect. If she was born in the reign of Theophilos (at the latest in 842) and betrothed in the reign of Basil I (at the earliest 867), she would have been at least 25 at the time of her engagement. This does not accord with the term *pais* used to describe her at this time and moreover is an unusually mature age for betrothal.

Her feastday is variously celebrated on July 23 and 24.

Editions:

SynaxCP 835-40

Tsames, *Meterikon* 2:158-61 (with modern Greek tr. by P. Nikolaidou)

Studies:

A. Koren, *BiblSanct* 1 (1961) 1295

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce," 315-16

Scholz, *Graecia Sacra*, 24

Anna-Euphemianos

Anna is an enigmatic figure, scarcely mentioned in contemporary sources. The 10th-c. *Synaxarion of Constantinople* includes a very brief notice (under Dec. 28) of Anna the Younger, daughter of John, *diaitarios* of Blachernai. A more developed biography is found only in a 14th-c. manuscript of the *Synaxarion*, Paris gr. 1582. No full-length *vita* survives.

According to her long synaxarion notice, Anna was born in Constantinople to a deacon of Blachernai. After being orphaned, she was entrusted to her grandmother who promptly arranged her marriage. Following the death of her husband and two young children, she entered a male monastery on Bithynian Mt. Olympos disguised as a eunuch monk named Euphemianos. She later moved to a *lavra* where she began to perform miracles. The monastery became so overcrowded that the *hegoumenos* applied to patriarch Tarasios (784-806) for new quarters. He built a new monastery at the place "where the monastery of the Abramitai is now"; it is unclear whether the hagiographer meant the monastery of Abramitai in Constantinople. From here Anna-Euphemianos fled with two monks to a site on the Bosphorus where she spent several years. She died in Constantinople, probably in the early 9th c.; the synaxarion notice provides no specific data on the dates of her birth or death. No mention is made of Anna's attitude toward icons, but her uncle was persecuted by the "iconoclast Leo" (either Leo III or Leo IV). Anna is an example of a married woman who entered monastic life after being widowed, and achieved sanctity. She is one of the latest instances of a transvestite saint.

Edition:

SynaxCP 170.18-20; 173-78

Tsames, *Meterikon* 2:148-157 (with mod. Greek tr.)

Studies:

BHG 2027

T. Ortolan, *DHGE* 3 (1924) 315f.

M. Japundžić, *BiblSanct* 1 (1961) 1305

AASS Oct. XII: 913-17: Latin tr. and commentary

Anthousa Daughter of Constantine V

Anthousa, the pious daughter of Constantine V (741-775), refused to marry despite pressure from her father. After his death in 775, she distributed her wealth for charitable purposes and lived an ascetic life in the palace. She became a nun during the patriarchate of Tarasios (784-806) at the convent of Eumeneia or Homonoia (Janin [*Églises*CP, 383] accepts the latter reading). She died at age 52, according to Mango in 808 or 809. Although her attitude toward icons is not specifically mentioned in the sources, one must assume she was iconodule since she was allegedly invited by the empress Irene to share with her the imperial power, an offer which Anthousa refused. Mango argues that she was the namesake of the iconodule abbess Anthousa of Mantineon, who predicted to the wife of Constantine V the birth of a son and a daughter.

All the information on Anthousa comes from short notices in menologia and synaxaria, including the 10th c. *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the (early 11th-c.?) *Menologion of Basil II*.

Editions:

SynaxCP 613f. (under 18 April); 597-600 (under 12 April); Eng. tr. by Nicholas Constatas in A.-M.

Talbot, ed., *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (Washington, D.C., 1998) 21-24

Menologion of Basil II, PG 117:409B

Tsames, *Meterikon* 2:132-135 (with mod. Greek tr.)

Studies:

R. Janin, *DHGE* 3 (1924) 538

N. di Grigoli, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 224

U. V. Bosch, "Anthousa. Ein Beitrag zum Kaisertum der Eirene," *ByzF* 1 (1966) 24-29

C. Mango, "St. Anthousa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V," *AB* 100 (1982) 401-409

E. Ruggieri, "Anthousa di Mantineon ed il Canone XX del Concilio di Nicea (Anno 787)," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 131-142

Anthousa of Mantineon

Anthousa, the 8th-c. foundress and abbess of the monastery of Mantineon, located on a lake east of Klaudiopolis (modern Bolu) in Paphlagonia, is known primarily from a notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. Attracted to monastic life at an early age, Anthousa came under the spiritual direction of the monk Sisinnios, who eventually tonsured her. She settled on an island in a lake (most likely Çagagöl), where she built a chapel to St. Anna and established a convent of thirty nuns. After Sisinnios' death, the monastery grew in size, and housed monks as well, in separate buildings on the lake shore. The *vita* of Romanos, a monk at Mantineion who was martyred in 780, recounts that the monks provided food for the nuns who in turn wove cloth for the monks' habits. The synaxarion notice states that the monastery housed 900 monks and nuns, no doubt an inflated figure. The complex seems to have been a double monastery, with Anthousa's nephew in charge of the male complex, while the foundress held overall authority.

Under Constantine V (741-775) Anthousa and her nephew were tortured for their iconodule beliefs and then Anthousa was sent into exile. Later, however, she was reconciled with Constantine, after predicting that the empress would safely give birth to twins. The empress then presented villages and gifts to the Mantineon monastery. Anthousa died on July 27 in an unknown year.

If, as Mango suggests, Anthousa founded the Mantineon monastery not later than ca. 740, she

must have been born in the early part of the 8th c. The terminus post quem for her death is 771, the year in which she sent St. Romanos the Neomartyr on the mission which resulted in his capture by Arab soldiers and execution.

Mango argues that the synaxarion notice represents a summary of a more extensive *vita*, now lost, written toward the end of the 8th c. A 12th-c. manuscript in Paris (Paris. gr. 1587) contains a different version of the saint's biography.

Edition:

SynaxCP 848-852

Translations:

(modern Greek) K. Katsanes in Tsames, *Meterikon* 2:124-131

(English) A.-M. Talbot in *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (Washington, D.C., 1998) 13-19

Studies:

BHG 2029h

M. Salsano, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 224-225

R. Janin, *DHGE* 3 (1924) 538

P. Peeters, "S. Romain le néomartyr (+1 mai 780) d'après un document géorgien," *AB* 30 (1911) 393-427

C. Mango, "St. Anthusa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V," *AB* 100 (1982) 401-409

E. Ruggieri, "Anthusa di Mantineon ed il canone XX del concilio di Nicea II (anno 787)," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 131-142

G. Huxley, "Women in Byzantine Iconoclasm," in *Les femmes et le monachisme byzantin*, ed. J.Y. Perreault (Athens, 1991), 13-14, 17

K. Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honorias [= Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 9]* (Vienna 1996), 249-251

Antony Kauleas

Little biographical information survives on Antony II Kauleas, patriarch of Constantinople (893-901). His birthplace is unknown, but he was raised and educated in the capital. After the death of his mother, he entered monastic life at age 12. He was subsequently ordained priest and became abbot of an unnamed monastery. After being appointed patriarch by Leo VI, he tried to mediate the controversy between the partisans of the late patriarchs Photios and Ignatios. He founded a monastery in Constantinople in whose church he was buried after his death on 12 February 901; his relics produced posthumous miracles.

The hagiographic dossier on Antony consists of a short notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*SynaxCP* 460-62), and enkomia by Nikephoros, philosopher and rhetor, and by Nikephoros Gregoras. The enkomion by Nikephoros the philosopher is preserved in an 11th-century manuscript and therefore cannot be by Gregoras, as Guiland erroneously concluded (*Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* [Paris 1926] 174-5). Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Leone both identified Nikephoros the philosopher with a correspondent of Photios ca. 873-875, but the connection cannot be proved. The enkomion by Nikephoros the philosopher most probably dates to the 10th century.

Editions:

enkomion by Nikephoros the Philosopher — P.L.M. Leone, "L'Encomium in patriarcham Antonium II Cauleam' del filosofo e retore Niceforo," *Orpheus* n.s. 10 (1989) 404-29

A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik grečeskich i latinskich pamjatnikov kasajuščichsja Fotija patriarcha* (St. Petersburg 1899) 1-25

(preamble) E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* 1 (Leipzig 1898, repr. Stuttgart 1958) 371-73 n. 3 (Latin tr.) PG 106:177-200

enkomion by Nikephoros Gregoras — P.L.M. Leone, “La ‘Vita Antonii Cauleae’ di Niceforo Gregora,”
Nicolaus 11 (1983) 3-50

Studies:

BHG 139-139b

R. Janin, *DHGE* 3 (1924) 765

P.P. Joannou, *LThK* 1 (1957) 669-70

N. Di Grigoli, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 202

A. Cutler, A.-M. Talbot, *ODB* 1 (1991) 125

Ch. Loparev, “Vizantijskie žitija...,” *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 148-52

V. Grumel, “La liquidation de la querelle photienne,” *EO* 33 (1934) 257-88

S. Lilla, “Eine neue (zum Teil eigenhändige) Handschrift des Nikephoros Gregoras (Vat. gr. 2660),”
JÖB 41 (1991) 279

Antony the Younger

Antony was born to a noble family in Palestine and made his career under Emperor Michael II (820-829) who appointed him deputy-governor (*ek prosopou*) of the theme of Kibyrrhaiotai; he held this office when he participated in campaigns against the rebel Thomas the Slav (820/821-823). Afterwards he took the monastic habit and lived in several monasteries in Bithynia and Constantinople. Antony was close to the general Petronas whose victory over the Arabs in 863 he allegedly predicted. According to his *vita* he died at age 80 on November 11, at exactly the same time as Petronas; Halkin (pp. 196-197) argues that the year of his death was 865.

Antony's anonymous hagiographer comments that he visited the holy man shortly before his death; hence he must have written the *vita* not too long after 865.

The *vita* contains picturesque and valuable details concerning political events, administration, medical services, and so on. It is preserved in several manuscripts, the earliest of which was copied in the 10th c.

Editions:

A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *SyllogePPSb* XII: 186-216; emended by van den Ven in “Note sur le texte de la Vie de S. Antoine le Jeune,” *BZ* 19 (1910) 310-313; supplemented by 1) P.

Euergetinos, *Συναγωγή*, 6th ed., vol. I, (Athens, 1983) 478-480; 2) F. Halkin in “Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863,” *AB* 62 (1944) 210-223

Studies:

BHG 142-143a

N. Di Grigoli, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 147-149

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1 (1991) 126

O. Volk, *LThK* 1 (1957) 669

Ch. Loparev, “Vizantijskie žitija sviatych...,” *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 109-24

F. Halkin, “Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863,” *AB* 62 (1944) 187-225, 64 (1946) 256f.

Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 150-156

Malamut, *Route des saints* 249-251

Athanasia of Aegina

Athanasia belongs to a group of Byzantine married women who achieved sanctity; many of these holy women, like Theodora of Thessalonike, Thomais of Lesbos, Mary the Younger and the empresses Theodora and Theophano, lived in the 9th and 10th c. Athanasia, born to a family of local nobility, was twice married against her will; from her youth she yearned to take the monastic habit and was noted for her pious and ascetic lifestyle. She persuaded her second husband to take monastic vows, so that she would be free to pursue a monastic career. As a nun she distinguished herself through her charity and ascetic practices, and soon became an abbess. She spent six or seven years in Constantinople for unknown reasons. Athanasia performed healing miracles during her lifetime; her relics continued to work cures posthumously at her tomb.

Although the *vita* provides no precise dates, Athanasia must have lived in the 9th c. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the manuscript containing the *vita* (Vat. gr. 1660) which dates from 916. Her first husband died in a raid of the Maurousioi (Arabs?) on Aegina, an event which should probably be placed in the early decades of the 9th c., a period during which Arab pirates were attacking Aegean islands and conquered Crete (ca. 824-827). Aegina was by no means devastated by this Arab attack, however; the *vita* of Athanasia, who founded three new churches, furnishes evidence of construction activity on the island. According to Gregory the Cleric, who wrote the *vita* of St. Theodora of Thessalonike (ca. 894), the island of Aegina had been abandoned in his time. A final clue to the dates of Athanasia is that she was evidently the younger contemporary of St. Ioannikios (ed. Carras, p.218, 34-35) who died in 846 at the age of ca. 95. It is most likely then that she lived in the first half of the 9th c. It is curious, however, that there is no allusion to iconoclasm in the *vita*.

The anonymous hagiographer (who must have been a man because of his use of a masculine participle [ed. Carras, pp. 223.40, 42; 224.4]) probably wrote shortly after Athanasia's death since he comments that he was an eyewitness of the posthumous miracles which occurred in the years immediately following her burial and translation, and obtained information from nuns who had lived together with Athanasia. The date of composition then was probably the second half of the 9th c., probably before the abandonment of Aegina and in any case before 916, the date of the Vatican manuscript.

Editions:

- L. Carras, "The Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina," *Maistor* 199-224
F. Halkin, *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine* (Brussels, 1987) 179-195
Tsames, *Meterikon* 2:96-123 (with mod. Greek tr.)

Translations:

- (Latin) - AASS Aug. III (1867) 168-175
(English) - L.F. Sherry in Talbot, *Holy Women*, 137-158

Studies:

- BHG 180-180b
M. Japundžić, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 251
F. Rémy, *DHGE* 4 (1930) 1400
Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych..." *VizVrem* 19 (1915) 80-85
Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1 (1935) 57f. n.3
Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 437
Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 26-27

Athanasios of Athos

Athanasios, baptismal name Abraamios, was born in Trebizond ca. 925-930. He pursued advanced studies in Constantinople where he began a career as a teacher. After a time he left the capital

for Mt. Kyminas in Bithynia where he took the monastic habit and the name of Athanasios. He then moved to Mt. Athos; at first, out of humility, he pretended to be illiterate, but subsequently he worked there as a calligrapher. In 962/3 he founded the Great Lavra which he administered as *hegoumenos* until his accidental death during the enlargement of the *katholikon*. He died between 996 and 1006, probably ca. 1000. Athanasios was close to the noble lineages of Phokas and Maleinos. He performed miracles both during his lifetime and posthumously.

Two *vitae* describe his life; one [A] was written by a certain Athanasios of the monastery tou Panagiou in Constantinople, another [B], composed at the Lavra on Mt. Athos, is anonymous. The *vitae* are very similar to each other, and their interdependence is obvious. The question remains, however, which of them drew upon the other or whether they depend on a common source. Noret argues that A precedes B and was written in the first quarter of the 11th century, while *vita* B was produced sometime between 1050 and 1150, the date of the earliest manuscript. The *vitae* are important sources for our knowledge of Athonite monasticism in the 10th century.

Athanasios is naturally absent from the original 10th-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, but a supplement of 1301 (Coisl. 223) celebrates the memory of Athanasios, ascetic “on the holy mountain of Athos,” who perished with his six disciples (or apprentices?) under the ruins of a collapsed church. Some later revisions of the *vita* survived as well, among others the 12th-century version in texts collected by Akakios Sabbaites.

Athanasios is known from other sources, both hagiographical and documentary. He composed rules for the monks of his monastery which have survived.

Editions:

- J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Turnhout 1982), rev. J.O. Rosenqvist, *BZ* 76 (1983) 341-44; R. Browning, *JThS* 34 (1983) 319-21; M.B. Paparozzi, *BollBadGr* 37 (1983) 99-101; M. Whitby, *JHS* 103 (1983) 231-32; C. Martin, *Nouvelle revue théologique* 105 (1983) 426-27; J. Darrouzès, *REB* 42 (1984) 305-6; B. Coulie, *Scriptorium* 38 (1984) 173-75; J. Koder, *JÖB* 35 (1985) 305-6; B. Plank, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 37 (1988) 210
- I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie prepodobnogo Afanasija Afonskogo* (St. Petersburg 1895), rev. K. K[rumbacher], *BZ* 5 (1896) 230-31; I. Vizantijskij, *Christianskoe čtenie* (Jan.-Feb. 1896) 224-27; I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 644-62
- L. Petit, “Vie de saint Athanase l’Athonite,” *AB* 25 (1906) 5-89
- O. Lampsides, “Μία παραλλαγή τῆς βιογραφίας ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου,” *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 283-319
- F. Halkin, “Eloge inédit de saint Athanase l’Athonite,” *AB* 79 (1961) 26-39
(excerpts with Bulgarian tr.) - V. Tupkova-Zaimova in *FGHBulg* 6 (Sofia 1965) 8-11

Translations:

- (French tr. of *vita* B) P. Dumont, “Vie de saint Athanase l’Athonite,” *Irénikon* 8 (1931) 457-99, 667-89, 9 (1932) 71-95, 240-64
- O. R[ousseau], *La vie de saint Athanase l’Athonite* (Chevetogne 1963) [= abridged and revised version of Dumont tr.]

Studies:

- BHG* 187-191f
- R. Janin, *DHGE* 4 (1930) 137-77, *DictSpir* 1 (1937) 1052-54 and *Catholicisme* 1 (1948) 981
- K. Baus, *LThK* 1 (1957) 976
- G.D. Gordini, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 547-49
- K.S. Frank, *LexMA* 1 (1980) 1161-62
- A. Kazhdan, N.P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 1 (1991) 219
- Beck, *Kirche* 578
- Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig 1894) 21-29, 102-22
- E. Amand de Mendieta, *La presqu’île des caloyers: Le Mont Athos* (Paris 1955) 13-21

- V. Tŭpkova-Zaimova, "Svedenija za bŭlgari v žitieto na sv. Atanasij," *Izsledovanija v čest na akademik Dimitŭr Dečev* (Sofia 1958) 759-62
- N. Tomadakis, *S. Athanase l'Athonite en Crète (961) et la fondation de la Grande Laure* (Athens 1961)
- B. Moustakes, *Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου* (Athens 1964)
- P. Lemerle, "La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite composée au début du XIe siècle par Athanase de Lavra," in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos. Etudes et Mélanges* 1 (Chevetogne 1963) 59-100
 idem in *Actes de Lavra* 1 (Paris 1970) 13-48
 idem, *Humanism* 298-302
- J. Leroy, "La conversion de saint Athanase l'Athonite à l'idéal cénobitique et l'influence studite," in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos. Etudes et Mélanges* 1 (Chevetogne 1963) 101-20
 idem, "Les deux vies de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *AB* 82 (1964) 409-29
- A. Kominis, "Ἕμνογραφικὰ εἰς ὄσιον Ἀθανάσιον τὸν Ἀθωνίτην," *EEBS* 32 (1963) 262-313
 idem, "Ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τῶν δύο ἀρχαιοτέρων βίων ὀσίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου," *AB* 82 (1964) 397-407
- J. Mossay, "A propos des 'Actes de Lavra'. Note sur les deux vies de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *AB* 91 (1973) 121-32
- D. Papachryssanthou in *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris 1975) 69-102
- J. Noret, "S. Paul Ier (eunuque?) et Paul II de Xéropotamou, maître et disciple homonymes," *AB* 94 (1976) 387-90
 idem, "La Vie la plus ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite confrontée aux écrits laissés par le saint," *AB* 100 (1982) 545-66
 idem, "La Vie ancienne d'Athanase l'Athonite confrontée au 'Tragos' et à un acte de Nicéphore Phocas," *AB* 101 (1983) 287-93
 idem, "La Vie la plus ancienne d'Athanase l'Athonite confrontée à d'autres vies de saints," *AB* 103 (1985) 243-52
- G. Galavaris, "The Portraits of St. Athanasius of Athos," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 96-124
- A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes. 1. Two Versions of the *Vita Athanasii*," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 538-44
 idem, "An Unsuccessful Attempt to Escape from Worldly Glory," *BZ* 78 (1985) 50-53
 Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt. XII, 246-47
 Follieri, *San Fantino* 83-88, 293
- I.D. Polemis, "Δύο ἀνέκδοτοι κανόνες πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ ὀσίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου, ποιήματα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σγουρηῆ," *Δίπτυχα* 5 (1991/2) 149-71
 idem, *Κανόνες εἰς ὄσιον Ἀθανάσιον τὸν Ἀθωνίτην* (Athens 1993)
- E. Lanne, "Quelques remarques sur la vie de Saint Athanase l'Athonite," in *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Χθές - σήμερα - αὔριο* (Thessalonike 1996) 167-175

Athanasios of Methone

Athanasios (d. end of the 9th c.) was bishop of Methone (Modon); his name (Athanasios of Mothona [sic!]) is listed among the participants in the Photian council of 879 (Mansi XVII:376c). Born in Catania, he was brought by his parents to the Peloponnesos where he soon entered a monastery and eventually became a bishop.

Peter of Argos (d. after 927/8) praised him in a funeral speech (*epitaphios*) which could have been pronounced some time after Athanasios' death. Even though Peter claims that the tomb of the saint became a place of pilgrimage, we know nothing about his cult; Athanasios was not included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Editions:

- K. Th. Kyriakopoulos, 'Αγίου Πέτρου ἐπ. Ἐργους Βίος καὶ λόγοι (Athens, 1976) 44-67
Previous ed.: A. Mai, *Novae patrum bibl.* IX, 3 (Rome, 1888) 31-51
Ch. Papanikonomos, Ὁ πολιοῦχος τοῦ Ἐργους ἁγίου Πέτρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἐργους (Athens, 1908)
89-106

Latin translation:

PG 104:1365-80

Studies:

BHG 196

- R. Janin, *DHGE* 4 (1930) 1386
M. Japundžić, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 551f.
Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych...", *VizVrem* 19 (1912/15) 66-69
da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce...", *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 313-15
E. Follieri, "Santi di Metone," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 400-402
E. Papaeliopoulou-Photopoulou, "Παρατηρήσεις καὶ προσθήκες στὸ "Dossier" ἑνὸς λησμονημένου ἁγίου τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μεθώνης," *Πρακτικά τοῦ συνεδρίου Μεσσηνιακῶν σπουδῶν* (Athens, 1978) 236-58
K. Th. Kyriakopoulos, "Προβλήματα περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου Ἐργους (852?-922?)," *Peloponnesiaka* 13 (1978-1979) 262-270
D. Constantelos, "Ἡ ἱστορικὴ σημασία τῶν Βίων Πέτρου Ἐργους, Ἀθανασίου Μεθώνης καὶ Νίκωνος Μετανοεῖτε διὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τοῦ 10ου αἰῶνος," *Μνήμη Ἰωάννου Ἀναστασίου* (Thessalonike, 1992) 349-364
Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 28-29

Athanasios of Paulopetrion

Athanasios was born to a rich Constantinopolitan family, and took the monastic habit as a young man. He moved to the monastery of Paulopetrion (situated on a peninsula 8 km. north of Cape Akritas), where he became *hegoumenos*. As an iconophile he was tortured and exiled by Leo V in spring of 816 and apparently recalled from exile in 821. He died on a 22 Feb., shortly before Michael of Synada, therefore most probably in 826. He was a friend of Theodore Stoudites, who addressed three letters to him in 816 and 818 (ed. Fatouros, *epp.* 169, 231, 321).

No full *vita* survives; there is only a very brief notice in the 10th-c. *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Edition:

SynaxCP 483.22-36

Studies:

- Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 53
J. Pargoire, "Saints iconophiles," *EO* 4 (1901) 355f.
Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 2:279f, 319
Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae* 1:261* n. 407

Athanasios of the Monastery of Traianos

Athanasios was a native of the Kibyrrhaiot theme, born of middle-class parents. He became a monk as a young man and travelled for a while visiting famous spiritual guides. He settled down at the

monastery of Traianos on the Sangarios River which belonged to an anonymous *synkletikos*. There he took the great habit, was ordained as priest, and worked as a calligrapher. At one point he went blind; upon recovering his sight, over the next 28 years he donated the income from his calligraphy to the poor, a total of 900 nomismata.

Athanasios is known only from an early 14th-c. synaxarion notice, which gives no clue to the date of his life. If R. Janin is correct in connecting him with Kosmas the Monk and Thomas Dephourkenos, he must have died in the early 10th c.

Edition:

SynaxCP 725-28

Studies:

BHG Nov. Auct. 2047n

R. Janin, *DHGE* 4 (1930) 1398

M.V. Brandi, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 556-57

Janin, *Eglises Centres* 102-3

Bakchos the Younger

Bakchos, a Palestinian martyr and saint, was born in Maiouma. His parents were both originally Christian, but his father converted to Islam and raised his seven sons as Muslims. Bakchos, the third oldest son, bore the Arabic name Dahak which, the hagiographer asserts, means “Gelasios” in Greek. After his father’s death Dahak confided to his mother, who had remained a crypto-Christian, his desire to convert to Christianity and enter monastic life. Dahak, now age 18, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was taken by a Sabaite monk to Mar Saba. There he was baptized as Bakchos and took monastic vows. Because of the risk he ran as a renegade Muslim, he led a wandering existence, rather than settling in one place.

Following the visit to Jerusalem of Bakchos’ mother and her joyful reunion with her son, all of his brothers decided to renounce Islam together with their families. They were betrayed to the Muslims, however, by one of the wives. Bakchos was arrested in Jerusalem, put on trial in the praetorium and beheaded on 16 December. He was buried by pious Christians in a church of Sts. Kosmas and Damian, probably located in Jerusalem.

Bakchos’ life and martyrdom is described in a vita available only in a 17th-c. edition by Combefis; the text is preserved in a 10th-c. manuscript, Paris. gr. 1180, and was attributed by Combefis, probably erroneously, to Niketas David Paphlagon. Demetrakopoulos published a lengthy synaxarion notice, based on Athens, Nat. Libr. 2108, which he argues is an abridgement of the vita published by Combefis.

The chronology of Bakchos’ life is confused: the Combefis version gives 6296 [=787/8], the Demetrakopoulos version 6290 [=781/2] as the date of the marriage of Bakchos’ parents, but Demetrakopoulos argues that the hagiographer made a careless mistake, and intended this to be the date of martyrdom. A 10th-c. Palestino-Georgian calendar (*Sinait. georg.* 34) places Bakchos’ martyrdom on 11 April (perhaps the result of a misreading of the Dorian name Apellaios for the month of December) “in the days of the emir Harthama”. Since Harthama took office in Jerusalem after the accession to the throne of Harun al-Rashid (786-806), 6296 [=787/8] must be the correct date for Bakchos’ martyrdom and he would have been born ca. 769/70. The date of 787/8 tallies well with the statement of the lemma to the synaxarion notice that he was martyred during the reign of Constantine VI and Irene (780-797).

Since the cult of Bakchos was well established by the 10th c., the original version of his vita must have been written in the 9th century.

Editions:

F.A. Demetrakopoulos, “Ἅγιος Βάκχος ὁ Νέος,” *EPhSpA* 26 (1979) 331-363

F. Combefis, *Christi martyrum lecta trias* (Paris 1666) 61-126
SynaxCP 310-312

Studies:

BHG 209-209b

J.M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 688

Loparev, "Viz. žitija ...," *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 33-35

G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien de Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (Brussels 1958) 197

Blasios of Amorion

Blasios (baptismal name Basil) was born in the village of Aplatianais, near Amorion. After elementary schooling and ordination as a subdeacon, he went to Constantinople for advanced studies. There he was ordained deacon by the patriarch Ignatios (847-858, 867-877) at Hagia Sophia where his elder brother served as priest. He then decided to visit Rome. En route, by way of Bulgaria, he had a series of adventures, including being sold into slavery to "Scythians" (Pechenegs), being robbed by pirates on the Danube, and meeting the "first archon of the barbarians," perhaps Boris, khan of Bulgaria (852-889). Upon arrival at Rome he became a monk and stayed for 18 years, mostly at the monastery of St. Caesarius where he was ordained priest. He then returned to Constantinople, and took up residence at the Stoudios monastery (ca. 897). Ca. 900 he retired to Mt. Athos for 12 years. Around 912 he returned to the capital and died at Stoudios shortly after receiving a chrysobull from Leo VI (886-912).

His anonymous *vita*, preserved in a single 10th-c. manuscript (Paris gr. 1491), was written in the 930s or 940s, probably by a Stoudite monk; the author states that his informant was Blasios' disciple Loukas. A 15th-c. Slavonic version omits Blasios' final return to Constantinople and has him die on Mt. Athos.

Editions:

AASS, Nov. 4:657-669, rev. H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 4 (1927/8) 805-8

Excerpts: W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik* 2 (Berlin 1905) 229-35

Excerpts with Bulgarian tr.: P. Tivčev in *FGHBulg* 9 (Sofia 1964) 14-17

Slavonic version: Archimandrit Leonid, "Žitie prepodobnogo Vlasija mnicha - pamjatnik slovenobolgarskoj pis'mennosti IX veka," *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva* 65 (1887)

Studies:

BHG 278

L. Bréhier, *DHGE* 9 (1937) 62-64

O. Volk, *LThK* 2 (1958) 524

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1 (1991) 294-95

Beck, *Kirche* 565

Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:555-56

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija...," *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 114-20

H. Delehaye, "A propos de Saint-Césaire du Palatin," *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia Romana di archeologia* 3 (1925) 45-48

H. Grégoire, "La vie de saint Blaise d'Amorium," *Byzantion* 5 (1929) 391-414

F. Dvornik, "Quelques données sur les Slaves extraites du tome IV Novembris des "Acta sanctorum"," *BS* 1 (1929) 35-39

V. Gjuzelev, "Žitieto na Vlasij Amorijskij kato izvor za bŭlgarskata istorija," *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet. Filozofsko-istoričeski fakultet* 61 (1968) istor.3:19-33

Malamut, *Route des saints* 258-60

Christopher and Makarios

Christopher, a native of Collesano, Sicily (birthdate undetermined), left his wife and family to become a monk at the monastery of St. Philip of Agira. He subsequently built a church at Ktisma and lived there in a hermitage. He was later joined by his sons Sabas (see s.v. Sabas the Younger) and Makarios. His wife Kale also took monastic vows and founded a nunnery. Following an Arab invasion and great famine, the family emigrated to Merkourion where Sabas and Makarios built a church in honor of St. Michael and a monastery. Before departing on a pilgrimage to Rome Christopher appointed Sabas to be his successor as *hegoumenos*. Further Arab attacks forced the family to move on to Latinianon and then, after Christopher's death at an advanced age (at an unknown date), to Salerno. After Sabas' death Makarios became head of the monastic community for ten years until he himself died, ca. 1000.

The *vita* of Christopher and Makarios was written by Orestes, patriarch of Jerusalem (986-1006), sometime between Makarios' death (ca. 1000) and 1006.

Editions and Studies: see bibliography for Sabas the Younger

Constantine the Jew

Constantine was born to a Jewish family in Synada, Phrygia, in the first half of the 9th c. (according to Efhymiadis ca. 840). He abandoned his Jewish bride at the wedding, adopted Christianity, and fled to the Phlouboute monastery near Nicaea where he was baptized and took the monastic habit. He travelled to Cyprus (in the mid-9th c. according to Rydén), and finally settled on Mt. Olympos where he proclaimed himself a follower of St. Ioannikios (AASS Nov. IV:646B, 650C-E). He tried to convert Jews in Nicaea to Christianity. Constantine died on 25 December, probably ca. 886, at the end of Basil I's or the beginning of Leo VI's reign. He was in Constantinople during Leo's imprisonment of 883-886, so 883 is a reliable *terminus post quem* for his death. He also foretold the death of Basil and the accession of Leo to the throne.

The anonymous author wrote the *vita* during the reign of Leo VI, therefore between 886 and 912. The *vita* is preserved in a sole manuscript of the late 10th or early 11th c.

Edition:

AASS Nov. IV:628-56

Studies:

BHG 370-370c

P. Gini, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 249

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1 (1991) 506-7

Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 126-135

Starr, *Jews* 119-22

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 124f.

Malamut, *Route des saints* 252-254

L. Rydén, “Cyprus at the Time of the Condominium as Reflected in the Lives of Sts. Demetrianos and Constantine the Jew,” in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, edd. A. A. M. Bryer, G. S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), 189-202

S. Efhymiadis, “Παρατηρήσεις στὸν βίο τοῦ Ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων,” Πρακτικά. ΙΓ΄ Πανελλήνιο ἱστορικὸ συνέδριο (29-31 Μαΐου 1992) (Thessalonike, 1993) 51-59

David, Symeon and George

David, Symeon and George of Lesbos were three monks, reportedly brothers, who supported the veneration of images. At age 16 David ran off to the environs of Mt. Ida where he lived as a hermit for thirty years. He was not tonsured, however, until he was 45. He then founded a monastery at Ida, where he is said to have died at age 66. Van den Gheyn assigns him dates of 716-783/793.

Symeon, born in 764/765 according to van den Gheyn, was entrusted to the care of David at age 8, tonsured at 22, and ordained priest at 28. He then returned to Lesbos where he lived on a pillar. During the second period of iconoclasm (815-842), he was persecuted for his support of icons and suffered exile and imprisonment. He died in 844 (cf. Efthymiadis, 154 and n. 54), soon after the restoration of icons and his return to his homeland.

George, born in 763, also became a monk and priest, and was famed for his mortification of the flesh. When Symeon was sent into exile, George assumed the direction of his monastery in Mytilene until he, too, was exiled by the iconoclast bishop of Lesbos. Following the death of Theophilos in 842, George briefly visited Constantinople and then returned to Lesbos in 843 as bishop. He died soon after, in 845 (cf. Efthymiadis, 154 and n. 54).

Clearly the chronology of the lives of the three brothers, which encompasses a period of 150 years, is suspect. Either the chronology has been confused, or the three men were not brothers. There has been much scholarly discussion especially about George, and his relation to the George of Lesbos who apparently lived ca. 776-821 and is celebrated in a separate *vita* (see s.v. George Bishop of Mytilene). Some scholars have tried to distinguish between the Georges, especially I. Phountoules who postulated the existence of three Georges—one in the 8th c., one in the early 9th c. and one in the mid-9th c. F. Halkin, on the other hand, insisted that there was only one George, bishop of Mytilene, and explained the chronological discrepancies by postulating a late origin for the *vita* of the three brothers.

The anonymous *vita*, which survives only in a 14th-c. manuscript, was dated by its editor to the late 9th or early 10th c. A *terminus post quem* for composition is 863, the date of Petronas' victory over the Arabs. There is one indication that 865 (the assassination of Bardas) is the *terminus ante quem* for the *vita*, since George prophesied that he would have a happy future (p. 252, 22-30). On the other hand, the confusion of the chronology suggests a date of composition long after the occurrence of the events described.

Editions:

- I. van den Gheyn, "Acta graeca ss. Davidis, Symeonis, and Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo," *AB* 18 (1899) 209-59; Eng. tr. by D. Abrahamse and D. Domingo-Forasté, in A.-M. Talbot, *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (Washington, D.C. 1998) 143-241
- I. Phountoules, Οἱ ὅσιοι ἀντάδελφοι Δαβίδ, Συμεὼν καὶ Γεώργιος οἱ ὁμολογηταί [=Λεσβιακὸν ἑορτολόγιον, 3] (Athens, 1961), rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 81 (1963) 290f.; J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 (1964) 266; G. Schirò, *BZ* 58 (1965) 387; D. Michailidis, *AB* 89 (1971) 147.
- I. Phountoules, Οἱ ἄγιοι Γεώργιοι, ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Μυτιλήνης. Λεσβιακὸν ἑορτολόγιον 1 (Athens, 1959); rev. F. D[ölger], *BZ* 54 (1961) 188; N. Tomadakes, *EEBS* 30 (1960/61) 650

Studies:

- BHG* 494, 2163-63b
- P. Bertocchi, *Biblsanct* 4 (1964) 519f.
- R. Aubert, *DHGE* 20 (1984) 644-46
- A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1 (1991) 589
- Anonymous, "Nota in vitam ss. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii," *AB* 18 (1899) 368
- H. Grégoire, "Études sur le neuvième siècle," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 517-20
- F. Halkin, "Un Ménologe de Patmos (ms. 254) et ses légendes inédites," *AB* 72 (1954) 22f.
- idem, "Y a-t-il trois saints Georges, évêques de Mytilène et 'confesseurs' sous les Iconoclastes?," *AB* 77 (1959) 464-69, rev. F. D[ölger], *BZ* 53 (1960) 200
- I.M. Phountoules, "Οἱ τοῦρκοι κατακτηταὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκολουθίαις τῶν Λεσβίων ἁγίων," *Lesbiaka* 4 (1962) 76-90

- D. Michailidis, "Trois notules sur les saints de Lesbos," *AB* 89 (1971) 145-47
 A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 185-88
 I.K. Moutsoures, 'Ο μοναχισμὸς τῆς Λέσβου (Mytilene, 1989); rev. P.E. Paschos, *Theologia* 61 (1990) 342
 S. Efthymiadis, "Notes on the Correspondence of Theodore the Studite," *REB* 53 (1995) 141-163
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Demetrianos, bishop of Chytroi (Cyprus)

Demetrianos was born in the village of Sykais, near Chytroi on Cyprus, at the beginning of the reign of Theophilos (ca. 829/30). He was married, reluctantly, at the age of 15, but widowed three months later, supposedly without having consummated the marriage. Thereafter he devoted himself to the monastic life, entering the monastery of St. Antony on Cyprus. He served for a few years as *oikonomos* of the see of Chytroi, and then returned to St. Antony's monastery where he became abbot. He subsequently was bishop of Chytroi for 25 years. According to his *vita*, he journeyed to Baghdad to seek the release of Cypriots captured in an Arab attack on Cyprus in 911. He died shortly after his return at the age of "about 80," ca. 911-913.

His anonymous *vita* was probably written in the 10th century, according to Rydén within a year or two of his death, i.e., ca. 912-915. The *vita* is preserved in a single 12th-century manuscript, Sinai gr. 789. There is no notice on him in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Editions:

- H. Grégoire, "Saint Démétrianos, évêque de Chytri (île de Chypre)," *BZ* 16 (1907) 204-40, rev. P.N. Papageorgiou, *EkAI* 27 (1907) 269-71; E. Kurtz, *AB* 27 (1908) 28-34
AASS Nov. 3:298-308
 P. Stylianou and K.P. Kyrris, 'Ο ἅγιος Δημητρίανος ὁ Κυθρέας (Leukosia 1973), rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 94 (1976) 288

Studies:

- BHG* 495
 Th. Becquet, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 552
 Beck, *Kirche* 562-63
 H. Delehaye, "Saints de Chypre," *AB* 26 (1907) 249, 253, 267
 Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija...," *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 144-47
 R. Jenkins, "The Mission of St. Demetrianus of Cyprus to Bagdad," *AIPHOS* 9 (1949), 267-75, repr. in his *Studies*, pt. XVI
 L. Rydén, "Cyprus at the Time of the Condominium as Reflected in the Lives of Sts. Demetrianos and Constantine the Jew," *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, edd. A.A.M. Bryer, G.S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993) 189-202
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Dounale-Stephen

Sometime in the second quarter of the 10th century Dounale or Dunala was the Mozarab ruler (ρηγάτης) of an island in the Ocean near Gadeira (Cadiz), variously called Nibertis or Beroë. A Christian of noble ancestry, he amassed considerable wealth. He then abandoned his wife and children to embrace monastic life, and travelled to Rome where he was tonsured by Pope Agapetos II (946-955). After some difficulties with the ruler of Rome, Alberich II (932-954), he went to Constantinople where he was graciously welcomed by Constantine VII and Romanos II. He subsequently made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he received the great habit from the patriarch Christodoulos (most probably Christodoulos I, 937-951), and took the monastic name Stephen. While continuing his pilgrimage to

Egypt, he was arrested and sent to the emir (whose name is not given). Tortured for his refusal to abjure Christianity, he died in prison of maltreatment and illness, probably ca. 950.

His biography is preserved only in a notice of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. His feastday is 17 December.

Edition:

SynaxCP 317-322

F. Fita, "San Dúnala, prócer y mártir mozárabe del siglo X," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 4 (1909), 433-42, with Spanish tr., rev. H. D[elehaye], *AB* 29 (1910) 217-18

Studies:

BHG Nov. Auct. 2110

J.F. Alfonso, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 858-59

A. Luzzi, "Note sulla recensione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli patrocinata da Costantino VII Porfirogenito," *RBSN* 26 (1989/90), 142-43

Elias of Heliopolis

Elias (759-779), born to a Christian family in Heliopolis (Baalbek), was trained in his youth as a carpenter. As a child he moved with his family to Damascus, where he was hired by a Syrian who soon thereafter converted to Islam at the urging of an Arab friend. When Elias was 12 the Arab's son held a party to celebrate the birth of a son. Elias helped serve at the party and subsequently joined in the festivities. After a night of drunken revelry Elias was falsely accused of having abjured Christianity, and was forced to flee to Heliopolis.

Eight years later he thought it safe to return to Damascus, where he found work making camel saddles. He was denounced, however, by his former Syrian employer and brought before the eparch Leithi (according to Irfan Shahid [oral communication] = the jurist al-Layth, 712/13-791/92). Despite torture and imprisonment Elias refused to convert to Islam. He was then summoned to appear before Mouchamad [according to Shahid, = Muhammad ibn-Ibrahim, 739/40-801], the amir (governor) of Damascus, and again refused to become Muslim, despite promises of good treatment. After further torture he was beheaded on 1 February 779. The Arabs, fearful that his body would prompt veneration as a saint and martyr, at first tried unsuccessfully to burn his body, then chopped it into pieces, which they threw in the river Chrysorrhoe (Barada). Some of his relics were recovered, however, by pious Christians, who venerated them in secret.

The hagiographer, who claims to have written two previous works (*historiai*), provides precise and consistent chronological and prosopographical information. The jurist al-Layth is known to have come to Damascus in 777/78, the year before Elias' death. Muhammad ibn-Ibrahim was, as claimed, related to the caliph al-Mahdi (775-785). The vita is preserved in a 10th-c. manuscript (Coislin. gr. 303) which provides a terminus ante quem for its date of composition, which must have been somewhere between ca. 800 and ca. 1000.

Edition: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sylloge Palaistines kai Syriakes Hagiologias* [=PPSb 19.3] 42-59

Studies:

BHG 578-579

V. Grumel, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 1046f

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyh VIII-IX vekov," *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 36-40

I. Ševčenko, "Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period," *HUkSt* 3/4, pt. 2 (1979/80), repr. in Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt. VI

Ibn-'Asakir, *Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Sakina al-Shihabi, 21 (Damascus, 1990), 246-255, 340-342

Elias Spelaiotes

Elias was born ca. 860-870 (864?) in Rhegium (Reggio Calabria) to a wealthy family. During his boyhood one hand was badly injured so that he was nicknamed Monocheir, "One-hand". At age 18 he left his family to live as an ascetic in Sicily, later returning to his homeland to take the monastic habit. He travelled much, partly in search of a place for ascetic exercises, partly to escape Arab raids; among other places he stayed in Patras in the Peloponnesos. Upon his return to Calabria he lived at Salinas and Melicuccà (near Seminaria) and eventually in a monastery built in a large cave; his second sobriquet originates from the Greek word for cave, σπήλαιον. He worked for a while as a calligrapher. He died at age 96 on September 11, 960 at Melicuccà. An attempt to identify him with Elias, a priest and "Spelaiot" monk, who copied a manuscript of 1021 (Paris gr. 375) was rejected by G. Schirò.

His anonymous hagiographer, who wrote in a simple style, was perhaps named Kyriakos, since the Latin translation of the *vita* calls him Quiriacus. If his claim to have met Elias at the end of the saint's life is true, the *vita* was produced relatively soon after 960. On the other hand, the *vita* contains many legendary stories, especially of miraculous healings, prophecies, exorcisms, and so forth. Suspicious is a tendency to link Elias Spelaiotes with Elias the Younger of Enna, whereas the *vita* of the latter does not mention Elias Spelaiotes. The hagiographer often refers to stories he heard from older monks who observed Elias during their youth or mentions changes that occurred after the saint's death, which suggests that some time elapsed between Elias' death and the composition of his *vita*. The hagiographer probably belonged to the second or third generation of monks in the monastery founded by Elias.

Editions:

AASS Sept. 3:843-88

(Italian version) - V. Saletta, "Vita di s. Elia Speleota secondo il manoscritto Cryptense B.β.XVII," *Studi meridionali* 3 (1970) 445-53, 4 (1971) 272-315, 5 (1972) 61-96

(Latin version) - M.V. Strazzeri, "Una traduzione dal greco ad uso dei normanni: la vita latina di Sant'Elia lo Speleota," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 59 (1992) 1-108

Studies:

BHG 581

R. Janin, *LThK* 3 (1959) 813 and *DHGE* 15 (1963) 197

R. Russo, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 1052-53

P. De Leo, *LexMA* 3 (1986) 1825-26

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1 (1991) 687

D. Scipione Careri, *Vita del glorioso s. Elia detto Speliota* (Naples 1757)

G. Minasi, *Lo Speleota ovvero s. Elia di Reggio di Calabria* (Naples 1893)

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile," 113-24

G. Schirò, "Testimonianza innografica dell'attività scriptoria di s. Elia lo Speleota," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 313-17

K.N. Triantaphyllou, "Ἐλληνες μοναχοὶ τῆς Ν. Ἰταλίας καταφυγόντες εἰς Πάτρας τὸν Θ' αἰ.," in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo* [=Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale], 3 (Padua 1973), 1085-94

E. Morini, "Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell' Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977) 355-57

M. Dunn, "Evangelism or Repentance? The Re-Christianization of the Peloponnese in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," in *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* [=Studies in Church History, 14] (London 1977) 79f

G. Matino, "La lingua della 'Vita di s. Elia lo speleota'," *Campania sacra* 10 (1979) 19-33

idem, "Stratigrafia linguistica nella 'vita di s. Elia lo Speleota'," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 237-45

Hester, *Italo-Greeks* 168-72

Ferrante, *Santi italogreci* 131-40

P. Yannopoulos, "La Grèce dans la Vie de S. Elie le Jeune et dans celle de S. Elie le Spéléote," *Byzantion* 64 (1994) 193-221

D. Abrahamse, "On the Afterlife of Italo-Greek Saints' Lives," *ByzF* 20 (1994) 59-71

Follieri, *San Fantino* 101-14

Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 33-34

Elias the Younger of Enna

Elias (baptismal name John) was born in Enna, Sicily, in 823 to a noble family called Rachites (a name attested in documents in Sicily of 1217 and 1245). As a youth he was captured by Arabs and taken to North Africa, where he became a slave in a Christian household. Released from captivity he travelled much, visiting Jerusalem (where he took the monastic habit and the name Elias), Alexandria, Antioch, Greece and Rome. He died in Thessalonike in 903 en route to Constantinople for an audience with emperor Leo VI. On his journeys he performed miracles, healed the sick, and predicted the future, including the Arab attack on Thessalonike in 904. Elias founded the first Greco-Italian monastery in Calabria, at Salinas, where he was buried and his relics worked posthumous miracles.

His anonymous *vita* has survived only in late manuscripts, the oldest of which (Messina, University, cod. 29) is of 1307/8. The author was a monk of the Salinas monastery, who claims no personal acquaintance with his hero. It is usually assumed that he wrote soon after Elias' death, in the 930s or 940s; da Costa-Louillet posits an even earlier date of composition - 905/6. The author is generally thought to have obtained his information about Elias from his disciple Daniel, who accompanied his master on his travels. The suggestion of Loparev that the hagiographer was another disciple of Elias, Sabas by name, cannot be verified, nor is there any proof of da Costa-Louillet's identification of the author with Daniel himself.

Even though the hagiographer describes the high repute that Elias acquired at the court of Leo VI, there is no entry on him in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Edition:

G. Rossi Taibbi, *Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane* (Palermo 1962) with Italian tr.; rev. M.P., *BollBadGr* 16 (1962) 169-71; A. Guillou, *Antiquité classique* 32 (1963) 350-52; F. Halkin, *AB* 81 (1963) 291-93; N. Scivoletto, *Giornale italiano di filologia* 16 (1963) 79-80; G. Schirò, *BZ* 57 (1964) 164-67; H. Wieruszowski, *Speculum* 39 (1964) 724-26; J. Bompaire, *REGr* 78 (1965) 476-77; N.M. Panagiotakis, *Hellenika* 20 (1967) 212-22; G.J.M. Bartelink, *VigChr* 21 (1967) 135-36

Studies:

BHG 580

G. Marsot, *Catholicisme* 4 (1956) 16

R. Janin, *LThK* 3 (1959) 813 and *DHGE* 15 (1963) 188-89

F. Russo, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 1043-45

P. De Leo, *LexMA* 3 (1986) 1825

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1 (1991) 687

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskija žitija ...," *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 129-43

N.D. Protasov, *Grečeskoe monašestvo v Južnoj Italii* (Sergiev Posad 1915)

A. Basile, "I conventi basiliani di Aulinas sul monte Sant'Elia Nuovo e S. Filareto nel territorio di Seminara," *Archivio storico per Calabria et la Lucania* 16 (1945) 19-36, 143-58, 261-78

A. Bloise, *Il monachesimo in Calabria* (Cosenza 1947)

M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale* (Rome 1947, repr. 1982) XXXIX da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile," 95-109

S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale pre-normana* (Naples 1963)

- A. Guillou, "Grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au moyen âge: les moines," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 75 (1963) 92
- B. Cappelli, "Il monachesimo basiliano e la greicità medioevale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia," in B. Capelli, *Il monachesimo basiliano ai confini calabro-lucani. Studi e ricerche* (Naples 1963) 11-33
- S. Georgoudi, "Sant'Elia in Grecia," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 39 (1968) 293-319
- F. Cezzi, "La 'Mens' biblica nella 'Vita di s. Elia il Giovane'," *Nicolaus* 1 (1973) 345-60
- G. Caliman, "Interazioni di lingua e società nella Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* 21 (1978) 97-109
- G. Lombardo, "Il monachesimo basiliano," *Quaderni medievali* 9 (1980) 217-22
- A. Proiou in *Analekta hymnica graeca*, ed. G. Schirò, 12 (Rome 1980) 473-78
- A. Amatulli, "Aspetti della relazione tra Chiesa e Stato nel 'Bios' di Elia di Enna," *Nicolaus* 8 (1980) 195-203
- B. Lavagnini, "Demenna e Demenniti," *Byzantion. Apheroma ston Andrea N. Strato*, 1 (Athens 1986) 123-28
- D. Kalamakis, "Glossaire de la *vita* de S. Elie le Jeune accompagné d'un vocabulaire non-identifié," *Athena* 80 (1985-89) 279-91
- P. Yannopoulos, "La Grèce dans la Vie de S. Elie le Jeune et dans celle de s. Elie le Speléote," *Byzantion* 64 (1994) 193-221
- idem, "'Char lydien' et 'Pégase argien': une curieuse formule littéraire," *Byzantion* 64 (1994) 408-418
- D. Abrahamse, "On the Afterlife of Italo-Greek Saints' Lives," *ByzF* 20 (1994) 59-71
- Hester, *Italo-Greeks* 164-68
- Ferrante, *Santi italogreci* 111-22
- D. Korać, "Odicej 9. veka. Sveti Ilija Novi u Sredozemlju," *ZRVI* 34 (1995) 21-40
- Malamut, *Route des saints* 256-58
- Follieri, *San Fantino* 96-110
- Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 31-33

Eustratios of Agauros

Eustratios was born in the village of Biztinianas in the theme of Optimatoi, at the end of the 8th c. At age 20 he entered monastic life on Mt. Olympos, where his maternal uncles led the ascetic life. During the reign of Theophilos (829-842) he became *hegoumenos* of the Agauros monastery (called Augaros in the *vita*), located at the foot of Mt. Trichalikos, ca. 15 stades from Prousa. He was forced to flee Agauros during the iconoclastic persecutions of Leo V and Theophilos. He died at age 95 during the reign of Basil I (867-886). Many posthumous miracles occurred at his casket before his burial and subsequently at his tomb.

The anonymous hagiographer of Eustratios was evidently a monk at the Agauros monastery. He does not claim personal acquaintance with Eustratios, but refers to the testimony of other monks who knew the abbot. He also used written sources, such as the *vita* of Ioannikios (d. 846). There are also suggestive parallels with the *vita* of Philaretos. One description of a miracle suggests that the hagiographer wrote after 900: after mentioning the reign of Theodora and Michael III (842-856), he recounts Eustratios' healing of a five-year old boy. The boy had reached "old age" (i.e. 60?) by the time of the composition of the *vita*, and thus had lived ca. 55 years after his encounter with Eustratios.

Eustratios appears many times in the *vitae* of Ioannikios, of whom he was a disciple and close associate.

Edition:

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:367-400, 5:408-10

Studies:

BHG 645

P. Burchi, *BiblSanct* 5 (1964) 313

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych..." *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 95-108

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 132-34

Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 51-59

Euthymios of Sardis

Euthymios (754-831) was one of the leaders of the opposition to iconoclasm during the first part of the 9th c., and one of the few iconodule martyrs, since he died as the result of a severe flogging. Nothing is known of his early life; by the time he participated in the Second Council of Nicaea (787), he was a monk and metropolitan of Sardis. During the reign of Irene he was sent on an embassy to Baghdad. Accused of treason by emperor Nikephoros I (802-811), he was briefly exiled to the island of Pantelleria (near Sicily). He was recalled in 806, but not restored to his see. Under Leo V, he rebuffed invitations to side with the iconoclasts, and after leading the iconodule opposition in 814 was exiled to Thasos. He was recalled to the capital by Michael II (820-829), then persecuted again by Theophilos and exiled in 831 to the island of St. Andrew, off Cape Akritas. He died there on December 26 of maltreatment.

Gouillard identified the anonymous author of Euthymios' *vita* as the future patriarch Methodios (843-847). He claims to have shared Euthymios' exile on St. Andrew, to have witnessed his death, and to have written the *vita* within 40 days (i.e., by February 832) while imprisoned under harsh conditions. The *Life* was commissioned by the archimandrite Symeon, possibly identical to Symeon the Confessor. The *vita* is preserved in a manuscript of the late 9th or early 10th c. There is also a rhetorical panegyric by an otherwise unknown Metrophanes.

Editions:

vita by Methodios—J. Gouillard, "La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes (d. 831)," *TM* 10 (1987) 1-101

panegyric by Metrophanes—A. Papadakis, "The Unpublished Life of Euthymios of Sardis: Bodleianus Laudianus Graecus 69," *Traditio* 26 (1970) 63-89

Studies:

BHG 2145-46

V. Laurent, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 74f.

J. Darrouzès, *DictSpir* 4 (1961) 1724

G. D. Gordini, *BiblSanct* 5 (1964) 334f.

R. Janin, *Catholicisme* 4 (1956) 730

K. Baus, *LThK* 3 (1959) 1210

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 756

J. Pargoire, "Euthyme et Jean de Sardes," *EO* 5 (1901/2) 157-61

J. Gouillard, "Une oeuvre inédite du patriarche Méthode: La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes," *BZ* 53 (1960) 36-46

C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., London, 1976) 64

Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae* 1:213*f., n. 239

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 85-86, 132-133, 435-436, 446f.

Euthymios, patriarch of Constantinople

Born in Seleukeia in Isauria ca. 834, Euthymios took the monastic habit as a young man. He

supported the crown prince Leo (the future emperor Leo VI) in his conflict with his father Basil I. Upon his accession to the throne in 886, Leo appointed Euthymios *hegoumenos* of a monastery in the Psamathia quarter of Constantinople, and made him his spiritual director, as well as a member of the senate and *synkellos*. During the crisis over the tetragamy of Leo VI, Euthymios sided with the emperor, and as a reward he was made patriarch in 907. The controversy continued, however, and Euthymios was deposed in 912, when Nicholas I was recalled to the patriarchal throne. He was banished to the monastery of Ta Agathou on the Bosporos where he died on 4/5 August 917.

His anonymous *vita* was probably written by a monk of the Psamathia monastery where Euthymios had served as abbot. The author knew Euthymios personally and was well informed about political events during the reign of Leo VI and his immediate successors. Karlin-Hayter posits a date of composition between 920 and 925, while D. Sophianos argues that it was written soon after 932. The text was preserved in a single 11th-century manuscript (Berol. gr. f. 55), lost during World War II. This manuscript was missing folios at the beginning and end of the *vita* as well as some pages in the middle. B. Flusin has concluded that the fragmentary text which he edited does not belong to the *vita Euthymii*.

There is also a eulogy of Euthymios by Arethas of Caesarea, written between 917 and Arethas' death which occurred sometime after 932.

Editions:

- P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii patriarchae CP* (Brussels 1970), with English tr.; previously published in *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-57), 1-172, 747-78; rev. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 29 (1971) 318-20; A. Kazhdan, *JHS* 91 (1971) 160-61; C. Capizzi, *RSBN* 8-9 (1971/2) 344-46 and *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 307-9; J. Meyendorff, *Speculum* 47 (1972) 533-34; W. Lackner, *BZ* 65 (1972) 418-22; W. Hörandner, *JÖB* 22 (1973) 352-54; J. Gouillard, *REGr* 88 (1975) 386
C. de Boor, *Vita Euthymii, ein Anecdoton zur Geschichte Leo's des Weisen A. 886-912* (Berlin 1888)
Eulogy by Arethas - ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik grečeskich i latinskih pamjatnikov kasajuščichsja Fotija patriarcha* (St. Petersburg 1899) 26-35

Translation:

- (Russian) A. Kazhdan, "Psamafijskaja chronika" in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki X veka* (Moscow 1959) 7-139

Studies:

- BHG* 651-52
A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 755-56
M. Jugie, *Catholicisme* 4 (1956) 728-29
J. Darrouzès, *DictSpir* 4 (1958) 1719-20 and *DHGE* 16 (1967) 58f
R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 5 (1964) 327-28
Beck, *Kirche* 549-50
A. Kazhdan, *LexMA* 4 (1989) 119-20
S.P. Lampros, "Die Abdankungsurkunde des Patriarchen Nikolaos Mystikos," *BZ* 1 (1892) 551-54
N.G. Popov, "K vizantijskoj istorii X veka," *Letopis' Istoriko-filologičeskogo obščestva pri Novorossijskom universitete* 4,2 (1894) 303
P. Maas, "Literarisches zu der Vita Euthymii," *BZ* 21 (1912) 436-40
M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres d'Euthyme, patriarche de Constantinople," *EO* 16 (1913) 385-95, 481-92
A. Vogt, "La jeunesse de Léon VI le Sage," *Revue Historique* 174 (1934) 389-428
V. Grumel, "Notes chronologiques: La révolte d'Andronic Doux sous Léon VI. La victoire navale d'Himérius," *EO* 36 (1937) 202-7
N. Bees, "Ἡ βιογραφία τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Εὐθυμίου Ἀ' ἀντιβαλλομένη πρὸς τὸν Βερολίνοιον κώδικα Graec. fol. 55 [=291]," *Praktika tes Akademias Athenon* 19 (1944) 105-20
R.H. Dolley, "The Date of the St. Mokios Attempt on the Life of the Emperor Leon VI," *Παγκάρπεια*.

- Mélanges H. Grégoire*, 2 [= *AIPHOS* 10.2] (Brussels 1950) 231-38
- H. Grégoire, "Rapport sur la direction d'études et les enseignements de M. H. Grégoire. Cours d'histoire byzantine," *AIPHOS* 12 (1952/3) 642-43
- D.Z. Sophianos, "Ὁ βίος τοῦ Εὐθυμίου (Vita Euthymii) πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (+917) καὶ ὁ χρόνος συγγραφῆς αὐτοῦ," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 289-296
- L.G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople. Miscellaneous Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1981) no. 194, I and no. 197.84-88
- L. Rydén, "The Portrait of the Arab Samonas in Byzantine Literature," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 101-8
- B. Flusin, "Un fragment inédit de la vie d'Euthyme le patriarche?," *TM* 9 (1985) 119-31, 10 (1987) 233-60

Euthymios the Younger

One of the forerunners of Athonite monasticism, Euthymios (baptismal name Niketas) was born in 823/4 in the Galatian *kome* of Opso to a family of local *eupatridai*, probably low military nobility. Euthymios entered military service, married, fathered a child, but then at age 18 abandoned his family to become a monk on Bithynian Olympos. After 17 years of ascetic exercises on Olympos, he embarked on the wanderings which were to characterize the rest of his life. He made two sojourns on Athos (one in a grotto), lived for a while as a stylite in a suburb of Thessalonike, and spent some time on a deserted island of the Sporades (Neoi). Despite his personal predilection for the solitary life, he espoused cenobitism as an ideal, tried to organize the scattered hermits on Athos, and was ordained a deacon in order to provide liturgical services for these monks. Ca. 870 he converted a ruinous church at Peristerai, east of Thessalonike, into a monastery. He died on the island of Hiera in 898.

Euthymios' *vita* was written by his disciple Basil, whom he tonsured ca. 875. Porfirij Uspenskij's identification of him as archbishop of Thessalonike was rejected by Papachryssanthou. Basil was an eyewitness of many of the events he narrates, and his account contains numerous chronological indications, not always correct. He probably wrote the *vita* in the early 10th c. The oldest manuscript of the *vita* is of the 11th c.

Edition:

- L. Petit, "Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune," *ROC* 8 (1903) 155-205, 503-36, rpt. in *BHO* 5 (1904), 14-51, rev. S. Pétridès, *EO* 7 (1904) 311f.; Ch. Loparev, *VizVrem* 12 (1906) 235-38

Studies:

BHG 655

- R. Janin, *Catholicisme* 4 (1956) 729f. and *BiblSanct* (1964) 329
- K. Baus, *LThK* 3 (1957) 1209f.
- J. Darrouzès, *DictSpir* 4 (1960) 1723f. and *DHGE* 16 (1967) 62
- A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 757
- Beck, *Kirche* 564
- H.M. Biedermann, *LexMA* 4 (1989) 119
- Alexandros Lavriotes, "Βιογραφικαὶ σημειώσεις περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν," *EkkI. Aleth.* 16 (1886) 373-5
- A.K. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1909) 40-52
- Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych...," *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 98-108
- Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie*, 163-70
- D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie de saint Euthyme le Jeune et la métropole de Thessalonique à la fin du IX^e et au début du Xe siècle," *REB* 32 (1974) 225-45
- eadem*, *Actes de Prôtaton* (Paris, 1975) 22-31
- Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioume, A. Kountoura, "Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέα στὴν Περιστερά," *Kleronomia* 13 (1981/3) 487-507

M. Gregoriou-Ioannidou, "Ζητήματα στρατολογίας στὸ Βυζάντιο: ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ ὁσίου Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Νέου," *Byzantiaka* 10 (1990) 151-158
Malamut, *Route des Saints* 254-256
Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 34-36

Evaristos

Evaristos (baptismal name Sergios) was born in Galatia on April 17 in the sixth year of the reign of Leo V, i.e., in 819. Toward the end of the reign of Theophilos (829-842) he went to Constantinople to seek his fortune under the patronage of a relative, Theoktistos Bryennios. Evaristos accompanied Bryennios on an embassy to Bulgaria, but experienced a conversion en route and joined a group of monks at a place called Skopelos, near the small Thracian town of Probaton. Six months later (probably in 843) he returned to Constantinople and entered the Stoudios monastery where he was in charge of the refectory. Evaristos became an ardent disciple of Nicholas the Stoudite (see s.v. Nicholas of Stoudios), *hegoumenos* of Stoudios. Both men supported patriarch Ignatios, and after his deposition in 858 they left the Stoudios monastery rather than recognize his successor Photios. After years spent in exile in Thracian Chersonese or in refuge with a certain Samuel in Constantinople, Nicholas and his followers established a new monastery in the capital at Kokorobion (in the Lips quarter), which served as a base for dissident Stoudites. Evaristos died on December 25, 897, after serving as *hegoumenos* of Kokorobion for thirty years.

His anonymous biographer was probably a monk of Kokorobion (cf. p. 317.11-12). The *vita* is preserved in a 10th-c. manuscript. Van de Vorst hypothesized that the hagiographer was a younger contemporary or disciple of Evaristos (cf. p. 324.22-23) and wrote before 925. Kazhdan, on the other hand, suggests the mid-10th c. as a date of composition, since the biographer has no personal recollections of the saint.

Edition:

Ch. van de Vorst, "La Vie de s. Evariste, higoumène à Constantinople," *AB* 41 (1923) 288-326
fragments in *FGHBulg* 4:315-316

Studies:

BHG 2153

K. Baus, *LThK* 3 (1959) 1260

V. Laurent, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 111f.

idem, *BiblSanct* 5 (1964) 373-75

Beck, *Kirche* 564

Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion

The martyrs of Amorion were 42 Greek officers and soldiers captured by the Arabs at Amorion in 838, taken to Samarra, and executed on 6 March 845 after seven years of imprisonment. The story, which is one of the last examples of collective martyrdom in Byzantine hagiography, was very popular and is preserved in numerous versions, which can be divided into two principal recensions.

The longest version is that of Euodios, a monk of whom nothing is known. He includes many theological discussions between the Christian captives and various emissaries despatched by the caliph to attempt to convert the Byzantines to Islam. Euodios is very critical of Theophilos (829-842), arguing that the disaster at Amorion was caused by the emperor's iconoclast policy; it seems probable that he wrote his account within a generation of the martyrs' execution.

A second version is attributed to Michael the monk and synkellos. It focuses on the biography

of a single martyr, Kallistos, the *doux* of Koloneia, who had a brilliant military career under Theophilos. Since Michael the Synkellos of Constantinople (see s.v. Michael Synkellos) died in 846, he would have to have written the *vita* immediately after the martyrs' execution. This seems somewhat improbable, especially since the *vita* describes the martyrs' burial and healing miracles at their tomb. Therefore one should be skeptical of the attribution of the *vita* to this Michael, and assign the *vita* perhaps to his younger homonym, Michael the Synkellos who wrote the *vita* B of Theodore of Stoudios and other encomia in the 9th c. (cf. M. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos* [Belfast, 1991], 36-37).

Another version of the *vita* which belongs to the second recension is by a certain Sophronios of Cyprus. He emphasizes the heroism of yet another martyr, Theodore Karteros. Kazhdan suggests that his text alludes to the Photian-Ignatian controversy and should be dated sometime between 858 and 900.

Editions:

Skazaniya o 42 amorijских mučenikach, ed. V. Vasil'evskij and P. Nikitin (St. Petersburg, 1905), rev.

S. Žebelev, *ŽMNP* 1 (Jan. 1906) 167-76; K. Krumbacher, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (Dec. 1905) 937-53; P. P[eters], *AB* 25 (1906) 121f.

A. Vasiliev, *Grečeskij tekst žitija soroka dvuch amorijских mučenikov* (St. Petersburg, 1898), rev. K. K[rumbacher], *BZ* 9 (1900) 267f.

F. Halkin, *Hagiologie byzantine* (Brussels, 1986) 152-69

I. Zaimov-M. Kapaldo, *Suprasŭlski ili Retkov sbornik* (Sofia, 1982/83) 54-68

V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonomi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, 1 (Petrograd, 1911) 190-97

vita by Euodios: S. Euthymiades, *Εὐωδίου Μοναχοῦ οἱ σαρανταδύο μάρτυρες τοῦ Ἀμορίου* (Nea Smyrne, 1989), with modern Greek tr., rev. P. B. Paschos, *Theologia* 61 (1990) 341

Martyrion M: ed. S. Kotzambases, "Τὸ μαρτύριο τῶν μβ' μαρτύρων τοῦ Ἀμορίου ἀγιολογικά καὶ ὑμνολογικά κείμενα," *EPhSPT* 2 (1992) 111-153

Studies:

BHG 1209-1214c

G. M. Fusconi, *BiblSanct* 1 (1961) 1018-20

A. Kazhdan, N. P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 2 (1991) 800-801

Beck, *Kirche* 511

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyčh..." *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 76-91

W. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatiis," *TM* 4 (1970) 334, n. 28

P. Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *TM* 5 (1973) 87, n. 9

A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 150-60

AHG VII (Mart.) 366-368

George Bishop of Mytilene

According to his *vita* which is preserved in the Patmos menologion for April, George was born in Asia Minor (ἐκ τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος γαίης) ca. 776. After the death of his parents, he took the monastic habit at age 18 in an unnamed monastery. Two years later he moved to Lesbos, and lived in a cave as a hermit for six years. At 28 he became bishop of the island, and served in this position for nine years. He went to Constantinople on business during the reign of Michael I (811-813) and stayed on until 815 when he was exiled by Leo V because of his iconophile views. He spent the final six years of his life in his island exile (on one of the κύκλω νήσων, probably the Princes' Islands) and died on April 7, 821 (or 820, according to Halkin). With the restoration of icon veneration under the patriarch Methodios (843-847), his relics were transferred to Mytilene.

There has been considerable discussion as to whether this George, bishop of Mytilene, is to be

identified with the George who was the youngest of the three iconophile brothers from Lesbos, David, Symeon and George (see s.v.), and who, according to the *vita* of the brothers, died in 845 or 846. Phountoules distinguishes between the two Georges (and even postulates the existence of a third George of Mytilene, an iconophile confessor under Leo III), while Halkin argues that the George of Mytilene who died on April 7 is the same as the youngest of the three brothers from Lesbos.

The *vita* of George is preserved in a late 10th-c. manuscript from Patmos (Pat. gr. 254). Nothing is known of his hagiographer. He must have written the *vita* between 843/847 (the patriarchate of Methodios I, mentioned at the end of the *Life*) and the late 10th c., the date of the Patmos manuscript.

Edition:

I. Phountoules, Οἱ ἅγιοι Γεώργιοι, ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Μυτιλήνης [=Λεσβιακὸν Ἑορτολόγιον, 1] (Athens, 1959)—(text of *vita* at pp. 33-43), rev. F. D[ölger], *BZ* 54 (1961) 188; N. Tomadakes, *EEBS* 30 (1960/61) 650

Studies:

BHG 2163

F. Halkin, “Y a-t-il trois saints Georges, évêques de Mytilène et ‘confesseurs’ sous les iconoclastes?” *AB* 77 (1959) 464-469

George Limnaiotes

George, an iconodule martyr, is known only from short synaxarion notices. In his youth he became a monk on Mt. Olympos; under emperor Leo III, ca. 730, he was tortured to death for his iconodule beliefs, having his nose slit and his head burned (perhaps with burning coals, as in the case of Anthousa of Mantineon). He supposedly died at age 95, and therefore must have been born ca. 635. His feastday is celebrated on 24 August.

Editions:

SynaxCP 922.12-26

C. Doukakes, *Megas Synaxariastes* 8 (Athens 1894) 312

AASS Aug. 4:842

Studies:

BHG 692

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 537f

Gero, *Leo III*, 101

Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 159

George of Amastris

George was born to a noble family in the town of *ton Kromnenon*, near Amastris, around the middle of the 8th c. He embarked upon a career in church administration, but then decided to become a hermit on Mt. Agrioserike and was tonsured as a monk. He subsequently moved to the cenobitic monastery of Bonyssa. The patriarch Tarasios (784-806) appointed him bishop of Amastris ca. 790, despite the opposition of the emperor. He was noted for leading the defense of Amastris against an Arab attack. He died on February 8, sometime between 802 and 807. His hagiographer recounts that his tomb became a shrine where miracles were performed, most notably the appeasement of barbarian Rus' who attacked Amastris and tried to despoil the saint's tomb. His feastday is celebrated on February 21.

The anonymous *vita* of George is preserved in a single manuscript (Par. gr. 1452) that is usually dated to the 10th c. (cf. Vasil'evskij p. xx and F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* [Brussels, 1968] 161f.). The date and authorship of the *vita* has been widely discussed. The editor of the *vita*, V. Vasil'evskij, considered it a work by Ignatios the Deacon, on the basis of stylistic similarities with the *vitae* of the patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros (which are firmly ascribed to Ignatios), and dated it before 842; his views are supported by I. Ševčenko. On the other hand, G. da Costa-Louillet and W. Wolska-Conus rejected Ignatios' authorship, while A. Markopoulos suggested a compromise solution: that the *vita* is by Ignatios, but the episode of the Russian attack is an insertion produced under the influence of Photios. The issue of authorship and date is significant, since some scholars, predominantly Russian, argue that the raid on Amastris is the earliest attested attack by Rus' on Byzantium. Recently W. Treadgold has argued that the raid of Rus' prompted the formation of two new military provinces on the Black Sea, Paphlagonia and Chaldia. He dates the raid to 818 or 819 and postulates that the *vita* of George was written between 820 and 842.

A. Kazhdan tentatively suggests that the *vita* may have been written at the end of the 10th c., or even later; his hypothesis is based on the lack of attention to iconoclasm in the *vita* and on the similarity between the portrait of Nikephoros I in the *vita* and the ascetic Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969).

Edition:

V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-vizantijskie issledovanija*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1893) 1-73, repr. in his *Trudy* 3 (1915) 1-71

Studies:

BHG 668-668e

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 533

R. Aubert, *DHGE* 20 (1984) 584

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 837

W. von Gutzeit, "Über die Lebensgeschichte des hl. Georgios von Amastria und die Zeit ihrer Abfassung," *Izvestija Akademii nauk* 37 (St. Petersburg 1880/1)

G. da Costa-Louillet, "Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire Byzantin avant 860?" *Byzantion* 15 (1940/1) 231-48

E. E. Lipšic, "O pochode Rusi na Vizantiju ranee 842 g.," *Istoričeskie zapiski* 26 (1948) 312-31

G. Vernadsky, "The Problem of the Early Russian Campaigns in the Black Sea Area," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 8 (1949) 3-6

Levčenko, *Rus-VizOtn* 45-50

Vasiliev, *Russian Attack*

I. Sorlin, "Les Traités de Byzance avec la Russie au X^e siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* II.3 (1961) 320f.

W. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatiis," *TM* 4 (1970) 329-60

H. Ahrweiler, "Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IX^e siècle," *Bulletin d'Information et de coordination* 5 (1971) 54-56

Ševčenko, "Hagiography" 120-126, repr. in his *Ideology*, pt.V 10-18

E. Morini, "Ancora sulla Vita di s. Giorgio di Amastride. Note su un recente contributo," *Studi e Ricerche sull' Oriente Cristiano*, 2 (1979) 127-147.

Vlasto, *Entry* 243f.

A. Markopoulos, "La Vie de Saint Georges d'Amastria et Photius," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 75-82

A. N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980) 25-35

W. Treadgold, "Three Byzantine Provinces and the First Byzantine Contacts with the Rus'," *HUKSt* 12-13 (1988-1989) 132-144

S. Efthymiadis, "On the Hagiographical Work of Ignatius the Deacon," *JÖB* 41 (1991) 73-83

George the Neophanes

George, a 10th-century holy man who abandoned his family to take up the life of a wandering monk, eventually came to Constantinople. He died seven days later in the church of St. John the Theologian in Diippion. Those who came to prepare his body for burial found that he had mortified his body with heavy iron rings. After burial in the narthex of the aforesaid church, his relics produced healing miracles. His feastday is celebrated variously on March 11, 23 and 24.

His biography is preserved only in synaxaria. The principal notice, in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, gives no clue as to his chronology, but Vindob. theol. gr. 300 (13th-14th c. manuscript) makes him a contemporary of Romanos [I?] and Constantine VII (*SynaxCP* 527-528.50-51), whereas Paris gr. 1607 (a late manuscript, of 1701) places him in the reign of John I Tzimiskes (969-976).

Editions:

SynaxCP 530.5-26.

C. Doukakis, *Megas synaxaristes Martiou* (Athens, 1891), 178

Studies:

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 537

R. Aubert, *DHGE* 20 (1984) 625

Janin, *Eglises CP* 265

Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople

Despite his fame as a defender of icon veneration, surprisingly little is known about the life of Germanos I before and after his patriarchate (715-730). He was the son of the patrikios Justinian who served the emperor Herakleios (610-641) and was executed in 669. That same year Germanos was castrated and became a member of the clergy of Hagia Sophia. In 705 he was appointed bishop of Kyzikos, and in 715 was elevated to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. Although Germanos initially supported Leo III (717-741), he later clashed with him over the issue of iconoclasm and was forced to abdicate in 730. He was sent into exile and died at Platanion on 12 May of an unknown year. Germanos was also an ecclesiastic writer and hymnographer, although the attribution of some of his works is far from certain.

The chronology of Germanos' life has been the subject of much discussion. His birth has been variously placed between 630 and 650 (Garton-Westerink), or between 653 and 658 (Lamza) or in 668 (Kazhdan). His date of death is usually given as 730 or 742. A passage in his *vita* (204.73-76), if taken literally, implies that he lived for 74 years, by stating that he reached the mid-point of his life, 37 years, in 705; this is the basis of Kazhdan's calculation of 668 and 742 for the dates of his birth and death. The *vita's* chronology is inconsistent, however, because it also states that Germanos was around 20 when he was castrated in 669.

The *vita*, which is anonymous, contains many legendary elements and confusions, e.g., identifying pope Gregory II (715-731) with Gregory I (590-604). It is also very difficult to date and has been assigned to the 8th (Beck, *Kirche*, 506), 9th (Garton-Westerink, Halkin), 10th-11th (Kazhdan) and 11th-12th centuries (Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt. 5:2 and Lamza). A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the manuscript of the *vita*, cod. Leimon. 43 of the 12th-13th c.

Editions:

L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel (715-730)* (Würzburg, 1975), rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 93 (1975) 422-424; J. Meyendorff, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 19 (1975) 201f; K. Bones, *Theologia* 47 (1976) 402f; R. Riedinger, *JÖB* 26 (1977) 317-319; J.-L. van Dieten, *HistZeit* 224 (1977) 675-678; W. Lackner, *BZ* 71 (1978) 90-96; R. Weijenburg, *Antonianum*

52 (1977) 187-189; H.D. Döpmann, *ThLZ* 103 (1978) 204f; S. Gero, *Catholic Hist. Rev.* (1978) 441-443; A. Papadakis, *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* 4 (1977) 195-199. (previous ed.) A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη [Ἑλληνικὸς Σύλλογος, suppl. 17:2] (Constantinople 1886) 3-17

Studies:

BHG 697-697e

F. Cayré, *DThC* 6 (1924) 1300-9

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 243-253

J. Darrouzès, *DictSpir* 6 (1967) 309-11

D. Stein, *LexMA* 4 (1986) 1344f

Anonymous, *DHGE* 20 (1984) 906f

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 846f

Bardenhewer, *Geschichte* 5:48-51

I. Andreev, *German i Tarasij, patriarchi konstantinopol'skie* (Sergiev Posad 1907), originally published as "Sv. German, patriarch konstantinopol'skij (715-730)," *Bogoslovskij vestnik* (May 1897) 167-186, (Sept. 1897) 225-244

G. Ostrogorsky, "Les débuts de la querelle des images," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* 1 (Paris 1930), 234-256

E. Photiadēs, "Γερμανὸς Α΄ ὁ ὁμολογητὴς πατριάρχης," *Orthodoxia* 9 (1934) 91-96; 10 (1935) 127-130, 262-265

J. List, *Studien zur Homiletik Germanos I. von Konstantinopel und seiner Zeit* (Athens 1939)

W. Lackner, "Ein hagiographisches Zeugnis für den Antapodotikos des Patriarchen Germanos I. von Konstantinopel," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 42-104

C. Garton, L. Westerink, *On Predestined Terms of Life* (Buffalo, NY, 1979)

Germanos of Kosinitza

Germanos is a little known Byzantine saint who does not appear in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. His biographer admits he knows nothing of his birth or parentage. Germanos went to Palestine as an adolescent and took the habit at the monastery of St. John the Baptist on the Jordan. At age thirty a divine vision prompted him to go to Christoupolis (=Kavalla) in Macedonia, and then to build a church to the Theotokos on a nearby mountain (Popolia), about fifty stades from Drama. He followed the instructions of the vision and built the church with his own hands over a period of three and one half years. He was then instructed in a vision to build another church on Mt. Matikia. He proceeded to this remote mountain near the village of Tzernista and built a monastery (Eikosiphoinissa or Kušnica) with the aid of workmen. The *vita* has good information on the construction of a monastery and the hiring of builders.

There are virtually no chronological indications in the *vita* except for the mention of a Byzantine embassy to the Serbs, which Dujčev dates to 886, Loparev to the reign of Leo VI (886-912). Dujčev also identifies Germanos with a Germanos who lived in Bulgaria during the reign of Boris-Michael (852-889), according to Theophylaktos of Ohrid (*PG* 126:201c).

The date of composition is also uncertain; Kazhdan and Litavrin ascribe it to "around the 10th c." (*Očerki istorii Vizantii i južnyh slavjan* [Moscow, 1958] 57), Stiernon to the 12th c. or later. It is preserved (incompletely) in a 14th-c. Florentine manuscript.

Edition:

AASS May III: 6*-10*, Lat. tr. 160-66

L. Jončev in *FGHBulg* 5:102-6 (part. ed. & Bulg. tr.)

Studies:

BHG 698

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 240-43

I. Dujčev, *DHGE* 20 (1984) 909

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatykh..." *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 109-14

I. Dujčev, "Une ambassade byzantine auprès des Serbes au IX^e siècle," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 53-60, repr. in his *Medioevo* 1: 221-30, rev. V. I., *BZ* 55 (1962) 160f.

Gregory of Akritas

Gregory was born in Crete ca. 754/755, and worked as a shepherd in his youth. He then went to Seleukeia (in Isauria?) where he devoted himself to ascetic practices. In 780 he departed for the Holy Land where he spent 12 years. He then traveled to Rome where he adopted the monastic habit. Michael of Synada met him in Rome ca. 812 and brought him back to Constantinople, where he settled at the suburban monastery of Akritas (of uncertain location, although Janin identifies Cape Akritas as the Bithynian peninsula of Tuzla Burnu). He lived into the second period of iconoclasm, which he deplored, and probably died before 843 since the restoration of images is not mentioned in his synaxarial notice.

No full-fledged *vita* of Gregory is preserved; he is known only from a brief notice of the 10th-c. *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and a *kanon* with the acrostic signature of Joseph, possibly the Hymnographer. If this identification is correct, the cult of the saint was in existence by the second half of the 9th c.

Editions:

SynaxCP 372-74

Th. E. Detorakes, "Ἀνέκδοτος ἀκολουθία Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἐν Ἀκρίτῃ," *EEBS* 36 (1968) 139-51

Studies:

BHG 2266

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 7 (1966) 169

J. Mossay, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1462f.

J. Pargoire, "Saints iconophiles," *EO* 2 (1900) 350

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 53, no. 6

Janin, *ConstantinopleByz* 490

Gregory of Dekapolis

Gregory was born ca. 797 in Eirenopolis in the Isaurian Dekapolis. Ca. 815 he ran away from home to avoid marriage, and entered monastic life in an Isaurian monastery directed by his maternal uncle Symeon. Ca. 830 he began a period of extensive travel, journeying to Ephesus, Ainos, Thessalonike, Rome, Syracuse, and Otranto before returning to Thessalonike where he settled down for several years. In the final years of his life he visited Constantinople and Mt. Olympos. Although he lived in the second period of iconoclasm, he was not persecuted; his biographer calls him "a martyr without bruises" (ed. Dvornik, 70.3-4). He died on a 20 November, in 842 (according to Dvornik), but possibly in 841 or even earlier (Mango).

Both the authorship of the *vita* and its date of composition have been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion. Five manuscripts of the *vita* assign it to Ignatios the Deacon, author of the *vita* of Tarasios and Nikephoros. This attribution was questioned by W. Wolska-Conus ("De quibusdam Ignatiis," *TM* 4 [1970] 340-42, 359), while I. Ševčenko [*Ideology*, pt.V:14] has pointed out stylistic

and linguistic similarities between the *vita* of Gregory and those of Tarasios and Nikephoros, and considers them substantial enough to confirm Ignatios' authorship of the *vita* of Gregory. Mango, who accepts Ignatios' authorship, dates the *Life* between ca. 843 and ca. 850, while Kazhdan, who is more sceptical of identifying Ignatios as the hagiographer, suggests the possibility of dating the *vita* later, perhaps to the 860s or 870s during the controversy between the patriarchs Ignatios and Photios. The earliest of the numerous manuscripts of the *vita* dates to the 10th c.

Editions:

- F. Dvornik, *La vie de s. Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926), rev. P. Mutafčiev, *Makedonski pregled* 4 (1928) 141-55; S. G. Mercati, *SBN* 3 (1931) 295-97 (repr. in his *Collectanea byz.* 1:454-56); H. G[régoire], *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 642-645; V. Laurent, *EO* 26 (1927) 503-4
Ioannou, *Mnemeia hagiologica*, 129-64, emend. P. Nikitin, *ZapANist.fil.,ser.8*, I.1 (1895) 21-27
FHGBulg 4:38-39

Studies:

- AHG* III (Nov.) 626-7
BHG 711
R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 7 (1966) 176
J. Longton, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1498f.
A. Kazhdan, N. P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 2 (1991) 880
E. Kalužniacki, "Die Legende von der Vision Amphilogs und der λόγος ἱστορικὸς des Gregorios Dekapolites," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 25 (1903) 101-8
Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyč...", *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 99-114
I. Dujčev, "Vŭprosŭt za vizantino-slavjanskite otnošenija i vizantijski opiti za sŭzdavane na slavjanskata azbuka prez pŭrvata polovina na IX vek," *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 7 (1957) 241-267
C. Mango, "On Re-reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 633-46
A. Kazhdan, "Hermitic and Secular Ideas in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 473-487
idem, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 161-2
D. Sahas, "What an Infidel Saw That a Faithful Did Not: Gregory Dekapolites (d. 842) and Islam," *GOrThR* 31 (1986) 47-67
J. Karayannopoulos, "Les Slaves en Macédoine. La prétendue interruption des communications entre Constantinople et Thessalonique du 7^{ème} au 9^{ème} siècle," *Comité National des études du Sud-Est Européen* (Athens, 1989) 9-32
S. Efthymiadis, "On the Hagiographical Work of Ignatius the Deacon," *JÖB* 41 (1991) 73-83
P. Georgiev, "Neizpolzuvano svedenie za statuta na slaviniite vuv vizantija v na aloto na IX v.," *V čest na profesor Veselin Beševliev (In honorem Prof. Veselin Beševliev)* (Veliko Tarnovo, 1993) 59-62
Malamut, *Route des Saints* 247-48
P. Yannopoulos, "Ὁ Βορειοελλαδικὸς χῶρος σύμφωνα μὲ τὸν Βίο τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Δεκαπολίτου," *Parnassos* 35 (1993) 53-75

Hilarion of Dalmatos

Hilarion was born in 770 (according to Matantseva) or 775/776 to the family of an imperial official; his father Peter the Cappadocian was purveyor of bread to the palace. At age twenty, Hilarion became a monk at Xerokepion in Constantinople, and then moved to the Dalmatos monastery. After a stay at the monastery of Kathara (Katharoi), he was made *hegoumenos* of Dalmatos by patriarch Nikephoros I (806-815). As an iconophile Hilarion was persecuted and exiled by Leo V and then Theophilos. After being recalled by the empress Theodora (in 843?) he resumed his position as

hegoumenos of Dalmatos until his death three years later in 845/846.

The *vita* of Hilarion is preserved in a palimpsest manuscript (Vat. gr. 984, a pre-Metaphrastic menologion for June), copied at the end of the 9th or early 10th c. Hence it must have been written within a generation or so of Hilarion's death. The author was a certain monk Sabas, identified by T. Matantseva on the basis of lexical and stylistic analysis with the hagiographer of the *vitae* of Ioannikios and Peter of Atroa. A short summary of Hilarion's biography is included in the Coislin version of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (a. 1301).

Edition:

SynaxCP 731-734

Studies:

BHG 2177-2177b

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 7 (1966) 735f.

R. Aubert, *DHGE* 24 (1993) 470f.

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 83; *ÉglisesCentres* 159, 200, 439, no. 111

Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:652

P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Reliquie di un grande menologio premetafrasteo e una nuova recensione del martyrium s. Theodoti Ancyрани [=ST 33]* (Rome, 1920) 110

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," 788-794

Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae* 1:223* n. 270

T. Matantseva, "La Vie d' Hilarion, higoumène de Dalmatos, par Sabas (BHG 2177)," *RSBN* n.s. 30 (1993) 17-29.

Hypatios and Andrew

The iconodule martyrs Hypatios and Andrew were from Lydia in the Thrakesion theme. As young men they entered a monastery where Andrew served as *hierokeryx*, probably meaning a reader (*anagnostes*). Later the metropolitan of Sardis made Hypatios a bishop and Andrew a priest. During the persecution of Leo III they were brought to Constantinople, imprisoned and tortured, among other ways, by having the burning embers of icons poured over their heads. After being dragged through the streets of the capital, they were put to the sword at Xerolophos. They are commemorated on 20 September.

We know of them only through a brief notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Edition:

SynaxCP 62-64

Study:

J.M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 7 (1966) 862-863

Ignatios of Bathyrhyax

Ignatios, born in Cappadocia, was a contemporary of Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and John I Tzimiskes (969-976). Dedicated to monastic life as a child, he entered the monastery of Bathyrhyax in the province of Sebasteia. He became priest and then the fourth *hegoumenos* of Bathyrhyax. He increased the monastery's wealth and built new churches for the complex. At the time of the revolt of Bardas Skleros (either in 979 or 987) he strongly defended his monastery against the rebel. He then went to Constantinople to commission liturgical vessels, furnishings, icons and manuscripts for the

monastery. Falling ill of dysentery he died on September 27 en route to Bathyrhyax at Amorion where he was initially interred. A year later his uncorrupted remains were translated to Bathyrhyax and buried in the narthex of the church of Christ.

His biography is preserved only in synaxarial notices and *menaia*. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* also celebrates the memory of two earlier *hegoumenoi*, Peter Eulabes and Luke (*SynaxCP* 24-26) and the *oikonomos* James (*SynaxCP* 154.27-30); the founder of the monastery, Basil, is commemorated only in a later addition (793.47). In addition the *Synaxarion* lists the anniversary of the dedication (*enkainia*) of the church of the Prophet Elijah at Bathyrhyax, built under the hegoumenate of Ignatios (390.13-14).

The entry on Ignatios is crucial for the dating of the *Synaxarion*; the allusion to the rebellion of Skleros shows that it could not have been produced before the end of the 10th c.

Edition:

SynaxCP 84-86

Studies:

BHG Nov. Auct. 2183g

Janin, *Eglises Centres* 141, 186 n. 1

Ignatios Patriarch

Ignatios (baptismal name Niketas), the son of the future emperor Michael I (811-813), was born in Constantinople ca. 797/8. Upon the deposition of Michael from the throne in 813, Ignatios was castrated and forced to become a monk. He served as *hegoumenos* of three monasteries which he had founded on the Princes' Islands. Following the restoration of icons, Ignatios served twice as patriarch, 847-858 and 867-877. His patriarchate was marked by a struggle with the supporters of Photios who twice succeeded him as patriarch (858-867, 877-886). He died in Constantinople on 23 Oct. 877.

His *vita*, by Niketas David Paphlagon, is characterized by hostility to Photios, and is more of an anti-Photian diatribe than an encomium of Ignatios. The chronology, identity and career of Niketas Paphlagon has been much discussed in the scholarly literature. Since Niketas speaks of Photios' successors in the plural (*PG* 105:573C) and states that Ignatios has continued to perform healing miracles "up to this day" (*PG* 105:564D), one can postulate a certain chronological distance between the end of Photios' second patriarchate in 886 and the composition of the *vita*. Thus one can hypothesize that the *vita* was written in the early decades of the 10th c.

Editions:

PG 105:488-574, emend. V. Latyšev, "Ad Nicetae David Paphlagonis laudationes ss. apostolorum," *Izvestija Akademii nauk* (1916) 1505-22

A. Smithies, "Nicetas Paphlago's Life of Ignatius" (Ph.D. dissertation: SUNY at Buffalo, 1987)

Studies:

AHG II (Oct.) 436-7

BHG 817-818

F. Dvornik, *NCE* 7 (1967) 351f.

R. Janin, *DTC* 7 (1930) 713-722

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 7 (1966) 665-672

P. Schreiner, *LexMA* 5 (1990) 366f.

V. Grumel, *Catholicisme* 5 (1960) 1192-95

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 983-984

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," 461-478

A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Ψευδονικήτας ὁ Παφλαγῶν καὶ ὁ νόθος βίος τοῦ πατριάρχου

- Ἰγνατίου,” *VizVrem* 6 (1899) 13-38
 idem, “Ἡ ψευδονυμία καὶ ἡ νοθεΐα τοῦ Νικηταίου βίου τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰγνατίου,” *Nea Hemera* (1899) no. 1289-94
 V. Vasil’evskij, “V zaščitu podlinnosti žitija Ignatija i prinadležnosti ego sovremennomu avtoru Nikite Paflagonu,” *VizVrem* 6 (1899) 39-56
 R. J. H. Jenkins, “A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the Vita Ignatii,” *DOP* 19 (1965) 241-47, repr. in his *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London, 1970) pt. IX
 J. M. Featherstone, “A Note on the Dream of Bardas Caesar in the Life of Ignatius and the Archangel in the Mosaic over the Imperial Doors of St. Sophia,” *BZ* 74 (1981) 42f.

Ioannikios

Ioannikios, sometimes called “the Great,” was born in the village of Marykaton (in Bithynia) in 752/4 (according to the *vita* by Sabas) or 762 (according to the *vita* by Peter). He herded swine as a child, and later became a soldier in the *exkoubitoi* and fought in the battle of Markellai (792) against the Bulgarians. After the Byzantine defeat he retired from the army, withdrew to Bithynian Mt. Olympos, and eventually took the monastic habit. During the second period of iconoclasm (815-842), he moved from one place of refuge to another, and was in contact with many leaders of the iconodule opposition, although his attitude toward icon veneration was somewhat ambiguous. He died at the Antidion monastery on November 3, 846.

Two 9th-c. *vitae* of Ioannikios survive. One is by Peter, a monk at the monastery of Agauroi near Prousa, who knew Ioannikios personally and had as his prime source of information Eustratios of Agauros, who had been Ioannikios’ close friend for fifty years. The *vita* is markedly anti-Stoudite in character. Mango suggests that it was written immediately after Ioannikios’ death and before the death of patriarch Methodios (June 14, 847). The *vita* survives in a 10th-c. manuscript (Paris, Coisl. gr. 303).

The second *vita* is by Sabas, who was also the biographer of Peter of Atroa. Mango (p. 394) argues that it is later than and draws upon the *vita* of Ioannikios by Peter. Sabas also claims to have met Ioannikios. Laurent dates this *vita* between 847 and 860. Sabas suppresses the anti-Stoudite invective, and adds many more precise chronological indications, which should be treated with caution. The earliest manuscript is of the 11th c.

In the 10th c. Symeon Metaphrastes reworked the *vita* by Sabas.

Editions:

vita by Sabas—AASS Nov. 2.1:332-383

vita by Peter—AASS Nov. 2.1:384-435; Eng. tr. by D. Sullivan in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (Washington, D.C., 1998) 243-351

Metaphrastes—PG 116:35-92

Studies:

AHG III (Nov.) 569-572

BHG 935-37

J.-M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 1065f.

V. Grumel, *Catholicisme* 6 (1967) 896f.

A. Kazhdan, N. P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1005f.

J. Pargoire, “Quel jour S. Joannice est-il mort?,” *EO* 4 (1900/1) 75-80

E. von Dobschütz, “Methodios und die Studiten,” *BZ* 18 (1909) 93-100

Ch. Loparev, “Vizantijskie žitija svjatych...,” *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 70-92

Menthon, *L’Olympe de Bithynie* 59-84

S. Vryonis, “St. Ioannicius the Great (754-846) and the ‘Slavs’ of Bithynia,” *Byzantion* 31 (1960)

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 135f.

O. Lampsidis, "Das Wunder des heiligen Ioannikios in der Kirche des Evangelisten Johannes in Ephesos," *AB* 100 (1982) 429-430

C. Mango, "Two Lives of St. Ioannikios and the Bulgarians," *Okeanos [=HUKSt, 7]* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) 393-404

Irene of Chrysobalanton

Irene, a native of Cappadocia, is said to have come to Constantinople to participate in a bride show for Michael III (842-867). Upon learning that the young emperor had already selected a wife, she took monastic vows at the convent of Chrysobalanton. Here she distinguished herself by her asceticism, and became abbess during the patriarchate of Methodios I (843-847). Irene continued her ascetic regimen, demonstrated prophetic and visionary powers, the gift of tears and levitation, and the ability to exorcise demons. She died on 28 July, supposedly at the advanced age of 97.

The chronological indications of the *vita* are inconsistent, throwing some doubt on her historicity; for example, one would assume that she was a contemporary of or younger than Michael III, who was born ca. 840, and thus would have been a young teenager at the time of the bride show presumed to have taken place in 855, when Michael married Eudokia Dekapolitissa. Yet *en route* to the capital she is said to have met St. Ioannikios who died in 846, and she reportedly was chosen as abbess sometime between 843 and 847. If she is a historical figure, she must have lived approximately 840-940 (or 830-930, according to Rosenqvist).

Rosenqvist has suggested that the anonymous hagiographer was a member of the Gouber family (relatives of Irene who lived in Constantinople), perhaps female and perhaps foundress or abbess of the Chrysobalanton convent, but has no firm proof. If the hagiographer was a woman, she would be a *rara avis* indeed. The chronological problems suggest that the author was unfamiliar with events of the mid-9th century and wrote the *vita* at a considerably later time, as indeed would necessarily follow if Irene lived to be almost 100. A comment in the *vita* that the dynasty of Basil I extended to the fifth generation strongly suggests a date of composition during the reign of Basil II (976-1025).

Editions:

J. O. Rosenqvist, *The Life of St. Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Uppsala, 1986) (with English tr.), rev. M.G., *Irenikon* 60 (1987) 307-8; Bp. Chrysostomos, *GOTHr* 33 (1988) 105-11; J. Darrouzès, *REB* 46 (1988) 242-43; J.-L. van Dieten, *Südostforschungen* 47 (1988) 461-63; P. Cesaretti, *Aevum* 62 (1988) 374-78; M. Cunningham, *Sobornost* 10 (1988) 57-58; C. Mango, *JThS* 40 (1989) 281-82; A.-M. Talbot, *Speculum* 65 (1990) 224-26; M. Bayer, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 38 (1989) 329-30; P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 58 (1988/89) 535-36; C. Crimi, *Orpheus* 11 (1990) 153-59; J. Declerck, *Scriptorium* 44 (1990) 53*-54*;
N. Serikoff, *BS* 52 (1991) 154-57

AASS July 6:600-34

Translation:

(modern Greek) P. Nikolaidou in Tsames, *Meterikon* 2:236-331

Studies:

BHG 952

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1010

Janin, *Eglises CP* 540-41

P. Joannou, *Démonologie populaire, démonologie critique au XIe siècle; la vie inédite de S. Auxence, par M. Psellos* (Wiesbaden 1971) 14-15

C. Mango, "Eudocia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty," *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973) 22 n. 31

- W. T. Treadgold, "The Bride-shows of the Byzantine Emperors," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 404-6
- D. de F. Abrahamse, "Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 13-14
- eadem, "Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine Period: Problems and Prospects," *ByzF* 9 (1985) 47
- E. Kislinger, "Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I. und Michael III.," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 124
- J. O. Rosenqvist, "Legend och historia i Vita Irenes in Chrysobalanto," *Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul. Meddelanden* 9 (1984) 32-48
- L. Rydén, "The Bride-shows at the Byzantine Court - History or Fiction?," *Eranos* 83 (1985) 175-91
- A. Laiou, *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris 1992) 81-82

John of Damascus and Kosmas the Hymnographer

Although John of Damascus was one of the most prominent theologians of the Byzantine era, surprisingly little is known of his biography. He was born in Damascus at the time it was capital of the Umayyad caliphate, ca. 675 according to Kazhdan, or ca. 650, according to J. Hoeck. He belonged to the wealthy and prominent Arab Christian family of Mansur, who served the Umayyad caliph as financial administrators. He became a monk at the Lavra of St. Sabas, and was ordained a priest by patriarch John V of Jerusalem (705-735). He was a prolific writer who defended the veneration of images, writing treatises developing Orthodox icon theory. His other theological works include the *Expositio Fidei*. John died at Mar Saba in 749, according to S. Vailhé (*EO* 9 [1906] 28-30), or ca. 753/4, according to Kazhdan (*ODB* 2:1063).

Even less is known about the biography of Kosmas the Hymnographer, who is linked with John in many hagiographic texts. As Kazhdan and Gero have emphasized, there is virtually no historical evidence to substantiate even the barest outline of Kosmas' life, and all we know for certain is that he was a hymnographer born in Jerusalem (ca. 675, according to Detorakes), and a contemporary of John of Damascus.

The so-called "Jerusalem *vita*" of John and his adoptive brother Kosmas (BHG 884) was written by a certain John, variously identified (e.g. by Flusin) as John VII, patriarch of Jerusalem 951-964 or (e.g. by Detorakes) as John VIII Chrysostomites, patriarch of Jerusalem ca. 1098-1106/7(?). The hagiographer states (489AB) that his Greek version is based on an Arabic original; Detorakes argues that this is the Arabic prototype of 1085 written by Michael, a monk of St. Symeon's monastery, while Flusin believes that the Arabic original is much earlier and now lost. This *vita* describes how the orphaned Kosmas was adopted by Mansur, the father of John of Damascus. The two boys were educated together in both secular and theological subjects by a monk from Italy, also named Kosmas, who had been brought to Damascus as a prisoner of war. John was appointed *protosymboulos* by the caliph about the same time that Leo III launched his persecution of iconodules. Subsequently John and Kosmas, who had become gifted hymnographers, entered monastic life at Mar Saba. Kosmas was later appointed bishop of Maiouma, dying in office (ca. 752, according to Detorakes), while John remained at Mar Saba until his death.

A second *vita* of Kosmas and John (BHG 394) presents a totally fabulous account of the lives of the two men. The chronology of this *vita* is hopelessly confused, making Pope Gregory I (590-604) a contemporary of the Roman emperor Trajan (98-117). It also makes Kosmas a contemporary of emperor Constantine VI (780-792) and patriarch Tarasios (784-806), and places his visit to "Persia" during the reign of Chosroes I (531-578/9) or II (590-628). The *vita* presents Kosmas as a native of Crete and as John's teacher instead of his adoptive brother and fellow student. It also claims that John suffered a martyr's death in Persia, and that Kosmas travelled widely, to Constantinople, Rome, Egypt and Persia. This anonymous *vita* is dated by Detorakes between 959 and 1150.

Editions:

(BHG 394) Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:271-302

(BHG 884) PG 94:429-90

(other Greek versions):

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:303-350

M. Gordillo, "Damascenica, I. Vita Marciana," *OrChr* 8 (1926) 47-81

Th. Detorakes, "Vie inédite de Cosmas le Mélode," *AB* 99 (1981) 101-16

idem, "'Ανέκδοτος βίος Κοσμῶ τοῦ Μαΐουμῶ," *ΕΕΒΣ* 41 (1974) 259-296

(Arabic versions):

Q. Basha, *Biographie de s. Jean Damascène. Texte originale arabe* (Harissa 1912)

G. Graf, "Das arabische Original der Vita des hl. Johannes von Damascus," *Der Katholik* 93 (1913) 164-90, 320-31, rev. P. Peeters, *AB* 33 (1914) 78-81

A.A. Vasiliev, *Arabskaja versija žitija sv. Ioanna Damaskina* (St. Petersburg, 1913)

(Georgian version):

K. Kekelidze, "Gruzinskaja versija arabskogo žitija Ioanna Damaskina," *Christianskij Vostok* III,2 (1914) 119-74

Studies:

BHG 884-885m, 394-395

M. Jugie, *DThC* 8 (1947) 693-751

J.M. Hoeck, *LThK* 5 (1960) 1023-1026

J.-M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 732-739

B. Studer, *DictSp* 8 (1974) 452-66 and *Dizionario Patristico* 2 (1983) 1559-62

B. Kotter, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 7 (1967) 1047-1049

P.Th. Camelot, *Catholicisme* 6 (1964) 451-454

H.M. Biedermann, *LexMA* 5 (1991) 566f

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1063f

M. Jugie, "La vie de s. Jean Damascène," *EO* 23 (1924) 137-61

idem, "Une nouvelle vie et un nouvel écrit de saint Jean Damascène," *EO* 28 (1929) 35-41

B. Hemmerdinger, "La vita arabe de s. Jean Damascène et BHG 884," *OChP* 28 (1962) 22f

Th. Detorakis, *Κοσμῶς ὁ Μελωδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργο* (Thessalonike, 1979), rev. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 39 (1981) 337; M.G., *Irénikon* 54 (1981) 293; E. Brière, *Sobornost* 3 (1981) 236f; Ph. Pattenden,

Journal of Ecclesiastical History 33 (1982) 324f; A. Orbe, *Gregorianum* 63 (1982) 594f; H.

Crouzel, *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 84 (1983) 143f

idem, "La main coupée de Jean Damascène (BHG 885c)," *AB* 104 (1986) 371-381

B. Flusin, "De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien: une vie de saint Jean Damascène," G. Contamine, ed., *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge* (Paris 1989) 51-61.

A. Kazhdan, S. Gero, "Kosmas of Jerusalem: A More Critical Approach to his Biography," *BZ* 82 (1989) 122-132

M.-F. Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe-IXe siècles): Etienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène," *TM* 12 (1994) 183-218

John of Gotthia

According to his *vita* John, son of Photeïne and Leo, was born in the emporion of Parthenitai in the Crimea. His paternal grandfather was a standard-bearer (*bandophoros*) in the Armeniakon theme. He led an ascetic lifestyle from childhood. In 754, at the time of the Council of Hiereia, the bishop of Gotthia was made metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia. John, a staunch iconodule, replaced him on the episcopal throne of Gotthia by demand of the orthodox populace. Before taking up his post, however, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he stayed three years. The Goths sent him to the Iberian *katholikos* in Mc'xet'a for consecration ca. 759.

When Irene and Constantine VI ascended the throne in 780, John sent a declaration of orthodoxy to the new patriarch Paul IV (780-784). He then came to Constantinople at the invitation of Irene and expressed his support for the restoration of icons. In the mid-780s John supported the resistance of the lord of Gothia to Khazar invasion of his land, but was betrayed to the Khazars and arrested. (We know from other sources that another bishop of Gothia, Niketas, was appointed during John's imprisonment at Phoullai; it was Cyril, Niketas' representative, who attended the Council of Nicaea in 787.) John escaped to Amastris where he stayed for four years until the death of the Khazar khagan. He died at Amastris 40 days later on 26 June, in 791 or later. His body was transported to Parthenitai and buried there in the monastery of the Holy Apostles [Peter and Paul].

John performed a number of miracles, including the deliverance of his disciple Longinos from crucifixion at the hands of the Arabs, and the release of other disciples from execution by the Khazars.

His short *vita* must have been written during the second period of iconoclasm (815-842), since it ends with a prayer to John for deliverance from the iconoclast heresy. There is also a synaxarion notice based on this *vita* (*SynaxCP* 772-774).

Editions:

AASS Jun. 7:167-171 (3rd ed.)

A. Nikitskij, "Žitie prep. otca našego Joanna episkopa Gotfii (751-755)," *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 13 (1883) 25-34, with Russ. tr.

F. Halkin, "Le synaxaire grec de Christ Church à Oxford," *AB* 66 (1948) 80-83

Studies:

BHG 891-891b

G.D. Gordini, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 814f

V.G. Vasil'evskij, "Žitie Ioanna Gotskogo," *ŽMNP* 195 (1878) 86-154, repr. in his *Trudy* 2 (St. Petersburg 1909) 351-427

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatykh ...," *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 15

P. Peeters, "Les Khazars dans la Passion de s. Abo de Tiflis," *AB* 52 (1934) 39-43

A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA 1936), 89-96

Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1 (1958) 565f

G.L. Huxley, "On the Vita of St. John of Gothia," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 161-169

Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt. V:4f, 30

John of Kathara

John was born ca. 770 in Eirenopolis (in the Isaurian Dekapolis) to pious parents named Theodore and Gregoria. He entered a monastery (whose name is omitted in the synaxarion notice) at the age of nine, and accompanied his spiritual father to the Council of Nicaea in 787. He then went to Constantinople together with his master who was made archimandrite of the Dalmatos monastery. Ca. 805 he was appointed by the emperor Nikephoros I as *hegoumenos* of the Kathara monastery in Bithynia. In 815, he was persecuted by Leo V for his iconodule beliefs, imprisoned and then exiled to the fortress of Pentadaktylon in the region of Lampe (in Phrygia); he was subsequently moved to the fortress of Kriotauros in the theme of Boukellarioi. Recalled from exile under Michael II (820-829), he was then banished again by Theophilos to the island of Aphousia in the Sea of Marmara where he died on April 27, probably in 835.

He is known primarily from a detailed synaxarion notice preserved in a manuscript of 1301; the notice probably is the summary of a lost *vita*. Although the information is not specifically provided by the synaxarion, Stiernon argues that John took up residence at the Stoudios monastery ca. 800. In any case he corresponded with Theodore of Stoudios (cf. Fatouros, *ep.* 364.7-9)

Edition:
SynaxCP 631-634

Studies:
BHG 2184n
D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 656f.
Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 158-160
da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 241-244
D. Stiernon, "Notice sur s. Jean higoumène de Kathara," *REB* 28 (1970) 111-127

John of Polyboton

John became an iconophile bishop of Polyboton in Phrygia after serving as *skeuophylax* of the Great Church. Upon the accession of the iconoclast emperor Leo V (813-820) he traveled to Constantinople to protest against the imperial policy. He died sometime before 838. The notice on him in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* records two posthumous miracles: 1) The Arabs who plundered his shrine at Polyboton were unable to burn his corpse, and were stricken with various afflictions. The saint healed them after they released Christian captives. 2) His corpse remained uncorrupted, and was venerated in a curious fashion. At Pentecost they clothed his relics in episcopal vestments and stood the body upright against the altar during the service.

No full *vita* of John is preserved.

Edition:
SynaxCP 279f., with a parallel text col. 277.48-280.51

Studies:
D. Stiernon, *Catholicisme* 6 (1964) 432
G. Lucchesi, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 909f.

John the Eremopolites

John "the desert-dweller" is known only from a fragment of his *vita* preserved in a 14th-c. manuscript (Paris. gr. 1092). He was a hermit living in the Judean Desert, near the lavra of St. Sabas, whose hegoumenos Nikodemos is mentioned in the text. Since it seems likely that this is the same abbot Nikodemos who was a contemporary of John of Damascus (see *vita* of John of Damascus and Kosmas the Hymnographer by John Merkouropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:328.2), John Eremopolites must have also lived in the 8th c. The short text preserves an anecdote that reveals John's tolerance of the Arabs; he reproached a fellow hermit who called the Arabs "the worst <of men>". John was commemorated on 3 April.

Halkin suggests that he should perhaps be identified with John Palaiolaurites, i.e., of the Old Laura founded by Chariton in the same region, even though they have different feast days.

There is no indication of the date of composition of John's *vita*.

Edition:
F. Halkin, "Saint Jean l'Erémopolite," *AB* 86 (1968) 13-20, repr. in his *Saints moines d'Orient* (London, 1973), pt. V.

Studies:
BHG 2187h

John the Psichaites

The iconodule monk John (d. probably ca. 825) is known only from his *vita*. The patriarch Tarasios (784-806) ordained him deacon; later he became *oikonomos* and then *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Psicha in Constantinople. He was persecuted and banished to Cherson by Leo V (813-820), but was eventually recalled and died in his monastery.

The anonymous hagiographer, probably a monk of the Psicha monastery, does not claim personal acquaintance with the saint; nevertheless some scholars (H. G. Beck, O. Volk) considered the *vita* as a contemporary (9th-c.) work. The only basis for this argument is that Ehrhard ascribed a manuscript containing the *vita* (Monac. gr. 366) to the late 9th c. The editor of the *vita*, van den Ven, is more cautious, however, characterizing the handwriting as of the 10th c., although he does not exclude the second half of the 9th c.

Edition:

P. van den Ven, "La vie grecque de s. Jean le Psichaite," *Muséon* 21 (n.s. 3) (1902) 103-25

Studies:

AHG IX (Maii) 424-426

BHG 896

Beck, *Kirche* 512

O. Volk, *LThK* 5 (1960) 1072f.

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 872f.

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 242f.

E. von Dobschütz, "Die Vita des Johannes Psichaites," *BZ* 18 (1909) 714-16

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatykh...," *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 7-14

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP...," *Byzantion* 24 (1954/5) 256-63

Joseph the Hymnographer

Joseph was born in Sicily, sometime in the second decade of the 9th c. (in 816, according to van de Vorst, between 810 and 818, according to Stiernon), and then, as a result of Arab attacks on the island, fled with his family to the Peloponnesos. At age 15 he left his family and went to Thessalonike to become a monk. After his ordination as priest he moved to Constantinople where he lived at the church of St. Antipas, near St. Mokios. Late in the reign of Theophilos (829-842) he was sent to Rome as an emissary, but was captured en route by Arabs and taken to Crete. After his ransom and return to Constantinople, he built the monastery of St. Bartholomew which he served as superior. As a supporter of patriarch Ignatios (847-858, 867-877), he was exiled to Cherson upon the accession to the patriarchate of Photios (858-867); when he returned to the capital, he was appointed *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia by the emperor Basil I (867-886). He died in Constantinople on April 3, probably in 886, and reportedly at the ripe old Biblical age of 70. The chronology of his life has been much discussed; Stiernon especially has questioned the chronology established by van de Vorst and followed in large part by Tomadakes.

Joseph (who was sometimes confused with Joseph of Thessalonike, brother of Theodore of Stoudios) is well known as a prolific hymnographer; some of his hymns were dedicated to his contemporaries such as his spiritual father Gregory of Dekapolis, Peter of Athos and Theodora of Thessalonike. There is some question, however, about the authorship of this last hymn since Theodora died in 892, after the traditional date of Joseph's death in 886.

The earliest *vita* of Joseph was written by Theophanes the monk, who succeeded Joseph as superior of the St. Bartholomew monastery. Papadopoulos-Kerameus proposed a date of composition

of ca. 900, while Stiernon argues it could be early 10th c., but suggests no precise date. Joseph's second biographer, John the Deacon, wrote a *vita* whose information is inferior to that of Theophanes; da Costa-Louillet argued that John wrote ca. 20 years after Theophanes, while V. Grumel dated John's composition to the second half of the 11th c. ("La mosaïque du Dieu Sauveur au monastère de Latome à Thessalonique," *EO* 29 [1930] 168). In the 14th c. Theodore Pediasimos compiled an *enkomion* of Joseph.

Editions:

vita by Theophanes—A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik grečeskich i latinskich pamjatnikov, kasajuščichsja Fotija patriarcha [=Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia]*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1901), text at pp. 1-14; rev. P. N. P[apageorgiou], *BZ* 12 (1903) 223; H. D[elehaye], *AB* 22 (1903) 98f.

vita by John the Deacon—PG 105:939-975

enkomion by Pediasimos—M. Treu, *Theodori Pediasimi eiusque amicorum quae extant* (Potsdam, 1899) 1-14

SynaxCP 581-584

Studies:

AHG VIII (Apr.) 390-391

BHG 944-947b

E. Lengeling, *LThK* 5 (1960) 1126

H. Hunger, *LexMA* 5 (1991) 633f.

D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 1349-54

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 6 (1965) 1304f.

Beck, *Kirche* 601f.

A. Kazhdan, D. Conomos, N. P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1074

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyč...,," *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 1-6

Ch. van de Vorst, "Note sur s. Joseph l'Hymnographe," *AB* 38 (1920) 148-54

B. Laourdas, "Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος εἰς Κρήτην," *KretChron* 6 (1952) 155f.

M. E. Colonna, "Biographie di Giuseppe Innografo," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e filosofia della Università di Napoli* 3 (1953) 105-112

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP;" 812-23

E. I. Tomadakes, Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον (Athens, 1971), rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 90 (1972) 450f.

D. Stiernon, "La vie et l'oeuvre de s. Joseph l'Hymnographe. A propos d'une publication récente," *REB* 31 (1973) 243-66

A. Kazhdan, "Joseph the Hymnographer and the First Russian Attack on Constantinople," *From Byzantium to Iran: In Honour of Nina Garsoïan* (Atlanta, 1996) 187-196

Kallinikos, Patriarch of Constantinople

Kallinikos is a known historical figure who began his career as a priest and skeuophylax of the church of Blachernai. He served as patriarch of Constantinople from 693-705 (according to van Dieten and *DHGE*) or from 694 to 706 (according to Grumel, *Chronologie*). His notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* emphasizes the patriarch's refusal to give his blessing to Justinian II's destruction of the church of the Theotokos ton Metropolitou (in the imperial palace). The synaxarial account denies, however, that Kallinikos was involved in the conspiracy against the emperor that led to Justinian's mutilation and exile. After Justinian's return to Constantinople in 705 he took revenge and exiled Kallinikos to Rome. There he was immured alive, upon imperial orders; when the plaster was removed after 40 days he was still alive, but died 4 days later. He was buried in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul

in Rome. His synaxis was celebrated in Hagia Sophia on 23 August.

The career of Kallinikos was also described by chroniclers such as Theophanes and Nikephoros, and in various menologia.

Editions:

SynaxCP 917-920

Latyšev, *Menol.* 2:339-341; the same text is in AASS Aug. 4:645f

Studies:

BHG 288-289

J. Gouillard, *DHGE* 11 (1949) 415

A.W. Ziegler, *LThK* 5 (1960) 1262

M.V. Brandi, *BiblSanct* 3 (1963) 673-675

C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, Wisc., 1972), 53, 93f, 118f

J.L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI (610-715)* (Amsterdam 1972) 156-160

Janin, *Eglises CP* 197

Kliment of Ohrid

There is little firm information on the first part of the life of Kliment, one of the organizers of the Bulgarian Orthodox church and a prolific writer and translator in Old Church Slavonic. Born in southern Bulgaria at an unknown date (perhaps ca. 840), Kliment became a disciple of the missionaries Cyril and Methodios "in his tender youth," and accompanied them on their visit to Moravia between 863 and 867. He evidently spoke both Greek and Slavonic and may well have been involved in the two brothers' development of the Glagolitic alphabet and their early translations of Greek liturgical texts into Slavonic. He probably also joined their retinue when they visited Rome in 867/8-869, and was there ordained priest.

After Cyril's death in Rome in 869, Kliment evidently accompanied Methodios to Pannonia but virtually nothing is known of his activity until Methodios' death in 885. Kliment and other Cyrillo-Methodian disciples were expelled from Moravia in 885 and made their way to Bulgaria where they were welcomed by the Bulgarian khan Boris. Ca. 886 Boris sent Kliment as *didaskalos* to the territory of Koutmitsinitza, an area between the Adriatic Sea and Lake Ohrid. Seven years later Kliment was consecrated bishop of "Dragvista or Velitsa," sees of uncertain location, probably in the Rhodope region. He also founded a monastery in Ohrid, dedicated to St. Panteleimon, which became a center of training of native clergy. He died there on 27 July 916.

Two Greek *vitae* of Kliment survive, a long Life written most probably by Theophylakt of Ohrid (d. after 1126) sometime after he became archbishop of that see (1088/9), and a short Life attributed to another archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrios Chomatenos (fl. first half of 13th c.). The long *vita* is preserved in many manuscripts, the earliest of which is Vat. gr. 1409 of the 13th c. Some historians have sought to show that the long *vita* was written in Greek by a contemporary of Kliment, or composed originally in Old Church Slavonic and then translated into Greek. It seems more likely that Theophylakt was the author, writing at a remove of two centuries, since there is so little data about Kliment himself, and the miracles he worked and his posthumous miracles are described in vague terms, without any indication of the names of the individuals cured. A compromise solution (e.g., by Obolensky) suggests that the long *vita* is a work of Theophylakt, based on a lost early biography in Old Church Slavonic by one of Kliment's disciples.

Editions:

A. Milev, *Grŭckite Źitija na Kliment Ochridski* (Sofia 1966) with Bulg. tr.

vita by Theophylakt - N.L. Tunickij, *Monumenta ad SS Cyrilli et Methodii successorum vitas resque*

gestas pertinentia (Sergiev Posad, 1918), with Russian tr.; repr. with an intro. by I. Dujčev (London, 1972)
vita by Chomatenos - I. Dujčev, *Proučvanija vŕrchu srednovjekovnata bŭlgarska istorija i kultura* (Sofia 1981) 164-73, with Slavonic tr. M. Georgievski, R. Iljovski, "Novotkrien rakopis od početokot na XVIII vek so Kratkoto žitije na Kliment Ohridski," *Glasnik Institut za nacionalna istorija* 18/2 (Skopje 1974) 237-49

Translation:

(English tr. of *vitae* by Theophylakt and Chomatenos) - S. Nikolov in I. Dujčev, ed., *Kiril and Methodius, Founders of Slavonic Writing* (Boulder, Colo.- New York, N.Y., 1985) 93-130

Studies:

BHG 355-356b

N. Tunickij, *Pravoslavnaja bogoslovskaja enciklopedija* 11 (St. Petersburg 1910) 140-55

A. Palmieri, *DTC* 3 (1938) 134-37

M. Jugie, *Catholicisme* 2 (1949) 1200-1

V. Štefanić, *DHGE* 12 (1952) 1086-87

M. Lacko, *LThK* 6 (1961) 333

G. Eldarov, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 29-35

Ch. Hannick, *LexMA* 2 (1983) 2146-48

R. Browning, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1133-34

N.L. Tunickij, *Sv. Kliment, episkop Slovenski* (Sergiev Posad 1913)

A. Teodorov-Balan, *Sv. Kliment Ochridski v kniževnija pomen i v nau noto direne* (Sofia 1919)

M. Jugie, "L'auteur de la vie de saint Clément de Bulgarie," *EO* 23 (1924) 5-8

A. Milev, "Za avtorstvo na Prostrannoto Klimentovo žitie," *Izvestija na Instituta za bŭlgarskata literatura* 5 (1957) 405-34

E. Georgiev, *Razcvetŭt na bŭlgarskata literatura prez IX-X vek* (Sofia 1962) 87-155

I. Snegarov, "Les sources sur la vie et l'activité de Clément d'Ochrida," *Byzantino-bulgarica* 1 (1962) 79-119

P. Gautier, "Clément d'Ohrid, évêque de Dragvista," *REB* 22 (1964) 199-214

I. Dujčev, "Kliment Ochridski i negovoto delo v naučnata knižnina," in *Kliment Ochridski 916-1966. Sbornik ot statii po slučaj 1050 godini ot smŕrtta mu* (Sofia 1966) 416-24

V. Vangeli, "Prilog kon bibliografijata za Kliment Ohridski," *Istorija* 3,1 (Skopje 1967) 187-97

P.S. Koledarov, "Kliment Ochridski 'Pŕvi episkop na bŭlgarski ezik' na Draagovitite v Solunsko i na Velikija v Zapadnite Rodopi," in *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Jubileen sbornik* (Sofia 1969) 141-67

Kliment. Sŭbrani sŭčinenija, 3 vols. (Sofia 1971-77)

G. Popov, "Novootkriti chimnografski proizvedenija na Kliment Ochridski i Konstantin Preslavski," *Bŭlgarski ezik* 32 (1982) 3-26

W. Baumann, *Die Faszination des Heiligen bei Kliment Ochridski* (Munich 1983)

D. Obolensky, "Theophylaktos of Ohrid and the Authorship of the Vita Clementis," *Byzantion. Aphieroma ston Andrea N. Strato* 2 (Athens 1986) 601-18

I.G. Iliev, "Beležki vŕrchu biografijata na Kliment Ochridski," *Istoričeski pregled* 40.1 (1984) 97-105

idem, "La mission de Clément d'Ohrid dans les terres sudouest de la Bulgarie médiévale," *Etudes historiques [Bŭlgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia. Institut za istorija]* 13 (1985) 53-72

idem, "The Manuscript Tradition and the Authorship of the Long Life of St. Clement of Ohrid," *BS* 53 (1992) 68-73

K. Nichoritis, "Kŭm vŭprosa za avtorstvo na Prostrannoto žitie na sv. Klimenta Ochridski," *Duchovna kultura* 68.2 (1988) 13-19

K.S. Stančev, G.A. Popov, *Kliment Ochridski* (Sofia 1988)

D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 8-33

S. Kissas, "The Monastery of St. Demetrius of Cephalonia in Thessaloniki: Reflections on the Origin of St. Clement of Achris," *Cyrrillomethodianum* 13-14 (1989/90) 19-30

- I. Peneva, "Otnovo za identifičirovaneto na Velika, episkopskata katedra na Kliment Ohridski v 983 g.," *Istoričeski pregled* 16.11-12 (1990) 30-37
- V. Peri, "Velika (Dragvišta) e il primo vescovo della chiesa bulgara," *BollBadGr* 46 (1992) 159-87
- P. Devos, "'Lumière et lumière' dans trois vies de saints," *AB* 111 (1993) 255-56
- idem, "L'auteur de la vie de S. Clément d'Ochrida," *AB* 112 (1994) 32
-

Kosmas the Monk

The vision of Kosmas is included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* under the date of 5 October (in a 14th-c. manuscript, Paris gr. 1582), even though, strictly speaking, he is not commemorated as a saint. A slightly longer version is preserved in a manuscript of 992 (Venice, Marc. gr. 346).

Kosmas, a former chamberlain of the emperor Alexander (912-913) became a monk and abbot at the imperial monastery of the Theotokos tou Eusebiou on the Sangarios River in the theme of the Optimatoi. Ca. 933 he fell sick and had a vision (ὄπτασίᾱ) of the heavenly world: a beautiful valley ("Abraham's bosom") full of trees where people from the palace and inhabitants of "the City" (Constantinople), men from the fields and monks from his monastery dwelled in tents. Then he saw a wonderful palace whose architecture was reminiscent of earthly palaces; there were eunuchs and guests - both laymen and monks. Kosmas returned to earth just in time to resolve a conflict between his monastery and a neighboring institution.

Editions:

SynaxCP 107-14

Ch. Angelidi, "La version longue de la vision du moine Cosmas," *AB* 101 (1983) 73-99, with French tr.

Studies:

BHG 2084-2086

C. Mango, *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 151-53, with English tr. of the shorter version

Lazaros the Painter

Born in Armenia ca. 800, allegedly of Khazar origins (cf. *Liber Pontificalis* 147), Lazaros became a monk at a young age, and was subsequently ordained priest. Because of his refusal to stop painting during the second period of iconoclasm, he was severely tortured and his hands burned with hot irons. He was released from prison when near death through the intercession of the empress Theodora, and hid at the monastery of the Prodomos tou Phoherou where he painted an icon of John the Baptist. After the death of Theophilus he is said to have restored (? ἀνεστήλωσε) with his own hands the image of Christ above the Chalke Gate (*TheophCont* 103). He was sent on two missions to Rome, dying in the course of the second one, sometime in the late 860s. He was buried in the monastery ton Euandrou across the Golden Horn in Galata, and his feastday is celebrated on 17 November.

Most of our information on Lazaros comes from *Theophanes Continuatus* (102-104) and a brief notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Edition:

SynaxCP 231-234

Studies:

no BHG no.

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 7:1152-1153

A. Cutler, A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2:1197-1198

J. Raasted, "A Byzantine Letter in Sankt Gallen and Lazarus the Painter," *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 37 (1981) 124-138

Leo of Catania

Leo, bishop of Catania in Sicily, is known only from hagiographical sources: brief entries in menologia and synaxaria; two full-fledged anonymous *vitae*, a shorter version edited by A. Acconcia Longo and a longer one edited by A. Vasiliev; a version in political verses, produced by an anonymous author and preserved in a manuscript of 1307. The chronology of Leo's life is uncertain, since the longer version of this *vita* places him in the reign of Constantine IV and Justinian II (681-685), the shorter version in the reign of "Leo and Constantine," probably Leo IV and Constantine VI (775-780). Indeed there is no proof that he was a historical figure.

The *vita* tells us virtually nothing about Leo except that he was born in Ravenna. The focus of the *Life* is actually on the "anti-hero" Heliodoros, a magician, whose sorcery caused many problems for Leo and the citizens of Catania. He also made fools of imperial officials from Constantinople who arrested him but were unable to prevent his magical escapes. Finally Leo caught Heliodoros with his *omophorion*; when Leo stepped with him into a fire, the sorcerer burned to a cinder while the bishop remained unharmed.

Neither version of the *vita* can be dated with any precision. M.-F. Auzépy has proposed a date of 730-843 for the shorter version, while its editor, Longo, places it in the first third of the 9th c. The earliest manuscript to preserve this text is of the 10th or 11th c. The longer recension has been variously dated in the 8th and 9th c. All that can be said for sure is that one version must have existed by the 10th c. when a notice for Leo was included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Editions:

(long version - entered in database): V. Latyšev, *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* [also found under *Hagiographica graeca inedita*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St. Petersburg VIIIe série, XII.2] (St. Petersburg, 1914), 12-18, 150f; rev. K.

K[rumbacher], *BZ* 23 (1920) 424

(short version) A. Acconcia Longo, "La vita di s. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro," *RSBN* 26 (1989) 3-98

AASS Febr. 3:227-29

Latyšev, *Menol.* 1:111-18

D. Raffin, "La vita metrica anonima su Leone di Catania," *BollBadGr* 16 (1962) 37-48

(Latin tr. of short version) - Caetanus, *Vitae sanctorum Siculorum* 2 (Palermo 1667) 9-22

Studies:

BHG 981-981e

BHL 4838-39

A. Amore, *BiblSanct* 7 (1966) 1223-26

D. Stiernon, *Catholicisme* 7 (1975) 307-9

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1214

G. D. Lancia di Brolo, *Storia della Chiesa di Sicilia* 2 (Palermo 1884) 128-35

Ch. Loparev, "Viz. žitija ...," *VizVrem* 19 (1912/15) 122-26

G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile ...," *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959/60) 89-95

E. Tomadakes in G. Schirò, ed., *Analecta hymnica graeca* 6 (Rome 1974) 467f

A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9.2 (1988) 205-8

- M.-F. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes," *BS* 53 (1992) 57, 62-67
 eadem, "A propos des vies de saints iconoclastes," *RSBN* 30 (1993) 3-5
 A. Acconcia Longo, "A proposito di un articolo recente sull'agiografia iconoclasta," *RSBN* 29 (1992) 3-17, esp. 11-17
 eadem, "Di nuovo sull'agiografia iconoclasta," *RSBN* 30 (1993) 7-15
-

Loukas the Stylite

Loukas was born (in 879?) to "noble" parents in the theme of Anatolikon, according to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* in the village of Attikom[e] (*SynaxCP* 299.31-32). He embarked upon a military career, but was ordained a priest after a Byzantine defeat at the hands of the Bulgarians. He remained in the army for several more years, but eventually retired to the monastery of St. Zacharias on Mt. Olympos. He then moved to Constantinople, and spent more than forty years standing on the pillar of Eutropios in Chalcedon. He died on 11 December, probably in the year 979. Since his death supposedly occurred at the age of 100, the date of his birth is traditionally given as 879. But this may well be a hagiographical *topos*, and Kazhdan (*BZ* 78 [1985] 53) has proposed an alternative birthdate of ca. 900, since Loukas was about 30 during the "great famine" (of 927/8?).

His anonymous *vita*, preserved in an 11th-century manuscript (Paris gr. 1458), was written by a man who claims that Loukas was his spiritual father for 27 years. The hagiographer writes in great detail and seems to be well informed on prosopography and on the topography of Constantinople. Da Costa-Louillet uses an *argumentum ex silentio* to hypothesize that the *vita* must have been written between 980 and 985, since the collapse of the column of Eutropios in the earthquake of 986 is not mentioned in the text.

Editions:

- H. Delehayé, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923, repr. 1962), LXXXVI-CV, 195-237; rev. A. Ehrhard, *BZ* 25 (1925) 379-82; F. Halkin, *AB* 81 (1963) 285-86; emend. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 15 (1908/10) 437-39; N. Festa, *Bessarione* an. 15, vol. 8 (1910/11) 136-39
 A. Vogt, "Vie de s. Luc le Stylite," *AB* 28 (1909) 5-56
 S. Vanderstuyf, "Vie de saint Luc le Stylite (879-979)," *Patrologia orientalis* 11 (1914) 147-299, with French tr.

Translation:

- (modern Greek) A. Kottadakes, Βίος τῶν ὁσίων Ἀλυπίου καὶ Λουκᾶ στυλιτῶν (Athens, 1975) 53-142

Studies:

- BHG* 2239
 O. Volk, *LThK* 6 (1961) 1207
 R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 8 (1967) 225-26
 A. Kazhdan, N.P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1253-54
 Beck, *Kirche* 576
 S. Vanderstuyf, "Etude sur saint Luc le Stylite (879-979)," *EO* 12 (1909) 138-44, 215-21, 271-81; 13 (1910) 13-19, 140-48, 224-32
 Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija..." *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 144
 da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-57) 839-52
 Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie*, 121-25
 P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway, Ireland, 1979) 146-48

- T.S. Miller, "Byzantine Hospitals," *DOP* 38 (1984) 59 and n. 54
A. Georgiou-Ioannidou, "Πληροφορίες ἀγιολογικῶν κειμένων γύρω ἀπὸ στρατιωτικὰ ζητήματα," in Ἡκαθημερινή ζωή στὸ Βυζάντιο, ed. Ch. Maltezos (Athens, 1989), 531-45
G. Dagron, "Poissons, pêcheurs et poissonniers de Constantinople," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango, G. Dagron (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1995), 61-64
Malamut, *Route des saints* 260-62
-

Loukas the Younger of Steiris

Loukas was born in 896 (according to Jenkins) in Aigina to a family of peasants (probably shepherds) who fled to Phokis under the pressure of Arab raids. The young Loukas worked as a shepherd and farmer until the death of his father; he then ran away to Athens where he took the monastic habit. Loukas changed his place of residence frequently, moving to several locations in the Peloponnesos, Boeotia and Phokis because of the threat of Bulgarian and Hungarian attacks. He finally settled near Steiris where he remained until his death in 953. The monastery of Hosios Loukas was established at the site of his tomb, which produced numerous healing miracles. His feast day is celebrated on 7 February.

The anonymous *vita* was composed after 961, probably during the reign of Basil II (976-1025). The author claims to have obtained his information from Kale, Loukas's sister, and from disciples of the holy man who were still alive at the time of his writing. An entry on Loukas, called "Loukas of Hellas," is included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Editions:

- D.Z. Sophianos, "Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς. Ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτου (Athens, 1989), with modern Greek translation; rev. P.B. Paschos, *Theologia* 60 (1989) 526-27; U. Zanetti, *AB* 108 (1990) 451-52
PG 111:441-80
E. Martini, "Supplementum ad Acta s. Lucae iunioris," *AB* 13 (1894) 81-121
G.P. Kremos, *Φωκικά* (Athens, 1874); rp. in Connor and Connor (see below)
Excerpts: F. Tŭpkova-Zaimova in *FGHBulg* 5 (Sofia 1964) 231-34

Translations:

- (English) C.L. and W.R. Connor, *The Life and Miracles of St. Luke* (Brookline, Mass., 1994)
(modern Greek) Ch. Zonas, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερική θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Λουκᾶ τοῦ Νέου* (Athens, 1935, 2nd ed. 1965)

Studies:

- BHG* 994-994b
O. Volk, *LThK* 6 (1961) 1207
R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 8 (1966) 222f
A. Kazhdan, N.P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1254
Beck, *Kirche* 575f
Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:568f
Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija..." *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 69f
Ch. Diehl, *Choses et gens de Byzance* (Paris, 1926) 1-21
N.A. Bees, "Αἱ ἐπιδρομαὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων ὑπὸ τὸν τζάρον Συμεὼν καὶ τὰ σχετικὰ σχόλια τοῦ Ἀρέθα Καισαρείας," *Hellenika* 1 (1928) 339-49
S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge 1929) 73-74
Ch. Papadopoulos, "'Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς ὁ Νέος,'" *Theologia* 13 (1935) 193-223
idem, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ βίου ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Α΄. Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς ὁ Νέος* (Athens, 1935)

- R. Jenkins, "The Date of the Slav Revolt in Peloponnese under Romanus I," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend* (Princeton, N.J., 1955), 209-10; repr. in his *Studies*, pt. XX
- F. Halkin, "S. Luc le Stiriote (+953) et non s. Pancrace," *AB* 86 (1968) 85
- da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce," 330-43
- Eu. Dalkas, 'Ο ὅσιος Λουκᾶς καὶ τὸ μοναστήρι του (Athens, 1987, 1st ed. 1969)
- D. Pallas, "Zur Topographie und Chronologie von Hosios Lukas: eine kritische Übersicht," *BZ* 78 (1985) 94-107
- Ch. Basilopoulos, 'Ο ὅσιος Λουκᾶς Λεβαδείας (Athens, 1988)
- Malamut, *Route des saints* 33-36
- C. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium. The Crypt of Hosios Loukas and its Frescoes* (Princeton, N.J., 1991)
- eadem, "Hosios Loukas as a Victory Church," *GRBS* 33 (1992) 293-308
- N. Oikonomides, "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas," *DOP* 46 (1992) 245-55
- D.Z. Sophianos, "Ἡ μονὴ τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ: ἔλεγχος καὶ κριτικὴ τῆς ἀξιολογίας καὶ ἐρμηνείας τῶν πηγῶν," *Μεσαίωνικὰ καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά* 4 (1992) 23-80
- Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 37-38

Makarios of Pelekete

The iconodule monk Makarios (baptismal name Christopher) was born in Constantinople of "not ignoble" parents. His biographer later recounts that the emperor Leo IV (775-780) promised to raise Makarios "from obscurity" to a respectable position in the palace (p.154.12), if he joined the ranks of the iconoclasts. Toward the end of the 8th c. Makarios served the Bithynian monastery of Pelekete variously as scribe, *oikonomos* and *hegoumenos*. With the second outbreak of iconoclasm under Leo V (813-820), Makarios was forced to leave Pelekete and subsequently suffered imprisonment and exile. He remained a staunch iconodule; Theodore of Stoudios wrote several letters to him between 816 and 818 (*epp.* 159, 230, 294, 362, 371, ed. Fatouros). He died ca. 840.

Makarios' biographer, Sabas, asserts that he witnessed the deeds of the saint (p. 163.17-19), but the *vita* is meager in biographical data. It is unclear whether Sabas is to be identified with other hagiographers of 9th-c. saints named Sabas (e.g., the biographer of Ioannikios and Peter of Atroa). The *vita* is preserved in a manuscript of the 11th c.

Edition:

- I. van den Gheyn, "S. Macarii monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni acta graeca," *AB* 16 (1897) 142-63

Studies:

BHG 1003

- R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 8 (1966) 429f.

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 170-72

- A. M. Talbot, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1620, s.v. "Pelekete Monastery"

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych...", *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 137-144

Ch. van de Vorst, "Note sur s. Macaire de Pélécète," *AB* 32 (1913) 270-73

Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 39-44

- I. Ševčenko-C. Mango, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973) 242-247

AHG XII (Aug.) 483-493

- I. D. Polemis, "Ὁ Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Νίκωνος τοῦ Ἰορδανίτου καὶ οἱ πηγές του," *Parnassos* 34 (1992) 232-241.

Martyrs from Thrace

Two brief notices in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the *Menologion of Basil II* (under 22 January) describe the martyrdom of ca. 380 Christians following the capture of Adrianople by the Bulgarian khan Krum in 813. Krum's successor Ditzveg killed Manuel, archbishop of Adrianople, in January 815 (according to Treadgold). Later that year Ditzveg's successor Omurtag martyred 380 other Christians, including George, archbishop of Develtos, Leo, bishop of Thracian Nicaea, and two *strategoï* named Leo and John.

The two notices were probably based on a lengthier text, now lost; Delehaye thought it was composed no later than the 10th c.

Tomadakes hypothesizes that the martyrdom of 14 Christians in Bulgaria (commemorated 29 February) represents a second phase of the same episode; he has published a canon on these 14 neo-martyrs and identifies the author of the canon as Theodore of Stoudios. Theodore included the story of the 14 martyrs in his *Little Catechesis* (no. 63).

Editions:

SynaxCP 414-16

PG 117:276D-277A

V. Beševliev, "Eine nicht genügend anerkannte hagiographische Quelle," *Polychronion* (Heidelberg, 1966) 90-104

Little Catechesis of Theodore of Stoudios: E. Auvray, *Theodori parva catechesis* (Paris, 1891) 220-24; repr. in *FGHBulg* 4 (1961) 29f. with Bulg. tr.

Kanon: E. I. Tomadakes, "Ἡ ἀκολουθία τῶν ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ ἸΔ' νεομαρτύρων (814-815 μ. .) καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Στουδίτης," *Athena* 72 (1971) 333-51

FGHBulg 5:287-288

Studies:

BHG 2264

G. Eldarov, *BiblSanct* 8 (1966) 636f.

A. Ja. Jacimirskij, "Napisanie o izbiennykh bulgarech christian v svjatye posty," *IzvORJaS* 7 (1902) 125-27

Zlatarski, *Ist.* I,1:291-94

I. Dujčev, "San Teodoro Studita ed i Bulgari," *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico Italiano* 73 (1962) 71-83, repr. in his *Medioevo I* (Rome, 1965) 193-205

E. Follieri and I. Dujčev, "Un acolutia inedita per i martiri di Bulgaria dell'anno 813," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 71-106

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 200-207, 214f.

Martyrs in Bulgaria (811 AD)

A brief synaxarion notice under July 26 describes the execution of a group of Byzantine soldiers captured by the Bulgarians after their victory over Nikephoros I in 811. The soldiers refused to abjure Christianity and were martyred in various ways. These victims of the Bulgarians are one of the latest examples of "collective martyrdom" in Byzantine hagiography. Wortley argues that these martyrs are legendary.

The synaxarion notice may represent an abridged version of the fragment of an anonymous chronicle titled the "Chronicle of 811" by Dujčev; Grégoire hypothesizes that it forms part of the work of the anonymous 9th-c. author "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio."

Edition:

SynaxCP 837-838, 846-848

Studies:

- H. Grégoire, "Un nouveau fragment du 'Scriptor incertus' de Leone Armenio," *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 417-427
- I. Dujčev, "Le Chronique byzantin de l'an 811," *TM* 1 (1965) 205-254, esp. 252-254
- J. Wortley, "Legends of the Byzantine Disaster of 811," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 542-550
- Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 168-174
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Mary the Younger of Bizye

Mary, a rare example of a married laywoman saint, was born in Constantinople ca. 875 to a family of Armenian origin. She married a military officer named Nikephoros and moved with him to a small town in eastern Thrace and later to Nikephoros' new post in Bizye. She bore four children, two of whom died in infancy. She was extremely pious, assiduous in her personal devotions, and maintained an ascetic regimen at home. She was also noted for her almsgiving. Her husband's family criticized her for squandering the household property and accused her of adultery with a slave. Nikephoros confined her to her bedroom, and abjured conjugal relations with her. Ca. 903, infuriated by a false report, he beat Mary mercilessly; she fell while attempting to escape and suffered a fatal head injury.

Mary was buried in Bizye's cathedral church of Hagia Sophia where her body began to work posthumous miracles. Nikephoros then arranged for the translation of her remains to a private chapel. In 928, at the end of the Bulgarian-Byzantine war, her relics were transferred once again to a marble tomb, and her sons founded a monastery at her church.

The *vita*, by an anonymous author, is preserved in two manuscripts of the 14th-15th centuries. Its date of composition has been disputed, with some scholars (e.g., Beck, *Kirche*, 565) arguing for the 10th century, while others (Peeters, Kazhdan, Laiou) strongly prefer the 11th century, after 1025, the year of the death of Basil II, who is mentioned in ch. 2 of the *vita*.

Edition:

AASS, Nov. 4:692-705, rev. F. Dvornik, *BS* 1 (1929) 39-43

Translations:

(English) A. Laiou in Talbot, *Holy Women*, 239-289

(modern Greek) I. Nikolaidis in Tsames, *Meterikon* 5:330-405

Studies:

- BHG* 1164
- A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1310-11
- M. I. Gedeon, "Μαρία ἡ Νέα," in 'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, Suppl. to vol. 24-26 (1896), 86-93
- G. Balasčev, "Novye dannye dlja istorii greko-bolgarskich vojn pri Simeone," *IRAİK* 4 (1899) 189-220
- Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija..." *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 120-22
- P. Peeters, "Une sainte arménienne oubliée: Sainte Marie la Jeune (+902-903)," *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales* 1 (Brussels, 1951), 129-35
- C. Mango, "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 9-13
- R. M. Bartikjan, "Razmyšlenija o žitii sv. Marii Novoj," *Moyen Age Bulgare: Recueil Ivan Dujčev* (Sofia 1980) 62-64
- Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 621f
- S. Kissas, " 'Ο βίος τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς Νέας ὡς πηγὴ γιὰ τὴν ἀρχαιολογία καὶ ἱστορία τῆς τέχνης," *ByzF* 14 (1989) 253-64

Methodios I

Methodios, patriarch of Constantinople (843-847), was born to a rich family in Syracuse (after 787, according to Gouillard), but spent his life in Constantinople and vicinity where he defended the iconophile position. He took the monastic habit at the Bithynian monastery of Chenolakkos. Methodios went to Rome after 815, probably as the envoy of the deposed patriarch Nikephoros; upon his return in 821 he was exiled to the island of St. Andrew and harshly punished; he was recalled by the emperor Theophilos (829-842) who treated him favorably. After the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 and his election to the patriarchal throne, Methodios faced two major problems: appeasement of the former iconoclasts and placation of the radical iconodules (Stoudites) who urged him to impose severe punishment on the "heretics".

Methodios was a well-educated man, an accomplished calligrapher and prolific writer. His works include the *vitae* of Theophanes the Confessor and Euthymios of Sardis. The latter work contains numerous autobiographical details (J. Gouillard, *TM* 10 [1987] 11-16). His authorship of a *vita* of St. Nicholas of Myra remains questionable.

His anonymous *vita* is poor in information, and tendentious as well, omitting completely the patriarch's conflict with the Stoudites. It claims to be the first account of Methodios' life, but contains no indication that the hagiographer had any personal acquaintance with the hero and was probably written at some remove from 847, the date of Methodios' death. The earliest manuscript in which the *vita* is preserved is the 10th-c. Vat. gr. 1667. Its relation with a lost *vita* by Gregory Asbestas (cf. J. Gouillard, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 374-80) is unclear.

Edition:

PG 100:1243-62

Studies:

AHG X (Iun.) 339-344

BHG 1278

V. Grumel, *LThK* 7 (1962) 368f.

G. Makris, *LexMA* 6 (1992) 580f.

Beck, *Kirche* 496-498

V. Laurent, *DTC* 10.2 (1929) 1597-1606

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 382-93 and *DictSpir* 10 (1979) 1107-9

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1355

J. Pargoire, "Saint Méthode de Constantinople avant 821," *EO* 6 (1903) 126-31

idem, "Saint Méthode et la persécution," *EO* 6 (1903) 183-91

E. von Dobschütz, "Methodius und die Studiten," *BZ* 18 (1909) 41-105

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyč...", *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 6f.

V. Grumel, "La politique religieuse du patriarche saint Méthode. Iconoclastes et Stoudites," *EO* 34 (1935) 385-401

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 453-61

A. Frolov, "Le Christ de la Chalcé," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 107-20

I. Doens, Ch. Hannick, "Das Periorismos-Dekret des Patriarchen Methodios I gegen die Studiten Naukratios und Athanasios," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 93-102

P. Canart, "Le patriarche Méthode de Constantinople copiste à Rome," *Paleographica, Diplomatica et Archivistica* (Rome, 1979) 343-53

H. Löwe, "Methodius in Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch," *DA* 38 (1982) 341-62

S. Marino, "Considerazioni sulla personalità di Metodio I, patriarca da Costantinopoli," *Culto delle immagini e crisi iconoclasta* (Palermo, 1986) 117-26

J. Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les Stoudites," *REB* 45 (1987) 15-57
J. Gouillard, "La Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes (†831). Une oeuvre du patriarche Méthode," *TM* 10
(1987) 11-16

Metrios

Metrios (fl. late 9th c.), a peasant in Paphlagonia, is the subject of an edifying story preserved in an early 14th-c. manuscript of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (Paris, Coislin. gr. 223 of 1301). At a local fair (*panegyris*) he found a bag with 1500 *nomismata* that a merchant had lost; the following year he returned the money to the owner, refusing to accept any compensation. He was rewarded with the birth of a son, Constantine, whom he had castrated to make him more eligible for a career at the imperial court. Constantine, who is known as a historical figure, became a favorite of the empress Zoe, fourth wife of Leo VI; he was made *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos*. Sometime between 913 and 919 Constantine received a letter of consolation from the patriarch Nicholas I upon the death of his sister (R. Jenkins, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 162-165; R. Jenkins, L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters* [Washington, D.C., 1973], *ep.* 47 and p. 547). The letter indicates that Metrios was dead at the time of writing; therefore 919 is a *terminus ante quem* for his death.

Edition:
SynaxCP 721-24

Studies:
BHG 2272
R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 395f.
Guilland, *Institutions* 1:181
N. V. Pigulevskaja, "K voprosu ob organizacii i formach torgovli v rannej Vizantii," *VizVrem* 4
(1951) 74-82

Michael Maleinos

Michael (baptismal name Manuel) was born ca. 894 in Charsianon, where his parents owned vast estates; he belonged to the highest echelon of Byzantine aristocracy, closely related to the Phokas family. He began a career as a courtier under Leo VI (886-912) and received the title of *spatharokandidatos*. At age 18, however, prompted by the death of Leo, he unexpectedly renounced secular life and became a monk at Mt. Kyminas. He retired to a hermitage during the regency of Zoe Karbonopsina (914-919), and then returned to cenobitic life, first at Xerolimne (near Prouusias), then ca. 925 on Mt. Kyminas, where he became priest and *hegoumenos* of the lavra of Maleinos. He exercised significant impact on his nephew Nikephoros II Phokas who slept on the floor atop a felt rug and bearskin that were a gift from his uncle (Skylitzes, p. 280.10-11). Maleinos also had a formative influence on the youthful Athanasios of Athos, who resided for a time on Mt. Kyminas (see *vita* A of Athanasios, ch. 23). Maleinos died on Mt. Kyminas on 12 July 961.

His *vita* was written by a certain Theophanes whom L. Petit identified as Maleinos' disciple, the calligrapher Theophanes, who is mentioned in the *vita*. At any rate the *vita* is contemporary; it seems to have been written before the Byzantine victories over the Bulgarians under John I Tzimiskes (969-976).

Edition:
L. Petit, "Vie de saint Michel Maléinos," *ROC* 7 (1902) 543-94, rp. in *Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale* 4 (Paris, 1903), 7-26; rev. S. Pétridès, *EO* 6 (1903) 344-45

Studies:

BHG 1295

O. Volk, *LThK* 7 (1962) 397

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 462-64

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1276-77

Beck, *Kirche* 576

Ch. Loparev, "Opisanie nekotorych grečeskich žitij svjatyč," *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 358-63

Janin, *Eglises Centres* 115-18

V. Tüpkova-Zaimova in *FGHBulg* 5 (Sofia 1964) 312-13

R. Morris, "'O Michaelēs, Michaelēs ...' A Problem of Identification in Liutprand's *Legatio*,"

Byzantion 51 (1981) 248-54

Malamut, *Route des saints* 36-40

J.C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris 1990), 214, 254

Michael of Zobe

Michael, hegoumenos of the monastery of Zobe, near Sebastopolis (in the Armeniakon theme), is known only from an entry in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* under October 1. It celebrates the memory of Michael and 36 monks under his direction who were martyred when Alim, "the emir of the Agarenes," attacked the monastery. Michael is said to be a contemporary of Constantine VI and Irene; Alim is probably Ali ibn-Sulayman, whose raid occurred in 785.

Edition:

SynaxCP 98.1-18

Study:

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 79 and 399-400, n. 92

Michael Synkellos

Michael was born in Jerusalem in 761, probably to an Arab family; he entered the monastery of St. Sabas and ca. 811 was appointed *synkellos* of the patriarch of Jerusalem. Ca. 812/813 the patriarch Thomas (807-821) sent him with an embassy to Rome, but Michael went no further than Constantinople where he became involved in the iconoclastic conflict and eventually suffered persecution and imprisonment under Leo V and Theophilos. The *vita* is also a prime source for the lives of Theodore and Theophanes, the Graptoi, for whom no contemporary biography survives. According to his biographer, upon the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, Michael was offered the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, but refused the offer. The new patriarch Methodios then appointed him *synkellos* and *hegoumenos* of the Chora monastery. He died three years later, on 4 January 846.

The anonymous hagiographer was probably a monk of the Chora monastery, to judge from the attention he gives to the monastery in the final part of the *vita*. Certainly he was better informed on the Constantinopolitan period of Michael's biography than on his early years in Palestine. He cites documents and gives precise dates, even though in some cases they turn out to be incorrect. It is likely that the author was a contemporary of Michael or wrote within a generation of his death. The earliest manuscript of the *vita* dates from the 11th c.

Editions:

M.B. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos* (Belfast, 1990), with Eng. trans., rev. J. O. Rosenqvist, *BS* 53 (1992) 265-267; J. Rosser, *Speculum* 68 (1993) 1095f.; J. Shepard, *JEH* 43 (1992) 641f.

F. Šmit, "Kachrie-Džami," *IRAİK* 11 (1906) 227-79

Russ. tr., S. V. Poljakova, *Vizantijskie legendy* (Moscow, 1972) 114-139

Studies:

BHG 1296-97f.

R. Janin, *DTC* 10 (1929) 1710f.

P. Canart, *LThK* 7 (1962) 400f.

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 452-57

R. Browning, A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1369f.

S. Vaillhé, "Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti, saint Théodore et saint Théophane," *ROC* 6 (1901) 311-32, 610-42

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych..." *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 212-224

J. Phokylides, "Μιχαήλ πρεσβύτερος καὶ σύγκελλος Ἱεροσολύμων," *Nea Sion* 13 (1913) 733-49

S. Eustratiades, "Μιχαήλ ὁ Σύγκελλος," *Nea Sion* 31 (1936) 329-38

Malamut, *Route des saints* 252-254

C. Crimi, "Sul testo della 'Vita Michaelis Syncelli'," *BollBadGr* n.s. 49/50 (1995/96) 1719

Naum of Ohrid

Naum, a native of Bulgaria (born ca. 840?), became a disciple of the brothers Cyril and Methodios ca. 864. He participated in their missionary activity in Pannonia and accompanied them to Rome where they were warmly welcomed by Pope Hadrian II (867-872). After the death of Cyril in Rome in 869, the missionaries went to Moravia where their work was frustrated by the opposition of the local Germanic clergy. When Methodios died in 885, the missionaries were openly persecuted by Prince Svatopluk and expelled from Moravia. The disciples (including Kliment of Ohrid, see s.v.) then made their way toward Bulgaria, arriving in Preslav in late 885 or early 886. Naum took up residence in Preslav at the monastery of St. Panteleimon, where he trained young Slavic disciples. Ca. 893/4 the tsar Boris invited Naum to pursue missionary activity in Bulgarian Macedonia. He moved to Ohrid where, ca. 900, he founded a monastery and church dedicated to the archangel Michael. He died on 23 December 910.

There survive three Slavonic versions of his Life and two Greek *vitae*, one long, one short. All are preserved in manuscripts of late date. Without firm evidence K. Ivanova considered the Slavonic *vita* of Naum "one of the earliest [Bulgarian] hagiographical texts" (in *Kirilo-metodievaska enciklopedija* 1 [Sofia 1985] 693) and S. Bŭrlieva dated it to the 10th century.

According to E. Trapp, the short Greek version is based on the long one, which in turn is a translation or paraphrase of the Slavonic original. The long *vita* has only limited biographical data on Naum, and follows the *vita* of Kliment in descriptions of political events (with some errors or distortions). It survives only in a 17th-century manuscript, Athens gr. 827. The anonymous *vita* was attributed by I. Dujčev first to Theophylaktos of Ohrid (*Medioevo bizantino-slavo* 2 [1968] 214), and subsequently to another metropolitan of Ohrid, Constantine Kabasilas, who lived in the 13th century, but there is no firm proof of these hypotheses. There is no entry on Naum in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Editions:

(Greek *vitae*)

E. Trapp, "Die Viten des hl. Naum von Ohrid," *BS* 35 (1974) 161-85, with German tr.

S. Bŭrlieva, "Prostrannoto grucko žitie na Naum Ochridski," *Starobulgarska literatura* 20 (1987) 129-44, with Bulgarian tr.

(Slavonic versions)

- P. Lavrov, "Žitija sv. Nauma Ochridskoga i služba emu," *Izvestija Otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk* 12.4 (1908) 1-51
- J. Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija*, 2nd ed. (Sofia 1931) 305-13
- P. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (Leningrad 1930) 181-87

Studies:

BHG 1316z-1317

- P. Gautier, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 700-3
- L. Mirković, *Sveti Naum Ohridski* (Sremska Mitrovica 1924), also in *Glasnik Srpske pravoslavne patriaršije* 5 (1924) 245-47, 272-74, 294-96, 326-29
- V.N. Zlatarski, "Slovenskoto žitie na sv. Nauma ot XVI v.," *Spisanie nu Bŭlgarska akademija na naukite* 30.17 (1925) 1-28
- I. Dujčev, "Un manuscrit grec inconnu avec l'acolouthie et la Vie de saint Naum d'Ohrid," *Studia historico-philologica serdicensia* 1 (Sofia 1938) 121-24
- M. Kusseff, "St. Nahum," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 29 (1950-51) 139-52
- V.S. Kiselkov, "Naum Ochridski," in his *Prouki i očerti po starobŭlgarska literatura* (Sofia 1956) 51-56
- D. Glumac, "Nešto o životu Nauma Ohridskog," *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta* 10/1 (Belgrade 1968) 129-39
- idem, "Prostranno grŭčko žitie i služba na Naum Ochridski," *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Jubileen sbornik* (Sofia 1969) 261-79
- E. Trapp, "Die Akoluthie des hl. Naum von Ochrid (Eine Analyse)," *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines* 8, 11-12 (1981-85) 395-404
- S. Kožucharov, "Pesennoto tvorčestvo na starobŭlgarskija knižovnik Naum Ochridski," *Literaturna istorija* 12 (1984) 3-19
- idem, "Mefodij i Naum Ochridskij i formirovanie slavjanskoj gimnografičeskoj tradicii," *Symposium Methodianum* (Neuried 1988) 421-30
- Z. Hauptová, "Staroslovenské legendy o Naumovi," *Slovo* 36 (1986) 77-86
- G. Pop-Atanasov, "Fragments from a Poem by Naum Ohridski in Bratko's *Menaion*," *Macedonian Review* 17 (1987) 226-28
- G. Podskalsky, "Bemerkungen zur Struktur und zum Verständnis der ersten griechischen Naum-Vita (*BHG* 1316z)," *AB* 109 (1991) 109-16
- idem, "Beležki vŭrchu strukturata i tŭlkuvaneto na pŭrvoto grŭčko žitie na Naum (*BHG* 1316z)," *Chiliada i osemdeset godini ot smŭrtta na sv. Naum Ochridski* (Sofia 1993)

Nicholas of Stoudios

Nicholas was born in 793 in the village of Kydonia in Crete, probably to a peasant family. Educated at the Stoudios monastery, he became a monk and staunch supporter of Theodore of Stoudios whom he accompanied into exile in 815. He was a renowned scribe, known especially for the Uspensky Gospel book of 835, the earliest dated manuscript written in minuscule.

In 848 Nicholas succeeded Naukratios as *hegoumenos* of Stoudios; subsequently he became embroiled in the conflict between Ignatios and Photios. A supporter of Ignatios, he left Stoudios following the latter's deposition from the patriarchate in 858, and lived in exile in Thracian Chersonese. He then returned to Constantinople and in 867, with the restoration of Ignatios, became once more *hegoumenos* of the Stoudios monastery. He died at Stoudios on February 4, 868.

Contrary to Dujčev, there is no reason to identify Nicholas of Stoudios with Nicholas the *stratiotes* (or Nicholas the Monk, see the following entry), whose story is told in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (p. 341.21-344.35).

Nicholas' *vita* was written by an anonymous Stoudite monk at least forty years after his death,

probably between ca. 910 and 950. The *vita* of Evaristos also contains much information on the biography of Nicholas.

Editions:

PG 105:863-925

I. Dujčev in *FGHBulg* 4:25-27

Studies:

BHG 1365

K. Baus, *LThK* 7 (1962) 998f.

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 952f.

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1471

E. von Dobschütz, "Methodios und die Studiten," *BZ* 18 (1909) 70-72

Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 2:85-99

Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 64-66

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-57) 794-812

A. Komines, "'Απηχήσεις βυζαντινοβουλγαρικῶν συγκρούσεων εἰς ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα," *EEBS* 35 (1966-67) 215-22

A. Phytrakes, "'Αγιος Νικόλαος ὁ Κυδωνιεύς," *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ β' διεθνοῦς κρητολογικοῦ συνεδρίου* 3 (Athens, 1968) 286-303

Th. E. Detorakes, *Οἱ ἄγιοι τῆς πρώτης περιόδου τῆς Κρήτης καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλολογία* (Athens, 1970) 219-33

Malamut, *Route des saints* 251-252

Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae* 1:152* n.44

J. Heldt, "Die Vita Nikolaos' des Studiten: ein Heiligenleben aus mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," *Bysantinska Sällskapet. Bulletin* 13 (1995) 29-36

Nicholas the Monk, Former Soldier

Nicholas, who participated in the disastrous expedition of Nikephoros I against the Bulgarians in 811, is an enigmatic figure. The "beneficial tale" about him is found in late synaxaria (from the 13th c. on); there is no fully developed *vita*. The synaxarion notice relates that, while Nicholas was on his way to join Nikephoros' campaign, he spent the night at an inn. Three times the innkeeper's daughter, impelled by "satanic lust," sought to seduce him; she was rebuffed each time. Nicholas was then granted a vision which revealed that he would be spared from the impending slaughter as a result of his moral purity. Subsequently Nicholas retired from military service and took the monastic habit.

The story is suspect because a very similar "beneficial tale" is found in the *vita* of Nicholas of Stoudios (see above). In this case the soldier is anonymous and the woman who attempts to seduce him was a very rich woman who offered him hospitality in her house; otherwise the details are the same.

Editions:

SynaxCP, 341-344

L. Clugnet, "Histoire de s. Nicolas, soldat et moine," *ROC* 7 (1902) 319-30, repr. in *BHO* 3 (Paris, 1902) 27-38, rev. H. Delehaye, *AB* 22 (1903) 97f.

I. Dujčev in *FGHBulg* 4 (Sofia, 1961) 25-27, with a Bulg. tr.

Studies:

BHG 2311

J. M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 911f.

I. Dujčev, "Novi žitijni danni za pochoda na Nikifora I v Bulgarija prez 811," *Spisanie na Bŭlg.*

- Akad. na naukite* 54 (1936) 179-86. Cf. his *Medioevo bizantino-slavo* 2 (Rome, 1968) 450, n. 3
V. Beševliev, "Nekolko beležki kum bŭlgarskata istorija," *Godišnik na Sof. univ. Ist.-filol. fak.* 32.9
(1936) 30-32
F. Halkin, "Lequel des saints Nicolas?," *AB* 85 (1967) 58
Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:573
J. Wortley, "Legends of the Byzantine Disaster of 811," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 533-562, esp. 550-555
Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 175
-

Nikephoros I Patriarch

Nikephoros was born in Constantinople ca. 750 (Beck, *Kirche*, 489) or 758 (Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 54), the son of an iconodule imperial secretary (*asekretis*). Under Constantine V (741-775) he followed his father into exile in Nicaea. He returned to the capital to serve "the emperors," probably Irene and Constantine VI, as secretary. He then withdrew from Constantinople and founded several monasteries on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. Ca. 802 he was appointed head of a poor-house in Constantinople. In 806 he succeeded Tarasios as patriarch; like Tarasios he followed a policy of compromise (*oikonomia*) with regard to the Moechian Controversy over the second marriage of Constantine VI, and consequently met with opposition from the more rigorous Stoudites. As an iconodule he refused to sign the decisions of the iconoclastic council of 815, and was sent into exile by Leo V. He died at the monastery of St. Theodore near Chrysopolis on 2 June 828.

His *vita* by Ignatios the Deacon is an example of "high style" hagiography, with many rhetorical embellishments. The *terminus post quem* for its composition is Oct. 829, the date of the death of Michael II, an event mentioned in the *vita* (p. 209.8-11). Scholars such as Vasilevskij, Alexander and Wolska-Conus argue that the *vita* was written early in the reign of Theophilos (829-842), soon after Nikephoros' death in 828, while von Dobschütz, Ševčenko and Mango propose a date of composition immediately after the restoration of iconoclasm, between 843 and 846. The *vita* by Ignatios is preserved in eight manuscripts, the earliest of which dates to the 9th c. There also survives a work by a certain Theophanes on the deposition of Nikephoros and the translation of his relics.

Editions:

- Vita* by Ignatios: C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica* (Leipzig 1880; repr. New York, 1975) 139-217; rev. P. Nikitin, *ZapANIst.fil.,ser.* 8, I.1 (1895) 16-21; Russ. tr., "Žitie sv. otca našego Nikifora, archiepiskopa Konstantinopol'skogo," *Bogoslovskij vestnik* (Oct.-Dec. 1899)
Vita et translatio by Theophanes: Th. Ioannou, *Mnemeia hagiologika* (Venice, 1884) 115-28; Lat. tr.: PG 100:159-68; rev. P. Nikitin, *ZapANIst.fil.,ser.* 8, I.1 (1895) 54
V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonomi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, 1 (Petrograd, 1911), 230-233; 2 (Petrograd, 1912) 4-6
FGHBulg 4:35-37 (excerpt)

Translations:

- Engl. tr. by E. Fisher, in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (Washington, D.C., 1998)

Studies:

- BHG* 1335-1337f.
R. Janin, *DTC* 11 (1931) 452-55
D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 871-74
Hunger, *Lit.* 1:344-47
A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1477
da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," 245-46
F. I. Uspenskij, *Očerki po istorii Vizantijskoj obrazovannosti* (St. Petersburg, 1891) 29-31

- Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych...", *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 46f., 109-114
- R. P. Blake, "Note sur l'activité littéraire de Nicéphore Ier, patriarche de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 1-15
- A. J. Visser, *Nikephoros und der Bilderstreit* (The Hague, 1952); rev. K. Baus, *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 64 (1955) 247
- P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958) rev. J. Gouillard, *BZ* 51 (1958) 403-5; F. Dvornik, *AHR* 64 (1958) 87f.; D. Savramis, *ZKirch* 69 (1958) 341-44; P. Lemerle, *RH* 221 (1959) 154f.; M. H. Shepherd, *Journal of Religion* 39 (1959) 72; G. Florovsky, *ChHist* 28 (1959) 205f.; S. Runciman, *EHR* 74 (1959) 336f.; *JEH* 10 (1959) 229f.; and *BS* 17 (1959) 325-27; H. Dauphin, *RHE* 54 (1959) 530-33; C. Toumanoff, *CHR* 45 (1959) 335-39; G. Every, *JThSt* 10 (1959) 413-15; D. M. Nicol, *JHS* 79 (1959) 222f.; G. B. Ladner, *Traditio* 16 (1960) 448-50; V. Grumel, *REB* 18 (1960) 290-92; F. Dölger, *HistJb* 80 (1961) 329f.; P. Stéphanou, *OrChrP* 25 (1959) 191-94
- idem*, "Secular Biography at Byzantium," *Speculum* 15 (1940) 194-209, repr. in his *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1978) pt. I
- E. Lipšic, *Očerki istorii vizantijskogo obščestva i kul'tury. VIII-pervaja polovina IX veka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961) 268-96, and separately in *VizVrem* 3 (1950) 85-105
- P. O'Connell, "The Synodos endemousa Opposed to Patriarch Nicephorus," *OrChrP* 29 (1963) 441-445
- J. J. Travis, "The Role of Patriarch Nicephorus (A.D. 758-828) Archbishop of Constantinople in the Iconoclastic Controversy" (Ph.D. dissertation: Denver, 1977)
- idem*, *In Defence of the Faith: The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, MA, 1984), rev. G. Diamant, *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 373-75; J. L. Boojamra, *SVThQ* 29 (1985) 261-63; P. B. Paschos, *Theologia* 57 (1986) 691f.
- P. Speck, "Weitere Überlegungen und Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance," *Varia* II, [*Poikila Byzantina* 6], (Bonn, 1987) 260-265
- S. Efthymiadis, "On the Hagiographical Work of Ignatius the Deacon," *JÖB* 41 (1991) 73-83

Nikephoros of Medikion

Nikephoros was a founder (together with a certain Athanasios, a former scribe in a *logothesion* [AASS Apr.I:XX, par. 11]), of the monastery of Medikion in Bithynia. He was born in Constantinople in 755 to a family characterized by his hagiographer as not ignoble, but known and prosperous (ed. Halkin, 405, par. 5.11-12). He participated in the Council of Nicaea in 787. He died on the isle of Chalke at age 58 on 4 May, probably in 813 according to Halkin.

The anonymous author, probably a monk of Medikion, seems to have known Nikephoros. He must have written after 824, since he mentions the death of Niketas, Nikephoros' successor as *hegoumenos* of Medikion, but, according to Halkin, before 837, since the final flare-up of iconoclastic persecution (837-842), at the end of Theophilos' reign, is not mentioned. Ševčenko (Bryer-Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 118, n. 43) suggests 824-840 as a possible range of dates for the composition of the *vita*. The earliest manuscript of the *vita* dates from the late 9th c. The *vita* is rhetorical in style, abundant in neologisms and long speeches, but poor in information.

Edition:

F. Halkin, "La Vie de s. Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie (d. 813)," *AB* 78 (1960) 401-25

Studies:

AHG IX (Maii) 363-364

BHG 2297-98

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 855

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 165f.

A. M. Talbot, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1328 (s.v. Medikion Monastery)

F. Halkin, "S. Nicéphore de Médikion d'après un synaxaire du mont Sinai," *AB* 88 (1970) 13-16

Nikephoros of Miletos

Nikephoros was born in the village of Basileon in the theme of Boukellarioi, to middle-class (*autarkeis*) parents named Eustathios and Maria. He was castrated at an early age and sent to Constantinople when he was seven years old during the reign of Romanos I (920-944). Thus he must have been born between 913 and 937; Janin postulates a birthdate of ca. 920. He lived at the house of the *magistros* Moselles and continued his education at a school in the capital. Upon reaching maturity he was entrusted with the keys of Moselles' storeroom, i.e., he probably became his steward. He was then ordained a member of the imperial clergy. In 964 Nikephoros accompanied the Byzantine fleet on an expedition to Sicily that ended in disaster. After his return to Constantinople, Nikephoros was appointed bishop of Miletos and occupied the see for approximately twenty years. He then retired to the monastery of St. Paul on Mt. Latros where he took the monastic habit; he later founded the monasteries of Erebinthos and Xeron Choraphion. He died ca. 1000.

His biography is known from an anonymous *vita* that is preserved in a single 12th-century manuscript (Paris gr. 1181) that breaks off shortly after the account of Nikephoros' death, in the section on the narration of his *miracula*. The *vita* seems to have been written soon after Nikephoros' death by a person (born in Sicily?) who had reliable information and was able to name several eyewitnesses. There is no trace of Nikephoros' cult besides the anonymous biography.

Editions:

[H. Delehayé], "Vita sancti Nicephori episcopi Milesii saeculo X," *AB* 14 (1895) 129-66

T. Wiegand, *Milet 3.1. Der Latmos* (Berlin 1913) 157-71

Studies:

BHG 1338

O. Volk, *LThK* 7 (1962) 972

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 886

Beck, *Kirche* 576

Lemerle, *Humanism* 282-86

Nikephoros of Sebaze

Nikephoros is an obscure saint who is not included in Byzantine synaxaria and is known only from a eulogy in a pre-Metaphrastic collection. According to the panegyric, Nikephoros, a native of Anatolikon, was a contemporary of the emperor Leo V (813-820) and a victim of Leo's persecution of iconodules. Freed after the "tyrant's" murder, Nikephoros became *hegoumenos* of Sebaze and is said to have helped the needy at a time of famine. The monastery of Sebaze, which was located near the village of Anthimaurai (in Bithynia?) is not mentioned in other sources (cf. Janin, *ÉglisesCentres*, 101). Neither the date of Nikephoros' death nor the location of his tomb are indicated in the eulogy.

The anonymous hagiographer, a monk of Sebaze, readily admits that the memory of the saint and his deeds had already vanished (p. 18.4-7); on the other hand, he wrote the panegyric before 950, since it is preserved in a manuscript of the second half of the 10th-c. (Pat. gr. 254).

Edition:

F. Halkin, "Une victime inconnue de Léon l'Arménien? Saint Nicéphore de Sébazè," *Byzantion* 23 (1953/4) 11-30, rev. F. Dölger, *BZ* 47 (1954) 217

Studies:

BHG 2300

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 887f.

F. Halkin, "Un ménologe de Patmos (ms. 254) et ses légendes inédites," *AB* 72 (1954) 19, 33

Niketas of Medikion

Niketas was born in Caesarea of Bithynia ca. 760; he became a disciple of and successor to Nikephoros of Medikion as *hegoumenos* of the Bithynian monastery in 813. In 815 he became a victim of the iconoclastic persecution initiated by Leo V the Armenian, and, according to Theodore of Stoudios, temporarily lapsed from his iconodule position. He subsequently repented his weakness, declared his opposition to iconoclasm, and was exiled to the island of St. Glykeria, near the capital. After suffering tortures during his exile, he was recalled by Michael II in 820. He died near Constantinople on April 3, 824.

His *vita* was written by the monk Theosteriktos, between 829 and 844/5, since he notes that the deposed emperor Michael I (d. 844 or 845) was still alive (I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in Bryer-Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 118 and n. 42).

Editions:

AASS Apr. I (3rd ed.): XVIII-XXVII (at end of volume)

T. E. Euangelides, *Oi βίοι τῶν ἁγίων* (Athens, 1895) 286-313

K. C. Doukakis, *Megas Synaxaristes*, April, (Athens, 1892) 36-51

Studies:

AHG VIII (Apr.) 388-389

BHG 1341-42b

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 890-92

A. Kazhdan, N. P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 2 (1991) 1482

E. von Dobschütz, "Methodius und die Studiten," *BZ* 18 (1909) 81-83

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatykh...", *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 124-137

F. Halkin, "La Vie de Saint Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie (d. 813)," *AB* 78 (1960) 396-430

Mention, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 32-37

W. Treadgold, "The Bulgars' Treaty with the Byzantines in 816," *RSBS* 4 (1984) 213-220

A. Alexakis, "A Florilegium in the Life of Nicetas of Medikion and a Letter of Theodore of Studios," *DOP* 48 (1994) 179-197

H. G. Thümmel, "Das Florileg des Niketas von Medikion für die Bilderverehrung," *BZ* 86-87 (1993-94) 40-46

Niketas Patrikios

Niketas, born in Paphlagonia in 761/2, was castrated by his parents so that he could follow a career path reserved for eunuchs. At age 17 he came to Constantinople and became a palace official under Irene. He attended the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, was appointed *patrikios* and eventually made *strategos* of Sicily. During the reign of Michael I (811-813) he took the monastic habit at the monastery of Chrysonike in Constantinople. With the beginning of the second period of Iconoclasm, he fled first to a suburb of the capital, then wandered to various places of refuge in Bithynia. He died on October 6, 836, at age 75.

Only about one-third of the *vita* of Niketas is preserved, in a fragmentary 12th-c. manuscript now in Athens (no. 2504). It is the work of an anonymous hagiographer who was a monk of the monastery founded by Niketas at Katesia. He did not know the saint personally, but based his composition on a memoir composed by Niketas, the holy man's nephew and his successor at Katesia. The *vita* probably dates to the mid-9th c. The fragmentary biography can be supplemented by synaxarial notices, one of which appears to be a summary of the *vita*.

Edition:

D. Papachryssanthou, "Un confesseur du second Iconoclisme: la vie du patrice Nicétas (836)," *TM* 3 (1968) 309-51

Studies:

BHG 1342b-1342e

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 892f.

Guilland, *Titres* X:597

Janin, *Églises* CP 541

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 144, 147, 169, 403

Nikon "ho Metanoieite"

Nikon "ho Metanoieite" ("you should repent") was born ca. 930-935 in Asia Minor, in eastern Pontus. As a youth he ran away from home and entered the monastery of Chryse Petra on the border of Pontos and Paphlagonia. After twelve years at the monastery, he began to travel throughout the "eastern regions" (i.e., Anatolia), preaching his message of repentance. Following Nikephoros Phokas' recovery of Crete from the Arabs in 961, he spent seven years on the island as a missionary. He then travelled in central and southern Greece, settling ca. 970 in Sparta where he founded a monastery. He died in the very late 10th or early 11th century, a "sufficient time" (cf. ch. 44.1) after the arrest of John Malakenos, known to have taken place in 997. A healing cult developed at his tomb which became the site of numerous miracles.

The date of composition of his *vita* by an anonymous hagiographer, an abbot of Nikon's monastery, has been much disputed. In ch. 68 the author claims that he became abbot in the year 6650 in the 11th indiction. Since the indiction does not coincide with the year, various corrections to the date have been proposed. Lampsides corrects to 6656 (= 1148) and argues that the final part of the *vita* was written in the mid-12th c. C. Mango and R. Jenkins (*DOP* 15 [1961] 238f), followed by Sullivan, emend the date to 6550 (= 1042) and support a date of composition in the mid-11th c. The *vita* is preserved in two slightly different versions, one in a 15th-c. Barberini manuscript, the other in a 17th-c. manuscript from Koutlousiou.

Editions:

D. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987), with English tr.; rev. J.S. Palmer, *Hellenika* 39 (1988) 195-96; N. Russell, *Sobornost* 10 (1988) 75-76; G. Dennis, *Church History* 58 (1989) 219-20; B. Flusin, *REB* 47 (1989) 275-76; D. de F. Abrahamse, *Speculum* 65 (1990) 1060-61

O. Lampsides, 'Ο ἐκ Πόντου ὄσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε [= *Archeion Pontou*, Suppl. 13] (Athens, 1982); rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 101 (1983) 211-12; T.A. Gr[itsopoulos], *Peloponnesiaka* 15 (1982/4) 251-55

M.E. Galanopoulos, Βίος, πολιτεία, εἰκονογραφία, θαύματα καὶ ἄσματικὴ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νίκωνος τοῦ "Μετανοεῖτε" (Athens 1933); rev. [Archbp.] Ch[rystostomos], *Theologia* 12 (1934) 184-86; Ph. Koukoules, *EEBS* 11 (1935) 464-69; F. D[ölger], *BZ* 36 (1936) 478-79

S. Lampros, "Ὁ Βίος Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε," *Neos Hellenomnemon* 3 (1906) 129-222; cf. *NE* 5

(1908) 301-4, emend. N. Bees, "Zum Synaxarium des hl. Nikon des sogenannten Metanoitès," *BNJb* 18 (1945/49) 143

Studies:

BHG 1366-68

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 9 (1967) 987-88

E. Stéphanou, *DTC* 11 (1931) 655-57

K. Baus, *LThK* 7 (1962) 1002

A. Kazhdan et al., *ODB* 3 (1991) 1484

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce," 346-65

V. Zlatarski, *Istoria na Bŭlgarskata dŭrŭŭava* 1.2 (Sofia 1927) 845-50

M. Galanopoulos, "Ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος βιβλιογράφος ἐπίσκοπος Βρεσθῆνης Παρθένιος," *EEBS* 12 (1936) 251-63

D. Daphnos, Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου Νίκωνος τοῦ "Μετανοεῖτε" (Athens 1953)

N. Drandakes, "Εἰκονογραφία τοῦ Ὁσίου Νίκωνος," *Peloponnesiaka* 5 (1962) 306-19

I. Kyriazopoulos, Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία μετὰ παρακλητικοῦ κανόνος τοῦ πολιούχου Λακεδαιμόνος ὁσίου Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε (Athens 1963)

U. Voulgarakis, "Nikon Metanoite und die Rechristianisierung der Kreter vom Islam," *Zeitschrift der Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 47 (1963) 192-204, 258-69

D. Sullivan, "The Versions of the *Vita Niconis*," *DOP* 32 (1978) 157-73

B.G. Charonites, "Νίκωνας ὁ Ἐθναπόστολος τῆς Κρήτης," *Amaltheia* 9 (1978) 175-90

O. Lampsides, "Ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκδόσει τοῦ βίου τοῦ ὁσίου Νίκωνος κατὰ τὸν Barber. 583," *Archeion Pontou* 37 (1980) 3-15

P. Belissariou, "Τὸ ἄντρον τῆς καθοσίωσεως ὁσίου Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε," *Praktikon G' Synedriou Peloponnesiakon Spoudon* 2 (Athens 1988) 465-71

K. Mentzou-Meïmare, "Ἀπεικονίσεις δημοφιλῶν ἁγίων," in Ἡ καθημερινὴ ζωὴ στὸ Βυζάντιο, ed. Ch. Maltezou (Athens 1989) 592-93

Malamut, *Route des saints* 262-64

D. Constantelos, "Ἡ ἱστορικὴ σημασία τῶν βίων Πέτρου Ἄργους, Ἀθανασίου Μεθώνης καὶ Νίκωνος Μετανοεῖτε διὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τοῦ 10ου αἰῶνος," *Μνήμη Ἰωάννου Ἀναστασίου* (Thessalonike 1992), 347-65

idem, "Ἀρχαία ἐλληνικὴ κληρονομία σὲ δύο βίους Πελοποννησίων Ἀγίων," *Byzantinai Meletai* 6 [1995] 201-209

A. Savvides, "Ὁ Λάκων Ἰωάννης Ἄρατος καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς Σπάρτης στὰ τέλη τοῦ 10 μ. Χ. αἰ.," *Byzantinai Meletai* 6 [1995] 123-140

J.O. Rosenqvist, "The Text of the Life of St. Nikon 'Metanoite' Reconsidered," *ΛΕΙΜΩΝ. Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J.O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala 1996), 93-111

Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 44-46

Paul of Kaioumas

The *passio* of Paul, a native of Constantinople, describes his martyrdom under Constantine V Kopronymos (741-775) for his iconodule convictions. He was imprisoned, had his nose cut off and suffered other tortures. He died on June 8 after being dragged through the streets of Constantinople (like Stephen the Younger and Andrew in Tribunal). His remains were tossed into the pit for the bodies of condemned criminals, but were subsequently buried by pious Christians. The *passio* recounts that the patriarch Antony II Kauleas (893-901), whom the hagiographer makes a contemporary of Michael III (842-867), had a dream vision urging him to give proper burial to Paul's remains. When his corpse was uncovered, 122 years after his death, it was found to be uncorrupted and fragrant. His relics were

transported to the church of the Theotokos at the monastery ton Kaiouma near the cistern of Aspar, and laid to rest. If Paul's relics were discovered during Antony Kauleas' patriarchate, 122 years after his death under Constantine V, one can calculate that his martyrdom must have occurred sometime between 771 and 775.

Since the hagiographer is confused about the chronology of Antony Kauleas, he must have written some time after his patriarchate. The *passio* is preserved in a 12th-c. manuscript (Holy Sepulchre 17), and was probably written sometime between 950 and 1100. The *passio* of Paul also appears in a menologium edited by Latyšev from the same Jerusalem manuscript.

Editions:

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:247-251

Latyšev, *Menol.* 2:23-27

Studies:

BHG 1471

Beck, *Kirche* 560

Janin, *Eglises CP* 274

Paul the Younger of Latros

Paul was born in the village of Elaia near Pergamon to Antiochos, a naval officer (*komes* of the fleet). After his parents' death he fell on hard times and earned his living as a swineherd. He became a monk on Mt. Latros (near Miletus) where he lived primarily as a solitary in a cave around which a *lavra* (τοῦ Στύλου) developed. He enjoyed such fame that Constantine VII (945-959) and Peter of Bulgaria (927-969) sent him letters. Paul actively opposed the "Manichaeans" (probably a dualist sect) influential in the region of Miletus and the Kibyrrhaiot theme, and tried to impose strict discipline in his monastery. Before his death on 15 December 955 Paul wrote a monastic rule for the *lavra* (ed. S. Lampros, *Neos Hellenomnemon* 12 [1915] 198-203).

His anonymous *vita* was written soon after his death, probably on the basis of his own journal (βίβλος τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πράξεων). A charter of 1196 (MM 4:306) quoted a passage from the *vita* as evidence during a property trial and attributed it to Symeon Metaphrastes.

Editions:

[H. Delehaye], "Vita s. Pauli Iunioris in Monte Latro," *AB* 11 (1892) 5-74, 136-82, with Latin tr.;

rev. K. Krumbacher, *BZ* 1 (1892) 633-34; F. H[alkin], *AB* 84 (1966) 216-17

Th. Wiegand, *Milet 3.1. Der Latmos* (Berlin 1913) 105-57

Translation:

(Russian) *Žitie otca našego Pavla Novogo, podvizavšegosja na Latrskoj gore* (Moscow 1854, 2nd ed. 1896)

Studies:

BHG 1474-74h

B. Kotter, *LThK* 8 (1963) 212

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 10 (1968) 258-60

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1608

Janin, *Eglises Centres* 217-40

V. Vasil'evskij, "O žizni i trudach Simeona Metafrasta," *ŽMNP* 212 (1880) 416-37

H. Delehaye, "La vie de saint Paul le Jeune (+955) et la chronologie de Métaphraste," *Revue des questions historiques* 54 (1893) 49-85, repr. in Delehaye, *Mélanges* 84-116

F. Halkin, "Une vie prétendue de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Makedonika* 5 (1961/3) 242-43

P.L. Vokotopoulos, "Latros," *EEBS* 35 (1966-67) 69-106

H. Ditten, "Zu den Μάρτυροι der Vita s. Pauli Junioris in monte Latro," *Klio* 72 (1990) 254-69

Paul the Obedient

Nothing is known of the date or place of Paul's birth. Born to middle-class parents, he entered a monastery in his (unnamed hometown) as a youth. He was renowned for his virtuous behavior, and astounded his brethren by stirring a cauldron of boiling pitch with his bare arm. Once when he left the monastery on business his fellow monks had a collective dream that they saw Paul in paradise.

Paul then made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, spent many years as a hermit on a mountain in Cyprus, and then went to Constantinople. He died on a mountain called Paregoria, after hearing a divine voice foretell his death.

Paul's biography is preserved in a late manuscript of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, the 15th-c. cod. Basileensis A.III.16. There are no chronological indications whatsoever, so his assignment to the 10th c. is arbitrary.

Edition:

SynaxCP 283-88

Study:

BHG 2363

Peter of Argos

Peter was born in Constantinople to wealthy parents. He was one of five children, all of whom eventually took the monastic habit. The name of the monastery where Peter initially resided is unknown. The *vita* focuses on the final phase of Peter's life in the first two-three decades of the 10th century. When his brother Paul was appointed archbishop of Corinth by patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (probably during his second patriarchate, 912-925), Peter accompanied him and settled in a monastery outside of Corinth. Shortly thereafter he was named bishop of Argos, and distinguished himself by his charitable activities, especially during a terrible famine that ravaged the Peloponnesos (the "great famine" of 927/8?). At his death at age 70 there was a struggle between Argos and Nauplion over the custody of his remains; in the end he was buried in the cathedral church of Argos. Peter was himself a hagiographer; among his surviving panegyric works are an *enkomion* of Kosmas and Damianos and a funeral oration for Athanasios of Methone (see s.v.).

The chronology of his life is disputed. Ch. Papaoikonomou argued that he was born in 850 and died in 920, while K. Kyriakopoulos prefers a death date between 922 and 924. Kazhdan suggests that he may have died somewhat later, if the *vita* indeed describes the Slav revolt in the Peloponnesos of ca. 922-925 and the great famine of 927/8. Kazhdan also warns that the figure of 70 years given for his age at death may be a hagiographical commonplace.

The saint's *vita*, arbitrarily ascribed by Papaoikonomou to Constantine, Peter's successor in the see of Argos (cf. F. Halkin, *AB* 69 [1951] 167), was in fact the work of Theodore of Nicaea, who was active in the mid-10th c. (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* [Paris 1960] 52), and was probably written shortly after Peter's death.

Editions:

K. Kyriakopoulos, 'Αγίου Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου Ἄργους βίος καὶ λόγοι (Athens 1976) 232-55, 415-93; rev. N.B. Tomadakes, *EEBS* 43 (1977/8) 460; J. Darrouzès, *REB* 43 (1979) 262-63

Ch. Papaikononou, 'Ο πολιοῦχος τοῦ Ἁγίου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος Ἁγίου ὄ
θαυματουργός (Athens 1908)

Studies:

BHG 1504

H.-G. Beck, *LThK* 8 (1963) 349

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1638-39

Beck, *Kirche* 550-51, 564-65

B. H. Rickenbach, "Storia e scritti di s. Pietro d'Argo," *Bessarione* 3.5 (1899) 449-69; German version, "Der heilige Peter von Argos, sein Leben und seine Schriften," *Katholische Schweizer-Blätter für Wissenschaft und Kunst* 16 (1900) 1-27

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija..." *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 65-69

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce," 316-25

A. Vasiliev, "The 'Life' of St. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance," *Traditio* 5 (1947) 163-90

R. Jenkins, "The Date of the Slav Revolt in Peloponnese under Romanus I," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, N.J., 1955) 204-11, repr. in his *Studies* (London 1970), pt. XX

K. Kyriakopoulos, "Προβλήματα περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου Ἁγίου (852;-922:)," *Peloponnesiaka* 13 (1978/9) 262-70

D. Constantelos, "Ἡ ἱστορική σημασία τῶν βίων Πέτρου Ἁγίου, Ἀθανασίου Μεθώνης καὶ Νίκωνος Μετανοεῖτε διὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τοῦ 10ου αἰῶνος," *Μνήμη Ἰωάννου Ἀναστασίου* (Thessalonike 1992) 347-65

idem, "'Αρχαία ἑλληνικὴ κληρονομία σὲ δύο βίους Πελοποννησίων Ἀγίων" *Byzantinai Meletai* 6 [1995] 201-209

Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 47-48

Peter of Athos

Little is known of the biography of Peter, who lived as a hermit for fifty-three years on Mt. Athos before cenobitic monasticism was established on the Holy Mountain. He was praised in a canon of Joseph; if this Joseph is Joseph the Hymnographer, who died ca. 886, then Peter would have died before 886. Lake's hypothesis that Peter was taken as a captive to Samarra in 836, and died ca. 890, must be rejected; Lake did not realize that the first portion of Peter's *vita* is identical with a miracle of St. Nicholas of Myra.

The *vita* of Peter was written by a certain Nicholas, an Athonite monk. It has survived in many manuscripts, the earliest of which is of the 11th c. D. Papachryssanthou argues that the *vita* was written no later than 980 since it mentions the monastery of St. Clement on Mt. Athos that was replaced at the end of the 10th c. by Iviron. Her reasoning is not persuasive (an anachronism of this kind could easily occur in a hagiographic text), especially since the praise of the "Holy Mountain" that is found in the *vita* would be more appropriate in an 11th-c. text. It would be more cautious to locate the composition of the *vita* between ca. 980 and the mid-11th c.

Nicholas was poorly informed about the life of Peter, and provides no chronological indications. As mentioned above, the first section of the *vita* reproduces a miracle of St. Nicholas of Myra who freed from captivity a soldier named Peter the Scholarios; the hagiographer evidently ascribed the legendary story to his hero. The middle part of the *vita* describes in conventional terms Peter's eremitic life on Athos and his meeting with a hunter who found Peter dead when he returned to visit him the following year (a hagiographical *topos*). The final section describes the posthumous miracles worked by Peter's relics in the Thracian village of Pho[to]kome.

There is no entry on Peter in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. In the 14th c. Gregory Palamas composed an *enkomion* of Peter based on the earlier *vita*.

Editions:

- K. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1909), 18-39, rev. A. Ehrhard, *BZ* 19 (1910) 640f.; C. van de Vorst, *AB* 29 (1910) 333f.; M. Goudas, *Byzantis* 1 (1909) 630-32; Ph. Meyer, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 35 (1910) no. 17: 527f.
F. Halkin, "Vie brève de s. Pierre l'Athonite," *AB* 106 (1988) 249-255

Studies:

BHG 1505-1506e

- R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 10 (1968) 712f.
B. Kötting, *LThK* 8 (1963) 349f.
S. Binon, "La vie de s. Pierre l'Athonite," *SBN* 5 (1939) 41-53
D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie ancienne de saint Pierre l'Athonite," *AB* 92 (1974) 19-61
eadem, *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris, 1975), 20-22
A. Rigo, "La Vita di Pietro l'Athonita (*BHG* 1506) scritta da Gregorio Palama," *RSBN* n.s. 32 (1995) 177-90

Peter of Atroa

Peter (baptismal name Theophylaktos) was born in 773 in the village of Elaia, located probably south of Pergamon. At the age of eighteen he settled on Mt. Olympos where he spent his entire life. Ca. 800 he and his master, the hermit Paul, founded the monastery of St. Zacharias, on the plain of Atroa, at the foot of Mt. Olympos. Peter became *hegoumenos* in 805. His life was uneventful; when Leo V (813-20) took power and began the persecution of the iconodules, Peter decided to leave Olympos (the major center of anti-iconoclastic resistance) and journeyed to Ephesos, Chonae and Cyprus; he remained ten months in Cyprus before returning to Olympos. Upon Leo's death and the revolt of Thomas the Slav (820/1-823) the iconoclasts' attacks moderated, and at this moment some bishops and *hegoumenoi* began to criticize Peter; if we believe his hagiographer, they accused him of sorcery. Theodore of Stoudios gave Peter a letter of recommendation and thus saved him from the assaults of Orthodox church leaders who finally accepted Peter, although against their will (*Vie merveilleuse*, par. 38.21-22). Later, under Theophilos (829-842), the persecutions of the iconodules began anew; Peter advised his monks not to resist but to disperse in small groups (*Vie merv.*, par. 63.21-26). Peter died on January 1, 837, at the age of 63.

The hagiographer describes Peter's contacts with some leaders of the iconodules: the patriarch Tarasios, Theodore of Stoudios, and Ioannikios who allegedly predicted Peter's death (*Vie merv.*, par. 81.5-19), but there is no independent information on his activity. A short entry in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (col. 42.4-19) describes Peter as a strict ascetic, a contemporary of the emperors Nikephoros I and Staurakios and of the patriarch Tarasios.

The *vita* of Peter survives in two distinct versions, each preserved in a 10th-c. manuscript, Marc. gr. 503 and Glasgow BE 8.x.5 (in which about half the text is missing). Both versions are attributed to the same author, Sabas. Laurent argues that the Glasgow version (*G*) is a reworking of the Marciana text (*M*); he dates the original version to ca. 847-50, the *vita retractata* to ca. 858/60-865. *G* includes many posthumous miracles, and places more emphasis on iconoclasm, perhaps in reaction to a threatened resurgence of iconoclasm during the patriarchate of Photios (cf. Laurent, *Vita retractata*, 30).

Sabas was a younger contemporary and disciple of Peter, and was himself healed by the relics of the holy man. He wrote some of his account based on personal observations, the rest drew on stories of eyewitnesses. Laurent hypothesizes that Sabas is to be identified with the Sabas who wrote one version of the *vita* of Ioannikios. The hagiographers of Makarios of Pelekete and Hilarion of Dalmatos were also called Sabas; it is unclear whether these were one and the same individual.

Editions:

- V. Laurent, *La vie merveilleuse de s. Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels, 1956), rev. V. Laurent, *BZ* 50 (1957) 240; H. Grégoire, *BACBelg* V.43 (1957) 26-29; A. de Halleux, *RHE* 52 (1957) 911-13; J. Gill, *OrChrP* 23 (1957) 453f.; G. K. Spyridakes, *EEBS* 28 (1958) 562-68
V. Laurent, *La Vita retractata et les Miracles posthumes de saint Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels, 1958), rev. V. Laurent, *BZ* 51 (1958) 451f.; A. de Halleux, *RHE* 51 (1959) 249

Studies:

- BHG* 2364-65
D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 10 (1968) 668-70
Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 151
Beck, *Kirche* 558
A. M. Talbot, *ODB* 1 (1991) 228, s.v. Atroa
Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych...", *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 92
Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 88-121
F. Halkin, "Un nouveau ménologe grec de janvier dans un ms. de Glasgow," *AB* 75 (1957) 68f.
I. Dujčev, "Nov istoričeski izvor za bŭlgaro-vizantijski otnošenija prez purvata polovina na IX vek," *IzvInstIst* 14-15 (1964) 347-355
idem, "A propos de la vie de saint Pierre d'Atroa," *BS* 27 (1966) 92-97

Peter of Galatia

Peter (baptismal name Leo) was born in the Galatian village of Gena (subject to the metropolis of Gangra). Since he was appointed *komes* in the *tagma* of the *exkoubitores* at the age of 15, during the reign of Theophilus (829-842), he must have been born sometime between 814 and 827. Subsequently he entered monastic life on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia. Basil I (867-886) invited him to be abbot of the monastery of St. Phokas on the Bosphorus, where he ruled over 150 monks. He died sometime after 867, in "extreme old age."

No *vita* of Peter has survived. A notice on him is included in the 10th-c. *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, with additional material in a 12th-c. manuscript of the *Synaxarion*, Paris. gr. 1589.

Edition:

SynaxCP 121-24, 125f.

Studies:

- R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 10 (1968) 696f.
O. Volk, *LThK* 8 (1963) 362f.
Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* 135f.
Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 498f.

Peter the Patrikios

According to his notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, Peter was the son of the *patrikios* and *strategos* Constantine, and was born during the reign of Irene and Constantine VI (780-796). He also became a *patrikios* and *domestikos ton scholon*; the emperor Nikephoros I (802-811) appointed him *domestikos ton Hikanaton*. He was taken prisoner after the Byzantine defeat by the Bulgarians in 811, but escaped with the supernatural aid of John the Theologian. He retired from military life and took the monastic habit on Mt. Olympos as a disciple of Ioannikios. After 34 years of ascetic life (i.e., ca. 845) he returned to Constantinople and resided in a hut near the church he built in the Evandrou

quarter. He died eight years later, ca. 853.

Wortley argues that the account of Peter's career after 811 is suspect, and terms it "a legend". No full-fledged *vita* of Peter is known.

Editions:

SynaxCP 791-94

PG 117:517 AB

FGHBulg 4:119 (with Bulg. tr.)

Studies:

BHG 2365u

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 114

Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:574

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 162, 174f.

J. Wortley, "Legends of the Byzantine Disaster of 811," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 555-562

Phantinos the Younger

Phantinos was born in Calabria to parents named George and Bryaina. His parents dedicated him to God at age 8 at the monastery of Elias Spelaiotes, and he took the monastic habit five years later. After 20 years of cenobitic life he retired to the hills of Lucania to live as a hermit for the next 18 years. He founded in this region male and female monasteries where his parents and siblings took monastic vows. He himself alternated between cenobitic and eremitic life. Toward the end of his life he traveled extensively in Greece, visiting Corinth, Athens, Larissa and Thessalonike where he died at age 72. Posthumous miracles occurred at his tomb. Follieri has calculated his dates of birth and death to be ca. 902 and ca. 974. Previous scholars have suggested dates of ca. 927-1000. Phantinos is mentioned in several hagiographical works (the *vitae* of Athanasios of Athos, Neilos of Rossano and Nikodemos).

The anonymous author was a native of Thessalonike and a monk, who evidently wrote the *vita* between 986 (the fall of Larissa to the Bulgarians, predicted by Phantinos) and ca. 1000. The Life, whose end is missing, is preserved in a contemporary late 10th-century manuscript. There is also an entry on him in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Edition:

E. Follieri, *La Vita di San Fantino il Giovane* (Brussels 1993), with Italian tr., rev. J.O. Rosenqvist, *BS* 54 (1993) 350-54; J. Barker, *Speculum* 71 (1996) 154-55; R. Grégoire, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 48 (1994) 131-32

Studies:

BHG 2367

G. Giovanelli, *BiblSanct* 5 (1964) 452-53

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile," 165-66

E. Follieri, "La vita inedita di S. Fantino il Giovane nel codice Mosquensis 478," *Atti del IV Congresso Storico Calabrese* (Naples 1969) 17-35

eadem, "Il culto di San Fantino a Venezia," in *San Marco: aspetti storici e agiografici* (Marsilio 1996), 504-19

Hester, *Italo-Greeks* 195-200

Ferrante, *Santi italogreci* 147-52

M. Falla Castelfranchi, "Per la storia della pittura bizantina in Calabria," *Rivista storica Calabrese* 6 (1985) 389-414

P. Yannopoulos, "La Grèce dans la vie de s. Fantin," *Byzantion* 65 (1995) 475-94

A.A. Longo, "La vita e i miracoli di S. Fantino di Tauriana e l'identificazione dell'imperatore Leone 'eretico'," *RSBN* N. S. 32 (1995) 77-90
Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 49

Philaretos the Merciful

Philaretos, born to a prosperous farmer in Amnia, Paphlagonia, was a wealthy man with vast estates and herds of livestock and large numbers of slaves. He lost most of his property, however, to Arab raids and confiscation of land by wealthy neighbors. Always charitable, he continued to give away his possessions even in reduced circumstances until he was virtually destitute. His fortunes changed, however, in 788 when his granddaughter Maria was chosen to participate in an imperial bride show and was married to Constantine VI. Philaretos and his entire family moved to Constantinople where he continued his generous practice of almsgiving. Philaretos died in 792 at age 90 and was buried in the monastery of Krisis (also called Rhodophyllion) where he had purchased a tomb. Philaretos displayed few of the typical qualities of Byzantine saints, except for his extraordinary generosity; he also had a premonition of his death, and predicted the fate of his grandchildren. One posthumous healing miracle is attested.

His *vita* was written in 821/2 by his grandson, the monk Niketas, while exiled to Karioupolis in the Peloponnesos. It is a carefully crafted hagiographic text, combining elements of the story of Job with folkloric motifs (Cinderella, the rewarded fool). It is also an important source for 8th-c. agrarian history. Curiously, the *vita* contains no allusions to the iconoclast controversy.

The *vita* survives in two versions, represented by two manuscripts: Paris, BN gr. 1510 (10th c.) and Genoa, Bibl. Franz. 34 (11th c.). (It should be noted that K. Bonis has dated both manuscripts to the 12th c.) L. Rydén has argued that the Genoa manuscript preserves an earlier vernacular recension, whereas the Paris version represents a revised and more literary recension; he thinks that the revision took place in the 10th c., in the same milieu that produced the *vita* of Andrew the Fool. A. Kazhdan (*Byzantion* 66 [1996] 352) is more cautious, however, about the relationship between the two versions.

Editions:

(Genoa MS) - M.H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, "La vie de s. Philarète," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 85-170 with Fr. tr; rev. F.D[ölger], *BZ* 35 (1935) 194-196; F. Halkin, *AB* 53 (1935) 407-9 (Paris MS) - A. Vasiliev, "Žitie Filareta Milostivogo," *IRAİK* 5 (1900) 64-86; rev. K. K[rumbacher], *BZ* 10 (1901) 371
(fragments) - D. Zakythinos, Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα (Athens, 1958) 63-74
I. Karayannopoulos, Ἡ βυζαντινὴ ἱστορία ἀπὸ τὰς πηγὰς (Thessalonike, 1974) 163-66

Translations:

S.P. Nikol'skij, *Žitie sv. pavednogo Filareta Milostivogo* (Moscow 1888)
G. Cugnoni, *La vita e le geste del beato Filareto recate di greco involgare* (Rome 1901)

Studies:

BHG 1511z-1512b
J.M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 5 (1964) 681-683
A. Kazhdan, N.P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1650
Ch. Loparev, "Opisanie nekotorych grečeskich žitij svjatyh," *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 348-352
idem, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyh VIII-IX vekov," *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 70-80
J.W. Nesbitt, "The Life of St. Philaretos (702-792) and its Significance for Byzantine Agriculture," *GOTHr* 14 (1969) 150-158
S.V. Poljakova, "Fol'klornyj sužet o ščastlivom glupce v nekotorych pamjatnikach agiografii VIII v.," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 130-136
K. Bonis, "Zur Frage der besonderen Verehrung des Philaretos Philanthropenus (Eleemon) unter den

- orthodoxen Slaven,” *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1981) 95-98
- I. Diller-Sellschopp, “Der Weg des Aschenputtelmärchen vom Orient zu den Brüdern Grimm,” *Folia neohellenica* 4 (1982) 7-24
- L. Rydén, “The Revised Version of the ‘Life of St. Philaretos’ and the ‘Life of St. Andreas Salus’,” *AB* 100 (1982) 485-495
- P.A. Giannopoulos, “Παρατηρήσεις στὸ ‘Βίο τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλαρέτου’,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 13.1 (1985) 487-503
- M.-F. Auzépy, “De Philarète, de sa famille, et de certains monastères de Constantinople,” in *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance*, edd. C. Jolivet-Lévy et al. (Paris 1993) 117-135
- L. Rydén, J.O. Rosenqvist, S. Ryda, “Das Leben Philaretos’ des Barmherzigen: ein Editionsprojekt in drei Teilen,” *Bysantinska sällskapet. Bulletin* 13 (1995) 18-28 (in Swedish)
- J.O. Rosenqvist, “Changing Styles and Changing Mentalities: The Secondary Versions of the Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful,” *Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. C. Høgel (Oslo 1996) 43-58
- A. Kazhdan, L. Sherry, “The Tale of a Happy Fool: the *Vita* of St. Philaretos the Merciful (BHG 1511z-1512b),” *Byzantion* 66 (1996) 351-362
- C. Ludwig, *Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild: Untersuchungen zu den Viten des Äsop, des Philaretos, des Symeon Salos und des Andreas Salos* (Frankfurt, 1997)

Philotheos of Opsikion

Very little is known of the life of Philotheos. He was born in the village of Myrmex in the Opsikion theme, to Theophila and an unnamed father. He took a wife and had several children, tilled the land and became a secular priest. He was especially noted for his generosity. During his lifetime he performed miracles of multiplying loaves and transforming water into wine, as well as moving a huge stone by oral command. One year after his death, when his uncorrupted body was being translated to a more sumptuous sarcophagus, he took several steps leaning upon the shoulders of two priests.

His biography is essentially known only from brief notices in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (pp. 47-48) and the *Menologion of Basil II* (PG 117:49B-C). In the 12th century Eustathios of Thessalonike compiled a “casual” speech (ἐπελευστικὸς λόγος) on Philotheos that emphasizes the possibility of leading a saintly life in the secular world, and praises Philotheos for choosing involvement with the social polity rather than withdrawal to a hermitage or monastery. The only detail provided by Eustathios that is missing from the *Synaxarion* notice is that Philotheos lived at the time of the Agarene (Arab) invasions of Asia Minor, i.e., perhaps in the 8th or 9th century. The terminus post quem for his life is the 7th century when the Opsikion theme was established, the terminus ante quem is ca. 1000, the date of composition of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and *Menologion of Basil II*. The BHG places him tentatively in the 10th century. His feast day is September 15.

Editions:

eulogy by Eustathios - PG 136:141-61; *Opuscula*, ed. T.L.F. Tafel (Frankfurt a.M., 1832, repr. Amsterdam 1964), 145-151.

Studies:

BHG 1535

J.M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 5 (1964) 808-809

H. Delehaye, “Hagiographie napolitaine,” *AB* 57 (1939) 41, no. 19

A. Kazhdan, S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge-Paris, 1984), 151-52.

Plato of Sakkoudion

Plato was born ca. 735 to a family of Constantinopolitan functionaries and himself began a career as a state official; in 759, however, he became a monk at the monastery of Symboloi (Symbola?) on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia. In 783, together with his nephew Theodore of Stoudios he founded the monastery of Sakkoudion near Mt. Olympos and became its *hegoumenos*. He was a staunch iconodule who attended the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. He opposed Constantine VI's second marriage and as a result was arrested in 795; he was exiled in 809 for the same reason. He died in the Stoudios monastery on April 4, 814.

His funeral oration, written by Theodore of Stoudios (d. 826), takes the form of a *vita*.

Edition:

PG 99:804-50

Studies:

BHG 1553-53c

O. Volk, *LThK* 8 (1963) 554f.

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 10 (1968) 961-64

G. Mathon, *Catholicisme* 11 (1988), 490f.

A. M. Talbot, A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1684

J. Pargoire, "Une loi monastique de S. Platon," *BZ* 8 (1899) 98-101

idem, "A quelle date l'hégoumène saint Platon est-il mort?" *EO* 4 (1900/1) 164-70

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyč...", *VizVrem* 17 (1910)
153-60

B. Hermann, *Verborgene Heilige des griechischen Ostens* (Kevelaer, 1931) 163-71

Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie*, 170-79

da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 24 (1954-56) 230-40

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 103-107, 111-115, 141-143, 154-157

Prokopios of Dekapolis

Little is known of the shadowy figure of Prokopios of Dekapolis except for the scanty data provided by two synaxarion notices (on Prokopios, under February 27, and on his "fellow martyr" Basil, under February 28) and a short and uninformative anonymous *vita*. The *vita* includes no prosopographical or topographical details, nor any indications of chronology. It recounts that Prokopios was an iconodule monk, who left his monastery to spend seven years as a solitary in the wilderness. He then established a monastery, but later resumed the eremitic life. He was imprisoned and flogged under an iconoclast emperor, then sent into exile where he died "after the death of the tyrant". The synaxarion notice for Basil (*SynaxCP* 493:13-14) calls the iconoclast emperor "Leo the Iconoclast," identifiable with Leo V (813-820). Eftymiadis has proposed the identification of Prokopios with a correspondent of Theodore of Stoudios (*ep.* 69, ed. Fatouros). The monk Prokopios who is mentioned in another letter of Theodore (*ep.* 389.27-28) may well also be Prokopios of Dekapolis, since the letter is addressed to the hegoumenos Basil, who bears the same name as Prokopios' fellow martyr.

The anonymous hagiographer has borrowed passages from the *vita* of Theodore of Stoudios by Michael the Monk, and from the *vitae* of Gregory of Dekapolis and Makarios of Pelekete. Thus the *vita* must have been written sometime between 868 (the date proposed by Ch. van de Vorst for the *vita* by Michael the Monk; see s.v. Theodore of Stoudios) and the 12th c., the date of the earliest manuscript.

Editions:

S. Efthymiadis, "La vie inédite de s. Procope le Décapolite," *AB* 108 (1990) 307-19
SynaxCP 491f., 493.11-26
AASS Febr. 3:685f.

Studies:

BHG 1583
N. di Grigoli, *BiblSanct* 2 (1962) 950f.
R. Janin, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 1074
I. C. L., *Catholicisme* 11 (1988) 1116
H. Delehaye, "Notes sur un manuscrit grec du Musée Britannique," *AB* 25 (1906) 495-99

Sabas the Younger

Sabas was born in Collesano, Sicily, at an undetermined date to pious parents named Christopher (see s.v. Christopher and Makarios) and Kale. His father took the monastic habit at the monastery of St. Philip of Agira, and then retired to a hermitage where he was joined by Sabas who also took monastic vows. Following an Arab invasion and famine the entire family emigrated to Calabria. Sabas and his brother Makarios then settled in the area of Merkourion, on the border between Calabria and Lucania, later moving on to Latinianon and Salerno in the wake of Arab attacks. Sabas was a great wonderworker, and his *vita* recounts many of his miracles. He died in Rome on February 6, ca. 990-995 (990-91, according to da Costa-Louillet, following J.B. Pitra).

The *vita* of Sabas, which survives in a 12th-c. manuscript, was written by Orestes, patriarch of Jerusalem (986-1006), who spent some time in Calabria as a monk and claims personal acquaintance with Sabas. He must have written the *vita* between 991 and 1006.

Bibliography (includes Christopher and Makarios as well)

Edition:

I. Cozza-Luzi, *Historia et laudes ss. Sabae et Macarii* (Rome 1893), previously published in *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 12 (1891) 37-56, 135-68, 312-23; 13 (1892) 71-96, 143-44, 375-400; rev. K. K[rumbacher], *BZ* 1 (1892) 634-35, 3 (1894) 211; anonymous, *AB* 11 (1892) 184-85

Studies:

BHG 312, 1611-1611b
G.D. Gordini, *LThK* 9 (1964) 186
F. Russo, *BiblSanct* 4 (1964) 346-48, 8 (1966) 420f
G. Mongelli, *BiblSanct* 11 (1968) 531
Beck, *Kirche* 581
D. Martire, *Calabria sacra e profana* 1 (Cosenze 1876) 313-25
M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale* (Rome 1947, repr. 1982) XXXIXf
B. Cappelli, "Il Mercurion," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 25 (1956) 43-62
da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile," 130-42
B. Cappelli, *Il monachesimo basiliano ai confini Calabro-Lucani* (Naples 1963) 199-215
V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1967) 80f, revised Italian ed., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari 1978) 82-83
A. Jacob, "La date, la patrie et le modèle d'un rouleau italo-grec (Messanensis gr. 177)," *Helikon* 22-27 (1982-87) 118-21
Hester, *Italo-Greeks* 182-89
Ferrante, *Santi italogreci* 153-55

Sergios Niketiates

Sergios is known to us from two hagiographical sources, a short notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, and a brief mention in the *vita* of David, Symeon and George (AB 18 [1899] 245.31). The synaxarion notice recounts that he was a relative of the empress Theodora and was born in a Paphlagonian village called Niketia. An ardent iconodule, he founded a monastery on the Gulf of Nikomedeia, called Niketiates and dedicated to the Virgin. He was sent by emperor Michael III (842-867) on an expedition against Arab-controlled Crete; he died there and was buried at the monastery “of the Magistros”. Later his remains were transferred to the monastery of Niketiates. According to the *vita* of David, Symeon and George, he was a prominent member of the imperial council after the victory of the iconodule party in 843.

Grégoire argues that the expedition to Crete (and therefore Sergios’ death) should be dated to 866. He further suggests that one of the Byzantine commanders at the siege of Damietta in 853, ibn Qatuna of the Arabic sources, should be identified as “Niketiates”.

No full-fledged *vita* of Sergios has survived; his synaxarion notice is dated by Grégoire to the 9th c., but may be later.

Edition:

SynaxCP 777-778

Studies:

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 11 (1968) 869f.

H. Grégoire, “Études sur le neuvième siècle. I. Un grand homme inconnu: le magistre et logothète Serge le Nicétiate,” *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 515-31

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 94

R. Guillard, “Les logothètes,” *REB* 29 (1971) 51, no. 11

Laurent, *Corpus* 2, (1981) nos. 307-08. Cf. *BZ* 33 (1933) 345f.

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 452, n. 451

Sixty Martyrs in Jerusalem

According to their short *passio*, the sixty martyrs were Byzantine archons who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land ca. 724/25, and were arrested just outside Jerusalem when a seven-year truce between Byzantines and Arabs expired. Summoned before the governor (*symbolos*) of Caesarea, the archons refused to apostasize and convert to Islam. They were taken to Jerusalem, tortured and crucified next to the Tower of David. (The archons were originally seventy in number, but three died en route from Caesarea to Jerusalem and seven recanted Christianity out of cowardice, just before crucifixion, only to succumb almost immediately to dysentery.) They were commemorated in Jerusalem on 21 October.

The shorter martyrion published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*BHG* 1217) is preserved in a 10th-c. manuscript (Coislin, gr. 303) that provides a terminus ante quem for its composition. In an epilogue the monk John claims to have read the *passio* of the Sixty Martyrs in Syriac, and then “after a time” (διὰ χρόνου) to have gone to Jerusalem to venerate their relics. Subsequently he commissioned the translation of the *passio* into Greek by an unnamed translator. The date of composition of the Greek text therefore must fall somewhere between ca. 750 and ca. 950. There is one indication that may permit a somewhat more precise time for the writing of the *vita*. The hagiographer unexpectedly praises the emperor Leo III, usually reviled as an iconoclast, and calls him “of blessed memory”; this might suggest the hagiographer’s support of iconoclasm and the possibility that he was writing under Constantine V or another iconoclast emperor.

The martyrion was clearly written in Palestine, and mentions several toponyms, such as the Tower of David, the spring of Koloneia, and the church of St. Stephen. The author appears to provide an otherwise unattested version of the expedition against Constantinople launched by Sulaiman b. Abd al-Malik (literally “servant of kings”), rendered in Greek as “Solomon ho tou Anaktodoulou,” who was Umayyad caliph from 715 to 717. He recounts that the emperor Leo III surrounded the encampment of the Arab army with water (probably in a moat), and thus forced the Arab commander to agree to a seven-year truce, which permitted free access to the Holy Land for Byzantine merchants and pilgrims. Neither the use of a water-filled moat or the truce is confirmed in any other source, and in fact Leo did not ascend the Byzantine throne until March 717 when he entered Constantinople. Thus, the historicity of the account is suspect, and Huxley has argued that the entire story is the fabrication of the hagiographer, based on a lost *passio* of 60 martyrs during the reign of Herakleios.

Another version of the martyrion (*BHG* 1218), authored by the monk Symeon, is preserved in several manuscripts, of which the best is Vatic. gr. 2042 of the 12th c. Symeon’s account is more verbose: it contains the full list of (in this version) 63 martyrs and a religious dispute between the Christian archons and Arabs. The archons are said to be from Ikonion. This version terms both Leo and his son Constantine V as impious.

Editions:

John the Monk - A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Mučeničestvo šestidesjati novych svjatykh mučenikov,” *PPSb* 12.1 (1892), 1-23 with Russ. tr. by G. Destunis; rev. E. Kurtz, *BZ* 2 (1893) 316f

Symeon the Monk - A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sylloge Palaistines kai Syriakes Hagiologias* [= *PPSb* 19.3] (1907), 136-63, with Russ. tr. by V. Latyšev

Latin *passio* - H. Delehaye, “Passio sanctorum sexaginta martyrorum,” *AB* 23 (1904) 289-307

Studies:

BHG 1217-18

L. Bréhier, “Les populations rurales au IXe siècle d’après l’hagiographie byzantine,” *Byzantion* 1 (1924) 178f.

G. Huxley, “The Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem,” *GRBS* 18 (1977) 369-374

Gero, *Leo III*, 176-181

Stephen Neolampes

Stephen was born in Constantinople to pious parents named Zacharias and Theophano. A date of birth in 839/40 can be calculated from the information that he was in his 40th year, i.e., 39, in the 12th year of the reign of Basil I, i.e., 878/9. He showed his innate ascetic tendencies even as an infant when he refused to suckle his mother’s breast if she had eaten rich food. After the restoration of icons in 843, his father was ordained a priest at St. Sophia. Stephen followed in his father’s footsteps and joined the clergy of the Great Church at a tender age. Stephen began his ascetic career in his eighteenth year, after his father’s death, living as a recluse in the chapel of St. Peter near St. Sophia. He later became a priest and moved to the monastery of St. Antipas, until it was badly damaged in the earthquake of 878/9. He then lived for 12 years in a “grave-like hole.” Upon emergence from his seclusion he took the monastic habit (or the great habit?). He died in 911/12 at age 72, and was buried at the monastery of St. Antipas.

His biography is preserved only in synaxarion notices.

Edition:

SynaxCP 291-94

Studies:

BHG Nov. Auct. 2404s-t

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 2-4

Janin, *Eglises CP* 38, 399

Stephen of Chenolakkos

Stephen is known only from an entry in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* under 14 January. Born in the East to a noble family, he espoused the monastic life from his youth. After visits to monasteries in the Judean Desert and Jordan region, he went to Constantinople during the reign of Leo III (717-741) and the patriarchate of Germanos (715-730), thus sometime between 717 and 730. After serving for a while as advisor to Germanos, he founded the Chenolakkos monastery in Bithynia. There is no mention of icons or iconoclasm in the synaxarion notice.

Caraffa places his death ca. 740 without any evidence.

Edition:

SynaxCP 392-394

Studies:

F. Caraffa, *BiblSanct* 11 (1968) 1398

Janin, *Eglises Centres* 189

Stephen of Sougdaia

A short *vita* of Stephen, preserved in cod. Chalcensis 75 of the 11th c., provides the following biographical information. Born in Cappadocia in the *kome* of Moribason, Stephen received both a religious and a secular education in a school (σχολή τῶν γραμμάτων). After both his parents died he went on pilgrimage to Athens and then to Constantinople where he took monastic vows. He was then made archbishop of Sougdaia (Surož) in the Crimea, during the patriarchate of Germanos I (715-730). When Leo V (sic! probably a mistake for Leo III) began his persecution of iconodules, Stephen was arrested and brought back to Constantinople for interrogation by the emperor. Stephen was tortured and imprisoned for his beliefs, but finally released through the intervention of a woman named Irene. He returned to his flock in the Crimea, and died on a 15th of December after working many miracles.

A biography preserved only in Slavonic translation in a 16th-c. manuscript is more developed: it ascribes Stephen's recall to Constantinople to Leo III and his release from prison to the intervention of Theodora, wife of Constantine V. There then follows a series of miracles performed by Stephen, including the conversion of the Russian prince of Novgorod, Bravlin. The authenticity of the information on a Russian invasion of the Crimea in the second half of the 8th c. and the relationship between the short *vita* and the longer Slavonic version has been hotly disputed.

It is unlikely that the Stephen celebrated in these vitae is to be identified with Stephen of Sougdaia who participated in the Council of Nicaea in 787, or the Stephen exiled to Sougdaia in the 760s who is mentioned in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (264.1-4).

Edition:

V.G. Vasilievskij, *Russko-vizantijskija izsledovanija*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1893) 74-79 (short Greek *vita*), 77-98 (Slavonic tr.), repr. in his *Trudy* 3 (St. Petersburg, 1915), rev. V. Jagi, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 16 (1894) 216-24; K. K[rumbacher], *BZ* 4 (1895) 210; anonymous, *AB* 13 (1894) 181; Corrections: P.V. Nikitin, "O nekotorych grečeskich žitijach svjatyč," *Zapiski imp. Akademii nauk, ist.-filol. otd.* 1.1 (1895) 51-54

Studies:

BHG 1671

F. Caraffa, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 16

F. Westberg, "O žitii sv. Stefana Surožskogo," *VizVrem* 14 (1907/9) 227-36, rev. E. K[urtz], *BZ* 18 (1909) 647

A.I. Sobolevskij, "Dva čuda sv. Stefana Surožskogo," *Sbornik v pamjat' sv. ravnoapostol'nogo knjazja Vladimira* (St. Petersburg 1917)

G. da Costa-Louillet, "Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire byzantin avant 860?," *Byzantion* 15 (1941) 242-244

A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946) 81-83

E.E. Lipšic, "O pochode Rusi na Vizantiju ranee 842 g.," *Istoričeskie zapiski* 26 (1948) 312-31

G. Vernadskij, "The Problem of the Early Russian Campaigns in the Black Sea's Area," *American Slavic and East European Review* 8 (1949) 1-9

S. Sekirinskij, *Očerki istorii Suroža IX-XV vv.* (Simferopol' 1955)

M.V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskich otnošenij* (Moscow 1956) 50-55

Stephen the Sabaite

Stephen, one of the famed ascetic hermits of the Palestinian desert, was born to Kyriakos and Sergia in a village near Askalon. Orphaned at age 9, he went to live with his uncle Zacharias, a hermit at the Lavra of St. Sabas. At age 15 he was tonsured as a monk and served the lavra as baker, *kanonarches*, *hegoumenarches* (deputy abbot), *xenodochos* (guestmaster) and (as known from the Arabic text) librarian. He was also ordained as a deacon and archdeacon. At age 37 he withdrew to a hermitage near the lavra where he spent the rest of his life; at some point during his retreat to the desert he was ordained as a priest.

His very lengthy *vita*, in 188 chapters, is closer to the tradition of the *Pratum Spirituale* or the *Apophthegmata Patrum* than to a saint's Life, since it focuses primarily on visits of disciples and pilgrims to Stephen's cave hermitage. There is little sense of chronological progression or milestones in Stephen's life. He has revelations when celebrating the liturgy, makes predictions and is clairvoyant, offers spiritual advice and performs healing miracles. The *vita* omits any reference to Stephen's attitude toward icons. According to the *vita* Stephen died at age 69 in 6286 (of the Alexandrian era) = 794; therefore he must have been born in 725.

The Greek version of the *vita* of this 8th-c. hermit was written by Leontios of Damascus, one of Stephen's disciples, in the early 9th c., while Thomas was patriarch of Jerusalem (807-821). It is preserved in a single acephalous manuscript (Paris Coislin gr. 303), from which the first eighteen chapters are missing. Fortunately the complete *vita* is preserved in an Arabic translation; in addition there survives a fragment in Georgian of chapters 159-165. The *vita* is a very important source of information on monastic life in the Judean desert in the 8th c., and also sheds much light on the patriarchate of Jerusalem, pilgrimage, Muslim/Christian interactions, and the transition of Syro-Palentine to an Arabophone region.

A number of individuals in the 8th and early 9th c. bore the name Stephen Sabaites, and great confusion has resulted from attempts to sort out their identity. Attempts have been made (e.g., by Kazhdan in the *ODB*) to conflate the hero of the *vita* by Leontios, Stephen the Sabaite (d. 794), with Stephen, a hymnographer and the nephew of John of Damascus, who died ca. 807. It seems unlikely, however, that the *vita* of Stephen the Sabaite would have failed to mention his kinship with the great theologian; the *vita* only mentions Stephen's uncle Zacharias, and makes no reference at all to John of Damascus. Moreover, as Auzépy has pointed out, Stephen the Hymnographer wrote a canon in honor of Stephen the Sabaite. She also argues that "abbas Stephen, the pride of the Lavra," who is described by Leontios as having written an account of the martyrdom of the monks of Mar Saba by the Arabs in 797, was Stephen the Hymnographer.

Editions:

AASS July 3:504-584

Ital. tr. C. Carta, *Leonzio di Damasco, Vita di s. Stefano Sabaita (725-794)* (Jerusalem 1983), rev. F. H[alkin], *AB* 101 (1983) 456; G. Fedalto, *Studia Pataviana* 31 (1984) 456f

Arabic version: ed. B. Pirone, *Leonzio di Damasco, Vita di santo Stefano Sabaita* (Cairo-Jerusalem 1991), with Ital. tr.

Georgian fragment: G. Garitte, "Un extrait géorgien de la vie d'Etienne le Sabaïte," *Muséon* 67 (1954) 71-92

Studies:

BHG 1670-70b

J.M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 14f

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1954f

Beck, *Kirche* 507f

I. Phokylides, "Περὶ Στεφάνου τοῦ Σαβαΐτου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Λαύρᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα σφαγῆς μοναχῶν," *Nea Sion* 10 (1910) 64-75

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyčh," *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 19-33

Sophronios [Eustratiades], "Στέφανος ὁ ποιητὴς ὁ Σαβαΐτης," *Nea Sion* 28 (1933) 594-602, 651-73, 722-37, 29 (1934) 3-19, 113-30, 185-87

G. Garitte, "Le début de la vie s. Etienne le Sabaïte retrouvé en arabe au Sinaï," *AB* 77 (1959) 332-69

Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt. VI:735f

M.-F. Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe-IXe siècles): Etienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène," *TM* 12 (1994) 183-218

J.C. Lamoreaux, "Some Notes on a Recent Edition of the Life of St. Stephen of Mar Sabas," *AB* 113 (1995) 117-126

Stephen the Younger

According to the internal chronology of his *vita*, Stephen was born on 11 August 715 and died on 28 November of his 53rd year, i.e. in 767. His *vita* was written 42 years later (809) by Stephen, deacon of Hagia Sophia. The chroniclers Nikephoros (*Breviarium*) and Theophanes (*Chronographia*), however, place his death in 765, which would mean that his *vita* was written in 807, the usually accepted date. The *vita* was commissioned by Epiphanius, Stephen's successor as a recluse on Mt. St. Auxentios, at the request of the nuns of the Trichinarea convent on this holy mountain. The *vita* was extremely popular, and survives in nineteen manuscripts. There is also a revised version by Symeon Metaphrastes.

Stephen, born to a craftsman of Constantinople, was baptized by patriarch Germanos I. After his elementary education in the capital, he was brought by his parents to Mt. St. Auxentios at the advent of iconoclasm, and was dedicated to monastic life. He lived on the mountain as a hermit, under the spiritual direction of the recluse John, receiving the tonsure at age 15. Sometime between 745 and 756 he founded on the holy mountain the male monastery of St. Auxentios. An ardent iconodule, Stephen refused to accept the Council of Hiereia of 754. Constantine V ordered the destruction of Stephen's monastery in 763, and the arrest of the saint. After exile to Prokonnesos and imprisonment in Constantinople, he was tortured, dragged through the streets and executed. M.-F. Auzépy has argued that he was martyred more for his role in instigating the conspiracy of 766 against the emperor Constantine V than for his support of icons. Nonetheless, thanks to his *vita* he is remembered primarily as one of the prominent iconodule martyrs of the first period of iconoclasm.

Editions:

PG 100:1069-1186 (version used for database and textbase)

M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre* (Aldershot, 1997), with French tr.
F. Iadevaia, *Simeone Metafraste, Vita di s. Stefane Minore* (Messina 1984), rev. E. Follieri, *BZ* 79
(1986) 144; F. Halkin, *AB* 103 (1985) 183f.

Studies:

BHG 1666-1667e

J. Darrouzès, *DHGE* 15 (1963) 1238

O. Volk, *LThK* 9 (1964) 1049

P. Rouillard, *BiblSanct* 11 (1968) 1420f

A. Kazhdan, N.P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 3 (1991) 1955

V.G. Vasil'evskij, "Žitie Stefana Novogo," *ŽMNP* 191 (1877) 283-329, repr. in his *Trudy* 2 (St.
Petersburg 1909-12) 297-350

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatykh," *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 119-47

P.V. Nikitin, "O Žitii Stefana Novogo," *Izvestija Akademii nauk*, 6th ser. (1912) no. 18, 1099-1115

Ch. Diehl, "Une vie de saint de l'époque des empereurs iconoclastes," *Comptes rendus des séances
de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (March-April 1915) 134-50

J. Gill, "A Note on the Life of Saint Stephen the Younger by Symeon Metaphrastes," *BZ* 39 (1939)
382-86

idem, "The Life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon: Debts and Loans," *OrChrP* 6
(1940) 114-39

I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography," 10f, 30 n. 15

G. Huxley, "On the Vita of Stephen the Younger," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 18 (1977)
99-107

M.F. Rouan, "Une lecture 'iconoclaste' de la Vie d'Etienne le Jeune," *TM* 8 (1981) 415-36

S. Gero, "Jannes and Jambres in the Vita Stephani Iunioris (*BHG* 1666)," *AB* 113 (1995) 281-292

Tarasios

Born ca. 730, Tarasios pursued a secular career in Constantinople and became an imperial secretary (*protasekretis*). Despite his lay status he was appointed patriarch by the empress Irene in 784. He assisted her in the restoration of the cult of icons, presiding over the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. Tarasios adopted a moderate position with regard to the iconoclasts, and was censured by Theodore of Stoudios for this attitude. He followed a policy of compromise with regard to the divorce and second marriage of Constantine VI (the so-called Moechian Controversy), thus attracting the opposition of rigorists. He died in Constantinople on 25 Feb. 806.

His *vita* was written in high style by Ignatios the Deacon (d. after 845), probably toward the end of his life, as suggested both by the title and by a passage (p. 2.1) where he states that he composed the work while "bent over with old age and illness." The most likely period of composition would seem to be early in the reign of Michael III and Theodora (842-856).

Edition:

I. A. Heikel, *Ignatii diaconi Vita Tarasii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* (Helsingfors, 1891);
corr. by P. Nikitin, "O nekotorych grečeskich tekstach žitij svjatykh," *ZapANIst.fil.,ser. 8, I.1*
(1895), 1-16

S. Efthymiadis, *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon* (Aldershot, 1998) with
Eng. tr.

Lat. tr.: PG 98:1385-1424

Studies:

BHG 1698-98c

R. Janin, *DTC* 15 (1946) 54-57

F. Dvornik, *LThK* 9 (1964) 1298

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 127-31

Beck, *Kirche* 489

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2011

V. Preobraženskij, *Sviatij Tarasij Patriarch caregradskij i sedmyj vselenskij sobor* (St. Petersburg, 1893)

I. D. Andreev, *German i Tarasij—patriarchi konstantinopol'skie* (Sergiev Posad, 1907); cf. his "Sv. Tarasij, patriarch konstantinopol'skij," *Bogoslovskij vestnik* (June 1899) 143-80, (July 1899) 302-46, (Aug. 1899) 459-506

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatykh..." *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 99-109

G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," *SemKond* 6 (1933) 73-87
da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," 217-29

R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610-1071* (New York, 1966) 93-100

W. Wolska-Conus, "Un programme iconographique du patriarche Tarasios?," *REB* 38 (1980) 247-54

Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 77-89, 397-402

S. Efthymiadis, "On the Hagiographical Work of Ignatius the Deacon," *JÖB* 41 (1991) 73-83

Theodora of Kaisaris

Theodora, said to be a contemporary of Leo III, is known only from a short synaxarion notice. Daughter of the patrikios Theophilos and Theodora, she was born in Kaisaris, an otherwise unattested toponym. Her mother dedicated her at a tender age to the convent of St. Anna "called Rhigidion" (also unknown) in thanksgiving for St. Anna's aid in her conception of the child. After receiving her elementary education at the convent, she was supposedly forced by the emperor Leo into marriage with his son Christopher (actually Christopher was the son of Constantine V). She was saved from consummation of the marriage, however, by a sudden attack of the Scythians (Bulgarians?) in the West, which caused Christopher to leave immediately for the front where he was killed in battle. The young bride then returned by ship to the monastery of St. Anna where she took monastic vows. She spent the rest of her monastic career engaged in extreme mortification of the flesh. Her feast day is celebrated on 29 December.

Although the synaxarion notice terms Leo "theomachos," there is no overt allusion to iconoclast persecution, nor indeed are icons even mentioned.

Edition:

SynaxCP 354-356

Studies:

BHG 2424m

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 221f

R. Guillard, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967) 26.

Theodora of Thessalonike

Theodora (baptismal name Agape) was born on Aegina in 812, but was forced by Arab raids on

the island to emigrate to Thessalonike with her husband, probably sometime between 825 and 830. Following the deaths of her husband and two of their children and the dedication of their third child to monastic life, Theodora entered the convent of St. Stephen in 837. She spent the remaining 55 years of her life there as an exemplary nun, refusing promotion to the position of abbess. She died August 29, 892, and immediately began to work posthumous miracles.

Her *vita* was written by Gregory, a member of the Thessalonian clergy who personally witnessed the translation of her relics in 893. He states that he wrote the *vita* two years after Theodora's death, i.e., in 894. The *vita* survives in two versions, one found in a 12th-c. Moscow manuscript (Synodal Library 390) and first edited by Bishop Arsenij, the other preserved in a 13th-14th-c. Vatican manuscript (Palatinus gr. 211) first edited by E. Kurtz; this second version also includes the appended account of the *Translation and Miracles*. Most scholars (e.g. Beck, Halkin, Patlagean, Paschalides) accept Kurtz's view that the version in the Vatican manuscript represents a later paraphrase (probably written in the final decades of the 13th c.) of Gregory's original late 9th-c. composition. A. Kazhdan, however, has raised some objections to Kurtz's conclusions, suggesting that the *vita* edited by Kurtz may be the original, or that both *vitae* may derive from a lost original.

In the late 13th c. John Staurakios, *chartophylax* of the metropolis of Thessalonike, wrote an *enkomion* of Theodora, as did Nicholas Kabasilas in the 14th c.

Editions:

- S. A. Paschalides, 'Ο βίος τῆς ὀσιομυροβλύτιδος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας (Thessalonike, 1991), with mod. Greek tr.
- E. Kurtz, *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wundertaten und Translation der heiligen Theodora von Thessalonich* (St. Petersburg, 1902) rev. P. Maas, *BZ* 12 (1903) 614-25; H. D[elehaye], *AB* 22 (1903) 99-101; L. Petit, *EO* 6 (1903) 151f.
- Bishop Arsenij, *Žitie i podvigi sv. Feodory Solunskoj* (Juriev, 1899), with Russian trans., rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 7 (1900) 166-68
- Tsames, *Meterikon* 4:90-185 with mod. Greek. trans.
- V. Vasil'evskij, "Odin iz grečeskich sbornikov Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki," *ŽMNP* 248 (Nov. 1886) 65-106, rev. E. Kurtz, *BZ* 2 (1893) 312f.
- enkomion* by Kabasilas: PG 150:753-72

Translation:

English tr. by A.-M. Talbot, in Talbot, *Holy Women*, 159-237

Studies:

- AHG VIII (Apr.) 397
- BHG 1737-41
- R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 226f.
- A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2038f.
- Beck, *Kirche* 563f.
- P. N. Papageorgiu, "Zur Vita der hl. Theodora von Thessalonike," *BZ* 10 (1901) 144-58 and "Nachtrag zu B.Z. X 151," *BZ* 11 (1902) 34
- A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Ἰωάννης Σταυράκιος καὶ Δημήτριος Βεάσκος," *VizVrem* 13 (1906) 493-95
- Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatych..." *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 85-98
- A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1 (Brussels, 1935) 57f.
- E. Patlagean, "Théodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IX^e-XX^e siècle)," *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età pre-industriale*, edd. S. B. Gajano and L. Sebastiani (Rome, 1984) 37-67
- Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 374f.
- Ch. Bakirtzes, "Μαρμάρινη εἰκόνα τῆς Ἀγίας Θεοδώρας ἀπὸ τῆ Θεσσαλονίκῃ," *Hellenika* 39 (1988) 158-163

- S. A. Paschalides, "Τὸ συναξάριο τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας στὸν κώδικα Coislinianus 223," *Byzantina* 16 (1991) 357-66.
- idem, "Ἐνας ὁμολογητῆς τῆς δευτέρας Εἰκονομαχίας: ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀντώνιος (+844)," *Byzantina* 17 (1994) 189-216.
- A.-M. Talbot, "Family Cults in Byzantium: the Case of St. Theodora of Thessalonike," in *ΛΕΙΜΩΝ: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. J.O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala 1996) 49-69.
- Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 51-52

Theodora Wife of Theophilus

Theodora was born in Paphlagonia, probably ca. 815, assuming that she was in her middle teens when she married the emperor Theophilus ca. 830 after emerging victorious in a brideshow. Following her husband's death she served as regent for her minor son Michael III in 842. Shortly after assuming power she reversed her husband's iconoclastic policy and restored the veneration of images (843). The exact date of her death is uncertain: most sources relate that she survived her son, who was murdered in 867, but the *vita* recounts that Michael was still alive at the time of his mother's death.

Her *vita*, by an anonymous author, is an atypical hagiographical composition. It is closer to the format of a chronicle, and its middle section, which recounts the events of Theophilus' reign and the restoration of icon veneration, scarcely mentions the empress. Moreover, no miracles are specifically attributed to Theodora. Indeed the *vita* has several passages in common with George Hamartolos and there has been some discussion as to which text holds priority. Regel and Markopoulos both concluded that the *vita* served as a source for George's chronicle. The *vita* was probably composed fairly soon after Theodora's death, during the reign of Basil I (867-886) or Leo VI (886-912).

Editions:

- A. Markopoulos, "Βίος τῆς ἀτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας (BHG 1731)," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 249-83; Eng. tr. by M. Vinson, in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (Washington, D.C., 1998), 353-382
- W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891) 1-43
- Tsames, *Meterikon* 3:368-405 (with mod. Greek tr.)

Studies:

- BHG* 1731-35
- D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 222-224
- P. A. Hollingsworth, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2037f.
- P. Karlin-Hayter, "Études sur les deux histoires du règne de Michel III," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 469-474
- eadem*, "La mort de Théodora," *JÖB* 40 (1990) 205-8
- W. Treadgold, "The Bride-Shows of the Byzantine Emperors," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 402-6
- L. Rydén, "The Bride Shows at the Byzantine Court: History or Fiction?," *Eranos* 83 (1985) 175-191
- K. Nikolaou, "Οἱ γυναῖκες στο βίο και τὰ ἔργα του Θεόφιλου," *Μνήμη Δ.Α. Ζακυθηνοῦ = Σύμμεικτα* 9 (1994) 2: 137-151.
- M. Vinson, "The Terms ἐγκόλπιον and τεράντιον and the Conversion of Theophilus in the *Life of Theodora* (BHG 1731)," *GRBS* 36 (1995) 89-99.

Theodore of Edessa

Theodore of Edessa, also called the Sabaite, was born in Edessa (in 776?) to a noble couple. He apparently suffered from a learning disability, but was miraculously granted facility in reading and

writing. At age 20 he became a monk at the Mar Saba monastery near Jerusalem, and eventually its *hegoumenos*. Subsequently, at age 60, he was appointed bishop of Edessa, in 836 according to Ch. Loparev and A. Vasiliev. He reportedly visited Constantinople during the joint rule of Michael III and Theodora (842-856). He died at Mar Saba, and was buried there on 19 July, which was to become his feast day.

Theodore is the hero of a lengthy hagiographical romance which draws upon events ranging from the 7th to the 9th c. The central episode of the *vita* is the story of Mauias, the Arab ruler in Babylon/Baghdad, who was converted by Theodore to Christianity, baptized as John, and murdered by Muslims. Vasiliev defended the historicity of the *vita* and tried to identify Mauias with first one, then another, Arab prince. But the chronology of the *vita* is definitely confused, since the hagiographer makes Theodore a contemporary of the caliph "Adramelech," i.e. Abd al-Malik, who ruled 685-705. Moreover, it seems most likely that "Mauias" denotes Muawiya I (661-680) or Muawiya II (683-684), who lived almost 200 years earlier than Michael III.

The *vita's* title calls the hagiographer Basil, bishop of Emesa, and nephew of Theodore. The veracity of this claim is questioned by A. Abel and J. Gouillard who consider the *vita* a tissue of legends, most probably of the 10th c. A *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *vita* is provided by the date of the earliest manuscript, Moscow, Hist. Mus. 15/381, copied in 1023.

Edition:

I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie iže vo sv. otca našego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1892), rev. P. Nikitin, "O nekotorych grečeskich tekstach žitij svjatyč," *ZapANist.fil.*, ser. 8, I.1 (1895) 63-67; K. Krumbacher, *BZ* 1 (1892) 632; A. Vasiliev, *ŽMNP* (March, 1893) 201-10
Slavonic translation: ed. F. Eliseev (St. Petersburg, 1879-85), see V. Jagič, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 15 (1893) 610f.

Studies:

BHG 1744-1744e

J. Gouillard, *DTC* 15 (1946) 284-86

Th. Spidlik, *LThK* 10 (1965) 39

F. A. Angarano, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 250

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2043

V. G. Vasil'evskij, "Povest' Epifanija o Ierusalime; i suščich u nem mest," *PPSb* 11 (1886) 263-65

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyč...", *VizVrem* 19 (1912) 40-64

P. Peeters, "La Passio de s. Michel le Sabaïte," *AB* 48 (1920) 65-98

N. Bonwetsch, "Die Vita des Theodor, Erzbischofs von Edessa," *BNJb* 2 (1921) 285-90

A. Vasiliev, "The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion* 16 (1944) 165-225

J. Gouillard, "Supercherries et méprises littéraires: L'oeuvre de saint Théodore d'Edesse," *REB* 5 (1947) 137-57

A. Abel, "La portée apologétique de la 'Vie' de St. Théodore d'Edesse," *BS* 10 (1949) 229-40

I. Meimaris, A. Selim, "An Arabic Version of the Life of St. Theodore of Edessa "Ar-Raha" the Sabaite," *Graeco-Arabica* 2 (1983) 113-17

S. H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 131f.

Theodore of Kythera

Born in Korone in the Peloponnesos, Theodore was raised in Nauplion by the *protopapas* of that city after the death of his parents. He was married, had two children, and was ordained deacon by Theodore, the bishop of Argos. Unsatisfied with his worldly life, however, and always mindful of his mortality, Theodore abandoned his family, and sailed to Rome where he spent four years and took the monastic habit. He then returned to Monembasia, and after one year went to live as a hermit on the

island of Kythera, abandoned by its inhabitants because of the raids of Cretan Arabs. Theodore's companion, the monk Antony, could not endure the rigors of the solitary life and returned to Monembasia three months later. Theodore remained on the island, but died on 12 May, eleven months after his arrival. He was buried in the church of Sts. Sergios and Bacchus by hunters from Monembasia who visited the island in search of wild goats and asses.

There are few clues to the chronology of Theodore's life in the *vita*. He died during the reign of Romanos "the Ancient," i.e., Romanos I (920-944). Oikonomides calculates that he was born in the final third of the 9th century (perhaps between 870 and 890), since he was ordained as deacon sometime before 920, and hypothesizes that he died in 922.

Theodore's *vita* was written by a Leo, otherwise unknown, and survives in two 16th-century manuscripts. Leo states that his source was the *vita* compiled by an anonymous writer from Monembasia, at least 23 years after the saint's death, on the basis of the saint's own words and information received from people who had met the saint (p. 289.248-49); there is a reference to Theodore's own narration (p. 283.57-59) and to the testimony of his companion Antony (p. 288.218-19). Leo asserts that the anonymous hagiographer wrote in a simple manner, while he himself rewrote the *vita* in a higher style; he also added a lengthy epilogue addressed to the saint. It is difficult to say whether Leo actually had at his disposal a contemporary original *vita* or that his claim of an original source is a hagiographical *topos*. The only certainty is that he wrote (or his source was produced) after the reign of Romanos II (959-963); otherwise the emperor's epithet, "the Ancient," would have been unnecessary. The *vita* recalls, to some extent, the story of Theoktiste of Lesbos: in both stories the saint ends his/her life on an abandoned island devastated by the Arabs and visited by hunters; also a church survives on each island.

Edition:

N. Oikonomides, "Ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων (10ος αἰ.)," Πρακτικά Τρίτου Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου 1 (Athens, 1967), 264-91, rev. J. Noret, *AB* 87 (1969) 277-78

Studies:

BHG 2430

J. M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 248

E. Chrestou, K. Nikolaou, "Στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν κοινωνία καὶ τὸν καθημερινὸ βίον στὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Λακωνικῆς (θ' -ιβ' αἰ.) ἀπὸ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα," *Byzantinai meletai* 2 (Athens 1990) 206-30
Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 53-54

Theodore of Stoudios

Theodore, a leading proponent of image veneration and monastic reform, was born in 759 into a family of Constantinopolitan officials. He became a monk in 780 at the family monastery of Sakkoudion in Bithynia, and succeeded his uncle Plato of Sakkoudion (see s.v.) as *hegoumenos* in 794. He opposed the second marriage of Constantine VI and criticized the policy of compromise followed by the patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros I. Ca. 798 he moved to Constantinople where he restored the monastery of Stoudios. He was exiled to the Princes' Islands by the patriarch Nikephoros in 809, and was again banished in 815, this time to Metopa, for his opposition to the iconoclast Council of 815. He was recalled by Michael II in 821 and died in 826.

The earliest hagiographic work on Theodore is the eulogy, in the form of an encyclical letter, sent by his disciple Naukratios to announce his death to the Stoudite monks who were dispersed by the iconoclastic persecutions. There also survives an anonymous account of the translation to Constantinople of the relics of Theodore and his brother Joseph of Thessalonike which occurred on 26 Jan. 844.

Three biographies of Theodore are known; they closely resemble each other and form three versions of the same work rather than three individual *vitae*. They were written after 855 since they mention Sophronios, one of Theodore's successors as *hegoumenos* of the Stoudios monastery (851-855), as already deceased. The *terminus post quem* of composition can be moved to 861 if we assume

that Gregory of Syracuse, whose pupils are said to have ridiculed Theodore's hymns (PG 99:216B, 312C-313B; Latyšev, 296f.), was Gregory Asbestos, archbishop of Syracuse (d. after 861), since the hagiographers allude to the journey of these disciples to Sardinia after their teacher's death. The author of the presumably earliest version is called Michael the Monk; van de Vorst (*AB* 32 [1913] 29) argued that his work should be dated after 868 because it apparently refers to Nicholas of Stoudios (see s.v., d. 868) as deceased. Another *vita* has sometimes been attributed to Theodore Daphnopates, a politician of the mid-10th c. In the 12th c. Stephen Meles wrote a *vita* of Theodore in iambic verses.

Editions:

Eulogy by Naukratios: PG 99:1825-49

Translation of relics: Ch. van de Vorst, "La translation de s. Théodore Studite et de s. Joseph de Thessalonique," *AB* 32 (1913) 27-62

Excerpts from *Vitae: FGH*Bulg 4:141-145 (with Bulg. tr.)

vita by Michael the Monk: PG 99:233-328

vita by Theodore Daphnopates (?): PG 99:113-232, emended by V. Latyšev in *VizVrem* 21 (1914) 226-253

anonymous *vita*: Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1: xxxiv-xc; improved version by V. Latyšev, "Vita s. Theodori Studitae in codice Mosquensi musei Rumianzovani no. 520," *VizVrem* 21 (1914) 255-304; rev. E. Kurtz, *BZ* 23 (1920) 466f.

Studies:

BHG 1754-1759m

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 265-70

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2044-2045

M. H. Congourdeau, *DictSpir* 15 (1990) 401-14

Beck, *Kirche* 491-95

K. Thomas, *Theodor von Studion und sein Zeitalter* (Osnabrück, 1892)

P. Preobraženskij, *Prepodobnyj Feodor Studit i ego vremja* (Moscow, 1896)

S. Schiwietz, *De s. Theodoro Studita reformatore monachorum Basilianorum* (Breslau, 1896)

G. A. Schneider, *Der hl. Theodor von Stoudion. Sein Leben und Wirken* (Münster, 1900)

A. Gardner, *Theodore of Studium, his Life and Times* (London, 1905), rev. E. W. Brooks, *EHR* 21 (1906) 353f.; E. Marin, *BZ* 17 (1908) 510f.

E. Marin, *Saint Théodore (759-826)* (Paris, 1906)

N. Grossu, *Prepodobnyj Feodor Studit, ego vremja, izn' i tvorenija* (Kiev, 1907)

I. I. Sokolov, *Prepodobnyj Feodor Studit, ego cerkovno-obščestvennaja i bogoslovsko-literaturnaja dejatel'nost'* (St. Petersburg, 1907)

Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskije žitija svjatych...", *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 160-85

A. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen Studijskij*, 2 vols. (Odessa, 1913-14), rev. F. Uspenskij, *VizVrem* 22 (1915-16) 172-84; Ch. Loparev, *VizObozr* 3 (1917) pt. II:1-3

S. G. Mercati, "Stefano Meles è l'autore della vita giambica di s. Teodoro Studita del *cod. Barocc. gr. 27*," *BZ* 25 (1925) 43-46, repr. in his *Collectanea byzantina* 1 (Bari, 1970) 311-14

I. Hausherr, "S. Théodore Studite, l'homme et l'ascète," *OrChrP* 6 (1926) 1-87, rev. H. Lother, *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 48 (1927) 197f.

Max, Herzog zu Sachsen, *Der heilige Theodor, Archimandrit von Studion*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1929)

B. Hermann, "Der hl. Abt Theodor (†826). Der aszetische Meister von Studion und die Studitenmönche," *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik* 5 (1930) 121-147

Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος Στουδίτης," *EEBS* 15 (1939) 1-36

E. Werner, "Die Krise im Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz Theodor von Stoudion," in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* 1, ed. J. Irmscher, (Berlin, 1957) 113-33

J. Leroy, "La réforme stoudite," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 153 (1958) 181-214

idem, *Studitisches Mönchtum. Spiritualität und Lebensform* (Graz, 1969)

D. Mouriki, "The Portraits of Theodore Studites in Byzantine Art," *JÖB* 20 (1971) 249-280

- Ch. Frazee, "St. Theodoros of Stoudios and Ninth-Century Monasticism in Constantinople," *Studi monastici* 23 (1981) 27-58
- V. Božidar, *St. Theodore the Studite* (Toronto, 1985), rev. E. Farrugia, *OrChrP* 52 (1986) 452f.
- J. C. Cheynet, B. Flusin, "Du monastère τῶ Καθάρῳ à Thessalonique: Théodore Stoudite sur la route de l'exil," *REB* 48 (1990) 193-211
- Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, 1:3*-38*
- P. Karlin-Hayter, "A Byzantine Politician-Monk: Saint Theodore Studite," *JÖB* 44 (1994) 217-232
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Theodosia of Constantinople

Theodosia, an iconodule martyr of the 8th c., is known primarily from a short notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* under 18 July. According to this notice, she was born in the imperial capital, and entered a nunnery at the age of seven. She is said to have been a contemporary of Theodosios III (715-717). From her youth she was a staunch defender of image veneration, and presented to the nunnery precious icons of Christ, the Theotokos and St. Anastasia the martyr. During the reign of the iconoclast emperor Leo III (717-741), probably in 726, Theodosia, "together with other pious women," defended the icon of Christ that was installed above the Chalke Gate, the main entrance to the palace, in the process killing the *spatharios* despatched by the emperor to destroy the icon. As a result she and her comrades were put to death.

There is some question as to the historicity of Theodosia, since she is not mentioned in two other accounts of this incident at the Chalke Gate (the chronicle of Theophanes and the *vita* of Stephen the Younger). Another synaxarion notice for 9 August that seems to describe the same incident replaces Theodosia and her female companions with a group of nine men and one woman, a patrician named Maria.

In any case the evidence of the synaxarion notice for 18 July indicates that the cult of Theodosia was established in Constantinople by the 10th c.; it continued to the end of the empire. In the Palaeologan period Constantine Akropolites wrote a *vita* of Theodosia, and appended three healing miracles which she effected in his time (PG 140:893-936). Russian pilgrims of the 14th and 15th c. mention visits to her church. By 1301 her feastday had changed from 18 July to 29 May, apparently as the result of confusion with her homonym, Theodosia of Tyre.

Edition:

SynaxCP 828-830

Translation:

(English) N. Constan in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (Washington, D.C., 1998)

Studies:

BHG 1773y-1774e

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 288f

J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: l'église sainte-Théodosie," *EO* 9 (1906) 161-165

C. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyč," *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 47-55

C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen 1959) 112-120

Janin, *EglisesCP* 143-145

M.-F. Auzépy, "La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III: propagande ou réalité?," *Byzantion* 60 (1990) 445-492

Theokleto

Theokleto is an example of a married woman who achieved sanctity primarily for her charitable activities. She was born in the theme of the Optimatoi, and was forced into marriage, although her husband shared her pious inclinations. She was noted for her study of the Holy Scriptures, her almsgiving to the poor and her concern for her household. She was a contemporary of Theophilos (829-842), but her attitude toward icons is not mentioned. She predicted her death, and worked posthumous miracles.

She was the focus of an unusual family cult; on the anniversary of her death, her relatives would change the garments on her uncorrupted corpse, comb her hair, and cut her fingernails and toenails (which continued to grow).

There is no full-length *vita* of Theokleto; she is known from brief entries in synaxaria and menologia, for example, the 10th-c. *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Editions:

SynaxCP 914.3-34

Tsames, *Meterikon* 4:190-191 (with mod. Greek tr.)

C. Doukakes, *Megas Synaxaristes* 8 (Athens, 1894) 49f.

Studies:

AASS Aug. 4:449

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 203f.

Theokletos of Lakedaimon

Theokletos, bishop of Lakedaimon (Sparta), is a little known saint. His hagiographer, who admits he wrote at some remove from the lifetime of Theokletos, has no information about the bishop's origins, nor does he present many details of his biography. The death of the holy man is described in very conventional terms, none of his posthumous miracles is mentioned, and there are no chronological indications. He is absent from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Since, however, Theokletos' name is somewhat rare, one can with some confidence identify him with Theokletos, bishop of Lakedaimon, who participated in the Council of 869/870 and supported the Ignatians against Photios (Mansi 16:195C). One can also hypothesize that Theokletos died before 879, since by that year the see of Lakedaimon was occupied by bishop Antony; on the other hand, it is possible that Theokletos did not die but was replaced by a bishop of the Photian camp.

The time of the composition of the *vita* is also uncertain. The anonymous hagiographer presents no data about himself. He states that the passage of time has obscured the achievements of Theokletos, and that earlier bishops of Sparta neglected the preservation of his memory. He praises his patron, the current bishop, named Theodore or Theodoretos, who built churches at Sparta and commissioned the writing of the *vita*. Three seals survive of a Theodoretos of Lakedaimon; they are attributed by Laurent (*Corpus* V.1, nos. 638-639) to the mid-10th c., by Nesbitt and Oikonomides to the early 11th c. (J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 2 [Washington, D.C., 1994], no. 29.2, pp. 84f.). Kazhdan prefers to identify the bishop with an 11th-c. bishop Theodore of Lakedaimon whose name is preserved in the *Synodikon of Lakedaimon*. The *vita* is preserved in a 15th-c. manuscript, *Barb. gr.* 585.

Poor in concrete detail, the *vita* is very eloquent with regard to Theokletos' social righteousness, his support of the poor and the schemes of the rich against the bishop. The hagiographer vividly describes the healing of a Laconian woman whose hand was paralysed.

Editions:

N. A. Véès, "Vie de saint Théoclète," *Viz. Obozr.*, *Suppl.* 2 (1916) 27-53, rev. E. Kurtz, *Viz. Obozr.* 3 (1917), sect. 2:27-29

A. Sgouritsas, “Ο Λακεδαίμονος ἅγιος Θεόκλητος,” *Theologia* 27 (1956) 572-593

Studies:

BHG 2420

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 204f.

V. Laurent, “La liste épiscopale du Synodicon de la métropole de Lacédémone,” *REB* 19 (1961) 220

O. Lampsides, “Σχόλιον εἰς Βίον ἁγίου Θεοκλήτου (28.32-29.10),” *Lakonikai spoudai* 10 (1990) 496-98

E. Chrestou, K. Nikolaou, “Στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν κοινωνία καὶ τὸν καθημερινὸ βίον στὴν περιοχή τῆς Λακωνικῆς (Θ’-ΙΒ’ αἰ.) ἀπὸ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα,” *Byzantinai meletai* 2 (Athens, 1990), 206-230

Scholz, *Graecia sacra*, 50

Theoktiste of Lesbos

Born on the island of Lesbos, Theoktiste was orphaned at an early age and placed in a nunnery where she eventually took monastic vows. At age 18 she was captured by Arab pirates who raided Lesbos, but she managed to escape on the uninhabited island of Paros. Here she lived as a hermit for 35 years until discovered by a hunter from Euboea. She told him her story and asked him to bring her the eucharist on his next visit. After partaking of the sacraments she died. The hunter took her hand as a relic but returned it when his ship refused to move. Shortly thereafter her corpse disappeared, never to be found.

The hunter related the tale to a hermit on Paros called Symeon; he in turn told it to Niketas Magistros who stopped at Paros while en route to Crete in 910, and Niketas wrote the story down. The biography of Theoktiste bears strong resemblances to that of Mary of Egypt, and she is generally believed to be a legendary figure. The historical background, however, with Arab raids in the Aegean is that of the 9th century. If Theoktiste was a historical figure, she must have died before 910, the date of Himerios’ Cretan expedition, but any dates for her birth and death must be purely arbitrary. Niketas probably wrote the *vita* sometime between 913 and 919. The *vita* was slightly reworked by Symeon Metaphrastes later in the 10th century. There is also a notice on Theoktiste in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*SynaxCP* 206-7).

Editions:

AASS Nov. 4:224-33

Tsames, *Meterikon* 4:232-263 (with modern Greek tr. by Ch. Makrinou)

Translation:

English tr. by A.C. Hero in Talbot, *Holy Women*, 95-116

Studies:

BHG 1723-26b, *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1726e

B. Kötting, *LThK* 10 (1965) 57

J.M. Sauget, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 205-7

A. Kazhdan, N.P. Ševčenko, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2055-56

V. G. Vasil’evskij, “O žizni i trudach Simeona Metafrasta,” *ŽMNP* 212 (1880) 398-416

P.G. Zerlentos, “Περὶ τοῦ ἀξιόπιστου τοῦ συναξαρίου Θεοκτίστης τῆς ὀσίας,” *BZ* 10 (1901) 159-65

H. Delehay, “La vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos,” *Byzantion* 1 (1924) 191-200

idem, “Un groupe de récits ‘utile à l’âme’,” *Mélanges Bidez* (Brussels, 1933/4), 255-66 (both articles reprinted in Delehay, *Mélanges*, 299-306 and 384-93)

G.K. Naupliotes, Ἡ ἁγία Θεοκτίστη (Athens, 1931)

N.B. Tomadakes, “Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς τῆς ἁγίας Θεοκτίστης τῆς Λεσβίας καὶ ἡ εἰσαγωγή

τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς εἰς τὸ ἑορτολόγιον,” Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἄ. Ὀρλάνδον 1 (Athens 1965) 108-16
L.G. Westerink, *Nicetas Magistros. Lettres d'un exilé* (Paris, 1973) 41-46
O. Karsay, “Der Jäger von Euböa,” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (1975) 9-14
A. Kazhdan, “Hagiographical Notes: 9. The Hunter or the Harlot?,” *BZ* 78 (1985) 49-50

Theophanes the Confessor

Theophanes (called Isaac in his early life) was born in 760 in Constantinople to Isaac, a *strategos* of the Aegean Sea. He at first embarked upon a secular career, serving as a *strator* at the court of Leo IV and marrying Megalo, the daughter of a *patrikios*. After a short period of conjugal life, however, he and his wife decided to separate and embrace a monastic vocation. In 780 or 781, he became a monk on Mt. Sigriane (Sigrianon) on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara, where he was to spend most of his life. After the council of Nicaea in 787 he began the construction of the monastery of Megas Agros at Sigriane. During the Moechian controversy over the marriage of Constantine VI, Theophanes supported the patriarch Tarasios in his policy of compromise in contrast to the rigorous opposition of Theodore of Stoudios. He was later reconciled with Theodore when they were both persecuted for their iconodule views by Leo V (813-820). Theophanes was imprisoned for two years in Constantinople (815-817), then exiled to Samothrace where he soon died on March 12, 817, or more probably 818 (on the date of Theophanes' death, see Efthymiadis 263f.). In 821 and 822 his relics were transferred (in two stages) to his monastery at Megas Agros. Theophanes is generally credited with the composition of the *Chronographia*, which covers the years 285-813, although some modern scholars have questioned his authorship.

Several hagiographical works of Theophanes have survived, including an *enkomion* by Theodore of Stoudios and a *vita* by Methodios, patriarch of Constantinople (843-847). Methodios focuses on Theophanes' separation from his wife and construction of the Megas Agros monastery, while glossing over Theophanes' views on the Moechian controversy. As Efthymiadis has shown (p. 260, n.7), he must have written the *vita* sometime between 823 (i.e., after the second translation of Theophanes' relics) and 832 (since Methodios quotes from his *vita* of Theophanes in the *vita* of Euthymios of Sardis, written in early 832).

Editions:

vita by Methodios—V.V. Latyšev, *Mefodija patriarcha Konstantinopol'skogo Žitie prep. Feofana Ispovednika* (St. Petersburg, 1918) (text at pp.1-40), rev. E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 5 (1926/7) 390-396; D. Spyridonov (Spyridonos), Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος 12 (1913) 95-96, 113-163

enkomion by Theodore of Stoudios—C. van de Vorst, “Un panégyrique de Théophane le Chronographe par S. Théodore Studite,” *AB* 31 (1912) 11-23; S. Efthymiadis, “Le panégyrique de S. Théophane le Confesseur par S. Théodore Stoudite (BHG 1792b). Edition critique du texte intégral,” *AB* 111 (1993) 259-290

enkomion by Theodore *protasekretis*—K. Krumbacher, “Ein Dithyrambus auf den Chronisten Theophanes,” *Sitzungsberichte der k. Bayer. Akademie* (1896), 583-625.

idem, “Eine neue Vita des Theophanes Confessor,” *ibid.* (1897) 389-399
de Boor, *Theoph.*, 2:3-30

Studies:

BHG 1787z-1792e

G. Ostrogorsky, *RE* 2.R 5 (1934) 2127-2132

F. Dölger, *LThK* 10 (1965) 84

D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 322-325

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2063

Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 195-197

Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:531-537

Hunger, *Lit.* 1:334-339

- J. Pargoire, "S. Théophane le Chronographe et ses rapports avec s. Théodore Studite," *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 31-102
- Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyčh...", *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 91-98; 204-12; *VizVrem* 18 (1911) 93-95
- C. van de Vorst, "En quelle année mourut s. Théophane le Chronographe?," *AB* 31 (1912) 148-156
- Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 2:304-10
- P. Speck, "Der 'zweite' Theophanes: eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes," *Varia* V, [Poikila Byzantina 13] (Bonn, 1994) 431-483.

Theophano

Theophano, daughter of the *patrikios* Constantine Martinakios, was selected as the first wife of Leo VI (886-912) when she was fifteen, at the bride-show of 881/82. Thus she would have been born ca. 866/7. She endured imprisonment with her husband at the instigation of Theodore Santabarenos. As empress she devoted herself to piety and charitable works. She produced one daughter Eudokia who died in childhood. Meanwhile Leo neglected Theophano, and took as his mistress Zoe, daughter of Stylianos Zaoutzes. Theophano died at the age of about thirty, on November 10, 895 or 896. She performed no miracles during her lifetime, but worked a number of posthumous miracles for the benefit of her hagiographer's family.

Her anonymous *vita* was evidently written by a contemporary, according to Kurtz during the reign of Leo VI. He calls himself the *πάτριος φίλος* of Theophano, and also claims acquaintance with the *artoklines* Martin, Theophano's uncle. His father was an official who resigned his post two years after Theophano's death, leaving all his property to the hagiographer's older brother, the *protospatharios* Michael. The anonymous hagiographer glosses over the marital discord between Leo VI and Theophano, about which we are informed by the *vita* of the patriarch Euthymios. The *vita* of Theophano is preserved in two 14th-c. manuscripts. Nikephoros Gregoras wrote a reworked version in the 14th c.

Editions:

- E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI* (St. Petersburg, 1898), rev. Ch. Loparev, *ŽMNP* 325 (Oct. 1899) 343-61; P. N. Papageorgiou, *Nea Hemera* (1899) no. 1259; A. Heisenberg, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift* (1899) no. 26: 804-10; W. Nissen, *BZ* 10 (1901) 637-39; A. Nikitskij, *VizVrem* 10 (1903) 184-190
- Tsames, *Meterikon* 4: 266-323 (with mod. Greek translation)

Studies:

- BHG* 1794-1795
- D. Stiernon, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 326f.
- A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3 (1991) 2064
- Ch. Diehl, *Figures byzantines* 1 (Paris, 1908) 187-92
- Ch. Loparev, "Žitie sv. caricy Theofanii i ego pozdnejšie pereskazy," *ŽMNP* 325 (1899) 343-361
- idem, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyčh...", *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 63-73
- G. Downey, "The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *DOP* 9-10 (1955-56) 301-305
- da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP...", 823-36
- P. Karlin-Hayter, "La mort de Théophano (10.11.896 ou 895)," *BZ* 62 (1969), 13-19
- G. Majeska, "The Body of St. Theophano the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine," *BS* 38 (1977) 14-21
- L. Rydén, "The Bride-Shows at the Byzantine Court: History or Fiction?," *Eranos* 83 (1985) 175-191
- P. Cesaretti, "Some Remarks on the Vita of the Empress Theophano (*BHG* 1794)," *Svenska kommittén för bysantinska studier. Bulletin* 6 (1988) 23-27

Theophilos Confessor

According to the notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* under October 2, Theophilos, born in Tiberioupolis (modern Stroumitsa in Macedonia), became a monk and strongly supported icon veneration. He was summoned to Constantinople by the emperor Leo III for interrogation and refused to recant his views. He suffered various tortures, imprisonment and finally exile. While in exile he narrowly escaped death at the hands of an imperial emissary named Kalybios, who inflicted further tortures on him. He survived and worked miracles until his death.

A longer synaxarion notice, preserved in the 14th-c. Paris. gr. 1582 (under October 10) adds a number of details: that Theophilos was baptized at age 3; at age 13 he ran away to the monk Stephen on Mt. Selention to be trained in the ascetic life; at age 16 he joined a nearby lavra where he was tonsured; his parents found him there and took him back to Tiberioupolis where they built a new monastery for him; under Leo III he was persecuted for his iconodule beliefs and sent to Nicaea for trial together with the stylite Longinos; he succeeded in converting to iconodule beliefs the archon presiding over his trial, and was released to return to his monastery.

There also survives in a 13th-c. manuscript, cod. Scorial. Y.II.7 (*BHG* 2449x), a disputation of Theophilos, based on a lost *vita* by Nikon of Hierapolis.

Editions:

SynaxCP (version used in database) 100.8-35; (longer version) 125-130

C. Doukakes, *Megas Synaxaristes, Oct.* (Athens 1895) 133-136

AASS Oct. 1:492-494

Studies:

BHG 2449-50

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 347

Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia

Theophylaktos was born to a family of modest circumstances somewhere in the East ca. 765, and came ca. 780 to Constantinople where he worked for the future patriarch Tarasios, who was at that time “first of the imperial *mystographoi*,” i. e. *protasekretis*. When Tarasios became patriarch in 784, Theophylaktos entered the monastery founded by Tarasios near St. Mamas. Sometime before 806 he became bishop of Nikomedeia, where he built a church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos with a complex of charitable institutions. At the beginning of the second period of Iconoclasm he was exiled to Strobilos (probably in the Kibyrrhaiot theme) where he died on March 8, reportedly after 30 years of banishment. Vogt dates his death to ca. 840, but it is curious that the *vita* makes no mention of the reigns of Michael II and Theophilos. Theodore of Stoudios corresponded with Theophylaktos in 817-818, while both men were in exile (epp. 175, 314, edd. Fatouros). Theophylaktos’ remains were transferred to Nikomedeia during the patriarchate of Methodios (843-847).

Two *vitae* of Theophylaktos are preserved. One was written by his namesake Theophylaktos, whom Vogt suggests was a cleric from Nikomedeia, perhaps attached to the pious institutions founded by bishop Theophylaktos. The hagiographer does not say he knew the bishop personally, nor does he cite any information from eyewitnesses. Vogt proposes that the *vita* may have been written on the occasion of the translation of Theophylaktos’ relics to Nikomedeia, while Kazhdan hypothesizes a date of composition after the 10th c., arguing that the term *mystographos* is first attested in 911/912. The earliest manuscript (Athos, Lavra Δ 84) is of the 13th c.

A second *vita*, more rhetorical in style, is preserved in a 14th-c. manuscript, Patm. gr. 736. It is by an anonymous hagiographer and appears to be a reworking of the text by Theophylaktos. Accord-

ing to Halkin, it comes from a pre-Metaphrastic menologion and may have been written as early as the 9th c.

The entry in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (p. 519-22) has practically the same information as the *vita* by Theophylaktos, including the list of banished bishops; in some cases the *Synaxarion* differs from the *vita* (e.g., Tarasios is represented there as *protasekretis* rather than *mystographos*) or has additional data (e.g., the exile of the patriarch Nikephoros to Thasos, and of Michael [of Synada] to Eudokias). On the other hand, there is not a single word in the *Synaxarion* about the hospital founded by Theophylaktos.

Editions:

vita by Theophylaktos—A. Vogt, “S. Théophylacte de Nicomédie,” *AB* 50 (1932) 67-82
anonymous *vita*—F. Halkin, *Hagiologie byzantine* (Brussels, 1986), 170-184; emend. I. D. Polemis, “Φιλολογικὲς παρατηρήσεις σὲ βυζαντινὰ ἀγιολογικὰ καὶ ρητορικὰ κείμενα,” *Ἑλληνικά* 40 (1989) 403-408

Studies:

BHG 2451-52
R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 329f.
B. Kotter, *LThK* 10 (1965) 92
Beck, *Kirche* 563
Janin, *ÉglisesCentres* 97
Ch. Loparev, “Opisanie nekotorych grečeskich žitij svjatyč,” *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 354f.
T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, London 1985) 43, 64
Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, 1:264*, n. 421

Thomaïs of Lesbos

Thomaïs is one of a small group of married female saints who lived in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. She was born in Lesbos, but her family soon moved to the environs of Constantinople which is the setting for her *vita*. She was married at the late age of 24 to a seaman named Stephen. She devoted her life to prayer and charitable works; her husband beat her since he opposed her almsgiving. She died on 1 January at age 38. Thomaïs performed miracles during her lifetime and posthumously. Her relics were deposited at the nunnery τὰ μικρὰ Ρωμαίου in Constantinople. There are few chronological indications in her *vita* except for an allusion to the emperor Romanos, “born in the purple,” who must be Romanos II (959-963). Thomaïs’s *floruit* is generally placed in the first half of the 10th century.

Her anonymous *vita* is preserved in a single 14th-century manuscript. Its date of composition is uncertain. The allusion to Romanos seems to indicate that it was composed in the mid-10th century, but certain apparently anachronistic elements suggest later revision. The *vita* bears some similarities with that of Mary the Younger but is probably an independent composition.

There is another anonymous *vita* of Thomaïs of unknown date (edited by Halkin) and an *enkomion* written by Constantine Akropolites in the late 13th century.

Editions:

AASS Nov. 4:233-42
anonymous *vita* - F. Halkin, *Hagiologie byzantine* (Brussels 1986), 185-219 with partial French summary
enkomion by Akropolites - AASS Nov. 4:242-46

Translations:

(modern Greek) A. Lete in Tsames, *Meterikon* 4:325-65

(English) P. Halsall in Talbot, *Holy Women* 291-322

Studies:

BHG 2454-57

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 530

A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 3:2076

da Costa Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 27 (1957) 836-39

Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 620-21

L. Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1986), 539-40

A. Laiou, "Ἡ ἱστορία ἐνὸς γάμου: ὁ βίος τῆς ἁγίας Θεωμαΐδος τῆς Λεσβίας," in Ἡ καθημερινὴ ζωὴ στὸ Βυζάντιο, ed. Ch. Maltezos (Athens, 1989), 237-51

Talbot, "Byzantine Women," 110, 112-13

Ch. Angelide, "Un texte patriographique et édifiant: le 'discours narratif' sur les Hodègoi," *REB* 52 (1994) 123 n. 57

Thomas Dephourkinos

Born at an unknown date at the foot of Mt. Kyminaion (= Mt. Kyminas in Bithynia?) to middle-class (*autarkeis*) parents, Thomas had a religious education, studying the Psalter, the apostolic epistles, and other ecclesiastic writings. He became a monk, and was then appointed *hegoumenos* of a monastery newly founded by the magnate Galolektes on the Sangarios River. After some years he retired to a hermitage, which soon became a monastery. For years he was sorely afflicted by demonic attacks in the form of mosquitoes, flies, wasps and snakes, from which he was finally delivered after prayer to God. Thomas was famed for his gift of healing and clairvoyance, as shown when he was able to reply to a *pittakion* sent by Leo VI (886-912) without opening and reading it. The allusion to Leo is the only chronological indication in his late synaxarion notice, found in a 15th-c. manuscript. Grégoire suggests that Thomas is to be identified with the palace priest who blessed the marriage of Leo VI and Zoe in 906.

Edition:

SynaxCP 293-98; Fr. tr. by H. Grégoire in *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 381-386.

Studies:

BHG 2458

R. Janin, *BiblSanct* 12 (1969) 605-6

Janin, *Eglises Centres* 102

H. Grégoire, "Thomas Dephourkinos du monastère de Kyminas et le quatrième mariage de Léon le Sage," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 381-386.

