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**WOMEN'S BODIES, MEN'S SOULS:  
SANCTITY AND GENDER IN BYZANTIUM**

**BY**

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**DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
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**Graduate School of Arts & Sciences**

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This dissertation prepared under my direction by Paul Halsall

entitled "Women's Bodies, Men's Souls: Sanctity and Gender in Byzantium"

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has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

in the Department of History

M Kowalski

(Mentor)

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(Reader)

Alice - Mary Talbot

(Reader)

DEDICATION

For My Mother, Jean Halsall, †1990  
Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη αὐτῆς



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ABSTRACT

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the text, notes, and bibliography.

- AASS *Acta sanctorum quotquot tot orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis, collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Joannes Bollandus.* Antwerp: Apud Ioannem Mevriwm. [etc.] 1643-1748; Brussels [etc.]: Apud Socios Bollandios [etc.], 1750-1940; Editio novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet. Paris: V. Palme [etc.], [1863]-1940.
- ANF *Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.* Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, rev. A. Cleveland Coxe. Edinburgh: 1899; reprint, Grand Rapids MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1988.
- BDI Talbot, Alice-Mary, ed. *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation.* Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.
- BHG Halkin, François, ed. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca.* 3rd ed., Subsidia Hagiographica 8<sup>a</sup>, 3 vols. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957.
- BHGNA Halkin, François, ed. *Novum Auctarum BHG.* Subsidia Hagiographica 65. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.
- Du Cange, *Glossarium* Du Cange, Charles Du Fresne, sieur. *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis...* Lugduni. Apud Anissonios, J. Posuel & C. Rigaud, 1688; reprint, Paris: Collège de France, 1943; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958.
- Hackel, *Saint* Hackel, Sergei, ed. *The Byzantine Saint.* University of Birmingham. Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Studies Supplementary to *Sobornost* 5. London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981.
- HWB Talbot, Alice-Mary, ed. *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation.* Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996.
- Janin, *EglisesCP* Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin. Première partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Tome III, Les églises et les monastères.* 2d ed. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969.
- Janin, *EglisesGC* Janin, Raymond. *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins: Bithynie, Hellepont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde,*

- Athènes. Thessalonique. Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, t. 2. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1975.
- Janin, *CP byz* Janin, Raymond. *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*. 2d ed. Paris: Institut français d'études Byzantines, 1964.
- Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* Leutsch, Ernst Ludwig von, and Friedrich Wilhelm Schneidewin. eds. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*. 2 vols. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1839-1851; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961.
- Majeska, *Russian Travelers* Majeska, George P. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984.
- NPNFI* *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers: A Select Library of the Christian Church*, Series I. Edited by Philip Schaff, Edinburgh: 1886-1890; reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1988.
- NPNFII* *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers: A Select Library of the Christian Church*, Series II. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Edinburgh: 1886-1890; reprint, Grand Rapids MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1988.
- ODB* Kazhdan, Aleksandr P., Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Ostrogorsky, *ByzState* Ostrogorsky, George. *History of the Byzantine State*. Translated by Joan Hussey. Rev. ed. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1969.
- Patlagean, "La femme déguisée" Patlagean, Evelyne. "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance." *Studi Medievali* ser. 3, 17 (1976): 597-625. Reprinted in Evelyne Patlagean. *Structures sociales, famille, chrétienté à Byzance IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, XI. London: Variorum, 1981.
- PG Migne, J.-P. [Jacques-Paul]. *Patrologiae cursus completus: series graeca*. 161 vols. in 166. Paris: J.P. Migne, etc., 1857-1866.
- PLP* *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*. 12 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980-94.
- PL Migne, J.-P. [Jacques-Paul]. *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*. 221 vols. Paris: Migne, etc., 1844-1902.
- PO Graffin, René. *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1947-
- Petit, *BibAc* Petit, Louis. *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1926.

- Rhalles-Potles Rhalles, G.A. and M. Potles. *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*. 6 vols. Athens: G. Chartophylax, 1852-59.
- Rydén. "New Forms of Hagiography" Rydén, Lennart. "New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints." In *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers*. Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University, Washington DC, August 3-8 1986, 537-54. New Rochelle NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1986
- Sophocles. *Lexicon* Sophocles, Evangelinus Apostolides, *Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*. 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1870; reprint, New York: F. Ungar, 1957
- SynaxCP Delehaye, Hippolyte, ed. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1902.
- Typika* Thomas, John and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typika and Testaments*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1999.

Abbreviations for periodicals are as follows.

<i>AnalBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>GOTR</i>	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études Byzantines</i>

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

**A Sanctity and Gender**

What did it mean in Byzantium to say that another human being was a "saint," a publicly venerated holy person? Although no extant evidence allows us to establish the mindset of individual believers, abundant liturgical, hagiographical, and historiographical texts survive that delineate behaviors surrounding the cult of saints. Scrutiny and analysis of such texts show that there were some remarkably stable meanings attached to holiness, or "sanctity," throughout the Byzantine period. What did change was the social, religious and even political make-up of the medieval Greek-speaking world. The interplay of a decidedly consistent Byzantine understanding of sanctity and the changing nature of Byzantine society is the focus of inquiry here. The spur, however, is provided by a mystery -- the peculiar absence of new women saints in the latter half of the Empire's existence.

Cross-cultural studies demonstrate that while many cultures assign value to some concept of "saint," the practices of the cult of saints and the elements of "sanctity" differ markedly over time and space, even among adherents of the same religion.<sup>1</sup> Sanctity is, in short, a cultural construct as well as a religious ideal. In Byzantium, it helps sets the

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Denise Aigle and André Vauchez, eds., *Saints orientaux* (Paris: De Boccard, 1995.); John Stratton Hawley, ed., *Saints and Virtues* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987); Richard Kieckhefer and George Doherty Bond, eds., *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Jacques Marx, ed., *Sainteté et martyre dans les religions du livre* (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1989); Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and Their*



temporal and spatial limits of the culture. The cult of saints emerges as an aspect of the *longue durée* of Byzantine culture, a stable element in which the central figures and practices remained, for the most part, the same, and in which change was slow. But the cult of saints intersected with aspects of Byzantine culture which did undergo major transformations: the power of the monastic milieu, patterns of pilgrimage, the role of the aristocratic family and, as will become apparent, the position of women.<sup>2</sup> A major locus of this cultural intersection concerns the recognition of "new" saints.<sup>3</sup> No new saint became a leading figure within the wider Byzantine cult of saints, but the ability of members of various social groups even to attain sainthood was a real marker of social position.

Modern writers often use the term "saint" unreflectively, as if "saint" had an invariable referent or as if all "saints" constitute the same sort of figure.<sup>4</sup> Their essentializing assumption is perhaps rooted in a religious ideal that all saints form a class before God,<sup>5</sup> and in the anxiety of all hagiographers to exalt their subjects through assimilation to such a class. A cursory examination of the cult of saints belies such a

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*Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> Alexandr P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), xix-xx, rightly attack the assumption of "changelessness in Byzantium" and explore a theme of progressive "privatization" in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some aspects of their discussion of religion and saints (pp. 86-100) are challenged in this study.

<sup>3</sup> A "new saint" refers to a saint added by popular acclaim or official action to the inherited roster of saints.

<sup>4</sup> This was also true of Greek writers' use of the equivalent Greek terms "ἅγιος" and "ὁσίου."

<sup>5</sup> For instance, in phrases such as "God and his saints."

position: at any given time, the assemblage of saints included early biblical and martyr "saints" with widespread cults, legendary "saints," intellectual and episcopal "saints" with no apparent cult, as well as recently deceased "saints" whose cults still drew from recent memory. Understanding the heterogeneous nature of the various types of saints' cults is crucial to assessing how models of sanctity intersected with other aspects of culture. For instance, shifts in types of new saints must be examined not only in terms of individual sanctity, but also with an eye to the continuing strength of older cults.

Before proceeding, some clarification of terms is required. Even at the cost of repetition, this study maintains a strict use of words. "Cult" means the public practices surrounding veneration of a saint, for instance, public prayers, adoration of relics, dedications of churches, pilgrimages, and iconography. "Sanctity" refers to the personal attributes of a saint that cause him or her to be considered a saint. "Sainthood" is a wider term that includes all the phenomena associated with saints. "Holiness" and "holy man/holy woman" are terms that are more general still -- our sources refer to many non-saints as "holy," with no evidence that a public cult was implied.

Byzantium inherited both earlier Christian traditions of sanctity and earlier Christian saints.<sup>6</sup> By the seventh century these traditions had undergone important

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<sup>6</sup> For the purposes of studying sanctity, it makes sense to accept the commonly made distinction between the "Later Roman Empire," when a large multi-ethnic state maintained substantial continuity with the civic culture of antiquity, and the "Byzantine" period, when for an extended period civic life largely disappeared outside Constantinople and a few other centers, and the Empire became much more rural and much more Greek. There were many different linguistic and religious cultures in the former period whereas, even taking into account class, geographical, and temporal variations, the "Byzantine" world possessed a certain unity as a Greek-speaking Christian culture. The death of the Emperor Heraklios (641) and the onset of the Muslim invasions in the closing years of his reign may be taken as the conventional dividing line. The Byzantines, of course, always called themselves "Romans."

changes, the most important of which, it is often argued, was the fourth-century shift from martyrs to ascetics as the most common type of new saint. In recent years a number of scholars have accepted a proposal, first made by Evelyne Patlagean, that the ninth and tenth centuries represented another transitional period, especially with respect to female saints. During the middle Byzantine period,<sup>7</sup> they argue, the long-standing tendency to "masculinize" women saints was challenged, and a new type of saint, the married lay woman, was found to be acceptable.<sup>8</sup> Saint's *Lives* of this period, which for the first time encompass women who lived normal married lives,<sup>9</sup> represent a turning point in conceptions of women's sanctity, to a pattern which accepted that sanctity might be attained in the home.

The problem with this thesis is twofold. The proposition that one ideal of sanctity was succeeded by another is tenable only if one discounts the continued reproduction of older narratives of sanctity. There was not a time, for instance, when Byzantine believers did not consume ancient stories of male and female ascetics and martyrs. Even if the

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<sup>7</sup> Terminology for periods within Byzantine history is not fixed (as also in the West, where "High Middle Ages" can mean a number of different periods). Here "Middle Byzantine" means the period after Iconoclasm (which ended in 843), a time also referred to by some authors as the "Imperial Centuries." The end of this middle period comes in the late eleventh century when Byzantium, challenged by the Seljuqs and the West, entered a much more defensive political and cultural period.

<sup>8</sup> Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1982), 73-75; Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography," 540; Patlagean, "La femme déguisée."

<sup>9</sup> These were not the first married women to become saints; there were a large number of married martyr saints, as well as married women who gave up married life and sexual relations in order to pursue chastity. What is new about these women is that they were married in comparatively normal relationships, may have had children, and died without ever taking the veil.

middle Byzantine period did create a new ideal for "new saints." there is a more acute problem: the middle-Byzantine female saints Patlagean discusses had virtually no successors. After the eleventh century, Byzantine Christianity exhibited a resistance, real but not absolute, to new women saints, a resistance maintained until the conflict with the Ottoman Turks produced a small number of women martyrs. Although production of narratives of female sanctity continued in rewritten *Lives* of earlier saints, the discourse of sanctity came to exclude contemporary women. Understood as a turning point for women's sanctity, this period's "new ideal" lead straight into a dead end.

In spite of these problems, consideration of Patlagean's thesis gave rise to the basic jumping off point of this study -- the observation that medieval Greek Christians produced few female saints, and that after an apparent effort by a small number of hagiographers to promote married women's sanctity, Byzantine women virtually ceased to become saints at all.

The statistical decline of new female saints is quite certain. Between the seventh and fifteenth centuries, only twenty-five of the 238 Byzantines recognized as saints were women (Table 1.1). Between the eighth and tenth centuries, there were nineteen female "new saints" -- a comparatively healthy total which reveals a place for female sanctity in the religious culture. By contrast, during the last five centuries of the Byzantine state only one woman in each century (none in the last) achieved saintly recognition, and of these two are suspect.<sup>10</sup> In all, only two pious queens, both founders of monasteries, entered the calendar. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries also saw a dip in the number of

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<sup>10</sup> Marina [BHG 1170], a Sicilian transvestite saint; and Matrona of Chios, [BHG 1220], whose dates are very doubtful.

**Table 1:1**  
**The Decline of Female Neo-Saints in Byzantium**

Century <sup>a</sup>	Total No. of Saints <sup>b</sup>	No. of Female Saints	% of Saints Who Are Female	% of Female Saints as % of All 7-15th-century Female Saints
6	47	10	21.2	N/A
7	19	1	5.3	4.2
8	37	5	15.5	20.8
9	61	8	13.1	33.3
10	43	6	13.9	25.0
11	17	1	5.9	4.2
12	15	1	6.7	4.2
13	10	1	10.0	4.2
14	28	1	3.7	4.2
15	8	0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL 7-15 C	238	24	10.5	
15 <sup>d</sup>	27	3	11.0	N/A
16	45	4	9.0	N/A
17	53	3	5.6	N/A
18	69	5	7.2	N/A
19	63	3	4.8	N/A

*Source:* BHG; BHGNA; Agioretites Monachos Moyses. *Oi Έγγαμοι Άγιοι της Εκκλησίας κατά το μνηολόγιο* [The Married Saints of the Church According to the Menologion.] translated, edited and with additions, by Melania Reed and Maria Simonsson as *Married Saints of the Church According to the Menaion* (Wildwood CA: St. Xenia Skete, 1991); Petit. *BibAc*: Ioannis Theocharides and Dimitris Loules. "The Neomartyrs in Greek History (1453-1821)," *Etudes Balkaniques* 3 (1989), 78-86; Efthalia Makris Walsh. "The Women Martyrs of Nikodemus Hagiorites' *Neon Martyrologion*," *GOTR* 36:1 (1991), 71-91.

*Notes*

- <sup>a</sup> Saints were assigned to a century on the best available data. Where sources estimated a date over two centuries, the saint was assigned to the later century. When saints died in the first five years of a century, they were assigned to the preceding century.
- <sup>b</sup> The cohort of saints used for tables are those saints who appear in BHG and BHGNA. Actual numbers of known saints are higher. See Appendix I for discussion of the need for a neutral cohort. See Appendix I, Table A2 Byzantine Female Saints, 6-15th Centuries (with BHG number), for names of other women saints not in BHG or BHGNA.
- <sup>c</sup> Figures for sixth century are given for comparison with Byzantine era (7th-15th centuries).
- <sup>d</sup> The cohort of saints for the post-Byzantine period (1453 and later) is derived from a variety of lists of modern saints. The cohort is less stable than that derived from BHG and BHGNA, and even with the low figures, probably over-represents female saints.

male "new saints," although they did not disappear completely. When the number of male saints rose in the fourteenth century, women saints were not part of the picture -- women's sanctity had lost its place in Byzantine religious culture.

This paucity of later Byzantine female saints stands in striking contrast to both late antiquity, when numerous female martyrs and ascetics were hailed as saints, and to the medieval West, where diverse groups of holy women provide some of the period's most compelling figures.<sup>11</sup> Byzantine spirituality remained open to female themes and images; the Virgin Mary and earlier women saints were popular subjects in art and literature. What became problematic was the elevation of contemporary women to sainthood. These observations originate in specific studies of women saints, but the issues raised by the absence of women "new saints" in later Byzantium bear more generally on the meaning and creation of sainthood in Byzantium, the location of women

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<sup>11</sup> The situation in the West is the obverse of the Byzantine situation. The most thoroughgoing statistical study is Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 220-21. Weinstein and Bell work with a cohort of 864 saints from this period. Their figures on gender distribution are presented here in tabular form:

Century	Saints	Women Saints	% Women
11	128	11	9.4
12	153	18	11.8
13	159	36	22.6
14	107	25	22.6
15	83	23	27.7
16	116	21	18.1
17	118	17	14.4

The authors note, "The era of the female saint began in the thirteenth century...and continued through the fourteenth...and fifteenth century. This increase is even more impressive when we consider that the total number of saints in our sample declined from 153 in the twelfth to 83 in

and men in Byzantine society and ideology, and the changing interplay over time of these cultural constructions. This is only to be expected – the very scarcity of women saints indicates that they were at the margins of sanctity, the areas, in fact, where we can best examine cultural ideals and constructions.

While scholars such as Patlagean and Kazhdan opened up a number of new questions for the study of Byzantine women saints, they largely overlooked the category of *gender* as one of the defining aspects of sanctity. *Gender* is not a proxy for *women*, but here means "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes...gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."<sup>12</sup> or, more simply, the social meaning given to sexual difference. Some authors write as if only women possess gender,<sup>13</sup> but as will become clear, the category of sanctity for both men and women in Byzantine Christianity is intimately bound up with gendered understandings of holiness and the body.

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the fifteenth. In short the proportion of women in the ranks of new saints continued to increase even during a time of overall downturn."

<sup>12</sup> See Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91:5 (1986), 1053-75, repr. in Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42; Galatariotou, ["Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender," *BMGS* 9 (1984-85), 54-55.] defends the use of the category in Byzantine historiography.

<sup>13</sup> There are exceptions. Patlagean, ["La femme déguisée,"] suggests that the issue of gender needs to be addressed, but does not look beyond the eleventh century: Susan Ashbrook Harvey ["Women in Early Byzantine Hagiography: Reversing the Story," in *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, ed. Lynda L. Coon, Katherine L. Haldane, and Elizabeth W. Summer (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 36-59] discusses gender as an issue for early Byzantine women saints; Catia Galatariotou [*The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)] uses the category of gender to discuss the writings of a male saint, but not Byzantine saints in general.

Gender disparity in the number and type of saints' *Lives* alone prompts investigation, but the connection of gender and sanctity transcends casual overlapping. Both categories arise from the way a culture understands the *body*. *Gender* is the social meaning given to the sexual body, while *sanctity*, in Christian tradition, is as much a physical as a spiritual quality. *Gender* marks a man's from a woman's body: *sanctity* marks saints' bodies from non-saints' bodies -- through martyrdom, *askesis*, use as relics, and separation from the world. Description of the body is central to hagiography, and contact with the body, at the tomb or through relics, is central to saints' cults. It is these phenomena -- hagiography and cult -- that are the *loci* of the Byzantine cult of saints, and which demand that the gender of saints be interrogated.

In addition to bringing out the centrality of gender, recent scholarly interest in the women saints of the ninth to eleventh centuries focuses attention on a time of significant contestation in narratives of sanctity. Few Byzantine women were ever recognized as saints, perhaps twenty-five or so, but most of them lived during this period.<sup>14</sup> Equally significant is that hagiographers wrote more *Lives* of contemporary holy women in these centuries than in all other periods of post-600 AD Byzantine history. It is not only with female saints, whether the stress is on new "models of sanctity" or on their disappearance, that mid-ninth- to eleventh-century developments were crucial. For male "new saints," who in contrast to women were continually added to the Byzantine calendar, the period also saw a narrowing of masculine saintly types, notably towards a restrictive monastic model. Although scholars have not so far analyzed the correlation with constructions of

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<sup>14</sup> Exact figures are misleading due to lack of fixed criteria for sainthood, but from Table 1:1, we can place three-quarters of Byzantine female "new saints" in these centuries.



sanctity, the wider Byzantine civil and ecclesiastical society of this period also saw shifts in understandings of gender roles. For the elite this meant the emergence of the aristocratic family as the primary repository of economic and political power, with all the consequences that involved for the position of women within wealthy families. More germane to a broader segment of society was the removal of marriage from civil to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the eventual growth of specifically legal and theological discourses around marriage.

## **B Aims of This Study**

The theses presented in this study address both the specific issue of the paucity of female saints and the subsequent absence of new female saints in late Byzantine history, along with the more general issue of the interconnections between sanctity, gender, and power in Byzantine culture.

Chapter II, "Measuring the Cult of Saints in Byzantium," takes a close look at the data on the cult of saints, drawn from a wide variety of sources. Using standard statistical methods, I argue that the data are a reliable guide to the relative size and importance of individual saints' cults in Byzantium. After the seventh century, a strikingly consistent pattern emerged in which a small roster of leading male saints came to dominate the cult of saints, and to dominate it, moreover, in an exaggerated fashion. While there were some new medium-sized cults, the cults of "new saints" all remained localized or almost invisible. This conclusion, perhaps known intuitively to many scholars, is of critical importance in establishing the parameters of discussion about sanctity in Byzantine culture. It rules out discussions of change in "ideals of sanctity" that focus exclusively, as

has been the norm, on variations in types of "new saints." Any analysis of individual "new saints" must be set against an overall cult of saints in which figures such as George, Michael, and Nicholas eclipsed all others.

Turning from the shape of the overall cult of saints, Chapter III, "Models of Sanctity in Byzantium," probes both the standard "stages of sanctity" narrative of the history of sainthood and the typology of saints found in Byzantine liturgical sources. Although the latter has to be taken into consideration, I argue that neither provides a satisfactory account of sainthood's place in Byzantine culture. Instead, I propose a new model of sainthood, one that takes much greater account of the nature of the saints' cults. Rather than the saint's human characteristics, the saint's posthumous activities as a saint -- wonderworking, healing, interceding, and protecting -- seem to have dominated and shaped the popular cults of the major saints and constituted their "sanctity." With "new saints" who competed in the same cultural arena as the major figures, the way in which their cult was promoted, rather than their personal characteristics, determined the reasons for their public veneration. In this respect, there was little difference between the cult of a "new saint," and a new cult of an old and hitherto ignored saint. The creation and control of new cults allows us to see contestation between various social groups and a reflection of different sorts of power.

Only when issues around cult and the general formulation of sainthood have been determined, can we unpack the interdependence of sanctity and gender. Chapter IV, "Sanctity and Gender: An Overview," presents the data on gender difference in three aspects of early Christian and Byzantine sanctity. Statistical data allow us to trace successive "waves" in the creation of new saints, and to document the impact of gender in

each wave. Hagiographic and patristic materials document the way in which both gender and sanctity built on understandings of the body. Finally, using more tentative sources, I propose some assessment of the function of gender in saints' cults.

There is no doubt that early Christians came to understand sanctity primarily in masculine terms.<sup>15</sup> Because scholars have rarely put this Christian masculinity into question, Chapter V, "Sanctity and Masculinity," examines the maleness of male saints. Although distinct from the early Christian world, the Byzantine cult of saints at first glance maintained the strict masculinity of sanctity. Language used about the major figures, as well as in the *Lives* of new saints, repeatedly asserted the power of the saints in male terms. At times, this language becomes almost humorous, as monk after monk is compared to Herakles. By focusing on a diversity of texts that use nuptial imagery about male saints, however, I am able to show that the situation was not quite so straightforward. Some hagiographers were willing to feminize their subjects as "brides of Christ," while some mystical writers feminized themselves in relation to God. In this light, gender emerges as a central theme of Byzantine religious discourse.

The final substantive chapter, Chapter VI, "Sanctity and Women," addresses directly the "rise and fall" of married women saints in the middle Byzantine period. An assessment of selected male and female saints of the period demonstrates a series of contestations in the construction of both gender and sanctity, for instance in the monasticization and mystification of sainthood. For women, and for men thinking about women, I argue that the most important development to affect the social position of

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<sup>15</sup> Harvey, "Women in Early Byzantine Hagiography," 40.

women was the rise and theorization of Christian marriage. Marriage came to provide a new role for the "ideal" women in religious discourse, but one that also came to exclude sainthood.

Three appendices conclude the study. The first is an extended discussion of the methodological issues this dissertation brought up, accompanied by a series of tables presenting more fully the statistical data used in the main part of the text. Appendix II is a side-by-side translation of the *Life* of one of the married laywoman saints, Thomaïs of Lesbos. Appendix III makes some suggestion about the usage of the two Greek words for saint, ἅγιος and ὅσιος.

### **C Sources and Methodology**

A study of sanctity and gender in Byzantium rests on a foundation built on the efforts of earlier historians to collect data and on the much more recent openness of students of both hagiography and women's history to new theoretical perspectives.

The *Lives* of women saints have rarely been used to explore the cultural coordinates of Byzantine society. There is reason for this. While saints' *Lives* are among the most abundant sources available to Byzantine research, and the erudition of scholars such as the Bollandists Hippolyte Delehaye and François Halkin produced printed editions of many vitae and an invaluable guide to editions and manuscripts in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*,<sup>16</sup> the sheer magnitude of this hagiographical material

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<sup>16</sup> Cited as BHG throughout this study. See the List of Abbreviations for full citation.

resists simple analysis.<sup>17</sup> Byzantinists, for instance, have scarcely touched on the entire matter of becoming a saint, or canonization.<sup>18</sup> Previous approaches have included analyses of single vitae,<sup>19</sup> discussions of particular religious controversies,<sup>20</sup> and positivist analyses of groups of vitae in order to extract sociological information.<sup>21</sup> Especially interesting for this study have been the attempts, notably by Patlagean, to explore the

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<sup>17</sup> The situation is worse with Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der Hagiographischen und Homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur Bd. 50-52 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1937 [i. e. 1936]-1952). Ehrhard lists the contents of hundreds of hagiographical manuscripts, but ordered in such a complex and unhelpful fashion that his work was virtually unusable until the recent publication of an index. See Lidia Perria, *I manoscritti citati da Albert Ehrhard: indice di A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, I-III, Leipzig-Berlin 1937-1952* (Rome: Istituto di studi bizantini e neoellenici, Università di Roma, 1979). Perria indexes the manuscripts Ehrhard covered, and where in his text they occur. There is still no index of which saints appear in which manuscript, although the BHG is useful for this purpose.

<sup>18</sup> See the discussion in Alice-Mary Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite* (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1983), 21-24.

<sup>19</sup> See Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (+1110)*, introduction, critical text and French translation by Etienne Sargologos, *Subsidia hagiographica* 39 (Brussels: Société de Bollandistes, 1964); Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *BZ* 78 (1985), 49-55; Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Life of Saint Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1986); Alice-Mary Talbot, "Family Cults in Byzantium: The Case of St. Theodora of Thessalonike," in *ΑΕΙΜΩΝ: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 6 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1996), 49-69.

<sup>20</sup> See Ihor Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast World," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. Anthony Bryer & Judith Herrin (Birmingham: 1977); Aristeides Papadakis, "Iconoclasm: A Study of the Hagiographical Evidence." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 1968).

<sup>21</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charamis Studies*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 84-114; Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 44 (1990), 131-44: The current *Hagiography Project* at Dumbarton Oaks is committed to reading all middle Byzantine saints *Lives* in order to record available factual and prosopographic information in a database.

changing meaning of sanctity in the early Byzantine period through the examination of the vitae of male ascetic and female transvestite saints.<sup>22</sup>

The wider topic of this study, the structures of the lives of Byzantine women, has only very recently received any satisfying attention. Evidence for their lives is sparse. In any male-dominated society where women's activities have not been consciously recorded, an indirect approach to the material available must be taken. but for Byzantium there is little of the evidence used to reconstruct women's history in the West; parish records, court records, records of land transactions and so on are all fragmentary or entirely lacking.<sup>23</sup> The impressive series of narrative histories, which lasted for the duration of the Empire, and the largely political, religious or economic interests of Byzantinists, combined until very recently to set an agenda in Byzantine historiography which focused on the public life of Byzantine society, an arena in which women were absent. Scholars have studied individual women, but overwhelmingly these have been empresses or princesses.<sup>24</sup> A few studies attuned to developments in women's history appeared after 1975, but only since 1985 has a series of more sophisticated articles on Byzantine women been published. The hagiography of female saints, a primary source

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<sup>22</sup> Patlagean, "La femme déguisée": eadem, "Sainteté et Pouvoir," in Hackel, *Saint*, 88-105; and Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography," 540.

<sup>23</sup> Judith Herrin, "In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 168.

<sup>24</sup> This is not only a problem with representation of women. Kazhdan and Constable, [*People and Power*, 20], tabulate the persons who appear in what has long been the standard work on Byzantium – Ostrogorsky, *ByzState*. There is not a single commoner, peasant or merchant. The index to Ostrogorsky's text revealed seventy-nine women, all of them members of the imperial, or some other royal, family.

for this study, turns out to be perhaps the major non-legal resource for Byzantine women's history.<sup>25</sup>

Recent women's history, inspired by the feminist movement and arising in fields of history where there is no shortage of data, has provoked a new awareness and interrogation of gender in Byzantine society. Angeliki Laiou and Lynda Garland have both attempted to analyze the ideology and conventions of Byzantine womanhood by reevaluating the usual historical sources.<sup>26</sup> Catia Galatariotou recently carried out a sustained effort to understand twelfth-century Byzantine conceptions of gender using spiritual, if not hagiographical, literature.<sup>27</sup> By examining the Cypriot saint, Neophytos the Recluse, she revealed the misogynist image of women that emerges from his writings. While the intellectual tools of feminist historiography, drawn from a structuralist

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<sup>25</sup> See for example Evelyne Patlagean's work cited above: Angeliki E. Laiou, "Ἡ ἱστορία ἐνός γάμου: ὁ βίος τῆς ἁγίας Θωμαΐδος τῆς Λεσβίας" [The Story of a Marriage: The Life of St. Thomās of Lesbos], in *Ἡ Καθημερινή Ζωή Στὸ Βυζάντιο* [Everyday Life in Byzantium], ed. Ch. Maltezos (Athens: 1989), 237-51; Eva Catafygiotu Topping, *Holy Mothers of Orthodoxy* (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1987). Most recently a collection of ten translations has appeared, Alice-Mary Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996). [Abbreviated here as *HWB*.]

<sup>26</sup> Lynda Garland, "The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women: A Further note on the Conventions of Behaviour and Social Reality as Reflected in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Historical Sources." *B* 58:2 (1988), 361-393; Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten I/1* (Vienna: 1981)[= *JÖB* 31:1 (1981), 233-60]; eadem, "Addendum to the Report on the Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 32:1 (1982), 98-103; eadem, "Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," *BF* 9 (1985), 59-102.

<sup>27</sup> Catia Galatariou, "Holy Women and Witches," 54-94; eadem, "Eros and Thanatos: A Byzantine Hermit's conception of sexuality," *BMGS* 13 (1989), 95-137; eadem, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). According to Galatariotou, Neophytos tried to "canonize" himself in his writings. It would be going far to call this "hagiography."

anthropology and the whole nexus of ideas known as post-structuralism, need to be used with care, they are clearly opening up areas of fruitful research.<sup>28</sup>

In one important respect, Byzantine hagiographical sources are particularly open to investigation of sanctity as a cultural construction. In the West, from 993, the Roman *Curia* increasingly controlled sainthood through bureaucratic procedures.<sup>29</sup> One result was that sainthood became a function of organizational strength and activity as much as of local religious cultures.<sup>30</sup> Byzantine hagiographers were cultural producers relatively unsullied by any official purpose or ideology.<sup>31</sup> There were no canonization (ἀνακήρυξις) procedures until the thirteenth century and they did not become normative before the fourteenth.<sup>32</sup> Before then, individual sanctity was typically "recognized" (ἀναγνώρισις) by popular tomb cult, perhaps supported by the local bishop, or promoted by a *Life*. These procedural laxities mean that the saint's *Life*, in part, made the saint, and so reflected a cultural rather than official construction of sanctity.

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<sup>28</sup> Galatariotou, *Neophytos*, 3-6.

<sup>29</sup> In the first recorded papal canonization, Pope John XV elevated St. Ulric of Augsburg (d. 973) at a council in Rome in 993. Full papal control of canonization was not established for many centuries after.

<sup>30</sup> See Pierre Delooy, *Sociologie et canonisations* (Liège: Faculté de droit, 1969), summarized in his "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and Their Cults*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 189-216.

<sup>31</sup> See Kathryn Ringrose, "Monks and Society in Iconoclastic Byzantium," *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 6 (1979), 135n12, "Apparently in Byzantium in this period canonization grew out of popular acclamation with little formal supervision. I have no evidence that the church exercised any control over the writing of vitae or the veneration of new saints. When a saint became the object of a local cult, his name and feast day were recorded on the calendar of the local church with which he was identified. If his following became extended, his name might be entered on the patriarchal calendar." Quoted in Talbot, *Faith Healing*, 22.

<sup>32</sup> The "heralding," (ἀνακήρυξις) of Gregory Palamas in 1368 is sometimes seen as the first official canonization, but there were clearly instances earlier in the century. Talbot, *Faith Healing*, 22-23.



In order to address the questions raised in this study, I approached the available material through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. I generated wide-ranging and longitudinal statistical information about the place of saints in Byzantine culture, the production of the cult of saints, and the characteristics of the saints themselves. Conclusions about the cult of saints established by statistical data then permitted a new and broader contextual analysis of a number of texts, especially but not exclusively the *Lives* of female saints. In addition to these approaches, which involve original translation, research, and database construction, I also addressed issues of sanctity and gender using the fruits of modern scholarship on the development of marriage, the position of women in Byzantine society, and the rise of monasticism.

Statistical surveys provide much of the raw data for chapters 2-4. I looked at data of three principal sorts: at the saints and the statistical information about them; at the hagiographers and their social background; and, in an effort to place saints more widely in Byzantine culture, at saints in standard Byzantine historiography.

Saints themselves were the focus of information compiled in the *Saints' Prosopographical Database*. A large number of scattered sources -- *Lives*, *synaxarion* entries, relics lists -- yielded data on personal characteristics as well on individual cults. The database includes any person Byzantine sources considered a saint,<sup>33</sup> whether as individuals or as named members of groups, about whom any document survives from Byzantine or post-Byzantine Greek sources. For statistical purposes, however, I limited

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<sup>33</sup> Since in a very real sense early Christian saints were, or became, "Byzantine Saints," the database includes them where Greek sources survive. Syriac and Coptic saints also entered Byzantine liturgical calendars and hagiographical literature. This was not the case for Russian saints, who were excluded.

the sample to saints who appear in BHG or any of its succeeding volumes.<sup>34</sup> In practical terms, data in BHG and the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople proved to be the most useful.<sup>35</sup> Significant data fields included: the approximate century of the saint's lifetime, feast day(s), gender, use of title "hagios/a" or "hosios/a," martyr status, marital status, children, sexual abstinence, monastic status, hierarchical status, social class, location, number of surviving documents, author of saint's life, later Byzantine references, location of cult site, family relationship of saint with other saints, connection of saint with imperial court, special functions of the saint, location and type of relics of saint. In all, there were fifty-three distinct fields, and I collected data on 1675 saints in 1608 records. For many saints, data was unavailable for many of the fields, but even marginal references to otherwise unknown saints proved useful for particular questions. For questions on the public cults of saints, individual saints were also the focus for a distinct supplementary database on church dedications across the medieval Greek world.

Hagiographers, who figure among the chief creators of saints' cults, were the subjects of a second database.<sup>36</sup> I collected data on all authors in BHG (and BHGNA) who wrote two or more saint's *Lives*. This meant exclusion of some hagiographers, often those who wrote one life of a person they knew. The "two *Lives*" criterion was intended both to keep the figures manageable and, more positively, to restrict discussion to those

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<sup>34</sup> See Appendix I for further discussion of database construction choices.

<sup>35</sup> Cited as SynaxCP throughout this study. See the List of Abbreviations for full citation.

<sup>36</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot suggested this approach in a paper given at Princeton in May 1989. See Alice-Mary Talbot, "Old Wine in New Bottles: the Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 15-26.

authors who had a more than passing interest in writing hagiography. Data fields concentrated on both prosopographic details of the writer and on the saints about whom he wrote.<sup>37</sup>

Non-hagiographical histories permitted an effort to assess the place of saints in wider Byzantine society. Gathering material about saints exclusively from religious sources -- the common approach -- may lead to a misapprehension of the importance of the cult of saints. To investigate this possibility, and to inquire into the extent to which secular and spiritual spheres interconnected in Byzantium, I collected data on which saints appear in Byzantine secular histories.<sup>38</sup> Anyone the authors called a "saint" was recorded: this included saints who were not incorporated in later *synaxaria* or given official cults, along with saints who were named in connection with a church or monastery dedication. Since the amount of Byzantine historiographic material is vast, I selected authors according to the availability and quality of modern editions. Editor-provided indices were crucial in yielding the names of saints and their whereabouts in the texts.<sup>39</sup>

The *Lives* of the middle Byzantine female saints proved exceptionally rich sources with which to study constructions of gender and sanctity. The BHG documents a burst of productivity that yielded eight *Lives* of the ninth-century women saints, and six of tenth-

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<sup>37</sup> See Appendix I for a detailed list of data fields.

<sup>38</sup> There was a virtually unbroken tradition of history writing in Byzantium. For this survey, I analyzed nineteen authors from the sixth to sixteenth centuries.

<sup>39</sup> Some editions do not index names which are connected with buildings, and were not, therefore, very useful for the purpose of this survey.

century women.<sup>40</sup> These comprise the bulk of hagiography of contemporary Byzantine women. Saint's *Lives* have long been plundered by Byzantine scholars, raided for positive information on battles, military campaigns, and so forth.<sup>41</sup> They have also been a prime source for Byzantine social history.<sup>42</sup> With the exceptions noted earlier, they have rarely been analyzed as texts about gender, the approach taken here. As well as the middle Byzantine women's *Lives*, this study made use of the vitae of contemporary holy men, re-writings of older saints' *Lives*, and other legal and historiographical texts bearing on gender and sanctity, such as monastic *typika*.

Even with the comparatively limited sources available, there were too many *Lives* to analyze in depth. Textual inquiry then, centered on the vitae of non-imperial lay married women who became saints, in particular Mary the Younger and Thomaïs of Lesbos. The rationale for attending to these texts is that they represent the most liminal

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<sup>40</sup> Based on standard dating. As will be discussed, some of the *Lives* may have been written in the eleventh century.

<sup>41</sup> The pinnacle of this positivist approach is *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database of the 8th-10th Century*, ed. Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1998).

<sup>42</sup> Louis Bréhier, "Les populations rurales au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après l'hagiographie byzantine," *B 1* (1925), 177-90; Harry S. 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," *B 37* (1967), 228-69; idem, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources for Byzantine Agrarian Life in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *GOTR 35:1* (1990), 59-70; Dorothy deF. Abrahamse, "Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period," *BF 8* (1982), 3-17; eadem, "Byzantine Views of the West in the Early Crusade Period: The Evidence of Hagiography," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, Studies in Medieval Culture 21, ed. Vladimir P. Goss and Christine Verzar Bornstein (Kalamazoo MI.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986), 189-200; Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Lives of Saints, Ethical Teachings, and Social Realities in Tenth-Century Byzantine Peloponnesos," *GOTR 30* (1985), 297-310; Clive Foss, "Cities and Villages of Lycia in the Life of Saint Nicholas of Holy Sion," *GOTR 36* (1991), 303-37; Panayotis Yannopoulos, "La Grèce dans la *Vie de S. Élie le Jeune* et dans celle de *S. Élie le Spéléote*," *B 64* (1994), 193-221.

aspects of sanctity. Mary had, as far as we know, a short-lived cult, and Thoma's only a very localized one: both have vitae which survive through only one or two manuscripts: neither were imperial women, where the politics of sainthood seem to have operated differently; and both were married, although only Mary had children. In all these respects, they were at the edge of what defined sanctity and, as such, they establish its limits. Other women saints of the period, such as the nuns Irene of Chrysobalanton and Theodora of Thessalonica, had *Lives* that reproduced older narratives of sanctity. For comparative analysis of male sanctity, I used the very different *Lives* of Cyril of Philea, Symeon the New Theologian, Luke of Steiris, and Nikon the Metanoicite.<sup>43</sup> Together they represent a cross section of masculine types of saints: a lower class holy man with imperial connections, a mystic intellectual, a monastery founder, and a regional miracle-worker.

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In beginning this study, it was tempting to try to explain the disappearance of new Byzantine women saints by an exegesis of the *Lives* of the last few examples and an examination of the immediate social and religious context. It soon became clear that such an approach would yield unsatisfactory results, and so, while keeping a firm eye on the issue of female sanctity, this study has cast its net much wider. Women's sanctity shared in the wider social milieu of Byzantine sainthood. To understand the later decline in women "new saints" we need to look anew at this world. Many activities and beliefs relating to Byzantine sainthood remain closed to us -- for instance, we have no way of

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<sup>43</sup> Recent translations into French (for Cyril and Symeon) and English (Luke and Nikon) have made these lives accessible to a wider range of readers.

ascertaining the thoughts of average pilgrims -- but sufficient data does remain to suggest a reasonable model. In the chapters that follow, I propose that a deeper understanding of the nature of sainthood in Byzantium cannot emerge from looking at individual texts alone. Nor can one comprehend the shifting interaction of Byzantine sanctity and social forms by using ahistorical definitions of "sanctity." We must go beyond the religiously sanctioned essentials -- devotion to God, prayer, and rejection of evil -- and focus on the liminal aspects of sanctity. This study, then, refuses to privilege the aspects of sanctity educated believers would identify as central, nor does it accept an unproblematic use of the label "saint." Rather it stresses the ways in which Byzantine audiences constructed saints in the narratives of their *Lives*, the stories of how a saint's cult was developed and practiced, and the competition between saintly narratives we see in both *Lives* and cults.

## CHAPTER II

### MEASURING THE CULT OF SAINTS IN BYZANTIUM

#### A **Studying the Cult of Saints in Byzantium**

To assess the question of gender in the domain of Byzantine sanctity requires some overall idea of the place and function of sainthood in Byzantine culture. Without such a model, comments on women saints or "stages" in Byzantine understandings of sainthood remain little more than musings. This and the following chapter argue that sufficient data survive to establish an overall model, that the cult of saints in Byzantium exhibits distinctive features, and that our understanding of the nature of sanctity at any period of Byzantine history must pay attention to the practices of the cult. The crucial analytic distinction here is between "cult," the phenomena associated with a saint's public veneration, and "sanctity," the personal characteristics, real or presumed, of a saint which make him or her holy. We can only understand the sanctity of a saint, or sub-group of saints, against the background of the wider cult of saints.

This conclusion derives not only from the data analyzed here but also from a consideration of earlier scholarship. Studies focused on individual saints usually look at both the sanctity and the cult of their subject, and gain real insights in doing so, but the cost is a certain myopia with regard to the wider cultural meanings of sainthood. Neither Symeon the Fool nor Irene of Chrysobalanton,<sup>22</sup> for instance, the subjects of recent books,

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<sup>22</sup> For example, Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Life of Saint Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1986); or Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius' Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).

had any significant cult in Byzantium and only a severely limited understanding of the role of saints and sainthood in Byzantine society can be derived from studying them. To gain an overall view we need to attempt broader, statistically supported, studies. There have been efforts to do just this. Two widely influential articles by Evelyne Patlagean were based on diachronic tabulations of saints, the first designed to show evolving stages in the types of sanctity available to Byzantine women,<sup>23</sup> the second an examination of sainthood during the ninth to eleventh centuries.<sup>24</sup> More recently, Alice-Mary Talbot and Aleksandr Kazhdan successfully used survey methods, including hagiographical sources on sixty-five saints, to reassess the role of women during the Iconoclastic period.<sup>25</sup> These studies sought to make general statements about the place of sainthood or saints in Byzantine culture and society by looking exclusively at the "new saints." The problem here is that the cult of saints in Byzantium never focused on these newer figures.<sup>26</sup> It is natural for scholars whose main interest is Byzantium to focus on figures who lived during the Byzantine era. As a result, they have tended to see sainthood in terms of the posthumous exaltation and veneration of individual holy people, but this is a fundamentally unbalanced approach. There were Byzantine era saints, and they are worth

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<sup>23</sup> Patlagean, "La femme déguisée." Patlagean considered the dossiers of twelve female saints for this study.

<sup>24</sup> Evelyne Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir," in Hackel, *Saint*, 88-105. Her study was based on consideration of thirty-four saints.

<sup>25</sup> Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," *BZ* 84/85:2 (1991/1992), 391-408.

<sup>26</sup> The same critique could be made of studies of sainthood in the West. Although there are studies of the cults of particular ancient or legendary saints [e.g., Charles W. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978,)] there has been no wider consideration of the role of such saints within the overall cult of saints.



studying (as is done later in this study), but only after we grasp that Byzantine people comprehended the sanctity of these figures against a remarkably stable and coherent "field" of sanctity established by the widespread cults of earlier, and largely legendary, saintly figures. Only then can we really begin to analyze the cultural significance of the "new saints."

Establishing the boundaries of the field of sanctity is not straightforward. Both statistical and qualitative considerations are germane, or otherwise important aspects become submerged in a totalizing analysis. This was the problem with the most important English-language attempt to quantify sainthood, *Saints and Society* by Weinstein and Bell.<sup>27</sup> Weinstein and Bell compiled extensive data on key variables for 864 Western saints who lived between 1000 and 1700. They explored the significance of issues such as gender, ethnicity, and marital status, using not particularly advanced statistical techniques, but techniques rarely seen in the study of sainthood. In doing so, they presented a complex model of sanctity in Western culture. The problem is this: what exactly were Weinstein and Bell quantifying? It would seem that they were measuring the aggregate of all saints and weighing each saint equally -- that is, they based their model of sanctity on data derived from statistical analysis of the multiple individual saints. They entirely ignored, however, the size of a saint's cult. This is a fine procedure for establishing census information, but not all saints are equal when it comes to understanding sainthood and sanctity. A saint with a massive cult, whose life and example affected both other potential saints' behavior and popular perceptions of sanctity

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<sup>27</sup> Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

(St. Francis is the paradigm example) is more important when considering the field of sanctity as a whole than some local village saint with only local fame.<sup>28</sup> To be fair, Weinstein and Bell were aware of this as an issue but deliberately chose to treat all saints equally since part of their project was to show the utility of statistical approaches.<sup>29</sup> The probity of this decision is open to question, since even in Western Europe it was ancient saints who dominated the cult,<sup>30</sup> but with a cohort of 864, there is some justification. In the Byzantine context, where the total number of saints was far lower, equalizing data for all saints in the manner of *Saints and Sanctity* would be an insupportable way to establish a model of sanctity. What we need in order to grasp the historical reality of sainthood in Byzantine culture is a statistically supported model that is sensitive to the weighting of particular saints. In short, I want to know which saints were most important, and have some idea of the relative degree of importance.

In collecting data for this study, I kept in mind two sets of coordinates -- those of cult and those of sanctity. My basic conclusion can be stated up front. When Byzantine people wrote about saints -- and when they visited saints' relics, when they went on pilgrimages, when they looked at icons of saints, when they celebrated name days, and when they referred to monuments named after saints -- it was a very small group of

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<sup>28</sup> If, however, all villages tended to have such a local figure, then that information would itself be important.

<sup>29</sup> Weinstein and Bell, 279-80. It should be noted that they did check each table to avoid absurdities.

<sup>30</sup> For instance, in the *Golden Legend*, the most widely circulated later medieval collection of saints stories, of the 168 named saints, only eight (Thomas Becket, Peter Martyr, Dominic, Bernard, Francis, Gregory I, John the Almsgiver and Elizabeth of Hungary) lived after 600. See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William G. Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

largely early Christian and late antique figures, often legendary, who dominated the ideas they had about the saints, and to which other saints had to conform. This conclusion about the nature of the cult of saints is fundamental to understanding Byzantine sanctity.

## **B Evidence for the Size of the Cult of Saints in Byzantium**

Estimates about the relative sizes of saints' cults in Byzantium derive from two main sources: surviving documents and material remains. There are aspects of public veneration that can be measured in modern saints' cults, but which are not measurable from Byzantine sources; for instance, we have no way of assessing the number of visitors to shrines, or the degree of popular devotion exhibited by purchase of *ex voti* or ampoules of holy oil. The sources we do have, however, are extensive, and when we consider them synchronously, they yield secure conclusions.

Scholarly compilations and guides to the sources on the cult of saints appeared over the past century. Although there may be mistakes or omissions in the data, this would be a real problem only if there were some persistent bias, rather than random errors. In fact, there is no reason to suppose any non-random distortion of the data, and the conclusions we can draw about the cult of saints arise from rather large numerical variances.<sup>31</sup> What is especially noteworthy is that, while the various data sets examined (documents, church dedications, seals) are largely independent of each other, they produce similar conclusions about the size and relative importance of cults.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See Appendix I for a list of the compilations and the problems with using them.

<sup>32</sup> See Appendix I, Table A1 for a statistical test to demonstrate the independence of two of the data sources used in this chapter.

*Documentary Evidence I: Vitae, Enkomia, Menologia, Synaxaria*

There are a variety of documents particular to an individual saint. The most important of these, when it exists, is the saint's *Life* or *vita*. *Lives* usually yield data on the life, merits and characteristics of the saint in question and as such are important for assessing sanctity. Any texts written about a specific saint, including *enkomia*, entries in *synaxaria*, *menaia* and *menologia*, as well as the collections known as *paterika* and *meterika*.<sup>33</sup> are also useful. The assumption here is that the amount of this documentary evidence surviving is related to the extent of a saint's cult.

It is not clear how best to quantify the documents which survive, and the recording methods of Delehaye and Halkin in BHG preclude some options. One obvious method would be simply to count surviving manuscripts of a saint's *Life*: for instance Theoktiste of Lesbos' *Life* survives in twenty-seven manuscripts while the three distinct texts about Thomaïs of Lesbos each survive in one manuscript.<sup>34</sup> But with many popular saints, the situation is less straightforward. Let us take as an example the textual evidence for the popular military saint, Prokopios of Caesarea. For Prokopios, we have both early factual accounts about his life and well-documented data on the original nature of his cult. The surviving passions and *enkomia*, however, transform the story so greatly

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<sup>33</sup> An *enkomion* was a text, often a homily, written for a saint's feast day, which lauded the saint in general terms without necessarily recounting details of the saint's life or miracles. A *synaxarion* could be a church calendar of saints' days with appropriate lections, but here is meant the various manuscripts that contain a short reading for each saint – the SynaxCP is the most significant [ODB 1991]. A *menaion* was a type of liturgical text that contained hymns and readings for each feast day [ODB 1338]. Much longer texts about saints, although still shorter than full saint's lives, were contained in a *menologion* [ODB 1341]. Texts about saints might also be found in collections made for a variety of reasons, called "paterika" and "meterika." See J. Noret, "Ménologes, synaxaires, meneés," *AnalBoll* 86 (1968), 21-24.

<sup>34</sup> *HWB*, 98 n12 and 294.

that they are of no use whatsoever to investigators of the historical figure, although they may be of use in exploring later conceptions of sanctity.<sup>35</sup> As well as the largely historical account contained in Eusebios of Caesarea's *De Martyribus Palaestinae*,<sup>36</sup> a text available in a number of manuscripts, the BHG records nine other legendary accounts of his passion,<sup>37</sup> as well as a Metaphrastic version,<sup>38</sup> and six *enkomia* by later Byzantine authors, such as Niketas Paphlagon, Constantine Akropolites, and the deacon Prokopios. The problems in analyzing these data as recorded in the BHG are manifold. First, different BHG entries record different types of data. BHG 1577d, for instance, is a reference to *Cod. Paris 1447, fol. 269-298*, a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript which contains a passion of Prokopios. BHG 1579, by contrast, refers to the tenth-century version of the passion by Symeon Metaphrastes as published in 1721 in *AASS Iul II, 556-576*.<sup>39</sup> As with Eusebios, there are many copies of various parts of the Metaphrastic collection in existence.<sup>40</sup> These texts say a great deal about the cult of Prokopios while

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<sup>35</sup> See Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. V.M. Crawford (London: Longmans, Green, 1907). Chapter 5 is devoted to unraveling the texts on Prokopios.

<sup>36</sup> BHG 1576.

<sup>37</sup> BHG 1577, 1577m, 1577a, 1577c, 1577d, 1577e, 1577f, 1578, 1579e.

<sup>38</sup> BHG 1579.

<sup>39</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes, d.c.1000, rewrote the lives of older saints to fit in with the literary conventions of his day. See *ODB* 1983-84, and Hippolyte Delehaye, "Synopsis Metaphrastica," in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, editio altera emendatio (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1909), 267-92.

<sup>40</sup> For a complete list see Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der Hagiographischen und Homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur Bd. 50-52 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1937 [i. e., 1936]-1952). See also review by François Halkin in *AnalBoll* 70 (1952), 345-49. Nancy Ševčenko informed me that for her book, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago: 1990), she did "a rough calculation, based on Ehrhard...and came up with a figure of around 850." Nancy Ševčenko. [nsevcenko@aol.com], " Re: RE: [hagiomail] MSS of Metaphrastes." In Hagiomail [hagiomail@belnet.be]. 16 September 1996.

indicating the problems in assessing such evidence. In evaluating how many texts survive about Prokopios, we thus face a dilemma. Would it be correct to count every manuscript of Eusebios and the Metaphrastic collections, a procedure which would give an accurate raw figure, but would also give elevated figures for any saint whom Metaphrastes included? Counting mentions of a saint in *synaxaria* manuscripts is even more problematic since we know that the principle of inclusion was sometimes based on completing a neat calendar arrangement rather than any considerations of importance of the saint's cult, or even whether there was an active cult.<sup>41</sup> It might be added that since the Metaphrastic corpus excluded saints later than the tenth century -- a crucial period for the present study -- to include a count of all Metaphrastic manuscripts seriously compromises analysis.<sup>42</sup> Merely counting *vita* manuscripts is not an option since the different types of document which survive about a saint such as Prokopios -- laudations, homilies and so forth -- surely relate to the extent and duration of the cult.<sup>43</sup>

The solution adopted here is far from perfect but is directed at the specific goal of quantifying in some way the size of a saint's cult *in comparison with* other saints. In detailing the nature of the specific cult of an individual saint, it is necessary to untangle, as Delehaye did with Prokopios, the entire manuscript, Metaphrastic, and calendar

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<sup>41</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, "Le Synaxaire de Sirmond," *AnalBoll* 14 (1895), 420-21. Each *synaxarion* also has its own, usually complex, documentary and manuscript history. How to assess and quantify these manuscript and written traditions about saints is an even more confused problem.

<sup>42</sup> Pre-tenth century saints in the Metaphrastic documents, for instance, would always have a large numerical edge over later saints.

<sup>43</sup> There are also saints for whom we possess only short *synaxaria* entries, which may or may not derive from now lost lives, who would be recorded as leaving no documentary evidence if we only counted full *Lives* as important.

traditions. It is unnecessary to do this for comparative data on saints where the system of records adopted by Halkin and Delehayé in the various editions of the BHG have similar and, for the purpose of this study, desirable effects of suppressing the same sort of information in each case -- for instance the multiple manuscript survivals of Metaphrastic compilations -- and of emphasizing other desirable data, in particular the representation of a particular saint in different types of manuscript. For Prokopios this BHG-derived figure is sixteen, the number of different references Halkin cites. Table 2.1 then records a very wide index of the extent of a saint's cult: the number of documents about that saint recorded in the BHG. As will be seen, these data correlate well with entirely distinct data sets drawn from information on church dedications, relics, seals, and art.

Based on the number of BHG documents, the saints' cults have been divided into four broad ranges. Saints with more than eighty documents may be considered the dominant figures within the surviving literature. This is a very small group. Excluding the Virgin Mary, who is in a category by herself, five saints fall into this category: John the Baptist, Demetrios, Nicholas, John the Theologian, and George. Of these, two are New Testament figures and three are legendary. Nearly as important (with 40-79 documents) are Kosmas and Damian, the Theodores,<sup>44</sup> the apostles Peter and Paul,<sup>45</sup> the apostle Thomas, Stephen the first martyr, and the sole "Byzantine" figure, John

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<sup>44</sup> SS. Theodore Teron (41 docs.) and Theodore Stratelates (14 docs.) were the product of different iconographic representations of the same saint. Their (his?) numbers need to be added together (total 55) to assess the size of the cult.

<sup>45</sup> Whose documentary totals should include the large number of texts which treat them as a pair. This would give Paul 77 docs. (vs. 49 alone) and Peter 58 docs. (vs. 28 alone).

**Table 2.1**  
**Documentary Indications of the Size of Greek Saints' Cults:**

No. of Documentary Refs	Saint	Century Saint Lived	No. of Docs in BHG <sup>a</sup>
>80	<b>Mary, Mother of God<sup>C</sup></b>	1	355
	John the Baptist, Forerunner	1	121
	Demetrios of Thessalonica, Myroblytos	4	108
	Nicholas of Myra, wonderworker	4	95
	John the Theologian/Evangelist	1	90
	George the Martyr, megalomartyr	4	87
40-79	Kosmas & Damian, Anargyroi	4	79
	John Chrysostom	5	74
	Thomas, Apostle	1	69
	Paul, Apostle	1	49
	Theodore Teron (footsoldier)	4	41
20-39	Stephen Protomartyr	1	39
	Clement of Rome	1	37
	Andrew, Apostle	1	33
	Menas of Egypt, wonderworker	4	32
	Michael the Archangel		31
	Alexios, Man of God, Homo Dei	5	30
	Peter, Apostle	1	29
	Peter & Paul Together, Apostles	1	28
	Constantine the Great	4	27
	Gregory of Nazianzos	4	26
	Pachomios	4	26
	Gurias Samonas and Abibus	4	24
	Angels		23
	Philip, Apostle	1	23
	Symeon Stylites the Elder (of Mandra)	5	22
	Group: XL Martyrs of Sebasteia	4	21
Luke the Evangelist	1	20	
Onuphrios	5	20	
10-19	<b>Barbara</b>	4	19
	Panteleemon (Pantaleon)	4	19
	<b>Paraskeve</b>	2	19
	<b>Justina</b>	4	18
	Cyprian the Great	4	18
	Silvester of Rome	4	18
	<b>Thekla of Iconium</b>	1	18
	Artemios, wonderworker	4	17
	Lazaros of Bethany NT	1	17
	Ephrem the Syrian	4	16
	<b>Euphemia of Chalcedon</b>	4	16
	Group: Three Hierarchs (Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom)	4	16
	Kyros & John, anargyroi	4	16
	<b>Marina of Antioch</b>	4	16
	Prokopios of Caesarea	4	16
	Dionysios (Denis) the Areopagite	1	15
	John Klimakos	7	15
	<b>Mary the Egyptian</b>		15
	Andrew, Salos "Fool for Christ"	5	14
	Andronikos,	6	14
Makarios of Egypt	3	14	
Matthew, Apostle Evangelist	1	14	



(Table 2.1 -- *Continued*)

No. of Documentary Refs	Saint	Century Saint Lived	No. of Docs in BHG <sup>a</sup>
	Theodore, Stratelates (General)	4	14
	Group: Monks of Sina and Raithu	5	13
	Mamas,	3	13
	Theodore of Stoudios	9	13
	Tryphon, wonderworker	3	13
	James, Brother of the Lord	1	12
	Niketas,	4	12
	Polykarp of Smyrna	2	12
	Seven Sleepers of Ephesus	3	12
	Abraham and <b>Mary</b> of Edessa	4	11
	Christopher	3	11
	Konon	1	11
	Makarios Romanos		11
	Mark the Evangelist	1	11
	Phokas, hortulanus		11
	<b>Anastasia the Pharmakolytria</b>	4	10
	Bartholemew, Apostle	1	10
	Holy Innocents,	1	10
	Laurentios	3	10
	Martinianos		10
	<b>Theodota</b>	4	10

Source: BHG: *Saints' Hagiographical Database*.

<sup>a</sup> Number in BHG: The number of documents about each saint in the BHG. (Does not include BHGNA documents)

<sup>b</sup> Names of female saints are highlighted.

Chrysostom.<sup>46</sup> St. Michael.<sup>47</sup> and perhaps Andrew round out the list. Of these saints, eight are biblical, seven are post biblical martyrs whose stories were legendary, and only one was a non-biblical historical figure. Saints with a lower number of documents do not seem to have had large cults.

Although this analysis excludes the data collected by Ehrhard concerning absolute numbers of manuscripts referring to a saint in favor of the count of types of different documents, there is reason to suppose that absolute figures would support the general picture here. For example, Ehrhard records around 300 non-menologic manuscripts,<sup>48</sup> popular collections designed as spiritual reading for the literate faithful and monks. Ehrhard notes that the number of saints discussed in the manuscripts continually declined over the centuries and it was always the same restricted number of legends and marvels that were included.<sup>49</sup> As with counting different types of document, the conclusion is the

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<sup>46</sup> His presence is probably explained by the impact of his own writings on later writers. Other evidence does not indicate a large cult.

<sup>47</sup> His totals need to be increased as he was often written about with Gabriel (together they were known as the "Taxiarchs.")

<sup>48</sup> "Non-menologic" refers to manuscripts that contain homilies and panegyrics of the saints, as in *menologia*, but not in calendar order. Such collections existed before and after the great work of Symeon Metaphrastes. Collections made after Metaphrastes might include texts all taken from Metaphrastes, mixtures of Metaphrastic and other texts, and entirely independent collections. See the useful review by Halkin in *Anal Boll* 70 (1952), 345-46, and Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* III. 2, 725-893. Ehrhard records the manuscript, the date if known, and the saints in the manuscript in the order in which they appear.

<sup>49</sup> Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* III. 2, 776, noted by Halkin in *Anal Boll* 70 (1952), 346. There is an apt modern analogy. Since opera was invented in 1599, there have been thousands of such music dramas written and performed. The real repertoire of any modern opera house is restricted, however, to fewer than a hundred works. The social meaning and significance of opera is now determined by these few survivals – *Don Giovanni*, *Tosca*, *Aida*, *The Ring* – rather than by the mass of operas that have been written.

same: the cult of saints in Byzantium was restricted in practice to a dramatically small number of saints.

*Documentary Evidence II: Hymns*

Considerable support is given to the above conclusion by a distinct set of saint-related documents, the surviving hymnography of the Byzantine Church. Here I rely entirely on the data compilation of Enrica Follieri, who in 1966 published a five volume *Initia Hymnorum* -- a tabulation of the initial lines of Greek hymns.<sup>50</sup> Her entire work is composed on the first few words of a hymn, with an indication of where a printed edition is located. Most usefully, there is an *Index Hagiographico-Liturgicus*, which lists each saint, and the printed location of hymns to that saint.

Follieri's data allow an analysis of the comparative size of saint's cult in terms of the number of hymns dedicated to that saint.<sup>51</sup> Table 2.2 compares the extent of saints' cults as measured by the number of hymns with the extent as measured by the BHG documents. The concurrence of the two sets of documents is striking. Not only is the overlap between the named saints evident,<sup>52</sup> but the relative ranking of saints is also

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<sup>50</sup> Henrica Follieri [Enrica Follieri], *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 5 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966). See Appendix I, Table A3: Total Documents about Each Saint in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* and Follieri *Initia Hymnorum*.

<sup>51</sup> There are some limitations on the conclusions that can be based on Follieri's data. From her work, there is no way to assess when the various hymns were composed, nor in how many manuscripts a hymn survives. Moreover, the same hymn might appear more than once in her index, which is an index to editions, if it was edited more than once. The value of the data remains in establishing an index of the comparative size of cults.

<sup>52</sup> Seventy-three percent (29/40) of the saints with the highest number of hymns appear in the list of saints ranked by number of BHG documents. In fact, the concurrence is even more impressive since most of those saints who do not overlap in the top forty lists appear shortly below the cut off established for Table 2.3.

Table 2.2

## Comparison of Size of Saints Cults in BHG Documents with Number of Hymns

Size of Cult	Based on No. of Hymns	Based on No. of Docs
Five largest Cults	Mary, Mother of God John the Baptist John Chrysostom Anna, Mother of Mary Demetrios of Thessalonica	Mary, Mother of God John the Baptist Demetrios of Thessalonica Nicholas of Myra John the Theologian
Next Five largest Cults	John the Theologian George the Martyr Kosmas & Damian Stephen, Protomartyr Peter & Paul Together	George the Martyr Kosmas & Damian John Chrysostom Thomas, Apostle Paul, Apostle
Next Thirty	Basil of Caesarea Theodore Teron Peter, Apostle Nicholas of Myra Thomas, Apostle Mary of Egypt Euphemia of Chalcedon Theodore Stratelates Athanasios of Alexandria Maximos the Confessor * Michael & Gabriel XL Martyrs of Sebasteia Thekla of Iconium Bartholemew, Apostle Gregory Nazianzos Phokas of Sinope Prokopios of Caesarea Kyros & John Barbara James Lazaros * Ephrem the Syrian Euthymios Andrew Philip, Apostle Constantine the Great Symeon Stylites the elder Panteleemon (Pantaleon) Luke the Evangelist Marina Anthony Group: Three Hierarchs	Theodore Teron Stephen Protomartyr Clement of Rome Andrew, Apostle Menas of Egypt Michael the Archangel Alexios, Man of God Peter, Apostle Peter & Paul Together Constantine the Great * Gregory of Nazianzos Pachomios Gurias Samonas and Abibus Philip, Apostle Symeon Stylites the Elder XL Martyrs of Sebasteia Luke the Evangelist Onuphrios Barbara Panteleemon (Pantaleon) Paraskeve * Justina Kyprian the Great Silvester of Rome Thekla of Iconium Artemios Lazaros Ephrem the Syrian Euphemia Group: Three Hierarchs Kyros & John Marina

Source: BHG: *Saints' Hagiographical Database*; Henrica Follieri [Enrica Follieri], *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 5 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966).

similar. Finally, with both sets of documents, there is a steep decline in the number of documents for lesser saints compared to the dominant figures (Figure 2.1).

*The Material Cult I: Church Dedications*

Information about dedications of churches, monasteries, and other religious sanctuaries provide an independent measure of the extent of a saint's cult. Dedications signify the cult of a saint in several ways. A church or monastery dedicated to a local martyr or saint indicated that the saint had a living cult, at least at the time of the dedication,<sup>53</sup> because some founder or patron had enough devotion to name a sanctuary.<sup>54</sup> A dedicated church or monastery also actively propagated the fame of the saint. Areas and localities, even entire villages, took their names from such churches. While in some cases a church dedication preserved a saint's name long after the cult had subsided,<sup>55</sup> textual and archeological information often survive affirming that a cult was maintaining its strength long after the date of a church's construction.

By collating records of church dedications in diverse parts of the Empire, we can establish a data set on the Byzantine cult of saints strikingly different to that derived from

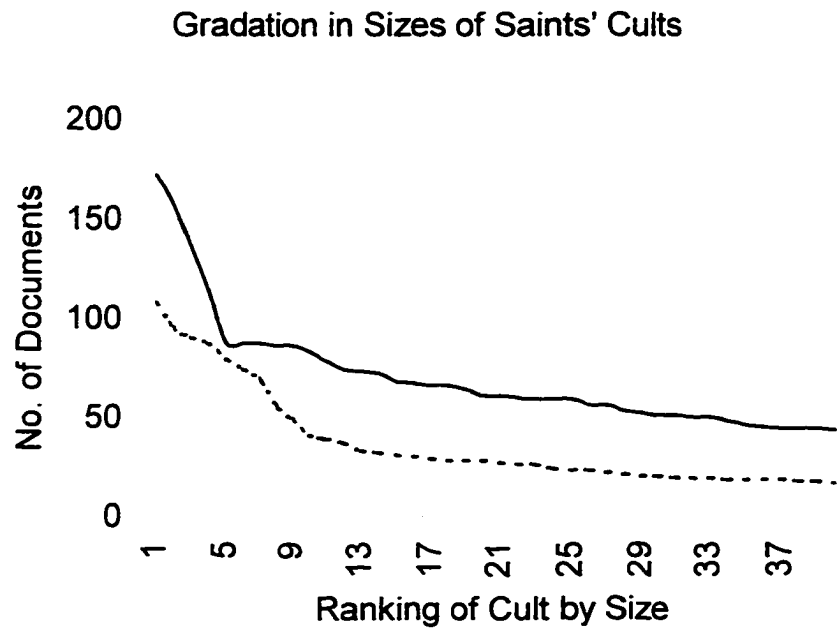
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<sup>53</sup> Sometimes the original name of the sanctuary changed from its original dedication to that of the saint whose relics it contains.

<sup>54</sup> See the comments of Janin, *EglisesCP*, xv, [my translation]. "The names are a reflection of popular devotion which little occupies itself with the glories of the Church in order to satisfy its special tastes...It does not seem that there was any regulation of the choice of names. It was without doubt left to the will of the founders."

<sup>55</sup> The names of London and Paris areas and streets, which often reflect medieval church dedications are a case in point: it would, for instance., be difficult to show any cult of St. Giles or St. Clement in modern London

Figure 2.1  
Gradation in Sizes of Saints' Cults Using Documentary Evidence



**Legend** — No. of Hymns — No. of BHG Docs.

Source: BHG; *Saints' Hagiographical Database*; Henrica Follieri [Enrica Follieri], *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 5 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966); Appendix I, Table A3

documentary evidence. For instance, the magnitude of a saint's cult, based on the number of dedicated churches, can be given a geographic dimension (Table 2.3).<sup>56</sup>

While literally hundreds of saints had one dedicated church,<sup>57</sup> often their *martyrion*.<sup>58</sup> the leading figures -- ordered according to the number of churches a saint possessed in Constantinople -- are roughly the same as those indicated by documentary evidence: John the Baptist, Nicholas, Michael, George, and the Theodores (Table 2.3). Church dedications, however, yield a much better picture of the extent and dominance of these cults than do documents, since these saints had sanctuaries named for them century after century and throughout the Byzantine world. Although there are several saints who were important in local areas (for instance Eugenios of Trebizond), no saint who had a cult in more than one region failed to have some sanctuary in Constantinople, a phenomenon which points to the central role of the city in Byzantine religious life.

Some insight into degree of dominance of the leading saints is also possible. Just under a quarter of the 611 sanctuaries in Constantinople (22.3 percent) belonged to the Theotokos; another quarter (24.7 percent) belonged to just ten saints, although there were 190 saints with a sanctuary of some sort. Once again, relatively few saints -- the same ones we see with multiple *Lives*, hymnographical and iconographic survivals -- have multiple sanctuaries in the capital and across the Greek-speaking world. This is a key finding in examining Byzantine sainthood, and a contrast with sainthood in the West,

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<sup>56</sup> Appendix I, Tables A6 and A7, give a more complete picture of all the church dedications in the sources used.

<sup>57</sup> Appendix I, Tables A6 and A7, list churches dedicated to some 230 saints (or pairs of saints.) The actual total may have been higher.

<sup>58</sup> Christopher Walter, "The Origins of the Cult of Saint George," *REB* 53 (1995), 301-3.

Table 2.3

## Sanctuaries Dedicated to Saints in Selected Locations (ordered by no. in Constantinople)

Name	Cent	Feast	No. of BHG Docs	Location of Sanctuaries							
				Constant.	Thessalon.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka
Mary	1	many	355	136	26	5	15	23	7	10	3
John the Baptist	1	08/29	121	36	2	1	3	2	1	3	4
Christ	1	many	31	3	5	3	14	3	3	3	3
Nicholas of Myra	4	12/06	95	28	6	1	5	5	1	2	1
Michael, Angel	0	09/06	31	24	1		1	2	1		
Theodore (unspecified)				15	2		2	2	3		
Stephen	1	12/26	39	12	1						
Demetrios	4	10/26	108	10	2			6	1	1	
Constantine the Great	4	05/21	27	9				1	2	2	2
George of Lydda	4	04/23	87	9	7	1	1	9	10	4	3
Panteleemon	4	07/27	19	9	1	1		1	2		
Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia	4	03/09	21	8	2	1			1		
John Evangelist	1	05/08	90	8	1		2	1		1	1
Holy Trinity				7	1		3	10			
Andrew, Apostle	1	11/30	33	7	1		1	2	1	2	
Anna, mother of Mary	1	09/09	9	7				1		1	1
Tryphon	3	02/01	13	7					1		
Kosmas & Damian	3	07/01	79	6	2		4	3	1		1
Anastasia Pharmakolytria	4	12/22	10	5	1						
Apostles	1		56	5	3		3		1		
Elijah the Prophet	-5	07/20	22	5	2		1	2	1		1
Gabriel	0	10/16	2	5							
Peter & Paul	1	06/29	28	5	1	1					
Barbara	4	12/04	19	4					1	1	1
Christophoros	4	05/09	11	4						1	1
Prokopios of Caesarea	4	07/08	16	4							
Thyrsos	3	01/20	3	4							
Paul, Apostle	1	06/29	49	3	1						
Peter, Apostle	1	06/29	29	3						1	
Thekla	1	09/24	18	3							
Thomas, Apostle	1	10/06	69	3	1						
Basil the Great	4	01/01	8	2					1	1	1
Gregory of Nazianzos	4	01/01	26	2							
Paraskeve	2	07/26	19	2	1				1	1	
Taxiarchoi (Michael & Gabriel)	0	11/08	9	2	1	1	3			1	2
Andrew Salos	5	05/28	14	1							
Anthony Abbot	4	01/17	9	1				3			
Charalampos	3	09/17	6	1				3			
Diomedes	4	08/16	5	1							
Eleutherios of Illyricum	3	12/15	7	1						1	



(Table 2.3 -- Continued)

Name	Cent	Feast	No. of BHG Docs	Location of Sanctuaries						
				Constant.	Thessalon.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Smyrna	Trebizond
John Chrysostom	5	11/13	74	1				1		1
John of Damascus	8	14/04	9	1						
Luke, Evangelist	1	10/18	20	1	1		1			
Philip, Apostle	1	10/11	23	1			1			1
Polykarp	2	02/23	12	2					1	
Theodosia	8	01/19	5	1						
Three Hierarchs		01/30	16	1				2		
Timothy, Apostle	1	01/22	5	1						
Athanasios of Athos	10	05/05	9			1				
Eugenios of Trebizond	4	01/20	8						2	2
Euthymios the Great	5	01/20	9		2					
Gregory of Nyssa	4	01/10	3							1
Katherine of Alexandria	4	11/25	7		2					1
Spyridon	4	12/12	9					1		
Theodora of Thessalonica	9	08/29	5		2					

Source: Appendix I, Tables A6 and A7.

Russia, and post-Byzantine Greece, where, while the great biblical and legendary saints continued to dominate church dedications, other more recent saints succeeded in breaking out from local cult status and became widely popular.<sup>59</sup>

The sheer numbers of local and rare names, and the popularity of certain saints in local areas, make it clear that the cult of saints cannot be restricted to the leading figures. To a resident of Thessalonica, St. Theodora would have seemed a great saint, and St. Eugenios to a resident of Trebizond, but records of church dedications indicate that no Byzantine era saint, however successful on the local level, achieved universal reception.

The dominance of the leading saints in setting the contours of the cult of saints may have increased over time. The evidence is too fragmentary to be conclusive on this point, but it is worth noting that of the roughly 230 saints with dedicated churches only 28 lived later than the sixth century.<sup>60</sup> With many saints, particularly the ones with just one sanctuary, their dedications tended to be made in the early centuries. The leading figures, by contrast, accrued churches as the centuries passed, with the result that to a Constantinopolitan of the twelfth century, the sacred geography of the city would be defined to a greater degree by the ten or so leading saints than would have seemed the case to a citizen of the sixth century.

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<sup>59</sup> The following post-Byzantine saints have become widely popular among modern Greek Christians: Gerasimos of Kephallonia, Markella of Chios, Matrona of Chios, Constantine Hydra. See Otto Meinardus, "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," *Oriens Christianus* 54 (1971), 130-178. For the West: modern saints who have broken out include John Vianney and Bernadette Soubirous. Medieval saints with widespread cults include: Thomas Becket, Francis, Anthony of Padua, Clare, Elizabeth of Hungary, Margaret of Scotland, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, Catherine of Siena, and Rose of Viterbo. The basic situation was, of course, different in the West where the various religious orders sedulously promoted their own saints.

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix I, Tables A6 and A7.

*The Material Cult II: Relics*

The cult of relics was central to the cult of saints from its earliest origins. The followers of Polykarp of Smyrna carefully collected his ashes to preserve contact with his body, a body that had become sacred through martyrdom.<sup>61</sup> Without a relic, it was difficult, if not impossible to establish a cult, although a saint's cult might continue once the relics were lost, or once an icon was made. An incident in the *Life* of Athanasia of Aigina provides a good example of the need for relics. The author acknowledged Athanasia's spiritual guide, the monk Matthias, as a saintly person, but noted that he could not be of benefit like a saint because he drowned at sea and so his body had been lost.<sup>62</sup> Like church dedications, relics provide real evidence of a popular cult. It seems fair to assume that some relationship existed between the wide dispersal of a saint's relics and the size and extent of the saint's popular cult.<sup>63</sup> Unlike saints' *Lives*, where we usually have at the most fragmentary evidence and little confirmation about who was reading them, we have a great deal of information about particular relics and can sometimes trace the history of a relic, its location, its movements, and its cultic significance. What we lack is a survey of all the relics of the Greek Christian world in the Byzantine period.

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<sup>61</sup> Marcion, *The Martyrdom of Polykarp* 17, trans. Maxwell Stanforth, *Early Christian Writings* (New York: Penguin, 1968), 161-162; and "Relics," *ODB* 1779-81. See the cautionary words of Walter, "Saint George," 301-2, who argues that relics became the central focus only in the fourth and fifth centuries.

<sup>62</sup> *Life* of Athanasia 9, in *HWB*, 148-149.

<sup>63</sup> The converse is not true. Saints whom we know to be popular from other sources — such as Demetrios of Thessalonika or Spyridon — might have one important localized relic, usually an entire body.

Two sources do allow us to give an account of relics' function within the overall cult of saints. Constantinople was a treasure house of relics and attracted pious visitors (and pious thieves) throughout the middle ages. A number of Russian visitors wrote guides to the wonders of the city for consumption back home by future pilgrims. Although there were earlier authors of the genre, it is George Majeska's edition, translation, and commentary on five of these accounts from the period 1349-1422 that enables us to get a snapshot of the cult of relics in Constantinople.<sup>64</sup> A quite different perspective on relics is available due to the work of Otto Meinardus in locating and enumerating the continuing cult of relics in the modern Greek world.<sup>65</sup>

The Russian pilgrims were interested in the same things we are, albeit for very different reasons. They visited Constantinople for its relics and its saints. Repositories of relics sustained the city's sacred geography and enabled pilgrims and citizens to locate themselves in sacred and real space. The great limitation of Majeska's information is that it dates from after 1204, when the crusaders looted many relics, and that it gives no insight into the spread of the relics of a given saint throughout the culture.

The cult of relics in Constantinople did not reproduce the relative importance of various saints we find in written sources or in church dedications. Majeska documents some forty-nine sanctuaries with relics of eighty saints (Table A8). A few of the saints

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<sup>64</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*. Majeska [6-7] notes that such accounts date back to the "Pilgrimage of Prior Daniel" in the early twelfth century, and the description of Anthony of Novgorod from circa 1200. See also Appendix I, Table A8: Relics in Constantinople (14th and 15th Centuries).

<sup>65</sup> Otto Meinardus, "Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," "Relics in the Churches of Cyprus." *Ostkirchliche Studien* 19 (1970), 19-43; "An Inventory of the Relics of Saints in the Coptic Churches of Egypt," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 17 (1968), 134-73.

did have multiple relics,<sup>66</sup> but we are not able to assess the relative strength of their cults from this data since it is a question of a single city in which a major cult might center around one shrine. It is clear, however, that the function of Constantinople as the mother city of Greek Christianity meant that relics in many shrines reflected the importance of official conceptions of the nature of the religion. As might be expected, relics of Christ and the Theotokos were prominent in the major churches, but we also find that saints who made less impact in the popular cult of saints figured prominently in major Constantinopolitan churches -- New Testament saints, theological writers, and patriarchs. Conversely, there were comparatively few relics of major saints such as George and Nicholas, although documents and iconography demonstrate that these saints had important and growing cults by the Palaiologan period. Clearly some saints did not need relics for their cults to prosper.<sup>67</sup>

In other respects, Majeska's account confirms what we find elsewhere. Male saints outnumbered female saints three to one, in a ratio that echoes the general gender distribution. Relics of martyr saints predominated just as martyrs dominated the wider cult of saints.<sup>68</sup> Finally, Byzantine era saints were well-represented,<sup>69</sup> but not in the major sanctuaries, although some did have healing cults at their tombs.

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<sup>66</sup> For instance, John the Baptist had relics in four shrines, and Panteleemon in three.

<sup>67</sup> Meinardus' figures, for instance, show that while George's relics acquired wide diffusion in later centuries, the same cannot be said for Nicholas of Myra, whose cult grew nevertheless (Table A9). In these cases, icons may have supplemented the cult of relics as a focus for devotion.

<sup>68</sup> At least 35 of the saints named were martyrs, but this figure does not include 9 New Testament figures who were also martyrs. In many cases also, the bodies of martyrs seem to have been centers of especially prominent cults.

<sup>69</sup> Depending on the dates one uses, there were relics of 17 Byzantine era saints.

Much more difficult to assess is the dispersal of relics throughout the modern Greek Orthodox world. Otto Meinardus obtained this information by personally visiting many locations, and by sending out questionnaires to 378 monasteries in Greece, Cyprus, and Egypt, along with 79 letters to Greek Orthodox dioceses.<sup>70</sup> There are, however, limitations in applying his results to Byzantine sainthood. The first problem is that the distribution reflects present-day locations of relics and the developments in the cult of saints since the Byzantine period. We cannot determine, for instance, where relics were located in 850 and compare the situation with 1150. In some cases we know that the relics must either be relatively new (when they are from neomartyrs), or must have been moved in modern times (when they are in new churches or institutions). Secondly, although Meinardus collected data from Orthodox institutions in Turkey as well as Greece and Cyprus, he has much less information about relics in Constantinople or Asia Minor, the heartlands of Byzantine culture.

But Meinardus' data cannot be dismissed. It would be better -- much better -- to have access to enumerations of relics in Byzantine era churches, and better still to have a time based sequencing of such data. It is possible to obtain more information about Constantinople in particular than Meinardus' survey provides,<sup>71</sup> but these data lack the sheer range of Meinardus' information. The vast majority of the saints for whom Meinardus collected information were early Christian and Byzantine-era saints. Despite

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<sup>70</sup> Meinardus, "Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," had a good response rate (347 replies, of which 218 provided useful data and 129 that indicated that the location had no relic collection).

<sup>71</sup> Janin, *EglisesCP*, and Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, both detail the histories of relics in the various churches and sanctuaries they investigate.

the long tradition of relic-theft, we can suppose that churches would have been keen to hold onto relics. Excluding modern saints (neomartyrs and the like), there is a striking correlation between the saints found by Meinardus to have the most relics and the saints who have the most extensive Byzantine era records (in texts, iconography, seals, and church dedications).<sup>72</sup> Differences, for instance with the massive cults of Charalampos and Modestos in modern Greece, indicate post-Byzantine development. It seems reasonable to assume some continuity between Byzantine and modern cults.

Meinardus' own analysis of the data is a startling confirmation that the cult of saints was dominated by a small group of leading figures. Taking the *Άγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* as an indication of the number of Greek saints known -- approximately 3,800 -- Meinardus notes that he can find relics for only 475.<sup>73</sup> Although other saints with relics might turn up,<sup>74</sup> it is probable that the proportion of relics to names would not change massively. This means that of all named saints, only about 13 percent had specific cultic functions.<sup>75</sup> The concentration in the cult of relics on a few figures was even more intense than these broad numbers suggest. Of the relics recorded, almost a quarter were of just five saints: Charalampos, Panteleemon, Tryphon, Paraskeve, and George of Lydda. All five were pre-Nicene martyrs (all are called *hagios*) whose

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<sup>72</sup> See Appendix I. Tables A9, A10, and A11.

<sup>73</sup> Sophronios Eustratiades, *Άγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens: n.d.): Meinardus, "Relics of the Greek Orthodox Church," 132.

<sup>74</sup> From accounts in Byzantine saint's *Lives*, or from Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, we know of many saints whose relics were once centers of cults but which are not recorded by Meinardus. Meinardus records, for instance, no relics for Athanasia of Aigina, Thomaïs of Lesbos, or Mary the Younger.

<sup>75</sup> The other 87 percent are "saints" only through mentions in *synaxaria* and minor liturgical commemoration.

*Lives* were composed of later mythological material.<sup>76</sup> At the other end of the scale, even among those saints with relics, 86 percent had fewer than ten relics, and just over a third had only one registered relic.<sup>77</sup> This can be a misleading guide to importance -- for instance Spyridon, a major Greek saint, had his entire body preserved in one location (on Corfu), a consideration that applies to twenty-seven other saints.

The data on cult of relics gives a more nuanced view of the cult of saints than other information. In their cults, it is clear that saints functioned as intercessors, not models for behavior. People sought out relics and access to relics because of their power in overcoming illness or misfortune. A local saint, whose relics were seen as powerful, such as St. Theodosia in Palaiologan Constantinople or St. Theodora in Thessalonica, could acquire a significantly large cult. But since saintly power provided the main attraction, the leading saints' relics were especially valuable, and widespread. What the Meinardus data seems to suggest is that after the Byzantine period, the intercession of a number of hitherto minor saints became more important than previously, although the older saints held their own.<sup>78</sup>

*Material Cult III: Seals (sphragistic evidence)*

Byzantine seals, or *bullae*, survive in large numbers.<sup>79</sup> Unlike the perishable wax seals of northern Europe, those in Byzantium were made upon metal, usually lead. Many

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<sup>76</sup> Meinardus, "Greek Orthodox," 132.

<sup>77</sup> Of 475 Saints with, 406 (85%) had fewer than ten relics, and 177 (37%) had only one.

<sup>78</sup> See the discussion of changes in the post-Byzantine cult of saints in Chapter III.

<sup>79</sup> A large number of surviving specimens were recovered during the rebuilding of the Seraskierat area of Istanbul earlier in this century, perhaps the site of a an imperial archive. See Ormande M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archeology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), 632.



displayed both the name and title of their owners and an iconographic image and so provide a unique correlation between individuals and objects of devotion. Although not integrated into any wider study of sainthood, the significance of seals for examining patterns of popular piety has long been realized.<sup>80</sup> The number and distribution of images on the obverse of a seal provide the basis for such examination. About half the cases show the Virgin Mary, alone or with the Christ child. Next come images of the saints in the following, by now familiar, order: Michael the archangel, Nicholas of Myra, George, Demetrios, the two Theodores, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, John Prodromos (the Baptist), John the Theologian (the Evangelist), Peter, and Prokopios.<sup>81</sup> These images of single saints survive in greater numbers than images of the Cross, Christ, two or more saints or emperors. With the exception of Basil the Great, these names have become familiar in this chapter.

Recent research has confirmed and amplified this picture. John Cotsonis notes that the majority of seals he knew about (a total of 5077) were men's seals of army and ecclesiastical bureaucrats;<sup>82</sup> only 146 seals (3 percent) were owned by women, a sample

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<sup>80</sup> See Alphonse J. Delattre, *Culte de la Sainte Vierge en Afrique* (Paris: Société St-Augustin; Lille: Desclée, De Brouwer, [1907?]), 88 ff. [ref. Dalton, 632] where seals are used to discuss the development of Marian veneration.

<sup>81</sup> Order of frequency given, without exact numbers or other reference, in Dalton, 633n2.

<sup>82</sup> John Cotsonis, "Women and Sphragistic Iconography: A Means of Investigating Gender-Related Piety," *Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* 19 (Madison WI: Byzantine Studies Conference, 1993), 59. The paper was based on Cotsonis' dissertation work, and provided additional figures that I recorded at the time. Cotsonis' Pennsylvania State University dissertation has since been completed but is not available for consultation.

that, as Cotsonis says, "provided the largest number of surviving objects with religious figures produced for a female clientele."<sup>83</sup>

Although Cotsonis' paper concentrates on women's religiosity, he also collects information on the iconography of male-owned seals. Of 5126 seals, 45 percent contain images of the Virgin Mary. Among female-owned seals, 80 percent contain images of the Virgin, a difference that would seem to indicate a strong correlation between gender and devotion to the Theotokos. Of the remaining female-owned seals, only one depicts a female saint, with Christ (eleven examples), George, and Thomas being the other subjects. A few men did own seals displaying female saints, but virtually no post 600 AD saints appear in sphragistic iconography.

When more time-sequenced data are published, sphragistic evidence may yield more complex information. As yet, it provides some data about the cult of saints among the upper class. Once again, we find the position of the Virgin Mary to be exceptional. The early and legendary saints who dominated the cult of saints throughout the Empire's history, and who with few exceptions are the leading figures in the documentary evidence and Church dedications, dominate here also, to the exclusion of all other saints.

### *Iconography*

Given the fragmentary survival of images of saints in Byzantine art and the preservation of such images in non-random locations, the statistical breakdown of

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<sup>83</sup> Cotsonis, 59.

survivals of saint-related images may only be marginally compelling.<sup>84</sup> Despite limitations on using artistic data, iconography cannot be overlooked. Byzantine churches at all levels from Hagia Sophia to small field chapels contained art: the walls were decorated with mosaics or painted, and panel icons of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were displayed for devotion and later on the *ikonostasis*. The painting of an icon was an important part of the process by which a saint became recognized as such,<sup>85</sup> and it is probable that when a church was dedicated to a particular saint it possessed an image of that saint. Unlike seals and church dedications, where a patron had to choose a saint of special significance to him or her, iconography could be more inclusive. Given the large wall area of churches, many saints could be depicted.<sup>86</sup> Scholars are thus in a position, even without quantification, to give examples of images of many more saints than just the leading figures such as Nicholas and George.

It would be misleading to suppose that iconography contradicts the general shape of the cult of saints seen from other sources. Although "new saints" did possess icons, this was more a reflection of the ideal of what a saint's cult must be like, an ideal dominated by the leading figures, than a challenge to their ascendancy. Iconography of

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<sup>84</sup> For example, iconography survived in a much better state in monasteries rather than secular churches; and in Greece, Athos, Crete, Cyprus, and Sinai, as opposed to Constantinople and Asia Minor.

<sup>85</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 18, *HWB* 272, presents the story of the miraculous creation of Mary's icon after she appeared in a dream to a painter who had not known her while alive.

<sup>86</sup> The eleventh-century church of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, Greece, for instance – probably the best preserved decorative schema from the Byzantine era – contains about one hundred and fifty mosaics. Along with images of Christ, Mary, and early saints, it also contains mosaics of the eponymous Hosios Loukas as well as recent saints such as Nikon the Metanoicite. See Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and its Frescoes* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

new or minor saints tended to be quite restricted in extent. St. Athanasios of Athos (d. c. 999-1000), for instance, was a major figure in tenth-century monasticism and the founder of the most prestigious of the monasteries on Mount Athos. In later centuries, Athos came to be central to Orthodox religious practice. Nevertheless the iconography of Athanasios is "rare...and not popular in areas outside Mount Athos."<sup>87</sup>

The post-Byzantine writer Dionysius of Fourna wrote a *Painter's Manual* giving instructions on the proper iconography for the scenes and saints a religious painter might be expected to paint.<sup>88</sup> His total of 427 saints might seem to cast a wide net, but the vast majority of these saints are mere figures used to fill out iconographic categories such as "saints of poverty," or "holy deacons." No inference of an active cult can be made. When it comes to major saints, the ones whose cults justified whole miracle narratives, Dionysius lists: the Archangel Michael, John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Nicholas of Myra, Spyridon, George, Demetrios, Anthony of Egypt, and Katharine of Alexandria.<sup>89</sup> With the exception of Spyridon and Katharine, whose popularity seems to have grown in the post-Byzantine period, the leading figures are as we would now expect.

A more comprehensive account of the relationship between Byzantine icons and the relative size of saints' cults would require another dissertation, so all I do here is point to some suggestive data from one scholar.<sup>90</sup> Thalia Gouma-Peterson's work in this area

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<sup>87</sup> George Galavaris, "The Portraits of St. Athanasios of Athos," *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 5:1-2 (1978), 98.

<sup>88</sup> Dionysius of Fourna, *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fourna*, translated by Paul Hetherington (London: Sagittarius Press, 1974).

<sup>89</sup> Dionysius of Fourna, 68-69.

<sup>90</sup> Art is an aspect that deserves more discussion, but so far, the emphasis of art historians has been on hagiography as a source for art rather than art as source of information on

concentrates on one aspect of iconography – the representation of a saint's life and miracles in a cycle of paintings. In a 1985 article, she investigates the surviving iconographic cycles of saints' lives in the latter half of Byzantine history.<sup>91</sup> Her assumption was that the continuing importance of living saints in Byzantine society would cause cycles of such saints' lives to be "an especially popular [artistic] genre."<sup>92</sup> Her data, based on a survey of all surviving cycles, ran contrary to her expectations: George, Nicholas, John the Baptist, and ancient martyrs dominated the paintings (Table 2.4).

From this iconographic data, Gouma-Peterson derives two observations of significance in assessing the cult of saints. The first is that martyrs remained far more important as iconographic models than writers or ascetics. Gouma-Peterson, citing the ninth-century *Life* of Patriarch Tarasios, suggests this was because martyrs could only be admired from a temporal and geographical distance by later Byzantines, while it was possible to "vie" with ascetics. The struggles of the martyrs were heroic, while the ascetics' struggles "were human as opposed to heroic" and thus less worthy of

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the cult of saints – see Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Henry Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *DOP* 45 (1991), 1-22. Other scholars have investigated the iconography of individual saints, or art in certain monuments, but there is not yet an overall account that, for instance, establishes which saints appear most frequently in wall paintings or on panel icons. See Temily Mark-Wiener, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art* (Ph.D. Dissertation: New York University, 1977); Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin: Bottega D'Erasmus, 1983); and Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium*. The most general modern account is Henry Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>91</sup> Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "Narratives of Saint's Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to Mid-fourteenth Century," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 31-41.

<sup>92</sup> Gouma-Peterson, 31.

**Table 2.4**  
**Cycles of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Iconography, 10th to mid-14th-century**

Saint(s)	Number of Cycles of Saints' Lives
George	36
Nicholas	31
John the Baptist	14
XL Martyrs of Sebasteia	6
Peter, Paul, Demetrios, Stephen	4
Symeon Nemanja	3
Basil, Sabbas of Jerusalem, Kosmas and Damian,	2
Symeon Stylites, Cyril of Alexandria, Panteleemon, Euphemia, Gerasimos Jordanites, Euthymios, Stefan Nemanjic and Archbishop Arsenije	1
Total	108

*Source:* Thalia Gouma-Peterson. "Narratives of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to Mid-fourteenth Century." *GOTR* 30 (1985), 32-33.

*Note:* Gouma-Peterson's figures include data from Georgia, Russia, and especially Serbia as well as Greek-speaking areas. Her analysis did not include cycles of the life of the Theotokos, which were widespread.

contemplation.<sup>93</sup> Secondly, Gouma-Peterson, without being able to explain why, notes that the iconography of George and Nicholas became ever more popular, especially after the twelfth century.<sup>94</sup> Special circumstances explain some contrary observations: for instance, the cycles on the new Serbian saints were all connected to the ruling dynasty, and are a unique exception to the rule in post-iconoclast Byzantium that recently-deceased saints never merit an extended cycle of paintings, although they might merit single images.<sup>95</sup>

The iconography of the saints affords yet another technique to assess the nature of the cult. Yet, by this point it is hardly necessary. The patterns are similar to other sources. What it does add to the overall model is some sense of change over time. This change, if anything, indicates an ever-greater concentration of the cult of saints on the small number of leading figures.

*Secular Awareness of the Saints I: Historiography*

The data analyzed so far derive from material specifically connected with the cult of saints. To test whether some common distortion affected all this hagiological data, I surveyed twenty secular non-hagiographical historical works by Byzantine writers. Each text was examined for all mentions made of any saint. Given that some texts have been lost, and that one of the criteria for the sample of twenty was availability in modern editions with onomastic and toponymic indices, it would be unwise to claim too much for

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<sup>93</sup> Gouma-Peterson, 37-39.

<sup>94</sup> Gouma-Peterson, 33, 36-37, suggests that the legendary nature of their stories may have allowed for artistic creativity.

<sup>95</sup> Gouma-Peterson, 34.

the results of this survey without the correlative data already presented. But, since the data are both independent and mutually supportive, the results have some validity.<sup>96</sup>

The goal of the survey was to grasp the place of the cult of saints in general Byzantine society, with the supposition that a widespread cult must have marked secular as well as hagiological sources. It is worth noting at the outset that Byzantine writers incorporated the cult of saints into their view of events in quite different ways. Some were determinedly secular: these included early authors such as Menander and Agathias, but also much later writers, for example Psellos and Kinnamos. In some cases, the writer may simply have adopted plain style, for example Kinnamos refers to few saints, but to few classical exempla either. Although other writers engage in frequent classical allusions along with their hagiological material, a writer like Psellos was a far from plain stylist who simply seems to avoid the saints.<sup>97</sup> Writers later than the twelfth century, however, mentioned the cults of saints on many occasions.<sup>98</sup> Some authors also provide useful information on the phenomena of the cult of saints.

The chief advantage of this historiographical data over the hagiological material used earlier is that it is clearly time-sequenced: we can see quite clearly if a saint was repeatedly popular. Furthermore, we can also compare observations of the importance of a saint by authors without a vested interest in the saint's cult with other evidence of the cult's extent.

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<sup>96</sup> For full results of the survey, see Appendix I, Table A12.

<sup>97</sup> See Appendix I, Table A12. Herakles was one common classical referent, whom we shall also see in Chapter 5 used in hagiography as a type of masculinity. Homer was, as would be expected, probably the most cited author.



The secular sources largely confirm the pattern indicated by hagiological material (Table 2.5). The most noticeable differences are that Demetrios figures in historiography rather late in comparison to the known strength of his cult at Thessalonica; and that Nicholas of Myra is much less discussed than his place in iconography would lead one to expect. On the other hand, the emperor Constantine, who seems to have had a genuine cult unlike some other memorialized emperors, is much more prominent than in hagiological sources. Demetrios' late arrival is perhaps due to his localization in Thessalonica, and Constantine's prominence due to the political concerns of the historians. The comparative absence of Nicholas reflects the late expansion of his cult.<sup>99</sup> Despite these variances, the survey of historiographical data supports the argument that a small number of leading figures dominated the cult of saints, and confirms that the cult was stable over the centuries. No new saints came to prominence in the writings of historians, and the leading figures remained the same. After the seventh century, all authors except Kinnamos mention the cult of the Theotokos in some way, most on numerous occasions. Her quite exceptional status was never challenged, even by Psellos.

*Secular Awareness of the Saints II: Naming Patterns*

Another measure of the extent of the cults of saints in society at large derives from naming patterns. In the fifth century, John Chrysostom had urged parents to name

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<sup>98</sup> Measured both by the total number of saints referred to and the total number of mentions of saints.

<sup>99</sup> Ševčenko, *Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, 20.

**Table 2:5**  
**Saints in Secular Historiography**

Saints Mentioned	Saint
By most authors, over whole period	Andrew Ap, Constantine emp, George, John the Baptist, John the Theologian, Kosmas and Damian, Archangel Michael, Paul Ap, Stephen protomartyr.
Mostly after 8th Century	Demetrios, Forty Martyrs, John Chrysostom, Theodore Tiro
Occasionally over whole period [theological writers in italics]	Anastasia, Anthony abbot, <i>Ambrose</i> , <i>Basil of Caesarea</i> , David OT, <i>Dionysius the Areopagite</i> , Elias OT, Helena emp, Jeremias OT, Konon, <i>KyriI of Alexandria</i> , Luke the Evangelist, <i>Maximos the Confessor</i> , Nicholas of Myra, Peter Ap, Theodore Graptus, <i>Theodore of Stoudion</i>
As important at one time, but with few or no later mentions.	Euphemia, Glykeria, Symeon Stylites, Thekla
Due to political concerns of historiographers	Basil I emp, Basil II emp, Ignatios PatCP, Irene emp, Justinian emp, Nikephoros Phokas,  [Constantine and David OT might also be included here]
Frequently because of places named after them	Diomedes, Forty Martyrs, Mamas, Mokios, Nicholas, Phokas, Romanos, Sergios and Bacchos  [also connected with some mentions of George, Kosmas and Damian, Michael]

**Source:** Appendix I, Table A12.

**Note:** Emperors, empresses, and patriarchs of Constantinople were all commemorated in Church calendars and so were included as "saints" in the survey of historiography. Some of them may have had genuine cults, but their prominence in the historiographical sources was due to the writers' narration of largely political events.

children after saints.<sup>100</sup> and by the middle Byzantine period, such names were almost universal among all social groups.<sup>101</sup>

We have repeated statements in hagiography that specific saints were invoked when naming children. In the *Life* of Luke of Steiris, for instance, Luke's father was called "Stephen" and so honored "with the name of the first of the martyrs."<sup>102</sup> Elisabeth of Herakleia's parents were told by St. Glykeria to name their child after Elisabeth, the mother of John the Baptist.<sup>103</sup> and Theodora of Thessalonica performed a miracle for a child "honored by" her name.<sup>104</sup> Secular sources confirm the pattern: the later Byzantine historian George Sphrantzes discussed his personal feelings of a relationship with St.

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<sup>100</sup> John Chrysostom, *Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants*, ed. and trans. Anne-Marie Malingrey, Sources chrétiennes 188 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1972), 146.648-53. See also Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Names, Personal," *ODB* 1435-36; and Herbert Thurston, "Christian Names," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 10 (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1913), 673. [<http://www.knight.org/advent/cathen/10673c.htm>].

<sup>101</sup> Chrysostom comments critically on people who refuse to name children after saints in his *Homily on I Corinthians XII*, [<http://ccel.wheaton.edu/fathers2/NPNF1-12/npnf1-12-17.htm> ], 13 "For when the time is come for giving the infant a name, caring not to call it after the saints as the ancients at first did, they light lamps and give them names, and name the child after that one which continues burning the longest; from thence conjecturing that he will live a long time." Compare with Pachymeres' fourteenth-century account of the naming of a daughter of Andronikos II, where, "A group of experienced and pious women were delegated to choose the most appropriate and protective name. They set out the icons of the twelve apostles and lit candles of equal size in front of each. Since the candle of the apostle Simon burned longer than the others, the girl was christened Simonis." [Summary in *ODB* 1436].

<sup>102</sup> *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris: Text, Translation and Commentary*, by Carolyn L. Connor and W. Robert Connor (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1994), 4 (= c2, l 26).

<sup>103</sup> *HWB*, 125.

<sup>104</sup> *HWB*, 226. For a late antique example see Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Macrina*, translated by W.K. Lowther Clarke (London: SPCK, 1916), where Makrina was given the "secret" name of St. Thekla by her mother.

George.<sup>105</sup> In later Orthodox cultures the celebration of the "name-day" -- the feast-day of one's patron saint -- was more important than birthdays.

The relationship of personal names to the cult of saints is complex. What can be ruled out to begin with is any suggestion that popularity of a name and extent of a cult had any one-to-one relationship; for instance, the male and female names most common for many centuries (John and Mary) were connected with several popular saints. Moreover, the most extensive prosopographic and onomastic indices of Byzantine sources are heavily tilted towards elite and monastic groups.<sup>106</sup> Despite this, a number of sources do suggest that saintly popularity affected wider naming practices.

In the prosopographical appendix to his dissertation, Peter Hatlie documents the names of associates of Theodore of Stoudion. With a sample of 644, heavily tilted towards male and monastic individuals, we get an idea of common names in Constantinople in the early ninth century (Table 2.6).<sup>107</sup> Theodore wrote just at the time when a shift in major figures in the cult of saints was taking place.<sup>108</sup> and while all the names used were saints' names, there are some peculiarities that reflect this. Mary, Irene, and Anna were the only repeated female names, while John, Basil, and Stephen

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<sup>105</sup> George Sphrantzes. *Chronicon Minus*. Translated as *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, translated by Marios Philippides (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

<sup>106</sup> Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Names, Personal" *ODB* 1435-46, for instance, depends on surveys of names in elite historians and Athonite records.

<sup>107</sup> Peter Hatlie, *Abbot Theodore and the Stoudites: A Case Study in Monastic Social Groupings and Religious Conflict in Constantinople* (Ph.D Dissertation, Fordham University, May 1993), 539-620. Hatlie compiled three prosopographies, for each of the various conflicts he studied. The 644 examples are derived from adding his samples of 68, 210, and 366. These figures include anonymous examples.

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter III.

**Table 2.6 Names of Associates of Theodore of Stoudion: Frequency in 9th Century**

No.	Name
17	John
12	Basil
8	Stephen
7	Leo, Niketas, Theodore
6	Antonios, Gregory, Maria, Nicholas
5	Irene, Sergios, Symeon, Zacharias
4	Arsenios, Epiphanius, Hilarion, Peter, Zosimos
3	Anna, Arkadios, Athanasios, Constantine, Eustratios, Euthymios, Joseph, Letoios?, Loukianos, Makarios, Methodios, Michael
2	Abraamios, Akakios, Eudokimos, Eustathios, Euphemios, Gaianus?, George, Isidoros, Kosmas, Mark, Meletios, Paul, Philip, Pionios, Plato, Sabbas, Serapis/ion, Silounas, Sophronios, Theodosios, Theophanes, Theophylakt

*Source: Peter Hatlie, Abbot Theodore and the Stoudites: A Case Study in Monastic Social Groupings and Religious Conflict in Constantinople (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, May 1993), 539-620.*

predominated among men, reflecting the continued fame of older saints.<sup>109</sup> George and Demetrios, however, had not yet begun their ascent.

Although it is not possible to establish naming patterns used by peasants in all eras of Byzantine history, evidence from some periods does exist. Angeliki Laiou has done the most work here, concentrating on fourteenth-century Macedonian peasants.<sup>110</sup> Using primarily fiscal documents, she uncovered extensive information on peasant naming patterns.<sup>111</sup>

Laiou notes that names were given to children for a variety of reasons. As in modern Greek practice, for instance, it was common to give first born boys the names of their paternal grandfathers; or a village patron saint may lead to children in that village being named after the saint.<sup>112</sup> Laiou is unable to demonstrate a precise naming pattern in the societies she studies since her documents were not close enough together in time to

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<sup>109</sup> The popularity of "Basil" at this time, even if only in monastic circles, and surely because of the importance in that milieu of Basil the Great, seems to challenge Kazhdan's assertion [*ODB* 1435] that this was among the names that grew in popularity because of an imperial connection.

<sup>110</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou(-Thomadakis), *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), esp. ch. IV on "Names." See also her earlier "Peasant Names in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," *BMGS* 1 (1975), 71-95. Comparative material used by Laiou comes from Jean Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1969).

<sup>111</sup> In the early fourteenth century Byzantine society was in the process of "feudalization," (meaning the decentralization of society and the build up of large estates by monasteries and noble families). Emperors and private individuals were granting land to increasingly powerful landlords. Each grant was accompanied by an *apographe*, an inquiry into the possessions of the peasants in the granted villages, and these resulted in *praktika*, documents that describe house by house the physical and social conditions of the peasantry. In *Peasant Society*, Laiou was able to create a database of 1547 cases and sixty-three variables, and so construct a convincing portrayal of the late Byzantine peasantry.

<sup>112</sup> Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 113.

apply family reconstitution techniques. Because only the names of surviving children were recorded, there is no way of knowing if a particular son, for instance, was the eldest or merely the oldest surviving. In a large number of households, even those with a time-series of records, no pattern at all can be demonstrated.<sup>113</sup> In a few cases Laiou is able to show that baptismal names of both lateral and ascending relatives were preserved in particular families through both male and female lines. There also seems to have been some local variation: certain names known to have been common among Moreote peasants of this period were rare in Macedonia.<sup>114</sup> Since family and regional criteria played a role in both Byzantine and modern Greek naming patterns, the danger of tying such patterns too easily to saint's cults is clear.

When we examine the actual names used, however, it becomes clear that the cult of saints did have some importance. Laiou addresses this matter and adopts a typology of name derivations: (1) those referring to God, the Virgin and Christ; (2) saints' names; and (3) those deriving from names of feasts. Unfortunately, the matter is not quite this clear. Names which Laiou places in categories (1) and (3) -- for instance Theodora/os [gift of God], Anastasia/os ["resurrection"], Photeine/os, Theophano/es [both refer to the Epiphany], Kyriake/os [Sunday] -- are also the names of saints we know to have had significant cults. Saints' names, for instance Alexios, may have also been more familiar to the peasants as names of emperors. Finally, if children were named "Michael" or "John," "Mary" or "Theodora," which saints were they named after? We are still left with

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<sup>113</sup> Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 114.

the fact that all common names used by Macedonian peasants were names embedded in a Christian world view, and most of them were attached to various saints (Table 2.7).<sup>115</sup>

The names most used among Macedonian peasants were precisely those of the few saints that other evidence here has shown dominated the field of sanctity; Theodore, Demetrios, George, Nicholas, Michael and Basil for men; Mary and Anna for women. The conclusion seems inevitable: naming patterns reflect the repute of a saint and the extent of his/her cult.

### **C The Cult of Saints in Byzantium**

When sanctity and sainthood are discussed, the amount of detail can seem overwhelming in variety and volume. As we have seen, there is a great deal of data about the Byzantine cult of saints, but it can be comprehended. While not all the information is equally secure, and there is real margin of error in the results, by using multiple, and as it turns out reinforcing sets of data, much of this insecurity in data is overcome.

Many scholars (Patlagean, Rydén, Kazhdan) have recently argued for "changes" and "transformations" in Byzantine concepts of sanctity based on their discussion of individual *Lives* or on surveys of *Lives* of new saints. But in all cases, these are saints whose demonstrable impact on the field of sanctity is minimal, if real at all. *Lives* of such

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<sup>114</sup> For example Paul, Andrew, Iakovos (James), Mark, Kosmas, Damian, Paraskevi. See Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 110, who cites for comparison Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, Appendix I.

<sup>115</sup> It should be noted that personal names were not required to be saints' names: some children were given family names as personal names and other names based on toponymic considerations. Some women were even called after flowers. See Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 110-112.



**Table 2.7**  
**Macedonian Peasant Names: Frequency in 14th Century**

Occurrence	Men	Women
Frequent	Theodore Demetrios George Nicholas Constantine John Basil Michael Marouel Stamates	Mary Anna Zoë Arete Chryse Argyre Kale Theodora Irene Xene Eudokia Helen Georgia
Occasional	Gabriel Modestos Nikephoros Theiotokios Kyriakos Foteinos Athanasios Peter Alexios Stephen Xenos Andronicos	Basilike Ioannousa [Joanna] Kyriakia Rossana/Rossa Siligno Sophia Photeine Theophano Stammatike Marina Thamar
Rare	Balsamon Blasios Evangelos Eleutherios Elias	Aikaterine
Moreote Names Frequent in Morea but not Macedonia	Paul Andrew Iakovos/James Mark Kosmas Damianos	Paraskevi

*Source:* Angeliki E. Laiou(-Thomadakis). *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 108-109.

*Note:* Laiou does not give exact figures for the frequency of the names but divides them into three levels of occurrence. She notes that the names Xenos, Alexios, Modestos, and Photeinos (for men), are no longer common in Greek usage, while the very common Modern Greek names of Eleutherios, Evangelos and Aikaterine (Katharine) were rarely found in her sample.

saints are valuable and worthy of analysis -- indeed I intend to analyze some of them in later chapters of this study, but they are analyzable only against a background of notions of sanctity that was rather stable between the seventh and fifteenth centuries. Our assessment of the cult of saints in this chapter will enable us to outline the types of sanctity important in Byzantium. The overwhelming conclusion of this chapter is that such a model must be weighted to take account of the strength of the cults of the leading biblical and legendary saints. That all of these, with the exception of the Virgin Mary, were male is of special significance.

## CHAPTER III

### MODELS OF SANCTITY IN BYZANTIUM

The shape of the public cult of saints must affect our understanding of sanctity in Byzantium. Examination of data on the public cult in the last chapter led to the conclusion that traditional scholarly accounts of Byzantine sanctity and its development, while not "wrong" as such, fail to take sufficient account of the essential quality of Byzantine sainthood, its dominance by a small group of leading figures. This chapter introduces a new model of the content of sanctity in medieval Byzantium, one that attempts to take account of the cult of the leading saints while maintaining that the cults of new saints are still of significance to the historian. First, we shall examine whether there was a "Byzantine period" in the history of Christian sainthood, for discussion of "Byzantine" sanctity usually assumes this presupposition without addressing it as a problem. Then a critique will be made of the common "stages of sanctity" in modern narratives of Byzantine sainthood and of the official ecclesiastical typology of sainthood in Byzantine documents. These critiques make possible the delineation of a new model of Byzantine sanctity, both in structure and in content. One conclusion drawn from this model is that new -- Byzantine era -- saints always formed a minor part of the overall field of sanctity, but that the sanctity of these new saints was formed in relation to the wider field. As such, the cults and sanctity of these new saints allow us to understand the types of contestation that took place in Byzantine society and religion. They also allow insight into the issue of gender and sanctity, which will be explored more thoroughly in the next chapter.

One of the implications of the data on the cult of saints in Chapter II is that there is, in fact, a distinct "Byzantine" period in the cult of saints, a distinct time between the sixth and fifteenth centuries when certain common features were prevalent. Before and after this, the structure of sainthood differed somewhat, for instance, in the identity of the leading figures.

Although the intercession of the saints penetrated Christian practice by the third century, the cult of saints does not seem to have depended on either tombs or relics outside a few special areas, such as Rome with its catacombs.<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century, as Christianity took over the Roman world, the cult of saints shifted and adopted its late antique form. With the legalization of Christianity it became possible to build shrines and undertake public veneration of the saints and the cult began to center on shrines and relics; indeed, there was a veritable rush to "invent" the relics of Biblical saints.<sup>2</sup>

Important early cult figures included Thekla, the fictitious companion of St. Paul, the first martyr Stephen,<sup>3</sup> and the soldier saints Sergios and Bacchos. Often the focus of these

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Walter, "The Origins of the Cult of Saint George," *REB* 53 (1995), 299-300. Walter challenges the notion that the early cult of saints was dependent on tombs or relics. He also argues against André Grabar's position that it was the supposed theophany at the moment of death which marked out the martyr. Rather it was the grace evident in the martyr's perseverance that entitled him or her to special honor and distinguished the martyr from other "saints."

<sup>2</sup> Robert Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 113-22.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen's cult became important from the early fourth-century. He was one of the saints whose relics were "found" at that time. See Lucian, *Epistola ad omnem ecclesiam, de revelatione corporis Stephani martyris*, translated into Latin by Avitus in PL 41:807-18, edited by S. Vaanderlinden, "Revelatio Sancti Stephani," *REB* 4 (1946), 178-217; and discussion in Elizabeth A. Clark, "Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen: The partisans of Melania and Eudokia," *Church History* 51 (1982), 141-56, repr. in Elizabeth A. Clark, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: essays in Late Ancient Christianity* (Lewiston: Edwin Meilen, 1986), 95-123.

cults was a particular shrine: Thekla at Seleuceia, Sergios and Bacchos at Rusafa, Menas at Abu Minas.<sup>4</sup>

From the fifth- to mid-seventh centuries, the Byzantine cult of saints underwent a further shift as a series of new figures emerged and came to dominate. Theodore Tiron (the recruit), whose cult emerged in the late fourth century, began his rise in popularity;<sup>5</sup> George became much more popular in the sixth century;<sup>6</sup> Kosmas and Damian achieved a stable cult in the sixth century;<sup>7</sup> Demetrios in the early seventh century.<sup>8</sup> Nicholas of Myra was known in the sixth century, although the extraordinary growth of his cult took

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<sup>4</sup> Walter, "Saint George," 302-308.

<sup>5</sup> Walter, "Saint George," 308. Theodore Tiron's sanctuary in Euchaïta is first attested in a homily of Gregory of Nyssa [d.394] (BHG 1760, PG 46:736-748). The cult seems to have grown, adding stories about dragon killing by the ninth century, for instance. Also in the ninth century the figure of Theodore split into two figures – Theodore Tiron ("the recruit"), with a shrine at Euchaïta, and Theodore Stratelates ("the General") with a cult at nearby Euchaneia. See Nicolas Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AnalBoll* 104 (1986), 327-35.

<sup>6</sup> Walter, "Saint George," 314-19, summarizes as follows, "There was in fact, whatever had gone into the making of it, a distinct and unique metahistorical saint in the early seventh (or even sixth) century, who exists to this day." See also David Howell, "St. George as Intercessor," *B* 39 (1969), 121-36.

<sup>7</sup> Michel van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés IV<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riche (Paris: 1981), 73. The history of the cult is rather complex, with a number of pairs of Kosmas and Damians, or at least irreconcilable stories about them, in circulation. By the sixth century the cult and the stories become coherent.

<sup>8</sup> Walter, "Saint George," 310. Demetrios' cult was very localized at first, like other late antique saints. However, after the collection of *miracula* by John of Thessalonica in the seventh century, his fame began to spread. Several emperors (Maurice, 582-502, and Leo VI, 886-912), took special interest in the saint, but never succeeded in bringing his relics to Constantinople. Perhaps it was because this most local of saints was localized in a city which remained within the Empire, that his cult remained important. See also Paul Magdalino, "St. Demetrios and Leo VI," *Byzantinoslavica* 51:2 (1990), 198-201; Ruth Macrides, "Subversion and Loyalty in the Cult of St. Demetrios," *Byzantinoslavica* 51:2 (1990), 189-197; and Paul Lemerle, ed., *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1979).

place from the ninth century.<sup>9</sup> The Virgin's cult was ever growing from the mid-sixth century.<sup>10</sup> As the statistical data in Chapter II show, it was many of these late-arriving figures who dominated the Byzantine cult of saints in all major aspects -- church dedications, works written about them, iconography, and even naming patterns. To these must be added, of course, saints such as John the Baptist and John the Theologian, but the strength of their cult was at least in part a result of their participation in narratives of Jesus' life and passion.<sup>11</sup>

The cult of saints in the Greek-speaking world underwent another shift after the fall of Constantinople. Although the by then "old" saints such as George, Nicholas and Demetrios remained popular, measures of cult extent such as early modern church dedications,<sup>12</sup> popularity of published *akolouthias*,<sup>13</sup> and, especially, prevalence of

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<sup>9</sup> Ihor Ševčenko and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984), 11, 14; see also Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin: Bottega D'Erasmus, 1983), 19-22. The cult figure of St. Nicholas is connected with a fourth-century St. Nicholas of Myra, but developed by absorbing many of the motifs of the *Life* of Nicholas of Sion.

<sup>10</sup> See Averil Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds its Symbol." *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS. 29 (1978), 79-108. repr. in Averil Cameron, *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London: Variorum, 1981), XVI. Ioli Kalevrezou, "Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became *Meter Theou*," *DOP* 44 (1990), 165-72, and now Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (New York: Routledge, 1994). Cameron suggests that the growth of the cult of the Virgin was one reason for a relative decline of Thekla's cult.

<sup>11</sup> Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "Narratives of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to Mid-fourteenth Century," *GOTR* 30:1 (1985), 33 n4. on John the Baptist.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix I, Table A6: Dedications of Churches, Chapels and Monasteries, especially the data from Kythira.

<sup>13</sup> Petit, *BibAc*. compiled data on the number of published *akolouthias* -- short publications related to a saint. By this measure the most popular saints were Spyridon, Dionysios of Aigina, Gerasimos of Kephalaria, Charalampos, Modestos, George, Phanourios, Nicholas, Paraskeve, and Nicholas. This is a dramatically different set of figures than revealed by Byzantine era sources.

relics,<sup>14</sup> indicate that a series of newer saints' cults became important. Perhaps related to increased epidemic diseases, healing saints such as Panteleemon, Modestos of Jerusalem, and, above all, Charalampos, began to play a major role in popular religion.<sup>15</sup> And along with new saints, some new shrines achieved prominence -- Gerasimos at Kephallonia, Spyridon at Corfu (Table 3.1). Although it would be possible to discuss some cults in terms of individual saints' personal characteristics,<sup>16</sup> such an analysis would miss the point. These new figures were important because of the powers their cults attributed to them.<sup>17</sup> Throughout the entire Byzantine period, no new cult cracked the domination of the leading figures; afterwards, an obscure figure like Charalampos was able to become the most popular saint in terms of number of relics. In addition to these new major saints, the renewed possibility of martyrdom under Turkish domination after 1453 initiated a flood of new martyr saints, mostly men but including a few women.<sup>18</sup> As in the

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<sup>14</sup> Otto Meinardus, "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," *Oriens Christianus* 54 (1971), 130-178. See figures in Appendix I, Tables A9, A10, A11.

<sup>15</sup> This suggestion requires further work, but it is stimulated by the concurrence of a rise in the cults of prominent healing saints and the onslaught of epidemic diseases in the eastern Mediterranean after the mid-fourteenth century. See Paul Halsall, "The Black Death in Byzantium," *Fordham University History Lecture Series*, April 1991 (unpublished paper), and Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).

<sup>16</sup> Spyridon was a fourth-century bishop, Modestos a seventh-century bishop. Gerasimos a sixteenth-century monk. Panteleemon -- the only one with any significantly large earlier cult -- and Charalampos were both martyred Roman soldiers. None of the saints mentioned was "new," but the size of their modern cults was not prefigured in Byzantine sources.

<sup>17</sup> Spyridon's body, taken to Corfu became the guardian of the island; Gerasimos became patron of Kephallonia; Panteleemon and Charalampos defended against disease, Modestos against sheep illness.

<sup>18</sup> Delehaye, Hippolyte, "Greek Neomartyrs," in *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*. Subsidia hagiographica 42 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1966); S. Salaville, "Pour un répertoire des néo-saints de l'église orientale," *B* 20 (1950), 223-37; Ioannis Theocharides and Dimitris Loules, "The Neomartyrs in Greek History (1453-1821)," *Études Balkaniques* 3 (1989),

Table 3.1  
Popularity of Greek Saints' *Akolouthias* in the Era of Printing (17-20th Centuries)

Cent.	Names		No. of Akolouthias
1	<b>Mary</b>	Mother of God	99
4	Spyridon	of Trimithuntis	36
1	Dionysios	of Aegina, wonderworker	20
1	Gerasimos	Notaras, Junior	19
2	Charalampos	Wonderworker	18
7	Modestos	of Jerusalem, wonderworker	16
4	George	the Martyr, megalomartyr	14
0	Phanurios	the neophanous	13
4	Nicholas	of Myra, wonderworker	11
2	<b>Paraskeve</b>		11
8	Nicholas	Junior, of Buna	10
18	Kosmas	Aetolos hieromartyr	10
4	Stylianos	of Paphlagon	9
16	Bessarion	of Larissa, wonderworker	9
18	Constantine	of Hydra (Hydraeus)	9
3	Tryphon	Wonderworker	9
4	<b>Barbara</b>		8
17	Seraphim	of Phanarios, wonderworker	8
15	Mark	Eugenikos	8
14	<b>Matrona</b>	of Chios (date uncertain)	8
5	Alexios	Man of God	7
4	Demetrios	of Thessalonica	7
2	Eleutherios		7
1	John	the Baptist	7
10	Peter	of Argos, wonderworker	6
16	Nikanor	Wonderworker	6
16	Dionysios	of Olympos	6
12	Meletios	of Mycpolis, wonderworker	6
4	<b>Kyriake</b>		6
13	<b>Theodora</b>	of Arta, or of Epiros	6
0	Michael/Gabriel	Archangels/Taxiarchs	6
19	George	Neomartyr, of Ioannina	6
16	<b>Philothei</b>	the Athenian	6
17	Apostolos		6
4	Menas	of Egypt, wonderworker	5
19	Nicholas	of Rethymon	5
19	Manuel		5
3	Timothy & <b>Maura</b>		5
18	Demetrios	the Peloponnesian	5
19	George	of Rethymon	5
4	Blasios	of Sebaste, wonderworker	5
19	Angelis	of Crete	5
11	Christodulos	of Patmos	5

Source: Petit, *BibAc*.



Byzantine period, the later additions indicate that it was cultic role, not attributes during life, that made a saint important and a cult widespread.

The argument here is that any given ethno-cultural community has a rather limited "roster" of saints, and that the figures in this roster determine periods in the history of the cult of saints more precisely than the "types" of new saints. While there may be thousands of saints in church calendars, the vast majority remain just names,<sup>19</sup> and it is probable that there is a limit on the number of saints for which a community can maintain active cults.<sup>20</sup> In Byzantium, there was a select group of major saints that had widespread cults for centuries. The period after the fall of Constantinople seems to see a significant shift in this group, with a new prominence given to some "old" saints such as Charalampos, Modestos, Therapon, Tryphon (who had a significant cult in Byzantium, but nothing like afterwards), Markella of Chios as well as major cults of "new saints"

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78-86: Efthalia Makris Walsh, "The Women Martyrs of Nikodemus Hagiorites' *Neon Martyrologion*," *GOTR* 36:1 (1991), 71-91. In addition to new cults of old saints, new martyr and ascetic saints, new local saints, there was also the appearance of the folkloric cult of Phanourios the Newly Found (feast Aug 27), whose relics were found in Rhodes in the late fifteenth century, and who accordingly finds lost things, see "Phanurius" *Orthodox Life* (Jordanville, NY: Holy Trinity Monastery) 4 (1982), 11-12, 20). A local Greek informant in Queens, New York, tells me that one procedure is to make *Phanouropita* ("Phanourios bread"), and give it to the local priest. By the time he has eaten it, the lost object will be found.

<sup>19</sup> In modern British Catholicism, for instance, saints such as Bernardette Soubirous, the Curé d'Ars (John Vianney), Theresa of Lisieux, the Apostle Jude, and even Philomena, are subjects of lively devotions, whereas saints important in Church history, such as Poiykarp, John Chrysostom or even George barely register. Within Orthodoxy, there are some saints with universal appeal – such as George and Nicholas, but many major Russian saints – Boris and Gleb, Vladimir, Olga, Seraphim – are scarcely discussed in modern Greek Orthodox hagiographic literature.

<sup>20</sup> See the comments of Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. by V.M. Crawford (London: Longmans, Green, 1907), 17. "The artless nature of popular genius betrays itself clearly in the legends it creates. Thus the number of personages and of events of which it preserves remembrance is few indeed; its heroes never exist side by side, but succeed each other, and the latest inherits all the greatness of his predecessors."

such as Matrona of Chios, Dionysios, Gerasimos, and Constantine of Hydra. The way in which such cultural rosters are established is worthy of further study.

Between the seventh and fifteenth centuries, then, we have a specific, although not unchanging, period in the cult of saints (Figure 3.1). For Byzantium, in other words, we are able to examine a discrete period during which the cult of saints exhibited some internal cohesion and clear distinctions from the preceding and following periods.

#### A **Modern *Stages of Sanctity* · Byzantine Typologies of Sanctity**

There is what amounts to a standard account of the development of the Christian understanding of *sanctity* (that is, who was "holy" and what characteristics marked off holiness), an understanding which many authors assume is reflected in the *cult of saints* (that is, the actual pattern of practices celebrating saints). This account asserts that, to begin with, all Christians were "saints," a term commonly used by St. Paul for all Christians.<sup>21</sup> Later Christians, when presented with people who died as witnesses ("martyrs" in Greek), ascribed sanctity to martyrs in particular and, in some places, developed cults around their tombs. Later still, after the legalization of Christianity in 313, non-martyred holy people, especially those who underwent the living martyrdom of asceticism, were added to the common understanding of sanctity as "confessors." In addition bishops, missionaries, and monastic founders also came to be recognized for

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<sup>21</sup> Paul uses the term *hagioi* ["saints"] at least thirty nine times in his letters, for instance, Rom. 8:27, 1 Cor. 6.2, Eph. 3:8.

**Figure 3.1**  
**Major Saints' Cults over Time**

Saint	From Cent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Attributes
Theotokos	6				- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	
Johr. Baptist	1	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	
Stephen proto	1				====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	
Thekla	1		====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	====	
Kosmas/Damian	4-6				- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	
Theodore Tiro	5					- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Travelers +
Theodore Strat	9										====	====	====	====	====	====	
Demetrios	7							-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	Thessalon.
Menas	3, 9			====	====	====	====	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
Elijah	9									====	====	====	====	====	====	====	Rainmaker
Nicholas	4/6				- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Children +
George	4					- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Poor
Katharine	9										-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	Young women
Panteleemon	4				- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Healer
Tryphon	4				- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Healer
Charalampos	4				- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Healer
Modestos	4					- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Sheep cure
Significant Events									Iconoclasm						Black Death		

Source: *Saints' Prosopographical Database*

- Key:**
- - - Minor cult, perhaps only liturgical
  - Some evidence of localized cult
  - Evidence of cult in Constantinople
  - == Middle sized cult
  - === Major cult on all indicators

their holiness.<sup>22</sup> Evelyne Patlagean's now popular proposal that the ninth and tenth centuries represented another transitional period in the development of sanctity fits into this general model.<sup>23</sup>

This entire approach confuses the history of *holy people* with the history of the *cult of saints*. The persistent belief by scholars that the cult of saints had a primary connection to individual holy people, a fusion of distinct phenomena, has governed discussions of its later development in Byzantium. Most scholars would accept that the cult of a saint such as George depends on the popularity of his legends and his role as protector of the poor, not on any personal attributes of a particular early Christian martyr. A smooth assumption, however, is made that the cult of lesser saints, for instance Luke of Steiris or Thomaïs of Lesbos in the middle Byzantine period, is fundamentally connected to their lives as holy people. But if, as I argue in Chapter II, the Byzantine cult of saints was fixed by the cults of the leading saints, whose personal holiness was not central to their cults, the assumption that personal holiness was central for the cults of later saints is hard to sustain. It ignores the dominant impact of the major cults, or implies that there was a basic division in Byzantine concepts of sanctity between that of major saints and that of the new saints. The Byzantines made no such distinction, and so, before

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<sup>22</sup> For this common account see Camillus Beccari, "Beatification and Canonization," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: 1913); Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, 2nd ed. (New York: Penguin, 1965, 1983), 7-9; Kenneth Woodward, *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 55-64.

<sup>23</sup> Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 621. For acceptance of her proposal see Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 73-75; Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography," 540.

unpacking this conundrum, it is worthwhile investigating Byzantine categories of sanctity.

If the typology of sanctity developed by modern authors is unsatisfactory, what about the Byzantines' own view of their saints? Here we need to explore a distinction between official theory and popular practice. The vast majority of Christians in Byzantium had little involvement with Church government or monastic prayer cycles, but it would be misleading to propose a simple two-tier model of the Byzantine church based on class or clerical status. Illiterate parents after all sometimes raised boys who became bishops, and members of court elites might adopt religious practices that struck educated observers as superstitious.<sup>24</sup> The evidence is clear, nonetheless, that popular cultic practice surrounding the saints was at some variance from official theory. Byzantine authors are perfectly aware that popular cults existed, but often wrote about the saints as if the official position was dominant. There are a number of issues worth considering here: the role of the official church in the cult of saints, the terminology used about the saints in liturgical sources, and the notion of a hierarchy of saints.

Vaucher and Delooz have made clear that when considering the sociological aspects of sainthood in the West, attention to the official Church is important.<sup>25</sup> But what

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<sup>24</sup> Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 3:5, trans. by E.R.A. Sewter as *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin, 1966), 65.

<sup>25</sup> André Vaucher, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Bibliothèque des études françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 241 (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981); Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 189-216; and idem, *Sociologie et canonisations* (Liège: Faculté de droit, 1969). In this willingness to see the political aspects of sainthood, they went beyond earlier promoters of a sociological approach.

constitutes the official Church? Even in the West, this is not absolutely clear: do we insist on Rome alone, or are we to include local bishops or even monasteries? With sainthood, the story of Western practice was the increasing importance of the papacy, as Rome assumed to itself the full and exclusive control over saint making. Within the Roman system, a clear typology of saints developed, whatever the variations in practice.<sup>26</sup> For Byzantium, the issue is much less clear. Although there was an ecclesiastical administrative structure equal to Rome's, it did not develop the same control over local churches' customs and practices as Rome.<sup>27</sup> What we may consider an "official" Byzantine typology was expressed more through the practices of the important and prestigious religious centers. Of particular significance were the practices of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) in Constantinople and the great monasteries such as those of Athos.

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<sup>26</sup> Official Roman typology is manifested in the *Roman Martyrology* of 1584, updated occasionally and printed in many liturgical books. Here reference is made to the version in *The Roman Martyrology* (London: Burns, Oates & Wasbourne, 1937). Every saint is listed with his or her type:

*martyr* (for men and women),

*confessor* (men only, who are not martyrs),

*virgin* (women only, can be combined with "martyr").

*widow* (women only, who are not martyrs),

*apostle* (men only in Roman usage, although a number of women are called "apostles" in Greek sources: Thekla, the most famous, becomes a "virgin martyr," although she was not a martyr, in Roman typology -- feast 23 September),

*bishop/pope/abbot* (men only),

*doctor* (a specifically Roman title, now given to men and women).

This Roman typology is applied consistently, but is sometimes stretched to the limit; for instance Margaret of Scotland (June 10) is listed as a "widow," although her husband, Malcolm Canmore, predeceased her by only four days. The absence of happily married saints has now become an issue for Roman authorities, see the discussion in Woodward, *Making Saints*, 336-352.

<sup>27</sup> Even at Rome, full control over the cult of saints was a post-medieval achievement.

Although Chapter II emphasized the phenomenological aspects of the cult of saints, Fr. Delehaye's clear definition here suggests that the cult of saints is intimately related to issues of ecclesiology, to what constitutes the "Church":

It is necessary to begin with to understand the word "cult." It is in general the honor given to a venerable memory. More especially here, it is the honor that is given by the Christian community, which might be a particular church, an important ecclesiastical group, or the great family of the faithful throughout the world. A son can devote a cult to memory of his parents, a mother to a child who has preceded her *in somno pacis*: these well-loved saints do not enter the order of saints. The title is only owed to them at the moment when the Church associates itself with these homages.<sup>28</sup>

As long as Christianity was organized into a series of local churches, and the saints were the heroes of particular local communities, distinctions between an "official church" view of saints and popular practice remained unimportant. As the Church grew, supra-local hierarchies became more important and elite ideological positions emerged. After Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire and virtually the entire population was placed under its banner, the beginning of a real distinction between theory and practice became inevitable. Although controlling elites in Byzantine Christianity changed at all stages of Byzantine religious history,<sup>29</sup> there was a set of institutions and phenomena that constituted the "official Church" from the perspective of the government. Such institutions included the episcopate, the various patriarchates,

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<sup>28</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, *Sanctus: essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1927), 123 [my translation].

<sup>29</sup> The direction of the official Church was determined at different periods by the emperor, by non-monastic Church officials, by Constantinopolitan monks, and in later centuries by Athonite monks.

particularly that of Constantinople, along with the more important monasteries.<sup>30</sup> In Constantinople, in particular, the clergy of the Great Church and those associated with church government, such as the standing synod,<sup>31</sup> must also be included. There was often an *ad hoc* air about these institutions, especially in comparison with the legal formality of Latin Christianity,<sup>32</sup> but this does not detract from the observation that an "official Church" position on sainthood existed. The task at hand then, is to bring out what this view was, at least in the middle Byzantine period that is central to this study.

There are many lists of Byzantine saints that permit us to determine the terminology of sanctity: some were created by Byzantine compilers,<sup>33</sup> some by modern Orthodox editors,<sup>34</sup> as well as lists created by modern scholars.<sup>35</sup> None of these lists of saints is complete and the criteria for inclusion vary from compiler to compiler. But in the *ad hoc* manner typical of Orthodoxy, the compilation of liturgical books for use in

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<sup>30</sup> There was a variety of monastic institutions in Byzantium: the vast majority of religious houses were very small, often private, monasteries. Such houses might have little influence on, or contact with, church hierarchies. On the other hand the major large monasteries of Constantinople, such as the Stoudion, or the large monastic centers outside Constantinople, such as Mt. Olympos and later Mt. Athos, must be considered an aspect of the elite power structures in the Church.

<sup>31</sup> The *synod endemousa* was a permanent council that sat under the patriarch of Constantinople. See Joseph N. Hajjar, *Le synode permanent dans l'Eglise byzantine des origines au XIe siècle*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 164 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962).

<sup>32</sup> Joan M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 318.

<sup>33</sup> See René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1953), esp. ch. 4., for a description of the various martyrologies, *menaia*, *menologia* and *synaxaria* found in Greek manuscript sources.

<sup>34</sup> The most ambitious is K. Chr. Dukakis, ed., *Μέγας Συναξαριστής*, 12 vols. (Athens: 1889-1896); see also Sophronios Eustratiades, *Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens: n.d.). There are many other lists put out by various publishers.

<sup>35</sup> The most important of which is the *BHG* (1957), and its supplement, *BHGNA* (1984).



monasteries and the Great Church, along with the tendency of each compiler to copy earlier compilations, resulted in what can legitimately be considered a typology of sainthood.

Delehay's magnificent edition of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople is probably the best source to elucidate this "official typology."<sup>36</sup> As an immense compilation of over 1100 folio pages, it is impractical to present data from the entire text, but the saints of the month of September can be taken as a paradigm for the array of types (Appendix I, Table A4).

The overwhelming majority of saints in September are deemed *martyrs*, all of whom are called *hagia/os* ("holy" or "sacred"), although a few are given pleonastic or especially exalted titles -- *hagios hosiomartyr* or even *megalomartyr* (great martyr). Martyred bishops have the special title of *hieromartyr*. Most non-martyrs are called *hosia/os*, an appellation applied to diverse groups -- bishops, abbots and ascetics. The distinction between martyrs and non-martyrs is not absolute, at least with regard to title, and, unlike modern Roman calendars, titlature is not always consistent: some non-martyrs, such as the Emperor Constantine acquire a *hagios*, and some martyrs are called just *hagios* without specifically having *martyr* added.

A couple of non-martyrs of special repute -- John Chrysostom and Gregory of Armenia -- are listed using the roundabout formula "our holy father among the saints (*hagioi*)." It is worth noting that even a very important saint, such as Nicholas of Myra

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<sup>36</sup> SynaxCP.

(Dec. 6), can be called a *hosios* in the SynaxCP.<sup>37</sup> A number of figures are titled by their activity: Moses is "lawgiver," the archangel Michael is "arch-general." Two subcategories cause special problems. Old Testament, or pre-incarnation figures, are commemorated but under inconsistent labels: nothing but their names for Joshua, Eleazar and Phineas, *dikaioi* ("righteous") for Joachim and Anna (the traditional names of the parents of the Virgin Mary), "prophet" for Moses, but *hagios prophetes* (holy prophet) for Jonah (along with Zachariah and John the Baptist). Deceased Orthodox rulers were also commemorated in the *synaxaria*, but we see some variety of terminology: one is *eusebestatos* ("most pious"), another is *timios* ("honored").

Does the terminology in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople amount to an official typology? With due regard for the compilers' willingness to concede special titles to especially important saints, it is clear that a certain set of distinctions is in operation: between holy figures before Christ and those afterwards, between commemorated rulers and people celebrated for heroic sanctity, and most dramatically between those martyred for the faith and those honored for other reasons. This does not exhaust the categories used in the SynaxCP. The term "apostle" has the distinct meaning of "missionary" and was applied to the "Twelve," to all members of an apocryphal list of seventy apostles, and to later missionaries such as Gregory of Armenia.<sup>38</sup> It was specifically applied to a

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<sup>37</sup> Although he also is "Our holy father among the saints (*hagioi*)," in the *Typikon* of the Great Church. See Juan Mateos, ed., *La Typicon de La Grande Église, Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X<sup>e</sup> siècle, Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962), 124.

<sup>38</sup> Information here is drawn from the *Saints' Hagiographical Database*, not just SynaxCP saints of September.

number of women, such as Thekla (September 24),<sup>39</sup> all of whom were active in the first century.<sup>40</sup> Individual saints were also given titles such as *homologetes* (confessor), and *thaumatourgos* (wonderworker). It is less clear that these can be understood as formal categories. Saints who are known to have worked miracles (for instance Peter the Apostle, the Archangel Michael) were listed as wonderworkers, and the term may be more descriptive than categorical. Similarly, although *homologetes* is often translated as "confessor," it was not, as in the West, applied to all male saints who were not martyrs; it referred apparently to those who specifically "confessed" Christ with words, but was not used about all such figures. Again, the term seemed to be more a description than a category. There were no specific categories for "virgins" or ascetics, although virginity and asceticism were certainly important points of discussion in saints' lives. Many non-

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<sup>39</sup> Thekla was not alone. Women apostles in Orthodox calendars include the following:  
 Priscilla, (Feb 13, 1st Cent., martyr, Rom 16:3, "apostle")  
 Mariamne, (Feb 17, 1st Cent., martyr, "isapostolos")  
 Photine, (Feb 26, 1st Cent., martyr, John 4:15, "isapostolos")  
 Nympha, (Feb 28, Col 4:15, "isapostolos")  
 Junia, (Jun 17, 1st Cent., Rom 16, "apostolos" [also Feb 22?])  
 Mary Magdalene, (Jul 22, 1st Cent, martyr, "isapostolos")  
 Oraiozele, (Jul 26, 1st Cent., "isapostolos")  
 Hermione, Xanthippe, and Polyxene (Sep 4, 1st Cent., "isapostolos")  
 Thekla (Sep 24, 1st Cent., "isapostolos")  
 Apphia, (Nov 22, 1st Cent., martyr, Philem 1:2, "isapostolos" [also Feb 19?])

<sup>40</sup> A few later women saints continued to be associated with office in the church. There were six women deacon saints:-

Tatiane, (Jan 12, 3rd Cent. martyr)  
 Xene, (Jan 14, ? Cent.)  
 Olympia, (Jul 25, 4th Cent.)  
 Irene of Chrysobalanton, (Jul 28, 9th Cent.)  
 Phoebe, (Sep 3, 1st Cent.)  
 Justina, (Oct 2, 3rd Cent, martyr)

martyrs were subsumed, for the most part under the heading of *hosia/os* and this deserves special analysis.<sup>41</sup>

The Byzantine liturgy of John Chrysostom supplies a typology of saints in addition to that derived from hagiographic material. Immediately after the *epiklesis* comes this prayer:

Again we offer unto thee this reasonable worship for those who have fallen asleep in the faith: Ancestors (*propatores*), Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors (*homologetai*), Ascetics (or Virgins)(*enkrateuteis*),<sup>42</sup> and every righteous spirit made perfect in faith.<sup>43</sup>

And a little later, this prayer, said quietly by the priest:

For the Holy Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist John; the Holy, Glorious and all-laudable Apostles; Saint \_\_\_\_\_, whom we commemorate today; and all thy saints...<sup>44</sup>

Commenting on these texts, the fourteenth-century saint and writer Nicholas Kabasilas notes in regard to the saints:

[33] They are the cause for which the Church gives thanks to God. It is for them that she offers to him a spiritual thanksgiving; above all it is for the blessed Mother of God, who surpasses all others in holiness. That is why the priest asks for nothing on behalf of the saints; rather he asks that he may be assisted by them in his prayers.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See Appendix III: Suggestions on "Ὅσιος and "Άγιος.

<sup>42</sup> Modern liturgical texts translate *enkrateuteis* as "ascetics" or "virgins," but the word means "those who abstain from sex, whether married or not."

<sup>43</sup> Modern translation from *The Divine Liturgy of Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great* (Minneapolis MN: Cathedral of the Protection of the Virgin Mary, 1991), 24. The list from the canon is the *Liturgy of St. Basil* [p.33] is almost the same: "Ancestors, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Teachers."

<sup>44</sup> *Divine Liturgy of Saints John Chrysostom and Basil*, 24.

<sup>45</sup> Nicholas Cabasilas [Kabasilas], *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. Joan. M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty (London: SPCK, 1960), 84.

Kabasilas specifically notes that the list given as used by Basil is the same as Chrysostom's, and himself reiterates the list.<sup>46</sup> The liturgy clearly suggests a loose typology and hierarchy of saints, comparable perhaps to its hierarchy of angels.<sup>47</sup> The Theotokos, who alone is invoked throughout the liturgy, and after her John the Baptist, take precedence. Next come the biblical categories from Old and New Testaments ("Ancestors...Evangelists"), and after them the saints of the post-New Testament Church, martyrs first, then confessors and ascetics/virgins.<sup>48</sup> This arrangement reflects a

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<sup>46</sup> Kabasilas, 85 and 109.

<sup>47</sup> *Divine Liturgy of Saints John Chrysostom and Basil*, 27, "Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Authorities, Powers and many-eyed Cherubim ...Seraphim." The typology is "loose" because, as we can see above, it was not applied consistently to saints as they were listed in the liturgical books of saints' days.

<sup>48</sup> Similar lists of saintly types existed in canonical documents, although the constant repetition of the liturgy must have made the liturgical formulas better known. The Acts of the fourth session of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) addressed the subject of icon veneration, and twice iterated a list of saints:

We accept the word of the Lord and his Apostles through which we have been taught to honor and magnify in the first place Her who is properly and truly the Mother of God (Theotokos) and exalted above all the heavenly Powers; also the holy and angelic Powers; **the blessed and all-lauded Apostles; and the glorious Prophets and the triumphant Martyrs who fought for Christ; holy and God fearing Doctors, and all holy men;** to seek their intercession, to make us at home with the all-royal God of all, so long as we keep his commandments and strive to live virtuously. Moreover we accept the image of the honorable and life-giving Cross, and the holy relics of the saints; and we receive the holy and venerable images; we accept them and we embrace them, according to the ancient traditions of the Holy Catholic Church of God, that is to say our holy Fathers, who also received these things and established them in all the most holy Churches of God and in every place of His dominion. These honorable and venerable images, as has been said, we honor, accept and reverently venerate: the image of the incarnation of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, and that of our immaculate Lady, the all-holy Mother of God, from whom he pleased to take flesh and to save and deliver us from all impious idolatry; also the images of the holy and incorporeal Angels, who appeared to the just as men. Likewise we also venerate the figures and the effigies of the divine and **all-lauded Apostles, the God-speaking Prophets, and the suffering martyrs and holy men**, so that through their representations we may be able to be led back in memory and recollections to the prototype, and participate in their holiness.

in NPNFII, Vol. 14, 541.

chronology of saintly types as well as the Theo- and Christocentric character of the liturgy. Kabasilas' long discussion of the role of the saints makes the point that "the greatest longing of the saints is that God should be glorified because of them."<sup>49</sup> For this representative of the official church, theology dictated that saints were an adornment of prayer to God, not autonomous centers of devotion.

Both liturgy and canonical tradition then indicate that a Byzantine typology of saints existed, with some indication of a hierarchy. However, when we compare the cults of saints with this typology we find only a limited correlation. The Theotokos and John the Baptist are foremost in both liturgy and cult, but saints who should rank highly given their liturgical position, for example most of the apostles, had negligible cults. Among the martyrs, it is not possible to determine from any objective factor why some became famous and others fell into obscurity. Although most of the leading saints were either important New Testament figures or martyrs, one of the most popular Byzantine cults, that of Nicholas of Myra,<sup>50</sup> belonged to a saint who was neither a martyr nor an apostle. Official typology is, then, of limited use for understanding the function and nature of the cult of saints in Byzantium. We need to focus on which saints in practice had cults, and on how important particular cults were.

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<sup>49</sup> Kabasilas, 107. Sections 48-49 of Kabasilas' *Commentary* form one of the longest Byzantine discussions of the purpose and function of the cult of saints.

<sup>50</sup> The cult of Nicholas became increasingly important over time. See Gouma-Peterson, "Narratives," 33, who notes his increased preeminence in iconography from the twelfth century; and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin: Bottega D'Erasmio, 1983).

## B Byzantine Sanctity: A New Model

If neither "stages of sanctity" theory nor the official typology of the Church is satisfactory, we need a new model of sanctity that takes account of the extent of the actualities of the Byzantine cult of saints.<sup>51</sup> Rather than personal qualities of the saint, or even the original reason for becoming a saint, it was the posthumous activities as a saint - -wonder-working, healing, interceding, protecting -- that dominated and shaped the popular cult of the major saints and in effect constituted their "sanctity." With new saints, who competed on the same cultural field of sanctity as the great figures, personal qualities were an issue to some extent, but it was the way their cults were promoted that determined the reasons for public veneration.<sup>52</sup> In this respect, there was little difference between the cult of a new saint, and a new cult of an old and hitherto ignored saint. It is in the creation and control of new cults that we see contestation between various social groups. In a sense the cults of new saints both create and reflect different sorts of power. With these points in mind, two alternative typologies of the saints may be helpful in conceptualizing the Byzantine cult for modern scholars and in understanding the cult from the viewpoint of the Byzantine Christian. One is based on the *extent* of the saint's cult, the second on the *function* of the saint as a cult figure rather than the reason the saint became a saint in the first place.

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<sup>51</sup> See Henry Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 66-87, for another effort to draw up a new typology of saints, this time based on iconography. Maguire argues that Byzantine artists made formal distinctions between the following categories: monks and ascetics, soldiers, bishops, and apostles and evangelists.

### *Extent of Cult*

#### *Extent of Cult: The Theotokos*

In the array of Christian saints, the Theotokos holds a quite distinct position, one that makes it impossible to treat her with other saints.<sup>53</sup> On the one hand her cult surpassed in some respects that of her son, in church dedications for instance,<sup>54</sup> and on the other the sheer amount of information about her cult would drown out the much more limited data on any other saint.

For Byzantine Christianity also, Mary was not comparable to other saints. The liturgy repeatedly invokes her, and calls her the "Holy, Most Pure, Most Blessed and Glorious Lady Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary."<sup>55</sup> Writers such as Gregory Palamas explicitly developed this understanding:

If, then, "death of the righteous man is honorable" (cf. Ps. 115:6) and the "memory of the just man is celebrated with songs of praise," (Prov. 10:7) how much more ought we to honor with great praises the memory of the holiest of the saints, she

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<sup>52</sup> The reason a person became saint, however, sometimes determined how the future cult was able to develop: for instance, patriarchs, theologians, and hymnographers would rarely achieve renown as "local saints" or as popular wonderworkers.

<sup>53</sup> Averil Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds its Symbol," *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS. 29 (1978), 79-108, repr. in Averil Cameron, *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London: Variorum, 1981), XVI; Martin Jugie, "Homélie mariales byzantines, textes grecs, edités et traduits en latin," *Patrologia Orientalis* 16:3 and 19:3. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1922-1926); idem, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge, etude historico-doctrinale*. Studi e testi 114 Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944); Ioli Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became Meter Theou," *DOP* 44 (1990), 165-72; Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>54</sup> In Constantinople there were 136 churches dedicated to the Theotokos, and 31 to Christ. See Janin, *EglisesCP*.

<sup>55</sup> *The Divine Liturgy of Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great*, 24.



by whom all holiness is afforded to the saints, I mean the Ever-Virgin Mother of God.<sup>56</sup>

One of the prime texts under consideration here states forthrightly the exceptional position of Mary in discourse about women saints:

I exclude from discussion the Mother of God, she who has been lifted above the cherubim, since she is beyond all created beings.<sup>57</sup>

Despite her exceptional position, we cannot ignore Byzantine Marianism entirely. With the Theotokos we have a case of a female divine figure whose femininity might seem central to her power, a power that derives from her motherhood of God. Furthermore, the cult of Mary does fit into a wider pattern.

Let us take this second point first. As we have seen, the most important figures among Byzantine era saints were a group whose cults came to prominence in the sixth and seventh centuries. Mary also fit into this pattern. Although her cult arose much earlier, there was a new intensity in the sixth and seventh centuries connected with Mary's new position as protector of Constantinople, and with the growing cult of icons.<sup>58</sup> Mary's cult overwhelmed to some extent earlier and prominent cults of female saints such as Thekla.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Gregory Palamas, *A Homily on the Dormition of Our Supremely Pure Lady Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary*, trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, n.d. [<http://www.ocf.org/OrthodoxPage/reading/dormition.html>].

<sup>57</sup> Appendix II, *Life of Thomaïs* 1.

<sup>58</sup> Cameron, "Theotokos," 98.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. fn.10 above; and Walter, "Saint George," 303. Walter notes that in the third century Thekla enjoyed more renown than the Theotokos. Later [p. 305], he claims that Thekla's "popularity by no means declined even when that of the Mother of God increased," but this statement does not seem supported by his own observation [p. 304] that evidence for her cult at Seleucia is extant only for the fourth to sixth centuries. The modest, if still significant, number

What is less apparent is that the new cult of Mary in the sixth and seventh centuries was not based on her femininity. As Averil Cameron has argued, Mary's power and success derived from her position as intercessor and protector. Indeed some of the words used about her were quite masculine, and iconography also emphasized her agency as intercessor and protector rather than dwelling on her position as the mother of Christ.

It was only in the late eighth century that there was a shift in the cult and iconography. From emphasis on the hieratic power connected with her position as Theotokos,<sup>60</sup> the iconography and literature puts increasing stress on Mary's motherhood. As Ioli Kalavrezou has noted, we see the *Theotokos* ("God-Bearer") becoming the *Meter Theou* ("Mother of God").<sup>61</sup> This phenomenon is taking place we must note at exactly the time we see the small group of married women saints.<sup>62</sup>

*Extent of Cult: Biblical major saints*

Certain Biblical saints were important members of the most popular group of saints. The most widely celebrated was John the Baptist, but the group also included John the Theologian and Thomas the Apostle. There is every indication that such saints received major cults in Byzantium. This renown did not extend to all Biblical saints, but to those who played a role in the drama of Christ's passion.

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of documents that survive about her, and the small number of churches named for her, suggest instead a continuing, but mid-level, cult.

<sup>60</sup> Cameron, "Theotokos," 104.

<sup>61</sup> Kalavrezou, 168.

<sup>62</sup> I am not convinced by the suggestion of Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot in "Women and Iconoclasm," *BZ* 84/85:2 (1991/92), 401-2, that the omission on seals of the formula "slave of the Theotokos" represents a change in the cult of the Virgin in the later ninth century.

*Extent of Cult: Legendary major saints*

After the Theotokos and John the Baptist, it is striking that legendary saints dominate the Byzantine cult of saints by so many measures. These figures' cults and hagiography focused on accounts of magical and heroic deeds with no historical basis. Some, for example, George, may have existed, but no reliable information survived about them; others may have existed, but reliable information was put aside in favor of legendary material;<sup>63</sup> some, for instance Nicholas, had cults which mixed historical data with considerable additional material; and some legendary saints probably never existed.<sup>64</sup> No saint of the Byzantine era ascended to the ranks of these "mega" saints.

The cults of legendary saints, which neither Byzantine official typology nor "stages of sanctity" theory address, deserve special attention from scholars of sainthood as a cultural phenomenon. With such cults, Fr. Delehaye's claim that cults precede legends is misleading.<sup>65</sup> In some instances, these saints' cults may have begun at some local shrine -- for instance, of George or Nicholas, or Kosmas and Damian -- but veneration of these major figures spread into new regions entirely because of the legend. In the new regions, it was the legend that nourished the cult. The historical George of Lydda was a minor aspect of the role George played for later Christians. While there were many saints

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<sup>63</sup> Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, 8-10.

<sup>64</sup> Some are very suspect, for example, Katharine of Alexandria. One saint's life was a Christianization of the life of the Buddha. See John Damascene [John of Damascus], *Barlaam and Iosaph*, trans. G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingly (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1914).

<sup>65</sup> Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, 8-10.

who were venerated dead holy people, a significant proportion of the roster of dominant saints was made up of saints who are popular exclusively because of their legends.

Focusing on the extent to which Byzantine sainthood was constructed by these legendary cults casts off the flawed tendency to see sanctity as a constructed set of features of the new saints of a period. Something quite different was at play. Michael the Archangel is especially interesting in this regard. He was not a dead holy person, but he quite clearly functioned as a saint rather than a character in a Biblical story. In his case, the legend is all that there was. When "St. Michael" appeared in different cultures there was no "real" figure behind the cult, merely the cultic construction. Apart from the name, it is hard to argue that eleventh-century Norman knights, who saw him as a military aide, and the thirteenth-century Byzantine historian who saw him as protector of his home town,<sup>66</sup> were really concerned with a single figure. I suggest rather that with Michael, as with the other legendary saints, we can see the saint as a cultural projection in which the saint exists as a saint to meet specific social needs.

*Extent of Cult: Local major saints*

In any given city or region the great saints would be represented in church dedications, icons, and in naming patterns.<sup>67</sup> But just as significant on a local level, in a village or a city, might be a major local saint. Examples include saints such as the

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<sup>66</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Jan-Louis Van Dieten, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 11:1 and 11/1, Series Berolinensis. 2 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), 219, 422.

<sup>67</sup> Appendix I, Tables A5 and A6, show the way church dedications varied across the Greek world.

enormously popular Eugenios in Trebizond,<sup>68</sup> or Spyridon in Cyprus (and later in Corfu). Within the region of their cult, such saints must have seemed just as significant to the faithful as any of the empire-wide major saints.<sup>69</sup> There were also other local saints whose cults remained small, perhaps based at one local church. Some Byzantine era saints did succeed in establishing important local cults, including a woman saint of the period, Theodora of Thessalonica.<sup>70</sup>

*Extent of Cult: Intellectual and imperial saints*

The official Church not only sponsored commemoration of its martyrs and ascetics, but also of its intellectual founders and its political supporters. Although later theological writers continued to cite the fathers, and historians continued to discuss the emperors, for the most part these types of saint did not achieve renown *as saints*. Major exceptions were John Chrysostom, the Cappodocian fathers, and the Emperor Constantine I, all of whom had some cultic popularity. With other figures -- such as Maximos the Confessor or John of Damascus -- we have a situation analogous to that of many of the apostles, where the official ideology suggested that they should be major saints, but the actual cult of saints neglected them.

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<sup>68</sup> Jan Olof Rosenqvist, ed. and trans. *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 5 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1996).

<sup>69</sup> Speros Vryonis Jr., "The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint: A Study of the Nature of a Medieval Institution, its Origin and Fate," in Hackel, *Saint*, 196-226.

<sup>70</sup> *Life of Theodora of Thessalonica*, trans. Alice-Mary Talbot, in *HWB*, 159-237; Evelyne Patlagean, "Théodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IXe-XXe siècles)," in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastini (Rome: L.U. Japadre Editore, 1984), 39-67. Talbot [p. 162]

*Extent of Cult: Mid- and low-level cults*

In addition to the major saints who manifested a widespread cult for centuries, there were also purely local shrine-centered cults, which waxed and waned over the centuries. For the most part, where we can trace any evidence of a cult at all, those saints who lived during the Byzantine period tended to fall into this category -- examples include Mary the Younger and Thomaīs of Lesbos.<sup>71</sup> Some of these cults left no documentary evidence in Greek, and we know of them only due to chance reports.<sup>72</sup> Between these two extremes, there was a varying group of other Byzantine saints with fairly large cults, some of which might have been widespread at times.<sup>73</sup>

*The Function of Saints*

For the official Church, saints functioned as exemplars of Christian life and as glorifiers of God. In his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, Nicholas Kabasilas was quite explicit:

[48] ...the saints receive the holy gifts because we offer them to God in their honour. Just as we give alms for love of Christ, so the sacrifice is offered for love of the saints; because we love them dearly, we consider their good as our own, and congratulate them on their happiness as if we were sharers in their honour. Thus, rejoicing in the good things bestowed upon them by God, we give thanks to him who gave, and offer our gifts in thanksgiving.

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notes that even in this case the cult was not continuous: the evidence suggests that Theodora's cult revived in the thirteenth century after three centuries of obscurity.

<sup>71</sup> Cyril Mango, "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger." *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 11 (1968), 9-13; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 323-25.

<sup>72</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 283, 286-87.

<sup>73</sup> For example Euphemia of Chalcedon, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 258-260.

Kabasilas here focuses on the celebration of what the saints have achieved, a celebration manifested in the liturgy by giving thanks to God. He goes on to expound on the content of the saints' sanctity, which amounts to nothing more than glorifying God:

It is not only because the offerings are made for love of them that the saints receive their gifts; another reason is this: that nothing is more delightful and pleasing to them than that we should give thanks and praise to God because of them. If the greatest evil wrought by wicked men is this -- that because of them God's name is blasphemed, the greatest longing and desire of the saints is that God should be glorified because of them. This is what they strove for perpetually while still in the flesh; now that they are in heaven, it is their unending task, their delight and the source of all their joy. When they possessed these joys only in hope, they gave all their time to giving thanks to God and doing all things for his glory; what must they feel now, when their gratitude and thanksgiving are so much greater, and they are perfect in every virtue, when they no longer need hope for happiness, but know by experience the loving-kindness of the Lord; when they see what they were, and what they have become -- the children of the dust are become as the sun, the despised slaves are now honoured sons and heirs of the kingdom of heaven; they who were formerly guilty now have the power to absolve others from their faults, owing to their power of intercession with the judge. Because of this they can never praise God enough; they do not consider their own thanksgiving sufficient. That is why they desire that men and angels should unite with them in praising God, so that their debt of gratitude to him may be a little more worthily paid, owing to an increase in the number of those who praise him.<sup>74</sup>

Kabasilas' view of the cult of saints is thus resolutely Christocentric, and his depiction of what they do in heaven parallels the activities ascribed to them on earth by hagiographers.<sup>75</sup>

Our overview of the cult of saints does not support such a position. The lived life of the future saint had little relation to the later function of the saints within their cults. One of the greatest saints -- George -- entered Western history with a papal warning

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<sup>74</sup> Kabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, 106-107.

<sup>75</sup> Kabasilas was not alone. Cf. Symeon of Thessalonica (d.1429), *Peri ton hieron teleton kai thieon mysterion tes Ekklesias*, trans. H.L.N. Simmons as *Treatise on Prayer*

against forged stories about him.<sup>76</sup> In the case of Prokopios, there was reliable evidence about his life and death, but the much more exciting legendary material soon swamped the facts.<sup>77</sup> While Byzantines were certain their saints were real people,<sup>78</sup> examination of the cults suggest they were much more real in their function as cult figures than as historical actors. In effect, the sanctity of the saints was produced by the kind of activities they manifested rather than any intrinsic qualities.

*The Function of Saints: Biblical role*

As noted earlier, liturgical documents stress the importance of certain Biblical saints -- apostles, evangelists, and other figures in the New Testament. When we look at which of these figures had very active cults, however, it is clear that some of these saints were much more celebrated than other Biblical figures. John the Baptist stands out as the most celebrated of all saints; John the Theologian and Luke were more celebrated than the other evangelists; Thomas, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James the Lord's Brother, and Philip were prominent among the apostles; and Stephen might be added to these.<sup>79</sup> These saints are distinguished from other Biblical figures in that, rather than merely being on a list,

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(Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984). Chapters 8 and 42 emphasize the motif of the "saints around God."

<sup>76</sup> Cornelia Steketee Hults, *St. George of Cappodocia in Legend and History* (London: David Nutt, 1909), 1; cf. *ODB* 834-35.

<sup>77</sup> Delehay, *Legends of the Saints*, 129-46. Prokopios was not unique: Euppsychios was another historical saint whose cult was overwhelmed by legendary additions. See L.G. Westerink, "The Two Faces of St. Euppsychios," in *Okeanos: Harvard Ukrainian Studies VII* [= *Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko*], ed. Cyril Mango and Omeljan Pritsak (Cambridge MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 1983), 666-75.

<sup>78</sup> Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 100-101, on the need to label saints and the belief that icons were realistic likenesses.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix I, Table A3.



they played a role in a series of dramatic set pieces. John the Baptist is the main subsidiary player in the story of Christ's birth and early ministry;<sup>80</sup> Peter, John the Theologian, and Thomas were all central figures in the drama of the passion;<sup>81</sup> Stephen was the center of the account of the first martyrdom in the Book of Acts;<sup>82</sup> and, apart from Peter, Philip was the sole disciple with an interesting role after the establishment of the Church.<sup>83</sup> Iconography amplified the position of these saints in Biblical narrative. John the Baptist, Peter, and Paul all sustained icon cycles of their miracles;<sup>84</sup> John the Theologian appeared in the iconography of evangelists, in the cycle of the Revelation, and in passion scenes;<sup>85</sup> and Thomas and Peter also appear in passion icons.<sup>86</sup> Thalia Gouma-Peterson's note that the iconography of John the Baptist is impossible to disentangle from that of Christ hints at what is going on here.<sup>87</sup> The prominence of the cults of these saints derived from their role in the Biblical drama.

*The Function of Saints: Wonderworking*

Sticking with iconographic evidence for the moment, we find that the other major cycles of saints' miracles belonged mainly to legendary saints -- Michael, Nicholas, George, Demetrios, and Katharine -- and emphasized their intercession and response to

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<sup>80</sup> Lk. 1:5-25; Mt.3:1-17.

<sup>81</sup> Mt. 26:33-75; Jn. 19:26-27; J. 20:24-30.

<sup>82</sup> Acts 6:5-8:2.

<sup>83</sup> Acts 8:5-39.

<sup>84</sup> Dionysius of Fournia, *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fournia*, trans. Paul Hetherington (London: Sagittarius Press, 1974), 65-67.

<sup>85</sup> Dionysius of Fournia, 46-50, 38-39, 53.

<sup>86</sup> Dionysius of Fournia, 38-40.

<sup>87</sup> Gouma-Peterson, "Narratives," 33.

prayers.<sup>88</sup> With several major saints, the main surviving hagiographic materials are accounts of their miracles,<sup>89</sup> and even where passion accounts or biographical *Lives* exist, in almost all cases the focus is on the miracles the saint performed while alive, and on the posthumous miracles performed for clients.<sup>90</sup> One of the commonest designations of saints, in *synaxaria* and in the *incipits* of *Lives*, is "wonderworker" (*thaumatourgos*). Apart from certain Biblical figures, it is these miracle-working saints who dominated the cult of saints, however measured, throughout the Byzantine period and after.<sup>91</sup> Even minor saints could acquire the title of wonderworker, and it was perhaps the main way in which new saints could be assimilated to the sanctity of established saints.

For most of Byzantine history, it is inescapable that the main cultic function of saints was as intercessors and miracle workers, not as exemplars. Many saints acquired a reputation for doing specific miracles: Kosmas and Damian belonged to the group of saints who "healed without money"; Nicholas (whose name means "the people's victor") helped children, unmarried women and sailors; Paraskeve healed eye diseases, and so forth (Table 3.2).<sup>92</sup> Saints whose *Lives* avoided the miraculous do not seem to have

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<sup>88</sup> Dionysius of Fourna, 65-70. Dionysius also lists Spyridon, and Antony of Egypt among his "principal saints." The prominence of Spyridon and Katharine reflects the late and post-Byzantine growth in their cults.

<sup>89</sup> For example Demetrios. See Paul Lemerle, ed., *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1979).

<sup>90</sup> The *Life* of Thomaïs, Appendix II, is quite typical in this respect.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Rowan Greer, *The Fear of Freedom: A Study of Miracles in the Roman Imperial Church* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 97-115, on the importance of miracle working in the stories of martyrs and early ascetics.

<sup>92</sup> Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1971), 462, notes that the iconography of Novgorod carried such saintly specialization to an extreme, but specialization was known throughout the Orthodox world.

**Table 3.2**  
**Saints' Roles as Wonderworkers**

Saint	Special Concern
Anastasia	Childbirth
Barbara	Lightning, miners
Blasios	Cattle, sore throats
Charalampos	Plague
Christopher	Travelers
David and Euphrosyne	Newlyweds
Eleutherios	Mothers in childbirth
Elijah	Rain
Floros and Lauros	Horses
George	Protects crops
Hermolaos	Healer
John the Merciful the Younger	Eye disease
Katharine	Unmarried women, philosophers
Kosmas and Damian	Healers
Kyros and John	Healers
Menas	Pilgrims, Merchants
Modestos of Jerusalem	Protects flocks from disease
Nicholas of Myra	Children, sailors, bachelors
Panteleemon	Invalids and cripples
Paraskeve	Eye disease
Parthenios	Sheep
Phanurios	Finds lost things
Phokas of Sinope	Sailors, Black Sea, Aegean
Spyridon	Sheep
Stylianos	Mothers in Childbirth
Symeon of Serbia	Barrenness
Thallelaios	Healer
Theodore Stratelates	Travelers, Healer, anti-demons
Theodore Trichanas	Healer
Thomas of Lesbos	Lust
Timothy of Euripos	Plague
Tryphon	Rats and insects
Zotikos	Leprosy
Xene the Foolish	Drunks

*Source: Saints' Prosopographical Database*

*Note: The table includes saints with significant cults in the Byzantine era and after. Such special concerns were not always consistent between different groups of believers.*

acquired significant cults.<sup>93</sup> The importance of wonderworking in the overall cult of saints may be seen in the shift in major saintly figures that occurred in the post-Byzantine era. The saints whose cults acquired major renown were precisely those whose promoters promised specific miraculous aid with the concerns of the rural Greek population -- Tryphon, Charalampos, and Modestos.

*The Function of Saints: Patrons*

Another major function of saints was as *patrons*. Any type of saint in the official typology might function as a patron, of a town, a church, a monastery, or even a guild (Table 3.3). Multiple types of document show that the patronal functions of saints were a major aspect of the public performance of sanctity.

Byzantine popular festivals usually centered around the feast of some patron. The saint could be the patron of a town or region, a patronage that was celebrated in a regular festival or *panegyris*.<sup>94</sup> These were raucous events and much condemned by official authorities, but were so popular that the Church had to assimilate them.<sup>95</sup> Inhabitants of particular towns came to regard "their" saint in the most possessive terms. The importance of patron saints extended beyond localities; saints could be patrons of civic

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<sup>93</sup> See for example Niketas Stethatos, *Un grand mystique byzantin: Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949-1022)*, ed. and trans. Irénée Hausherr & P. Gabriel Horn, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* Vol. 12, No. 48 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1928). Symeon was a major theological writer, and is much admired by modern scholars, but his *Life* avoids the miraculous, and there is scant evidence that he ever received a significant cult. Many saints, however, whose *Lives* did focus on the miraculous, also remained obscure. One cannot overcome the suspicion that chance, as well as deliberate promotion, played a role in which saints acquired significant cults.

<sup>94</sup> Vryonis, "Panegyris," 195-200, notes such events in Corfu (Spyridon), Thessalonika (Demetrios), Alexandria (Peter), Chonai (Michael), Seleucia (Thekla), Sinope (Phokas), Euchaïta (Theodore), Ephesus (John the Theologian), Myra (Nicholas), Trimunthis (Spyridon).

**Table 3.3**  
**Patron Saints**

Saint	Patronal Responsibility
Achilleios	Larissa
Andrew	Patras
Apostolos	Vcio
Barnabas	Cyprus
Chrysogonos	Zadar
Demetrios	Thessalonica
Dionysios of Aegina	Zante
Gerasimos	Kephalonia
Gregory the Illuminator	Armenia
Lawrence	Salamis
Mamas	Shepherds
Markella	Chios
Markion and Martyrios	Notaries
Matrona	Chios
Michael	Chonai
Nicholas	Myra
Nicholas of Buna	Seafaring
Plato	Ancyra
Porphyry	Comedians
Spyridon	Cyprus, Corfu
Theodosia	Chios
Theoktiste	Paros
Theotokos	Constantinople

*Source: Saints' Prosopographical Database*

*Note: The table includes saints with significant cults in the Byzantine era and after.*

groups such as guilds, where they also provided the excuse for public celebrations by workers.<sup>96</sup>

Religious foundations such as churches and monasteries were usually dedicated to a specific saint. With churches, we do not often have documentation about the motivations of the founders, but surviving monastic foundation documents make clear the intense expectation that the patron saint will offer special protection:

It is my wish that, after God, [these institutions] have as their protector and helper and patron our immaculate Lady, the Mother of God, and [St.] Michael, the great commander of the heavenly armies, and [St. John] the honorable Forerunner.<sup>97</sup>

This protection was often felt personally by the founders:

Therefore, I, the worthless and most lowly monk Neophytos, having come many years ago by God's mercy to tend and govern the most noble monastery of Docheiariou, which from the beginning was founded and has been honored out of faith in the all-venerable and divine name of the archangel Michael...But still, what I have accomplished by the help of God and the approval and collaboration of his commander of the heavenly armies [Michael] prevails in full and manifest public view.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Vryonis, "Panegyris," 210-24.

<sup>96</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Festival of the 'Agathe': Comments on the Life of Constantinopolitan Women," in *Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos* (Athens: 1986), Vol I, 121, repr. in Angeliki E. Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Brookfield VT: Variorum, 1992), III, 121, on festival held by the notaries guild around SS. Markianos and Martyrios.

<sup>97</sup> Michael Attaleiates, *Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople*, in *Typika*, 341.

<sup>98</sup> *Rule of Neophytos for the Monastery of St. Michael the Archangel of Docheiariou on Mount Athos*, in *Typika*, 1306-07. Compare, "I, Gregory, the above signed humble sinner, renounced the world and all things worldly from my earliest childhood and dedicated myself to the monastery of St. Philip, which was completely deserted and unknown, not then packed with crowds of monks as it is today. With the help of God, who provides for our salvation and foreknows what is to come, and through the intercession of the most holy Philip, I persevered in this place and fought hard to bring this obscure place to prominence." From *Testaments of Gregory for the Monastery of St. Philip of Fragala in Sicily*, in *Typika*, 628.

Even when a foundation document was largely copied from another monastery, founders took care to call on the patron. In the case of the Monastery of St. Mamas, for instance, the name of "our fervent patron and helper, the holy great martyr Mamas" was inserted throughout the text.<sup>99</sup>

In the personal statements preceding some of the foundation documents, there are indications that founders often saw the patronage of saints in personal as well as institutional terms. The Emperor Michael VIII claimed two patrons:

He rescued me a number of times through the ministry of the leader of the immaterial beings, Michael, whom, from God and after God, I have been fortunate to have as the vigilant guardian of my life in the midst of many dangers, many precarious and fearsome situations, some originating within [the empire] while others were due to external forces.<sup>100</sup>

And:

There are so many proofs of the great mercy of God to me, and I owe them to the supplications of all my holy patrons, but especially to those of my great defender, I mean Demetrios [whose body] exudes scented oil. As an ambassador he is always, I am certain, presenting my case to God. I know too that from long ago and up to the present God has sent him as a shield to protect my life and the empire, and I have no doubt that he bestows his own favor on me.<sup>101</sup>

Such personal relations with a patron saint seem to have been widespread. Among Byzantine era saints, for instance, Theodore of Sykeon adopted George of Lydda as his personal patron, and Cyril of Philea looked to St. Michael.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople*, in *Typika*, 991-1032.

<sup>100</sup> *Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon*, in *Typika*, 1215-16.

<sup>101</sup> *Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople*, in *Typika*, 1246.

<sup>102</sup> George, ho Eleusios, *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ed. and trans. André-Jean Festugière as *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 48 (Brussels: Société des

*Reputation as a saint*

In short, to the Byzantine believer, the sanctity of a saint was not a matter of the official type of saint, and certainly not a matter of historicity. The saints he or she would have thought of, if sanctity were ever considered in general terms, were the major saints that impacted on his or her religious life -- those biblical saints who played a role in the New Testament drama, and the legendary saints after whom churches were named and about whom tales were told. It is probable that on the street level the major local saints would simply have assumed their place alongside saints with widespread cults. The main activities of the saints involved first their roles as intercessors and miracle workers, and secondly their roles as institutional and personal patrons. Such a pattern is far from the theocentric conception of sainthood promoted by the official Church, but accords well with the sources we have on actual cults.

We cannot, and should not, dispense with official typologies in studying the cult of saints, but our understanding of how sanctity functioned in Byzantine society is enhanced by also considering typologies based on modern scholarship (Table 3.4). The cults of a relatively few major saints established this pattern of sanctity. To understand how sainthood functioned in Byzantium, it is to these figures that we need to refer, and not to obscure figures with one surviving *Life*.

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Bollandistes, 1970), and trans. Elizabeth A.S. Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, in *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford: 1948), 87-192; Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (+1110)*. Introduction, critical text and French translation by Etienne Sargologos, *Subsidia hagiographica* 39 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1964), ch. 18:1.



**Table 3.4**  
**Typologies of Sanctity Compared**

Liturgical Texts	Hagiographic Sources	Cult Extent	Saintly Activity	Iconographic Forms
Ancestors ( <i>propatores</i> ) Fathers Patriarchs, Prophets Apostles Preachers Evangelists Martyrs Confessors ( <i>homologetai</i> ) Ascetics ( <i>enkrateuteis</i> )	Martyr ( <i>megalomartyr</i> ) ( <i>hieromartyr</i> ) Apostle Confessor ( <i>homologetes</i> ) Wonderworker ( <i>thaumatourgos</i> ) <b>Old Testament</b> Lawgiver Arch-general Righteous ( <i>dikaios</i> ) Prophet <b>Orthodox Rulers</b> Most pious ( <i>eusebestatos</i> ) Honored ( <i>timios</i> )	Theotokos Biblical Major Saints Legendary Major Saints Local Major Saints Intellectual Saints Imperial Saints Mid-Level Saints Low-Level Saints	Biblical Role Wonderworker Intercessor Patron Local Patron	Monks Ascetics Soldiers Bishops Apostles Evangelists

*Source: Saints' Prosopographical Database: The Divine Liturgy of Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great* (Minneapolis MN: Cathedral of the Protection of the Virgin Mary, 1991); Henry Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 66-87.

*Note: "Liturgical Texts" and "Hagiographic Sources" indicate the typologies of sanctity found in Byzantine official Church documents. "Cult Extent" and "Saintly Activity" indicate the typologies suggested here, based on considerations of how the social function of the cult of saints. "Iconographic Forms" indicates the types of saintly images discussed in Henry Maguire, Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 66-87.*

## C New Saints and the Establishment of Cults

So far, we have seen that the cults of major saints established the parameters of the public cult of saints in Byzantium. The defining feature of the public cult was the saint's exercise of thaumaturgical power rather than the personal characteristics of the historical figure, who was often occluded by legend. For much of the Byzantine era, the roster of major saints was stable. New cults, however, did establish themselves during the period. There were both cults of new saints and new cults of old saints (Table 3.5),<sup>103</sup> another hint that the major issue was the public sanctity rather than the personal holiness of a new cult's focal figure. The process by which a new cult grew is significant within the overall theme of this study -- the effort to understand why women almost ceased to become saints. In examining how new cults arise, the aim here is not to be comprehensive, but to bring out the workings of social contentions and expectations of sanctity.

With some variation, the process of recognition of a new cult followed standard patterns in the middle and later Byzantine periods. There were great similarities between new cults of old saints and the cults of new saints. First, there was the initial manifestation of the saint's power. This could be the report of miracles at a tomb,<sup>104</sup> or

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<sup>103</sup> Although the history of sainthood is also usually addressed in terms of the types of cults of new saints in the West, the actual cult of saints has often been transformed more greatly by the onset, or massive expansion, of a cult centered on a old saint. Two of the most popular new Catholic cults of the nineteenth century were of this nature, those centered on Jude the Apostle as "patron of lost causes," and on Philomena, who later turned out to be an archeological mistake combined with romantic nineteenth-century fiction. On Philomena, see J.P. Kirsch, "St. Philomena," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: 1913), Vol. 12, 25. [<http://www.knight.org/advent/cathen/12025b.htm>].

<sup>104</sup> *Life of Luke of Steiris*, ed. and trans. Carolyn L. Connor and W. Robert Connor as *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Brookline

**Table 3.5**  
**New Cults of Old Saints**

Century Saint Lived	Saint	Date of New or Greatly Expanded Cult	Source
4	Menas	Mid 9 C	Walter, 306
4	Demetrios	Mid 9 C	Walter, 313
BCE	Elijah	9 C	Magdalino, 199
3	Agatha	late 10C	Janin, <i>EglisesCP</i> , 3, 6-7
4-5	Three Hierarchs	1087	
4	Euphemia	c. 1190	Majeska, <i>Travelers</i> , 320
1	Photeine	11-12 C.	Talbot, Photeine, 86
8	Theodosia	14 C.	Majeska, <i>Travelers</i> , 347-51

*Source: Janin, EglisesCP; Majeska, Travelers; Paul Magdalino, "St. Demetrios and Leo VI," Byzantinoslavica 51:2 (1990): 198-201; Alice Mary Talbot, "The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine," AnalBoll 112 (1994), 85-104; Christopher Walter, "The Origins of the Cult of Saint George," REB 53 (1995): 295-326.*

the miraculous "discovery" of new relics.<sup>105</sup> The saint then attracted some popular attention, and devotions and cures began at the physical focus of the cult. When the cult of a major saint spread, an icon might be a sufficient focus, but this was not an option for cults of new figures.<sup>106</sup> If a cult remained at this stage, which at least some did,<sup>107</sup> it would not prosper. In the cases that we have reports on, local clergy would at some point express an opinion and either try to suppress or promote the cult.<sup>108</sup> An icon of the saint

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MA: Hellenic College Press, 1994), ch. 66; Nicholas Kataskepenos, *Life of Cyril of Philea*, ch. 55; *Life of Mary the Younger*, *AASS* Novembris IV:692-705, trans. Angeliki Laiou, in *HWB*, ch.12; *Life of Theodora of Thessalonica*, trans. Alice-Mary Talbot in *HWB*, ch. 47; *Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos*, [in Appendix II,] ch.16; *Life of Romylos*, trans. Mark Bartusis, Khalifa Ben Nasser, and Angeliki E. Laiou, "Days and Deeds of a Hesychast Saint: A Translation of the Greek Life of St. Romylos," *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 9:1 (1982), ch. 24. Sometimes the manifestation would be through non-corruption of the saint's body and/or the odor of sanctity, but these phenomena are not uniformly reported, cf. *Life of Cyril of Philea*, 56:4; Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Oration on the Translation of the Relics of Our Holy Father Athanasios, Patriarch of Constantinople*, ed. and trans. Alice-Mary Talbot as *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1983), ch. 9; Niphon, *Life of Maximos Kausokalybites*, ed. François Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AnalBoll* 54 (1936): 42-65, repr. in François Halkin, *Saints moines d'Orient* (London: Variorum, 1973), XI, ch. 13.

<sup>105</sup> *Discovery of the Relics of The Holy Great Martyr Photeine and a Partial Account of Her Miracles*, trans. Alice-Mary Talbot, "The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine," *AnalBoll* 112 (1994), ch. 3; for Menas, see Walter, "Saint George," 306; for Euphemia of Chalcedon, Theodosia and Andrew in *Crisi*, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 320.

<sup>106</sup> *Life of Athanasia*, ed. François Halkin, "Vie de sainte Athanasie d'Egine," in *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 74 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1987), and trans. Lee Francis Sherry in *HWB*, ch. 6-9, contains within it an account of the saintly monk, Matthias, an early guide of Athanasia. Matthias was lost at sea, which leads the hagiographer to comment, "Thus we were deprived of his holy body and do not have in reliquaries his sacred and blessed remains, which would benefit us very much.." [*HWB*, 148.] Without the relics as a focus, Matthias could not acquire a cult.

<sup>107</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, notes Russian travelers' reports on cults at the tombs of "Kalia the Laywoman," [283] an otherwise unknown lay woman saint, and the equally obscure "Sabas the Cook" [286-87]. There must have been other cults that were not reported by any documentary source.

<sup>108</sup> *Life of Theodora of Thessalonica* 59; *Life of Mary the Younger* 12, 17; Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* 72-73.

would be made, often in miraculous circumstances.<sup>109</sup> At this point, the new cult acquired a textual life in a number of ways. Some saints merited a full-blown saint's *Life*, which in most cases guaranteed the cult would survive. A *Life* was not essential, as even without one a saint might enter local church calendars, or the calendar of the Great Church in Constantinople. Occasionally, however, as with Irene of Chrysobalanton and Andrew Salos, both of whom were probably fictional, the *Life* functioned as the main support of the cult.<sup>110</sup> The general pattern of the recognition of a cult is clear, but there was no uniformity and, for the vast majority of Byzantine saints, no defined "canonization" procedures.<sup>111</sup>

Official canonization procedures did develop in the thirteenth century, in the case of Patriarch Arsenios, and more convincingly in the fourteenth century in the case of Gregory Palamas.<sup>112</sup> Even today, each church within Orthodoxy canonizes whomever it chooses. Alice-Mary Talbot provides the best recent discussion of Byzantine

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<sup>109</sup> *Life of Theodora of Thessalonica* 54; *Life of Mary the Younger* 18; Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* 72.

<sup>110</sup> Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Life of Saint Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksall, Stockholm, 1986), xix; Nikephoros, *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, ed. and trans. Lennart Rydén, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksall, 1995), Vol. 1, 38-40.

<sup>111</sup> The pattern was understood as such by the Byzantines. The *Discovery of the Relics of The Holy Great Martyr Photeine* 3, describes in very brief order, the finding of the relics, the building of a church, and the promotion of a feast day. When Symeon the New Theologian sought to promote a cult of his spiritual father, discussed below, he knew exactly what actions he needed to do.

<sup>112</sup> The body of Patriarch Arsenios (d. 1273) was transferred (in 1284) to Hagia Sophia by imperial and patriarchal action, in what amounts to an early case of official canonization. His relics were venerated for a number of centuries but there is now no cult or commemoration of Arsenios in the Orthodox Church. See Ruth Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in Hackel, *Saint*, 73-79.

canonization.<sup>113</sup> She suggests that the centralized bureaucracy of the Church made little attempt to control local cults or the production of hagiography, and that even when official procedures were established popular veneration could still create a saint.<sup>114</sup> This was very different from the West, where the loose local system of promoting and approving saints soon gave way to centralized papal control.<sup>115</sup> Saint-promoting activity for a variety of motives by both lay and clerical individuals, families, and monasteries continued throughout Byzantine history. Unlike the later medieval West,<sup>116</sup> these

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<sup>113</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, "Introduction," in Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople*, 21-23. Cf. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood"; and Amilkas S. Alivizatos, "Ἡ ἀναγνώρισις τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ," *Theologia* 19 (1941-48), 18-52. I was unable to consult Caren Ferree Calendine, *The Recognition of Saints in the Middle Byzantine Church* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1998).

<sup>114</sup> Talbot, *Faith-Healing*, 23. The appreciation of a saint by people and clergy was called *anagnorisis* (literally "recognition"), whilst the later official procedure was called *anakeruxis* (literally "heralding"). Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood," 84-85, cites Patriarch Philotheos' *Tomos* of 1368 to make it clear that although by his time a synodal decree was required for a saint to be celebrated in the Great Church, central authorities still permitted and accepted local recognition and celebration of new cults.

<sup>115</sup> Local cults around martyrs and ascetics were not regulated centrally in early Christianity, and the majority of acknowledged saints have never been formally "canonized." In the Latin Church, the first recorded papal canonization was in 993 (St. Ulrich of Augsburg). Canonization was reserved to Rome in 1170, although this was probably not made effective until the Decretals of Gregory IX in 1234. It was not until the fourteenth century that regular procedures were adopted. The classical system (with Devil's Advocates etc.) was set up in 1588 and later reformed by Benedict XIV, who was personally interested in the issue. The system has recently been modernized. Only about 400 people have been canonized by the popes (the figures change as John Paul II has canonized more saints than any other pope in history). See Hippolyte Delehaye, *Sanctus: essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1927), chap. IV, "Le contrôle de l'Église"; Camillus Beccari, "Beatification and Canonization," in *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: 1913), Vol. 2, 364ff; and Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and Their Cult*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 199-201.

<sup>116</sup> The restriction of saint creation in the West to those with great political, ecclesiastical and financial resources has been analyzed in André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Bibliothèque des études françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 241 (Rome: Ecole

activities continued to reflect general cultural norms and expectations, precisely because the creation of saints was so loosely controlled.

The intersection between society and sainthood was not only a matter of how a new saint manifested holiness as a living person, but also a matter of who promoted the new cult, and what sort of social power the promoters accessed. This power determined why some cults succeeded and some failed: why some types of people ascended to sainthood and others did not.<sup>117</sup>

Who then could promote a cult? To begin, Byzantine emperors had the power to promote cults through their control of funds to build churches and monasteries. Most frequently, they exercised their power in favor of saints with existing cults,<sup>118</sup> above all the Theotokos, but emperors also acted to promote new cults. Basil I (867-886) began the expansion of the cult of the Prophet Elijah by building two churches,<sup>119</sup> and Leo VI (886-91) continued imperial promotion of the cult by extending Elijah's feast and preaching a homily about him.<sup>120</sup> The same emperor sought to create a new cult for his deceased wife

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Française de Rome, 1981), translated by Jean Birrell as *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>117</sup> See Evelyne Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir," in Hackel, *Saint*, 88-105.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Psellos' report of Constantine IX Monomachos' huge expenditure on a new church for St. George, *Chronographia*, 6: 185-87; and the efforts of various emperors on behalf of St. Demetrios, see Janin, *EglisesGC*, 367, and Magdalino, "St. Demetrios and Leo VI," 198-201.

<sup>119</sup> Janin, *EglisesCP*, 136-38.

<sup>120</sup> Magdalino, "St. Demetrios and Leo VI," 199. Leo VI was unusual among emperors in that he wrote and preached homilies, see Theodora Antonopoulou, "Homiletic Activity In Constantinople around 900," in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 317-23. Leo's homilies on saints' feasts all concerned older saints.

Theophano by building a church in her name.<sup>121</sup> Later John II Komnenos secured a place in the calendar, if little else, for his wife Irene by placing her body in his foundation, the Pantokrator monastery.<sup>122</sup> In a less direct way, emperors facilitated the cults of the founders of the monasteries they supported, for instance on Patmos and Athos.

Individuals with a particular devotion could also promote new cults. A few saints tried to promote themselves.<sup>123</sup> The commonest situation, however, was when a spiritual son advanced the cult of his spiritual father.<sup>124</sup> One of the best descriptions we have of an individual's motivations and methods in making a Byzantine saint comes in the *Life* of St. Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022). Symeon's spiritual father, also called Symeon, died after a lifetime of ascetic virtue:

Our blessed [Symeon], in his role as disciple, knew well [the deceased Symeon] his virtues and his wholly apostolic life. Now he was not a man to bury and forget the works of God and divine graces, but rather one to proclaim and celebrate them. Therefore, after a divine revelation, he composed in honor [of the deceased] some hymns and *enkomia* as well as a complete *Life*. Moreover, in order to arouse zealous imitators of the hero of these hymns for all years, conforming to the apostolic tradition, he celebrated his memory magnificently like those of all

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<sup>121</sup> Glanville Downey, "The Church of all Saints (Church of St. Theophano) Near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *DOP* 9/10 (1955/65), 301-5; George P. Majeska, "The Body of St. Theophano the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine," *Byzantinoslavica* 38 (1977), 14-21; and Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 295-98.

<sup>122</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 295-98, cf. 311. Irene was listed as a saint, but the connection between John II Komnenos' actions and her sanctification is complicated by the fact that it would have been normal for him to bury his wife in the Komnenian imperial mausoleum.

<sup>123</sup> Joseph Munitz, "Self-Canonisation: the 'Partial Account' of Nikephoros Blemmydes," in Hackel, *Saint*, 164-68; Catia Galatariou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>124</sup> Byzantine monks often sought spiritual guidance from an older monk who became their "spiritual father." See Tomas Spidlik, *The Spirituality of the Christian East: A Handbook* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980).



the other saints, and displayed, as a monument where one could read about his virtue, his image which he had had painted.<sup>125</sup>

Here we have a subject, the deceased Symeon, and an agent with a precise agenda, the living Symeon, with an inventory of known methods to achieve his goal. Despite his efforts to "canonize" his teacher, and his status as an abbot and prestigious figure in the Constantinople of his time, Symeon ultimately failed to do so in the face of opposition from a senior church official who managed to procure a condemnation of the cult by patriarchal authorities. Such intervention to prevent a cult seems to have been rare. Symeon's own pupil, Niketas Stethatos, was successful in advancing Symeon's memory. A century later, Nicholas Kataskepenos was responsible for the cult of Cyril of Philea. Describing his desire to see the body of Cyril, Kataskepenos opened the saint's tomb, found the body intact, and moved the coffin into a prominent place in the sanctuary of his monastery. Later, of course, he wrote an extended *Life of the Saint*.<sup>126</sup> This pattern of spiritual sons promoting their teachers persisted until the end of the empire.<sup>127</sup>

Some families also made efforts to establish a family member as a saint. The imperial promotion of relatives fits this pattern, but aristocrats such as the family of St. Philaretos (d. 792) could also try.<sup>128</sup> Jan Olof Rosenqvist has shown that the even more

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<sup>125</sup> Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Symeon the New Theologian*, ch. 72, pp. 98-99 [My translation].

<sup>126</sup> *Life of Cyril of Philea* 55:4.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. The *Life of Maximos Kausokalybites* by his student Niphon. This was a pattern, of course, that also served to reduce the number of female saints.

<sup>128</sup> Marie-France Auzépy, "De Philarète, de sa famille et de certains monastères de Constantinople," in *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance: textes, images et monuments*, ed. Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, Michel Kaplan and Jean-Pierre Sodini, *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 11 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993), 117-49.

modest Gouber family used the *Life* of Irene of Chrysobalanton in an attempt to promote themselves.<sup>129</sup> The effort was somewhat successful: although not a major saint, Irene was mentioned in ecclesiastical calendars as early as 1071, had her *Life* copied in a fifteenth-century manuscript and, curiously, in the twentieth century became the center of a cult in Athens and Queens, New York.<sup>130</sup> As with Symeon the New Theologian, families knew what they had to do. Alice-Mary Talbot has analyzed the methods used to support the cult of Theodora of Thessalonica: her tomb cult, the icon, and the *Life*.<sup>131</sup> Talbot also highlighted the special importance of family promotion in other cults of female saints in the period.<sup>132</sup>

The monastery was the most widespread vehicle of the prestige attached to holiness in Byzantium. In the cases above, emperors, individuals, and families all used monasticism as the most important non-literary method to promote a saint. When later medieval Russian pilgrims sought out the relics of saints in Constantinople, those cults functioned most visibly at monasteries in the vast majority of cases.<sup>133</sup> Our documentary indications of saints' cults also usually derive from monastic manuscripts. There is little

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<sup>129</sup> Rosenqvist, *Irene*, xxviii-xxix, and xxix-xliii.

<sup>130</sup> Rosenqvist, *Irene*, lxxiv-lxxvi; Donatella Lorch, "Queens Church Robbed of 'Weeping' Icon." *New York Times*, December 24, 1991, A1; Joseph P. Fried, "Faithful Pray For New Miracle To Aid Stolen 'Weeping' Icon." *New York Times*, December 25, 1991, A1.

<sup>131</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, "Family Cults in Byzantium: The Case of St. Theodora of Thessalonike." in *ΑΕΙΜΩΝ: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 6 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1996), 49-69.

<sup>132</sup> Talbot, "Family Cults," 63-68, on Theophano, Irene of Chrysobalanton, Mary the Younger, Theokleto, and Thomaïs of Lesbos. I am not, however, convinced that Thomaïs' cult was promoted by her family. Although her family is discussed, it is not named in the text.

<sup>133</sup> See Appendix I, Table A8: Relics in Constantinople (14th and 15th Centuries), based on Majeska, *Russian Travelers*.

surprise then in finding that monasteries promoted the cults of saints, especially the cults of founders.<sup>134</sup> Founders often contributed to their own later cults by their presence in the basic rule of the monastery, and they were presented to later generations of monks in texts and images. They alone earned the title "our holy Father."<sup>135</sup> Although there was nothing new about the practice in the Byzantine period,<sup>136</sup> monasteries often deliberately promoted a cult in order to attract pilgrims. Carolyn Connor, for instance, associated the promotion of the cult of Luke of Steiris with the prominence of tomb-based healing miracles in his *Life*.<sup>137</sup>

We may note in passing, that throughout the Byzantine period, compilers of calendars of saints, usually monks, were able to introduce tens, if not hundreds, of new "old saints" into liturgical commemoration by the simple expedient of taking a list of hitherto uncelebrated Palestinian holy men and women and adding one of them every few days.<sup>138</sup>

As we have seen, several power axes in Byzantium could generate a new cult, but if it were to last, it was important for the saint to enter ecclesiastical records. In this process, the work of the hagiographer was crucial. No fiction was written in Greek

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<sup>134</sup> Cf. Table 4.3. 44 of 118 (37%) monastic saints from the 9-15th centuries were monastic leaders of some sort.

<sup>135</sup> George Galavaris, "The Portraits of St. Athanasius of Athos," *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 5:1-2 (1978), 104; cf. Doula Mouriki, "The Portrait of Theodore Studites in Byzantine Art," *JÖB* 20 (1971), 249-280.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. David Olster, "George of Choziba," *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers* 15 (Amherst MA: Byzantine Studies Conference, 1989).

<sup>137</sup> Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and its Frescoes* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 93-95.

<sup>138</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, "Le synaxaire de Sirmond," *AnalBoll* 14 (1895), 420-21.

between the fourth and eleventh centuries.<sup>139</sup> and hagiography filled the gap, as witnessed by the immense number of surviving manuscripts. Unless Church authorities took immediate action to suppress a cult, as in the case of Symeon the New Theologian's spiritual father, simply being the subject of saint's *Life*, along with the authority of such a text, seems to have been enough for some new saints. In many cases, a saint's *Life* was the main factor in "canonization."<sup>140</sup> The character of the writers of such *Lives* has implications for understanding the ecclesiastical-secular division of Byzantine society, as well as for the gendered analysis of hagiography.

My prosopographical survey of hagiographers shows a high correlation between their social location and their subject matter.<sup>141</sup> Their most striking characteristics were along lines of gender and ecclesiastical status. Men overwhelmingly produced hagiographic literature of all types. The exceptions are minor: only two women are known for certain to have written saint's *Lives*: Sergia, who wrote an account of the translation of a female saint, Olympias (BHG 1376); and Theodora Raoulaina who composed a *Life* of the *Grapti* (BHG 1793).<sup>142</sup> We might add to these, four female

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<sup>139</sup> Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Pierre Joannou, "Vie de S. Germain l'Hagiorite par son contemporain le patriarche Philothée de Constantinople," *AnalBoll* 70 (1952), 41, who notes the effective "canonization" of a number of Athonite saints by Patriarch Philotheos "by writing their *Life*."

<sup>141</sup> See Appendix I, Table A5: Prosopography of Byzantine Hagiographers

<sup>142</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, "Introduction," in *HWB*, xiv; eadem, "Old Wine in New Bottles: the Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 20-21. The authorship of the very large number of anonymous *Lives*, however, remains open to dispute. Rosenqvist, *Irene*, xliii, put forward the possibility that the *Life* of Irene of Chrysobalanton was written by a woman, but this suggestion has not been widely accepted. Marie-France Auzépy, *La vie d'Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs,

hymnographers, although the crowd of male poets overshadowed them also.<sup>143</sup> It is not surprising then, that hagiographic literature reflects a perspective that privileges males and masculinity. When we look later at female sanctity in Byzantium, it will become clear that male attitudes to women are as much under inspection here as the reality of women's religious practice.

Only slightly less impressive than the gender imbalance was the dominance of hagiography by ecclesiastical writers (Table 3.6). Byzantium was, after all, a society with a considerable tradition of secular literature. It was only in the tenth century that lay hagiographers appeared,<sup>144</sup> and only in the fourteenth century that there was a significant

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3 (Brookfield VT: Variorum, 1997), 15, suggested another possible female author. Eva Catafygiotu Topping, "St. Matrona and Her Friends; Sisterhood in Byzantium," in *Kathegetria*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1988), 223-24, argued that the *Life* of Matrona of Perge was written by a nun in Matrona's monastery on the basis of the author's attitude to women, which she considered quite different from the usual misogyny. There are so few Byzantine women authors, that it is difficult to defend Topping's assumption that a positive attitude to women implies a woman author. Cyril Mango's curt dismissal of Topping's argument [in "Introduction" to the *Life* of Matrona of Perge, *HWB*, 14 n7], because the author uses masculine participles about himself on three occasions strikes me, however, as a reductionist philological positivism. The *Life* survives in one eleventh-century manuscript at an indeterminate remove from the original, and copyist error is quite possible. Andrew Dyck ["On Cassia *Kurie he en pollais*," *B* 56 (1986), 63-76.] has shown that the female hymnographer, Kassia, took a different position on the "sinful woman" than male writers. Despite Anna Komnena's use of the modesty *topos*, it is clear that she also was considerably more interested in her female family members and their motives than male historians. Given Mango's positivism on the use of male participles, it is notable that he questions [*HWB*, 15] the quite clear internal evidence [*Life* of Matrona, 50, *HWB*, 62] that the *Life* as we have it was based on earlier written records by the nun Eulogia, whether or not the final author was female. In short, Topping has real grounds for hearing a woman's voice in the *Life*, and her article stands as a stimulating introduction.

<sup>143</sup> Eva Catafygiotu Topping, "Women Hymnographers of Byzantium," in *Holy Mothers of Orthodoxy* (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1987), 83-94.

<sup>144</sup> In addition to those listed in Appendix I, Table A5, lay hagiographers include Niketas Magistros, author of the *Life* of Theoktiste of Lesbos, the author of the *Life* of Basil the Younger, and the author of the *Life* of Theophano. Cf. Stephanos Efthymiadis, "The Byzantine Hagiographer and His Audience in the Ninth and Tenth centuries," in *Metaphrasis: Redactions*

**Table 3.6**  
**Ecclesiastical Status of Hagiographers**

Cent.	Hagiographers	Bishops	Monks	Total Clergy	Lay
4	9	7	5	9	0
5	9	8	2	9	0
6	4	0	3	4	0
7	5	3	3	5	0
8	5	2	3	4	0
9	11	4	8	11	0
10	10	4	3	6	2
11	7	2	6	6	1 (2)
12	7	3	3	6	1 (2)
13	7	3	4	6	1
14	19	8	15	15	4 (6)
15	9	5	5	8	1 (2)

*Source: Table A5: BHG: Hagiographers' Prosopographical Database*

*Note: Figures are not exclusive -- a hagiographer might be both a bishop and a monk. The second, higher, "lay" figure includes lay writers (such as Psellos) who were monks for a time.*

number. Lay writers seem to have had different concerns than monks and bishops. Michael Psellos in the eleventh century avoided the modesty *topos*, for example, and clearly wrote with an eye on rhetoric.<sup>145</sup> The group of Palaiologan lay hagiographers tended to rewrite the *Lives* of earlier saints rather than compose texts about new saints, a task and preference of ecclesiastical writers.<sup>146</sup> Monks, however, wrote most saints' *Lives*, and of these, a very high proportion were either abbots or other monastic leaders. Bishops, many of them monastic, also figured prominently among the writers. Hagiographers often wrote *Lives* because of some personal interest.<sup>147</sup> It is probable that the high percentage of monks among the new saints in any period reflected the monastic affiliation of most hagiographers.

Hagiographers then, played an important but not exclusive role in promoting new cults. The examples of cult-promotion examined here throw light on the nature of sainthood and sanctity in Byzantium. We have seen examples of failed attempts to create new saints, as well as many successful efforts to establish both new saints and new cults. Although official action did not succeed in giving Patriarch Arsenios a permanent place

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*and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. Christian Høgel (Oslo: The Research Council of Norway, 1996), 59-80.

<sup>145</sup> Elizabeth A. Fisher, "Michael Psellos on the Rhetoric of Hagiography and the *Life of St. Auxentius*," *BMGS* 17 (1993), 43-55. Psellos was a monk for a period, but he must surely be counted as a secular writer.

<sup>146</sup> Talbot, "Old Wine," 17. For literary reasons, authors were much keener on writing about early martyrs and ascetics than recent saints. The fantastic accounts of the struggles and mortifications of early Christians seem to have proved more attractive to authors and readers than the more mundane lives of recent saints. This preference for older and mythical saints can also be seen in Byzantine art, where subjects tended to be the same figures – George, Demetrios, etc. – as in the literature. See Gouma-Peterson, "Narratives," 33.

among the celebrated saints, and the efforts of a prestigious holy man such as Symeon the New Theologian did not obtain a cult for his spiritual father, the Gouber family was able to secure a cult for its candidate, Irene.

The interests of families, the emperor, monastic houses, and local clergy might all figure in the struggle to establish a new cult. Sometimes there were open conflicts between central and local power, official and charismatic conceptions of sanctity, and between cultic and documentary saint-making activities. The majority of new cults, however, point to the social location of most cult-promoting authority -- that of monastic hagiographers, *synaxarion* compilers, and poets, to press their preferences. Here there might be hints of a conflict between lay and monastic ideals. Few of the new saints promoted by monks acquired large cults among a lay population that was less impressed with feats of asceticism, and more swayed by the thaumaturgy of the major legendary saints.

For new women saints, the effect of the reliance of sainthood on hagiography had a number of consequences. Most new hagiography focused on the rewriting of the *Lives* of early Christian martyrs and ascetics, which, even when minor ancient saints were the subject, reinforced the norms established by the dominant cults of major saints. Again, we see that the paradigms of sanctity established in late antiquity took on a permanent cultural and religious significance. Literature on new saints, meanwhile, reflected the interests of monks who wrote the *Lives*, *synaxarion* entries, and homilies. Women, with

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<sup>147</sup> See Appendix I, Table A5, for those who wrote about saints with whom they had some local connection, or about saints they knew personally. Cf. Talbot, "Old Wine," 23-25, on personal motivations.



minor exceptions. lacked power over this documentary aspect of saint promotion. While not a major reason for the decline in numbers of women new saints, the absence of women writers may have played a role.

In promoting and accepting new saints' cults, the Byzantines showed openness to new manifestations of sanctity, at least at the local level. This acceptance was often a reflection of new needs, although such needs might be nothing more than the welcoming of a new local cult center. For the most, however, their roster of saints was full.<sup>148</sup> The cults of new saints were formulaic and fitted in with the overall pattern set by the major saints.

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There was a "Byzantine period" in the history of sanctity from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries during which a small group of ten or so saints dominated the public cult of saints. It was the attributes of these saints -- intercessory power, giving of protection, healing of diseases -- that determined what was meant by a saint in Byzantine society. Saints with less widespread cults, who could be ancient saints whose cults had been maintained at a local shrine, newly promoted ancient figures, or new Byzantine era saints, likewise fitted into this dominant model of sanctity. For all saints it was their cultic and miraculous powers that constituted their sanctity, although one cannot discount personal holiness as a reason for the beginning of new cults. Saints who did not have this cultic role simply did not develop any cult at all. Thousands of names of saints are listed

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<sup>148</sup> Other Orthodox societies such as Serbia, Bulgaria, and *Rus*, which emerged during the middle and later Byzantine periods, saw in the same period the recognition of some of their most important saints.

in collations, but only a few hundred show up in surveys of church dedications, seals, relics, historiography and in documents that actually discuss the saints rather than merely add them to lists. Notably, leaving aside the Theotokos, the dominant Byzantine era saints were all male (a change from late antiquity), although there were women saints with less extensive cults. In the next two chapters we consider this masculinity of sainthood for, although new women saints virtually ceased to be recognized after the eleventh century, the erasure of femininity in Byzantine models of sanctity was long-standing affair.

## CHAPTER IV

### SANCTITY AND GENDER: AN OVERVIEW

Discussion in the previous chapter focused on the ways in which sanctity functioned in Byzantine society. Both in terms of the dominant cults and in terms of the creation of new saints, male figures predominated. It is the central contention of this chapter that the male dominance in the cult of saints was not accidental, but reflected essential aspects of Byzantine constructions of sanctity. In other words *gender*, understood here as the social meaning given to sexual difference, and *sanctity*, understood as the individual expression of a society's conception of holiness, are not discrete phenomena with an incidental association, but are both based on social understandings of the *body*. Recognizing that sanctity and gender are intertwined is crucial when we assess the attempt to promote female married saints in the ninth to eleventh centuries, and to understanding the subsequent demise of female neo-saints, the focus of Chapter VI.

One way to interpret the data on gender and sanctity is to propose that sainthood itself was masculine and that female saints were simply masculinized.<sup>1</sup> This would be

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<sup>1</sup> A comparison might be the office of "Emperor." Although there were many powerful Byzantine imperial women, the emperor was always a man. The most important exception was the reign of Irene (797-802). Coins issued and legal documents in her reign, however, named her as *Basileus*, not *Basilissa*. See Ostrogorsky, *ByzState* 181. Compare the Empress Wu Chao in China, the sole woman to rule there in her own right, who reigned as Emperor Tse-T'ien (r. 683-705), and claimed to be an incarnation of the (male) bodhisattva Maitreya (Mi-lo-fo). See Jacques Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization*, trans. J.R. Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 256-58. Compare also the Egyptian queen, Hatshepsut, who ruled as *pharaoh* and was portrayed in art with male attributes of power and with breasts. See Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, rev. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 183 and fig. 110; and Gay

too simple an explanation. Gender issues are as important in understanding male as female sanctity: as we shall see, male saints might be "feminized," or at least removed from secular masculine roles, and gendered discourse is as prominent in the sources on male saints as it is on female. What is clear is that the aspect of gender in male saints' sanctity unrolls quite differently than for women saints.

The issues require careful handling, and in this chapter I approach them from a number of angles. To ground the discussion, I attempt to establish a gender-oriented statistical picture of the overall numbers of saints and types of saints over time. I then examine the function of the saint's body as the foundation upon which narratives of male and female sanctity were built. Finally I address the question of whether the gender of the saint, or the saint's clients, played any role in the practices of the cult.

Quite apart from considerations of the body -- the emphasis here -- the interplay of gender and sanctity, or even of gender and divinity, is complicated in a number of religions by conflicting notions that God, or the saint, is both powerful and compassionate.<sup>2</sup> In most, if not all, societies, men wield public power and hence images

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Robins, "The God's Wife of Amun in 18th Dynasty Egypt," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that the saints are gods, merely that, on a phenomenological basis, a God, gods, and saints all may share attributes of power and compassion. It is rare for specialists in Byzantine history to take cross-cultural and anthropological data into account in explaining events within the culture, but conflicts over gender in the area of sanctity and holiness are not limited to Orthodox Christianity. Sharing Judaic roots, Islam is perhaps the closest religion to Christianity. Although some women close to Muhammad seem to have exercised real power, women in traditional Islam rapidly became even more marginalized than in Christianity. The exception was within Sufism, the most religiously open aspect of Islam. One of the most renowned Sufi saints (*walī*) was Rab'ia al-'Adawiyya of Basra (d.801). In the accounts of her life it is striking that she was said to have a "man's soul in a woman's body." [Widad El Sakkakini. *First among Sufis: The Life and Thought of Rabia al-Adawiyya, the Woman Saint of Basra* (London: Octagon Press, 1982); Margaret Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic & Her Fellow-saints in*

of powerful divinity are frequently masculine. This was certainly the case in the Jewish, Roman, and Hellenic societies that form the background to Byzantium. On the other hand, in personal and family life, mothers commonly wield actual power. The private power of females is mediated in personal contact and can be seen as loving and open to appeal, while rules and law sustain the public power of males.<sup>3</sup> Even in the Jewish Scriptures, where God is presented exclusively in male metaphors, a number of maternal similes are used with reference to God,<sup>4</sup> a mode also used in some of the sayings attributed to Jesus.<sup>5</sup> This model of powerful male (father) and compassionate female (mother) is only one of many human dichotomies that may be ordered around gender. dichotomies that vary from society to society. Other tropes about divine figures that may be gendered included distinctions between the lover and the beloved, and between

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*Islam : Being the Life and Teachings of Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya Al-Qaysiyya of Basra together with Some Account of the Place of the Women Saints in Islam*, with a new introduction by Annemarie Schimmel (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1984, first. ed. 1928.) Within Shi'ism, Muhammad's daughter Fatima elicits special devotion as a mother, but is also referred to "virgin" (*batul*) [Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 236]. In Mahayana Buddhism, analogous to Christianity as a religion in which divine aid is sought, a conflict over gender is evident when the vows take by some bodhisattvas include helping women be reborn as men as a necessary step to enlightenment [Raoul Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha* (Boulder: Shambala, 1979), 62, 179], and yet the Bodhisattva of Compassion (Avalokitesvara/Kuan yin), the most popular bodhisattva of all, is most commonly portrayed as a female divinity [Rita M. Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism* (Albany; State University of New York Press, 1993), 75-76; Diana Paul, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahayana Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 165-211].

<sup>3</sup> Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?," in *Women, Culture and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), esp. 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> Is. 42:14 compares God to woman in labor: Is. 49:15 compares God's compassion to a mother's: Ps 22:1, 9-10 compares God to a midwife. Not all maternal images are compassionate; Hos. 13:8 compares God's fury to a mother bear's. See Elizabeth Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), esp. 100-103.

<sup>5</sup> Jesus refers to himself as a mother hen in Mt 23:37, Lk 13:34.

creation as power and creation as fruitfulness. For a believer, a relationship with a divine figure necessarily involves journeys near the limits of gender. Indeed this may be part of the power of religion.

To illustrate the ways in which gender and sanctity intersect, it is worth noting that the figure of Christ was not immune to the gender conflicts raised when his role as mediator clashed with his role as judge and lawgiver. It is now well-known that for a period in the western middle ages Christ was often typified by female metaphors and even pictured in feminine form.<sup>6</sup> This was also the case in early Byzantine art. In an important chapter in his recent reinterpretation of the origins of Christian art, Thomas Mathews explores the distinctly feminine figures of Christ found over a wide area from the fourth to sixth centuries.<sup>7</sup> In some cases, Christ is represented with long hair, pronounced breasts, and a soft naked body even as other male figures are presented in conventional masculine terms. Mathews argues that there are multiple reasons for this imagery: use of imagery of male pagan gods, which often had feminine aspects; the attribution of fruitfulness to Christ; and the discussion in both Gnostic and orthodox writers of the polymorphous nature of Christ, who appeared to a spectator "as it was requisite for him to behold."<sup>8</sup> Later images of Christ in Byzantine art emphasized more masculine aspects of

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<sup>6</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, "Jesus as Mother and the Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing," in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 110-69; eadem, "'...And Woman in his Humanity': Female Imagery in Writing of the Later Middle Ages," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991), 151-79.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), Chapter 5, "Christ Chameleon."

<sup>8</sup> Mathews, 135-8. The quotation is from Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VI: 77.

Christ's image; for instance, his image as ruler of the Universe (*Pantokrator*) usually presented him as unambiguously male by portraying him with a beard. Even with the central cult figure of Christian worship, holiness was a concept that played at the edge of the culture's gender boundaries.

#### **A Male and Female Saints: Statistical Overview**

Two distinct methods allow investigation of the interrelationship of gender and sanctity among Byzantine saints. One is statistical and looks at the overall types of people recognized in the Byzantine sources as saints. The second concentrates on the gendering of central figures of the major cults. The data analyzed below allow a time sequencing of the gender and types of new saints in Byzantine Christianity. But, in light of the insistence in Chapter II that the "field of sanctity" in Byzantium was defined by the cults of a relatively few major saints, it is worth asking what is the point of an analysis, in the Weinstein and Bell manner,<sup>9</sup> of the community of Byzantine saints as a whole? There are a number of reasons for doing so. The first is that while the cults of the major saints may be seen as producing the social norms of sanctity, the mass of smaller cults, maintained via local churches, small numbers of *Lives*, *enkomia* and hymns, may be seen as evidence of the replication and maintenance of that culture. The aggregate evidence from many cults shows how gender and sanctity meshed in practice: the evidence from particular large cults is about the producers of sanctity as a cultural phenomenon.

Second, both the aggregate evidence and the evidence from the major cults lead to similar

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<sup>9</sup> Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). See Chapter II for discussion of their approach.

conclusions about sanctity and gender. Finally, since the cults of the major saints were for the most part cults of male saints, in order to understand how ideas of gender and sanctity apply to women, we need to look at cults which were quite small in order to make significant comparisons. In sum, both avenues are worth pursuing to understand the interplay of sanctity and gender.

Comparison of total figures for those saints who can be assigned to a specific century reveals compelling insights into the effects of gendered patterns of sanctity on the creation of new saints, apparently for the entire duration of Greek Christianity.

The most obvious impact of the figures (Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1) is to locate a distinct series of waves in the creation of new saints. It is true that the data on many early saints derive from much later manuscripts, and also true that, as discussed in Chapter III, "new" cults of much older saints often arose. Nevertheless, the very large figures of "new" saints in the first four centuries, and the much lower figures from later centuries seem reliable.<sup>10</sup> Greek Christianity produced its greatest number of saints, as might be expected, during periods of religious creativity and conflict. The first four centuries saw the creation of the Christian Church both in its geographical extension and the evolution of its theology and institutions. Even apart from martyrdoms, such a period produced figures who called for memorial. Another burst of saints occurred during the high days of

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<sup>10</sup> The later the saint, the more likely it is that manuscripts which mention the saint are contemporary. In other words, the figures in the first part of Table 4.1 are so extreme that relatively minor adjustments would not affect their import, while figures for later centuries, when margins are narrower, are based on better preservation of manuscript material. Thus the weaker manuscript base for the earlier centuries does not affect the reliability of the conclusions of this study, since these are also the centuries where the statistical gender differences were most pronounced.



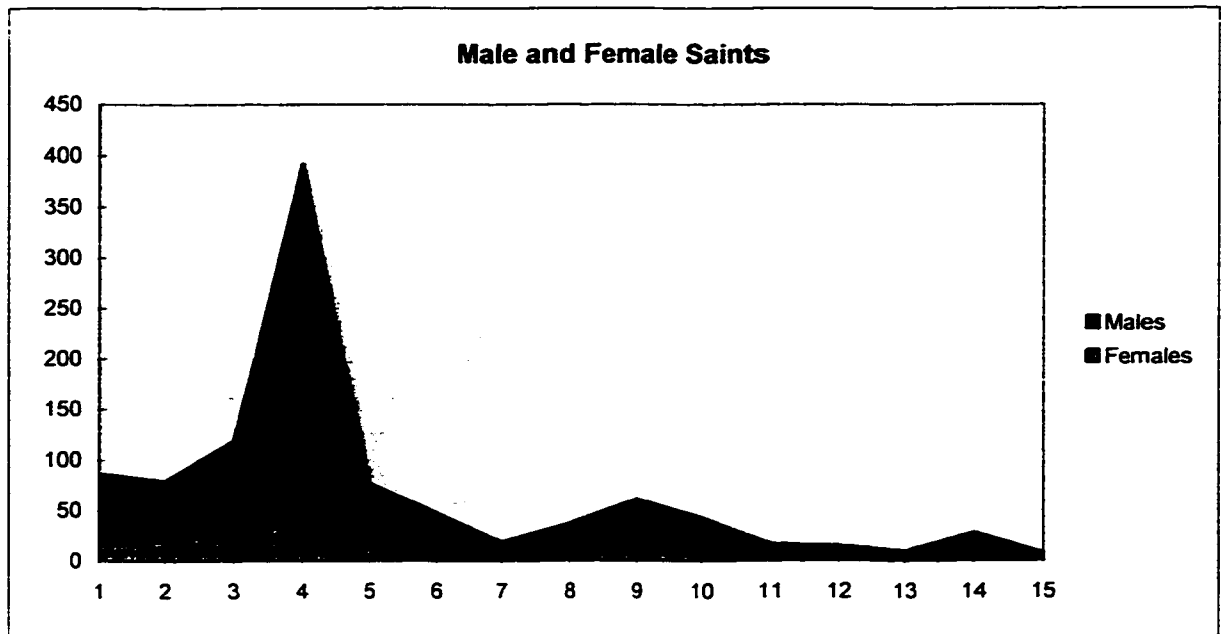
**Table 4.1**  
**Proportions of Males and Females among Byzantine Saints**

Cent.	Total No.	Males		Females		% of all 1-15th cent. Saints		
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	All	Males	Females
1	87	71	81.6	16	18.4	8.4	8.4	8.2
2	79	59	74.7	20	25.3	7.6	7.0	10.3
3	118	90	76.3	28	23.7	11.4	10.7	14.4
4	393	309	78.6	84	21.5	37.8	36.6	43.1
(1-4)	677	529	78.1	148	21.9	65.2	62.7	75.9
5	77	64	83.1	13	16.9	7.4	7.6	6.7
6	47	37	78.7	10	21.3	4.5	4.4	5.1
7	19	18	94.7	1	5.3	1.8	2.1	0.5
8	37	32	86.5	5	13.5	3.6	3.8	2.6
9	61	53	86.9	8	13.1	5.9	6.3	4.1
10	43	37	86.1	6	14.0	4.1	4.4	3.1
11	17	16	94.1	1	5.9	1.6	1.9	0.5
12	15	14	93.3	1	6.7	1.4	1.7	0.5
13	10	9	90.0	1	10.0	1.0	1.1	0.5
14	28	27	96.4	1	3.6	2.7	3.2	0.5
15	8	8	100.0	0	0.0	0.8	1.0	0.0
	1039	844	81.2	195	18.8	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source: Saint's Prosopographical Database: BHG*

*Note: The last three columns calculate the proportion of each category of saints for a particular century as a percentage named and datable saints between the first and fifteenth century.*

**Figure 4.1**  
**Numbers of Male and Female Saints (1st-15th Centuries)**



*Source:* Table 4.1

Byzantine imperialism, from the eighth to early eleventh centuries, a group associated with the debates over Iconoclasm and the upsurge in cenobitic monasticism. A final spike in the fourteenth century reflected the period of Hesychast spiritual creativity.

This survey also reveals that saints were always overwhelmingly male. Women accounted for about 22 percent of new saints dating from the first four centuries. This proportion declined to an average of 17 percent between the fifth and tenth centuries, with percentages in later centuries deriving from single female examples.<sup>11</sup> The population of saints was not thus merely masculine, but became more so as time progressed. Women saints echoed, although in an increasingly shallow fashion, the rhythms of new saint creation of male saints for the first thousand years, but by the fourteenth century that echo was gone.

Towards the end of the Byzantine period, and until the nineteenth century, martyrdom again provided a significant number of new saints for Greek Christians (Table 4.2). These post-Byzantine martyrdoms represent an entirely new period in the history of sainthood, and the accounts of the martyrs' passions even created new *topoi*.<sup>12</sup> Some long-standing trends in saint creation were reversed by the neo-martyr phenomenon,

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<sup>11</sup> Proportions are not much changed if data on the saints for whom dates cannot be assigned are included. Of 120 such figures, only 16 (13.3%) were women.

<sup>12</sup> The context of the neo-martyrdoms was the Turkish domination of the Christian world. This led to new *topoi* such as the "accidental profession of Islam." Repeatedly a saint would engage in conversation with a Muslim and utter the Muslim creed, "There is one God and Muhammad is his Prophet," to make a point, whereupon the saint would be forced to become a Muslim. Some were martyred at this point when they refused Islam. The other major *topos* concerns Christian-born individuals who have long converted to Islam, but revert to Christianity and accept death for doing so. Although, in comparison with many Western countries, the Ottoman Turks were remarkably tolerant of other religions, these *topoi* reflect the circumstances of post-Byzantine Greek Christians and a genuinely new application of the ancient idea of martyrdom.

**Table 4.2**  
**Proportions of Men and Women among Post-Byzantine Greek Saints**

Cent.	Total	Males		Male Martyrs	Monks		Bishops		Females		Female Martyrs
	No.	No.	(%)	No.	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.
16	45	43	96	43	28	62	9	20	2	5	2
17	52	51	98	51	14	27	9	17	1	2	1
18	72	69	96	69	17	24	6	8	3	4	3
19	<u>64</u>	<u>61</u>	95	<u>61</u>	<u>18</u>	28	<u>1</u>	2	<u>3</u>	5	<u>2</u>
Total	233	224	96	224	77	33	25	11	9	4	9

*Source: Saints' Prosopographical Database*

*Note:* The data summarized in this table are drawn from disparate lists of post-Byzantine Greek saints. There is not one "neutral" cohort, such as that provided for other tables by BHG. The figures here are necessarily provisional, although the heavy emphasis on both male saints and on neo-martyrs is certain.

especially the monasticization of sainthood. Whereas 70 percent or more of later Byzantine saints were monks or bishops (Table 4.3), a substantial majority of neo-martyrs were Greek laymen. This reversal of trends did not apply to gender, however. While martyrs in early Christianity had been mostly male, up to 25 percent had been female. But in the post-Byzantine era of neo-martyrs, women did not regain their former place. A few Greek women were celebrated as martyrs or neo-saints,<sup>13</sup> but this did not top 5 percent in any century. The long-standing masculinization of sainthood was unchallenged.

Examination of patterns of types of saint gives some indication of how and why this masculinization was happening, and to these we now turn. Although there are a number of liturgical categories of male saint, two types predominate numerically. On the one hand there are martyrs, and on the other ascetic or monastic saints. There was a clear transition in the fourth century from martyrs as the most common type of new saint to ascetics.

Martyrdom was by far the easiest way for Christian communities to locate extraordinary holiness, but it is contingent on some oppressive authority. Once the Church triumphed under Constantine I, martyrdom virtually ceased to be a way to sanctity for any Greek Christian. The only major exception was under the Iconoclast emperors.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Efthalia Makris Walsh, "The Women Martyrs of Nikodemus Hagiorites' *Neon Martyrologion*," *GOTR* 36:1 (1991), 71-91.

<sup>14</sup> A few martyrs in foreign lands crept into the calendar in other centuries. The seven martyrs noted in the fourteenth century include three Russians who happened to have a Greek text written about them (BHG NA 2035) and hence the figures are slightly inflated. There were also a large number of other Russian martyrs in the middle ages, celebrated still in Russian Orthodoxy, and including numerous women, but none of these were apparently commemorated

**Table 4.3**  
**Types of Male Saints by Century**

Cent.	Total No.	Martyrs		Monastic		Monastic Leader		Bishop		Other No.
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	
1	71	51	72	2	3	0	0	19	27	9
2	59	58	98	0	0	0	0	7	12	1
3	90	85	94	2	2	0	0	12	13	2
4	309	236	76	45	15	7	13	57	18	4
5	64	8	13	43	67	9	21	11	17	5
6	37	3	8	23	62	6	26	11	30	3
7	18	3	17	10	56	3	30	8	44	1
8	32	11	34	11	34	1	8	11	34	4
9	53	1	2	34	64	17	50	17	32	7
10	37	0	0	28	76	7	25	8	22	4
11	16	2	13	14	88	6	43	0	0	0
12	14	1	7	8	57	5	63	6	43	0
13	9	1	11	6	67	3	50	0	0	1
14	27	7	26	16	59	4	25	6	22	0
15	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	25	<u>6</u>	75	<u>2</u>	33	<u>1</u>	13	0
	844	469	56	248	29	70		174	21	

*Source: Saints' Prosopographical Database*

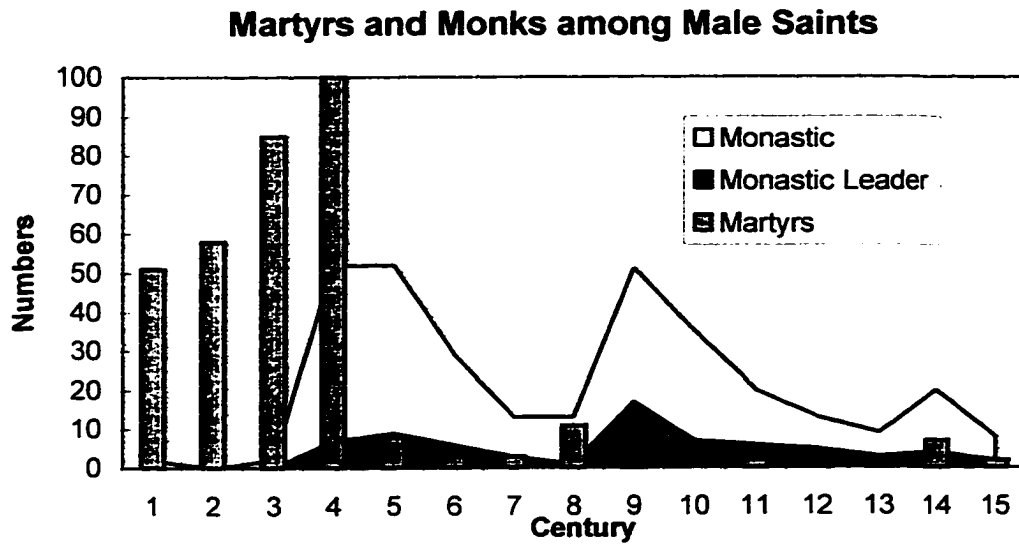
*Notes:*

Columns are not exclusive. An individual saint may be a martyr, a monk and a bishop. Percentages derive from total number of male saints for each century, except that "Monastic Leader" percentages indicate the percentage of monastic saints who were leaders.

*Monastic Leader* indicates those saints who either founded a monastery or were abbots of a monastery. This is a subgroup of "Monastic."

*Bishop* includes apostles in the first century.

Figure 4.2  
Types of Male Saints: Martyrs and Monks



Source: Table 4.3

Note: The absolute figure for martyrs in the fourth century is 236, which is only rendered in part on the chart in order to maintain perspective for other data.

Whether because of the extremity or the clarity of their sainthood, martyrs retained a distinct normative status as "saints."

During the Byzantine period, ascetics dominated the roster of new male saints (Table 4.3). There were various ways of leading an ascetic life, and perhaps a shift over time from individual feats of asceticism such as stylitism, to more communal styles. Examination of the *Lives* of later monastic saints, however, shows that just being a monk was never enough to merit enrollment as a saint. New monastic saints were always notable for special feats of asceticism and wonderworking in ways not unlike the earlier examples.

Intellectual or literary effort used for religious reasons was also a significant path to sainthood.<sup>15</sup> Although the majority of such figures were monks or bishops at one time or another, their reputation and fame rested on their writing.

It was sainted bishops, however, who followed the most sustained alternate route to sainthood. Many of these bishops were also martyrs, which always accounted for their sainthood, and some were also monks (Table 4.4).<sup>16</sup> Most bishops were not recognized

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among Greek Christians. The almost hermetic seal between the roster of Slavic saints and Greek saints, despite communion between the churches, is a yet unexplained phenomenon.

<sup>15</sup> The following eighteen saints seem to have acquired a saintly reputation primarily because of their writings: *4th Century*: Ambrose, Epiphanius, Basil, Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos, Ephrem of Syria; *5th Century*: John Chrysostom; *6th Century*: Romanos Melodos; *7th Century*: Maximos the Confessor; *8th Century*: John of Damascus, Kosmas Hymnographos; *9th Century*: Theodore of Stoudion, Joseph Hymnographos; *10th Century*: Symeon Metaphrastes; *11th Century*: Symeon the New Theologian; *14th Century*: Gregory Palamas; *15th Century*: Mark Eugenikos.

<sup>16</sup> Entering a monastery, however, might merely be the capstone of an illustrious episcopal career, and was less likely than martyrdom to account for saintly status.



**Table 4.4**  
**Bishops as Saints**

Cent.	Bishops (Total)	Bishops (Martyrs)	Bishops (Monks)
1	19	15	0
2	7	6	0
3	12	10	0
4	57	24	2
5	11	0	3
6	11	0	3
7	8	1	3
8	11	0	2
9	17	1	6
10	8	0	4
11	0	0	0
12	6	0	2
13	0	0	0
14	6	0	2
15	1	0	1

*Source: Saints' Prosopographical Database*

*Note:* Bishops in particular were often also martyrs or monastics. Episcopal status alone was rarely enough to secure sainthood. Bishops who did become saints were also, overwhelmingly, from major sees.

as saints, of course. but as leaders of the Christian community, so special holiness on the part of a bishop was more likely to be noticed than that of less public figures.<sup>17</sup>

Visibility may also be a factor in one notable aspect of monastic sainthood -- the relatively high number of monastic leaders among monastic saints. In the fourth century, when owing to the efforts of writers such as Palladios and Theodoret a number of otherwise unknown individual monks acquired some minor fame.<sup>18</sup> monastic leaders amount to only 13 percent of monastic saints. In all later centuries, however, with the exception of the eighth,<sup>19</sup> at least a quarter (and much more in some periods) of monastic saints were either abbots or founders of monasteries, or both.

The relative proportions of monks/non-monks, bishops, and monastic leaders varied over the centuries. In general, monastic saints very slightly increase their predominance from 65 percent of fifth- to ninth-century saints to 75 percent of tenth- to fifteenth-century saints. Among monastic saints, and over the same periods, the percentage of leaders rose from 29 to 34 percent. These figures become more significant when we note the decline in the percentage of episcopal saints from 31 to 19 percent

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<sup>17</sup> Within the domain of sainted bishops, the major sees predominate: of the 81 names in the BHG cohort from the fifth to fifteenth century, 20 are of patriarchs of one of the major sees.

<sup>18</sup> Cyril, of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, edited as *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, by Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1939), trans. by R.M. Price (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991); Palladios, Bishop of Aspsua. *Lausiaca History*, ed. Cuthbert Butler, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898-1904, reprinted, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), translated by Robert T. Meyer (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965); Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrhus, *Religious History*, edited and translated into French as *Histoire des moines de Syrie: Histoire Philothée* by Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen, Sources chrétiennes 234, 257 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1977-1979), trans. into English as *A History of the Monks of Syria*, by R.M. Price (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985).

<sup>19</sup> The eighth century was not an optimal time for monastic founders, perhaps because of the anti-monastic activities of the emperors of the first phase of Iconoclasm.

during the same period. The trend over the Byzantine period was to emphasize the monastic saint. When qualitative factors are also taken into account, for instance, the general repute of individual saints as shown by documentary survivals,<sup>20</sup> the trend towards monasticism among new saints increases.

Analysis of variations in the relative number of monastic leader or episcopal saints should not hide another important trend – the tendency for saints not only to be monks, but for them to have some place in the church hierarchy. The addition, in the centuries after the periods of persecutions, of leaders in monasticism to episcopal leaders among the new saints of each century meant that approximately half of all male new saints had some position in the church hierarchy.<sup>21</sup> As the total number of new saints declined,<sup>22</sup> not only were new saints likely to be monastic, but they also tended to be figures with official hierarchical status. Thus, not only did sainthood in Byzantium come to exclude women, but lay people as well.

Whereas the saints of the New Testament and first four centuries, including most of those with major cults, were male or female lay martyrs, a new saint of the early Byzantine period was probably an ascetic or monk but might very well be a pious bishop. In later Byzantium, the image of a new saint was more and more restricted to that of a monk in either the episcopal or monastic hierarchy. At first glance types of female saints

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<sup>20</sup> Few, if any, of the saints in question made any impression on the markers tagged in Chapter II as indicating the size of a saint's cult. The cults in question, if they existed beyond a local monastery, or beyond the saint's *Life* rarely attained any prominence.

<sup>21</sup> This can be seen approximately in Table 4.3, but it should be noted that figures there are not exact since some individual saints were both monastic leaders and bishops.

<sup>22</sup> This decline was a persistent trend from the 9th to 15th century, with the exception of the surge in monastic saints in the 14th.

echo that of male saints (Table 4.5), with the same fourth-century shift from martyrs to ascetics. On closer inspection, however, there are major differences, and these differences relate directly to gender.

Most striking is women's lack of position in informal and formal hierarchies. Sainthood through intellectual prominence represented only a fraction of male new saints, but when BHG documents only thirty-four women saints between the fifth and fifteenth century, the eighteen male "intellectual" saints look more impressive.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the seventy-nine bishops listed as saints between the same dates account for more than twice the total number of women. Women's exclusion from the centers of intellectual life and episcopal power effectively closed off two of the most significant routes to sainthood, and reflected rather accurately the distribution of power in the Byzantine church.

Women were not excluded, of course, from monastic life.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, in many centuries all women later elevated to sainthood led monastic lives at some point. By

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<sup>23</sup> Modern Orthodox works on women saints do include one Byzantine woman as a saint because of her writings, the ninth-century nun Kassia, who wrote a number of important hymns, but she does not seem to have been accounted as a saint during the Byzantine era. See *The Lives of the Spiritual Mothers: An Orthodox Materikon of Woman Monastics and Ascetics* (Buena Vista CO: Buena Vista Convent, 1991), 371-81. Eva Catafygiotu Topping, *Holy Mothers of Orthodoxy*. (Minneapolis MN: Light and Life, 1987), 33, is clear that Kassia was not "canonized."

<sup>24</sup> There has been substantial research into female monasticism over the past fifteen years. See Dorothy deF. Abrahamse, "Byzantine Asceticism and Women's Monasteries in Early Medieval Italy," in *Medieval Religious Women I: Distant Echoes*, ed. Lilian Thomas Shank and John A. Nichols (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1984), 31-50; eadem, "Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine Period: Problems and Perspectives," *BF* 9 (1985), 35-58; Jenny Albani, "Female Burials of the Late Byzantine Period in Monasteries," in *Les femmes et le monachisme byzantin/Women and Byzantine Monasticism*, ed. Jacques Y. Perreault. Actes du symposium d'Athènes/Acts of the Athens symposium, 1988 (Athens: Publications de l'Institut Canadien d'Archéologie à Athènes/Publications of the Canadian Archeological Institute at Athens, 1988), 111-17; Agnès Basilikopoulou, "Monachisme: l'égalité totale des sexes," in *Les femmes et le monachisme*, 99-110; Elizabeth Clark, "Authority and Humility: A Conflict of

**Table 4.5**  
**Types of Female Saints by Century**

Cent.	Total No.	Martyrs No. (%)	Monastic No. (%)	Monastic Leader No. (%)	Other
1	16	8 50	1 6	0 0	4
2	20	19 95	0 0	0 0	0
3	28	27 96	3 11	0 0	1
4	84	76 90	8 10	0 0	6
5	13	1 8	12 92	4 33	1
6	10	1 10	7 70	0 0	2
7	1	0 0	1 100	0 0	0
8	5	2 40	3 60	1 33	0
9	8	1 13	6 75	3 50	2
10	6	0 0	4 67	3 75	1
11	1	0 0	1 100	0 0	0
12	1	0 0	1 100	1 100	0
13	1	0 0	1 100	1 100	0
14	1	1 100	1 100	1 100	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
	195	136 70	49 25	14 29	17

*Source: Saints' Prosopographical Database*

*Note: As for Table 4.3.*

contrast, among male saints monasticism dominated, but not to the exclusion of all other types. In another intensified echo of male saints, it was the monastic leaders among women who achieved sainthood. Thus, apart from occasional martyrs and the smaller group of lay women saints, women recognized as saints tended to achieve such recognition through the same model of prominence in church hierarchies as men, a tendency which became absolute in later centuries when all women saints (in the BHG cohort) were monastic leaders.<sup>25</sup>

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Values in Fourth Century Female Monasticism," *BF* 9 (1985), 17-33; Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the ΤΥΠΙΚΑ," *JÖB* 38 (1988), 263-90; Angela C. Hero, "Irene-Eulogia Choumaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *BF* 9 (1985), 119-47; Elizabeth Koubena, "A Survey of Aristocratic Women Founders of Monasteries in Constantinople between the Eleventh and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Les femmes et le monachisme*, 25-32; Maria Loukaki, "Monastères de femmes a Byzance du XIIe siècle jusqu'à 1453," in *Les femmes et le monachisme*, 33-42; Hélène Saradi-Mendelovici, "'L'infirmitas sexus' présumée de la moniale byzantine: doctrine ascétique et pratique juridique," in *Les femmes et le monachisme*, 87-97; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," in *Okeanos: Harvard Ukrainian Studies VII* [= *Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko*], ed. Cyril Mango and Omeljan Pritsak (Cambridge MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 1983), 604-18; eadem, "Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity?," *BF* 9 (1985), 103-17; eadem, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 1-20; eadem, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," *DOP* 44 (1990), 119-30; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian," *BF* 9 (1985), 1-15.

<sup>25</sup> A notable subset of female monastic saints presents special problems since they lived their lives as men, usually disguised as monks. The tradition of women disguised in men's clothes goes back to the early church. Most, but not all, dressed as monks. The BHG cohort includes the following figures: *1st Century*: Thekla; *3rd Century*: Eugenia; *4th Century*: Susanna, Marina, Synkletike; *5th Century*: Theodora, Apollinaria, Pelagia, Euphrosyne; *6th Century*: Matrona, Marina, Athanasia, Anastasia; *8-9th Century*: Anna; *10th Century*: Euphrosyne; *11th Century*: Marina. For discussion, see Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 621; John Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif," *Viator* 5 (1974), 1-32; Vern L. Bullough, "Transvestitism in the Middle Ages," in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (Buffalo NY: Prometheus, 1982), 43-54; Marie Delcourt, "Female Saints in Masculine Clothes," in *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, trans. Jennifer Nicolson (London: Studio, 1961), 84-102; Kari Vogt, "'The Woman Monk': A Theme in Byzantine Hagiography," in *Greece & Gender*, ed. Brit Berggreen and Nanno Marinatos (Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1995), 141-48. See also the discussion in Chapter VI.

Even without access to episcopal power or intellectual renown, the position of women in monasticism, which after all provided the majority of male saints, might have been expected to have provided a steady stream of new women saints. But the condition of nuns was starkly inferior to that of monks. Elizabeth Clark notes that even in early women's monasticism, male writers on some very formidable female monastic leaders (Olympias, Melania the Elder, and Paula) refused to consider them as leaders, preferring instead to stress personal aspects of their holiness, especially humility.<sup>26</sup> For the middle Byzantine period, Dorothy DeF. Abrahamse argues that female monasticism was marginal, so much so that quantitative analysis is impossible. In the extant sources, however, there is a notable stress on the special weakness of nuns.<sup>27</sup> Unlike the various monastic saints, who spent considerable time outside formal monastic walls, and thus acquired reputations for holiness, nuns were expected to spend their entire lives within the monastery.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, most of the nuns in middle Byzantine sources were not dedicated virgins, but widows who retreated to a convent as a normal life stage rather than as an exercise of extraordinary piety.<sup>29</sup> The survival of more plentiful source material permits more complex comparative and quantitative analysis of the situation of Byzantine nuns in the Palaiologan period. Alice-Mary Talbot compares male and female

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<sup>26</sup> Clark, "Authority and Humility," 25. Clark goes on to draw a Weberian distinction between the legal/rational authority ascribed to male leaders and the personal authority, derived from "family wealth and status," ascribed to these women.

<sup>27</sup> Abrahamse, "Women's Monasticism," 35, 44.

<sup>28</sup> Abrahamse, "Women's Monasticism," 47. Abrahamse notes that this was specifically the case for two of the female saints of the period, Irene of Chrysobalanton and Theodora of Thessalonica.

<sup>29</sup> Abrahamse, "Women's Monasticism," 50.

monastics, and her findings inform our understanding of what was happening to female sainthood. There were fewer convents in Byzantium than male monasteries, and convents tended to be smaller than monasteries.<sup>30</sup> Convents were heavily concentrated within cities, especially Constantinople, and women were excluded from the most prestigious late Byzantine monastic centers such as Athos and Meteora.<sup>31</sup> The location of the convents in cities tended to tie the internal workings of the convents to patterns of urban family power. Unlike the greater separation from the worldly power attempted and admired in the great male monasteries, a nun's position in a monastery seems to have depended directly on her wealth outside.<sup>32</sup> Although late Byzantine nuns did leave the convent on works of mercy, it was evident that monks had more freedom of movement.<sup>33</sup> Late Byzantine women were also forbidden to adopt the most prestigious monastic lifestyle -- that of a hermit.<sup>34</sup> Talbot concludes her survey by suggesting that the lack of female saints in the later centuries, especially the fourteenth with its spurt of male monastic heroes, is connected to the lack of access by women monastics to the types of holiness -- public charity or miracles and intense asceticism -- which called attention to the male saints.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Talbot, "A Comparison," 18-20. In Table 1, a count of monasteries recorded in surveys by Raymond Janin, Talbot finds 469 male monasteries to 93 convents for the entire Byzantine period.

<sup>31</sup> Talbot, "A Comparison," 2.

<sup>32</sup> Galatariotou, "Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities," 274.

<sup>33</sup> Talbot, "A Comparison," 14.

<sup>34</sup> Talbot, "A Comparison," 16.

<sup>35</sup> Talbot, "A Comparison," 17-18.



Within this overall picture of women neo-saints, the very small group of lay women in the ninth and tenth centuries, about whom so much has been written, emerges as an oddity. This does not mean that their *Lives* are unimportant, but that they were not a witness to any turning point in the history of sainthood for women.

The conclusion here is clear, and depressing. Sainthood became an increasingly restricted arena for both men and women over the course of Byzantine history. With women, the difference was that it was restricted until it was a set without members.

This statistical breakdown of saints in Byzantine sources has revealed the dominance of male saints, a dominance that increases over time. Saints were always likely to be male, but after the age of martyrdoms this ascendancy increases. Secondly there was a real shift in types of new saints from martyrs to monastic and episcopal saints after the fifth century. Episcopal saints were especially important from the fifth to ninth century, but afterwards their occurrence was more sporadic. The significance of monasticism among male saints continued to increase throughout the period, with a significant proportion of monastic male saints being leaders -- abbots and founders. By contrast, there were always fewer female saints and, although monasticism was important in later centuries, only one or two female figures appeared in each later century. These findings suggest, on statistical grounds alone, that sanctity in Byzantium was indeed connected to male gender. This reflects in part the greater prominence of men in all public spheres, so that even among martyrs more men were martyred. But in later centuries it reflects also a typology of saints. As a higher percentage of saints were bishops, women were excluded. And as higher percentages were monastic, women were squeezed out as their monasteries were both smaller in number and less glamorous.

## B Sanctity and Bodies

Christianity, through its doctrine of the incarnation, emphasized the body as an element in salvation.<sup>36</sup> Central to Christian faith was the belief that God condescended to become a human being and underwent bodily suffering. Salvation focused on the crucified body of Christ. Christians achieved contact with the divine not only through immaterial and mental means, but through the mediation of physical objects and other people. Bodily mediation of grace involved the cult of the saints, but also the ritual system based around water baptism and the Eucharistic meal. A whole string of dogmatic disputes ended by reemphasizing the significance of the incarnation in Orthodox Christianity.<sup>37</sup> This is not to deny the continued significance of ideas which restrained approbation of the body, for instance (Neo-)Platonic thought with its exaltation of the soul over the body, and Stoic ethics which opposed emotion and sensuality. But for Orthodox Christians, these strains did not overwhelm the idea that the body mediated divinity, and that holiness was to be achieved through material means.

Ways to achieve holiness through the body became formalized rather early: surrendering one's body as witness to the faith, through physical martyrdom, became the principal means for early Christians, subject to intermittent Roman persecution; and training (*askesis* in Greek) the body through deprivation or outright self-torture became

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<sup>36</sup> By the Byzantine period, the disputes over the theological formulation of the doctrine of the incarnation were, apart from the dispute over images, essentially resolved.

<sup>37</sup> Over the nature of God and the Divinity of Christ (Arianism – fourth century); over the relationship of human and divine in Jesus (Nestorianism, Monophysitism, Monothelitism – fourth to seventh centuries); over the place, function and meaning of images (Iconoclasm – eighth to ninth century). There are many overviews, for example John Meyendorff, *Byzantine*

dominant after the period of persecutions. In both cases, the body was the fundamental means to holiness. These bodily activities remained central to what later Christians thought of as holy.

It is this inscription of sanctity on the body that underlies the core argument of this chapter, because it is the body which is the nexus of the relationship between sanctity and gender: just as gender is the widely varying social understanding of male and female bodies inscribed on the relatively stable data of biological sex,<sup>38</sup> so sanctity is a diachronically varying understanding of what actions constitute extraordinary holiness. In what follows, I attempt not to account for the development of martyrdom or asceticism, but rather to underline the body as the place of interaction between gender and sanctity.

It might be thought that in its most direct connection with holiness in Christianity -- the witness of martyrdom -- the body was not particularly gendered. There was nothing specific about martyrdom that excluded men or women, and indeed, although the proportions were never equal, significant numbers of both sexes did achieve holiness in this way. But men and women in any given society are gendered, an attribute essentialized on their bodies. While women who died for the faith became saints for precisely the same reason as their brethren, their struggles were conceived of, and their bodies written about, in explicitly gendered terms.

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*Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 623, "Nous savons bien que l'ordonnance des sexes, élaborée sur une base limitée et monotone de quelques données naturelles, est une des constructions les plus sophistiquées et les plus significatives à la fois de toute culture." [We understand well that the disposition of the sexes, elaborated on a limited and monotonous base of some natural facts, is one of the most sophisticated and, at the same time, most significant constructions of all culture."]

First the struggle itself: the conflict with the Roman state was repeatedly cast as an *agon*, an athletic struggle. Indeed it is a *topos* of saints' *Lives* to refer to the saint's struggles as an *agon*, to God as the *agonothetes*.<sup>39</sup> to the saint as an "athlete of God."<sup>40</sup> and to the saint's prize in heaven as a *stephanos*, a victor's crown. The metaphors, drawn from ancient Greek games, are fundamentally male. To engage in an *agon* is to undertake a male struggle, and women who became martyrs showed themselves to have "manly courage."<sup>41</sup> The impact of this masculine model on women martyrs themselves is perhaps most vividly seen in the story of Vibia Perpetua. Her passion (early third century), which survives in Latin and Greek, includes a document written by Perpetua herself. In it, she describes a vision she had of herself in the arena:

The day before we fought, I saw in a vision that...we came to the amphitheatre, and he [Pomponius] led me into the midst of the arena. And he said to me: Be not afraid; I am here with you and labor together with you. And he went away. And I saw much people watching closely. And because I knew that I was condemned to the beasts I marvelled that beasts were not sent out against me. And there came out against me a certain ill-favored Egyptian with his helpers, to fight with me. Also there came to me comely young men, my helpers and aiders. And I was stripped naked, and I became a man (**et facta sum masculus / ἐγενήθην ἄρρην**). And my helpers began to rub me with oil as their custom is for a contest; and over against me I saw that Egyptian wallowing in the dust. And there came forth a man of very great stature, so that he overpassed the very top of the amphitheatre, wearing a robe ungirdled, and beneath it between the two stripes over the breast a robe of purple; having also shoes curiously wrought in gold and silver; bearing a rod like a master of gladiators, and a green branch whereon were golden apples. And he besought silence and said: The Egyptian, if he shall conquer this woman, shall slay her with the sword; and if she shall conquer him,

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<sup>39</sup> The "judge of the game." or the "umpire."

<sup>40</sup> See the calendar of saints published as the *SynaxCP* for the routine naming of saints as "athletes of god."

<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth A. Clark, "Devil's Gateway and Bride of Christ: Women in the Early Christian World," in *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays in Late Ancient Christianity* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen, 1986), 45. The Greek word for courage is *andreia*, manliness.

she shall receive this branch. And he went away. And we came nigh to each other, and began to buffet one another. He tried to trip up my feet, but I with my heels smote upon his face. And I rose up into the air and began so to smite him as though I trod not the earth. But when I saw that there was yet delay, I joined my hands, setting finger against finger of them. And I caught his head, and he fell upon his face; and I trod upon his head. And the people began to shout, and my helpers began to sing. And I went up to the master of gladiators and received the branch. And he kissed me and said to me: Daughter, peace be with you. And I began to go with glory to the gate called the Gate of Life. And I awoke; and I understood that I should fight, not with beasts but against the devil; but I knew that mine was the victory.<sup>42</sup>

The language of the *agon* then, in addition to the metaphors of the arena, posited a battle, a place for male soldiers. Perpetua understood this, and proclaimed that as she took up the struggle she had "become a man."<sup>43</sup> But even though her struggle made her a "man," the text also dwelled on the femaleness of her and Felicity's bodies in the arena:

But for the women the devil had made ready a most savage cow, prepared for this purpose against all custom; for even in this beast he would mock their sex. They were stripped therefore and made to put on nets; and so they were brought forth. The people shuddered, seeing one a tender girl, the other her breasts yet dripping milk from her late childbearing. So they were called back and clothed in loose robes. Perpetua was first thrown, and fell upon her loins. And when she had sat upright, her robe being rent at the side, she drew it over to cover her thigh, mindful rather of modesty than of pain. Next, looking for a pin, she likewise pinned up her dishevelled hair; for it was not meet that a martyr should suffer with hair dishevelled, lest she should seem to grieve in her glory.<sup>44</sup>

There seems to be no similar discussion of a male martyr's sex in this way, with its focus on milk and breasts, bodily modesty and concerns about hairstyle. The *Passion* is

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<sup>42</sup> *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des Actes*, Latin and Greek text edited with French translation by Jacqueline Amat, Sources chrétiennes 417 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1996) 10:1-14. The translations here are modernized from *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*, translated by W.H. Shewring (London: 1931). Cf. Clark, "Devil's Gateway," 45.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter VI for extended discussion of this trope. Cf. Anne Jensen, *God's Self-Confident Daughters: Early Christianity and the Liberation of Women*, trans. O.C. Dean, Jr. (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 107-8.

<sup>44</sup> *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité* 20.

concerned both with the bodily struggle as the ground of sanctity, and with the physical body's gendered identity. There is, however, a certain conflict involved here: the *agon* makes the martyr male, but the body of the martyr remains female.

One of the most influential of the early passion accounts, the *Martyrdom* of Polykarp, presents God as seeing the martyr's role as male:

As Polykarp stepped into the arena, there came a voice from heaven; "Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man." No one caught sight of the speaker, those of our friends who were there heard the voice.<sup>45</sup>

Nevertheless, when Polykarp was executed, he offered up a prayer in which he consecrated himself as a martyr, and then:

As [his] amen soared up and the prayer ended, the men at the fire set their lights to it, and great sheet of flame blazed out. And then those who were privileged to witness it saw a wondrous sight...The fire took on the shape of a hollow chamber, like a ship's sail when the wind fills it and formed a wall round about the martyr's [body]; and there was he in the centre of it, not like a human being in flames, but like a loaf baking in the oven, or like a gold or silver ingot being refined in the furnace.<sup>46</sup>

In effect, Polykarp was baked like bread as spiritual food. Polykarp thereby established an affinity between his body and Christ's self-giving in the Eucharist, a characteristic Carolyn Walker Bynum has identified as a distinctively feminine symbol.<sup>47</sup> There was no challenge to Polykarp's masculinity, but the availability of the martyr's body to others is a point of intersections with norms of gender.

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<sup>45</sup> Marcion, *The Martyrdom of Polykarp* 9, trans. Maxwell Stanforth, *Early Christian Writings* (New York: Penguin, 1968).

<sup>46</sup> Marcion, *The Martyrdom of Polykarp* 15.

<sup>47</sup> Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 73-75; and eadem, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 102-6.

With George, a legendary saint, we find a more explicit disordering of the martyr's masculinity. George was "Christ's Champion," and as such, texts celebrate George's virility:

And when he [Dadianus] saw the virility of his [George's] body, and the beauty of his face, which was like unto the light of the moon, and that he was handsome in his whole form, and was like unto a pure and perfect pearl, he knew straightaway who he was, and marvelling he was struck dumb by the beauty of his early manhood, and his pleasant speech.<sup>48</sup>

The outstanding trait of the stories of George, however, concerns his repeated deaths. At least four times he was killed by his persecutors, only to be restored to life to witness yet again to the faith.<sup>49</sup> George was whipped, flayed, boiled, decapitated, and impaled on a stake. The texts and the iconography of the saint dwell at length on these repeated penetrations of the martyr's body (Figure 4.3), and in doing so, manifested a body that was open to the world, bloody, and yet one which offered hope and salvation to witnesses.

It is vital to realize that the martyrs' gendering, both in role and in body, derived from what they were seen to be accomplishing by their martyrdom. The martyr's body

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<sup>48</sup> Theodotos of Ancyra, *Enkomion on St. George*, trans. from Coptic by E. A. Wallis Budge, *George of Lydda: The Patron Saint of England: A Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia* (London: Luzac, 1930), 178. Although Theodotos' text, one of the earliest on the saint, survives in Coptic, he was a fifth-century Greek bishop. On Theodotos, see David Howell, "St. George as Intercessor," *B* 39 (1969), 125. For the cult in general, see Christopher Walter, "The Origins of the Cult of Saint George," *REB* 53 (1995): 295-326; and Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1909), 43-74. The most extensive collection of sources is Karl Krumbacher, ed., *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911). Alice-Mary Talbot, personal communication, 03.17.1999, suggests that, despite the explicit naming of George's virility, the quoted passage makes use of feminine similes such as "moon" and "pearl."

Figure 4.3  
The Impalement of St. George



Source: Brit. Mus. M.S. Orient. No. 715, Fol. 113a, in E. A. Wallis Budge, *George of Lydda: The Patron Saint of England: A Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia* (London: Luzac, 1930), facing p. 40.



made present again the body of Christ, a body that had been male. A martyr did this whether male or female. The second-century letter from the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, ascribed to Irenaeus, describes an early persecution of Christians. One of the victims was the virgin Blandina:

Blandina was hung up fastened to a stake, and exposed as food to the wild beasts that were let loose against her; and through her presenting the spectacle of one suspended on something like a cross, and through her earnest prayers, she inspired the combatants with great eagerness: for in the combat **they saw, by means of their sister, with their bodily eyes, Him who was crucified for them, that He might persuade those who trust in Him that every one that has suffered for the glory of Christ has eternal communion with the living God.** When none of the wild beasts at that time touched her, she was taken down from the stake and conveyed back to prison. She was thus reserved for another contest, in order that, gaining the victory in many preparative conflicts, she might make the condemnation of the Crooked Serpent unquestionable, and that she might encourage the brethren. For **though she was an insignificant, weak, and despised woman, yet she was clothed with the great and invincible athlete Christ.** On many occasions she had overpowered the adversary, and in the course of the contest had woven for herself the crown of incorruption.<sup>50</sup>

The martyr's body -- male or female -- was Christ's body, and this was the source of the body's holiness. Even while recognizing that a martyr might be "an insignificant, weak, and despised woman," sanctity was inscribed on the martyr's body by its clothing in Christ's body.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Budge, *St. George*, 57-67. It is this dwelling on the methods of his death, along with the popularity of his later cult, which makes George a good case study for the cultural understanding of martyrs' gender.

<sup>50</sup> *Letter from the Churches of Vienne and Lyons*, ANF 8, 780. See discussion in Margaret R. Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 57.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Jensen, *God's Self-Confident Daughters*, 111-24, on the martyr as the representation of Christ. Initially it was possible for a "martyr," i.e., a "witness to the faith," to survive their ordeal. The Church accorded special privileges to such figures, including the right to hear confessions and reconcile sinners to the Church. Jensen shows that women martyrs were also able to do this.

It would be inaccurate then to see martyrs as wholly masculinized. Just as the figure of Christ discloses paradoxical gender identities, so do martyrs.<sup>52</sup> In a number of ways they reversed classical tropes of masculinity: they were soldiers who fought by refusing to fight; their bodies were repeatedly penetrated by any number of objects; and they claimed to exemplify God's power, not their own. As the figures earlier in this chapter demonstrate, martyrs were by far the greatest number of saints and their commemorations dominated later liturgical calendars. In this way, the tension between masculinity and femininity that the narratives of martyrdom inscribed on their bodies became normative for later cultural conceptions of sanctity.

Before the end of the period of persecutions, ascetics took an alternative road to sanctity. They bore witness to their faith by their way of life rather than by the death of their bodies. But the concept of an *agon* remained potent and the disregard for the body shown by the martyrs continued as an ideal.<sup>53</sup>

Just as the *Martyrdom of Polykarp* was a paradigmatic work in the literature of martyrdom, Athanasios of Alexandria's *Life of Anthony* (c. 356-362)<sup>54</sup> helped create the ideal of the sainted ascetic in later Greek Christianity.<sup>55</sup> Persecutions were continuing

<sup>52</sup> See discussion above; and Mathews, Chapter 5, "Christ Chameleon."

<sup>53</sup> Tomas Spidlik, *The Spirituality of the Christian East: A Handbook* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980), 111-12.

<sup>54</sup> Athanasios of Alexandria, *Life of Anthony*, PG 26: 835-976, trans. H. Ellershaw in Athanasios of Alexandria, *Select Works and Letters*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol 4, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (New York: 1892), 195-221.

<sup>55</sup> The *Life* by Athanasios was kept intact by Symeon Metaphrastes, who rewrote most of the *Lives* of the saints in his collection. This witnesses both to the *Life of Anthony's* enormous prestige by the tenth century, and the way in which its influence was later maintained, since the Metaphrastic collection of rewritten saints' lives, in its over 850 surviving manuscripts, dominated all later Byzantine thinking on the saints. [See discussion in Chapter II].

during Anthony's lifetime, and Athanasios uses this point to make a direct link between the martyr and the ascetic:

...the Church was seized by the persecution which then took place under Maximinus, and when the holy martyrs were led to Alexandria, Antony also followed, leaving his cell, and saying, Let us go too, that if called, we may contend or behold them that are contending. And he longed to suffer martyrdom, but not being willing to give himself up, he ministered to the confessors [i.e. the martyrs] in the mines and in the prisons. And he was very zealous in the judgment hall to stir up to readiness those who were summoned when in their contest, while those who were being martyred he received and brought on their way until they were perfected.... [Antony] stood fearlessly, shewing the readiness of us Christians. For, as I said before, he prayed himself to be a martyr, wherefore he seemed as one grieved that he had not borne his witness. But the Lord was keeping him for our profit and that of others, that he should become a teacher to many of the discipline which he had learned from the Scriptures. For many only beholding his manner of life were eager to be imitators of his ways. So he again ministered as usual to the confessors, and as though he were their fellow captive he laboured in his ministry. And when at last the persecution ceased, and the blessed Bishop Peter [15] had borne his testimony, Antony departed, and again withdrew to his cell, and was there daily a martyr to his conscience, and contending in the conflicts of faith.<sup>56</sup>

For Athanasios, the martyrs bore witness by their willingness to confess Christ, and Anthony was kept by the Lord to "become a teacher" through the "manner of his life." Athanasios smoothly moves the metaphors of the *agon* from the arena to the monk's cell, and presents both contests as divinely sanctioned.

For Anthony, as with all later ascetic saints, this "contending" involved considerable ill-treatment of his body:

[Anthony] used to eat and sleep, and go about all other bodily necessities with shame when he thought of the spiritual faculties of the soul. So often, when about to eat with any other hermits, recollecting the spiritual food, he begged to be excused, and departed far off from them, deeming it a matter for shame if he should be seen eating by others. He used, however, when by himself, to eat through bodily necessity, but often also with the brethren; covered with shame on

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<sup>56</sup> *Life of Anthony*, 45-46.

these occasions, yet speaking boldly words of help. And he used to say that it behooved a man to give all his time to his soul rather than his body, yet to grant a short space to the body through its necessities; but all the more earnestly to give up the whole remainder to the soul and seek its profit, that it might not be dragged down by the pleasures of the body, but, on the contrary, the body might be in subjection to the soul...he was ever fasting, and he had a garment of hair on the inside, while the outside was skin, which he kept until his end. And he neither bathed his body with water to free himself from filth, nor did he ever wash his feet nor even endure so much as to put them into water, unless compelled by necessity. Nor did any one even see him unclothed, nor his body naked at all, except after his death, when he was buried.<sup>57</sup>

What we see here is the erasure of the conventionally gendered male body, or rather a radically different definition of masculinity than that of contemporary paganism. Just as martyrdom represented the physical triumph of Christ in the martyr's body, so the victory of the ascetic over his body represented the same triumph. Athanasios pushes the point:

...the faith and teaching of Christ, though mocked by you and often persecuted by kings, has filled the world. For when has the knowledge of God so shone forth? Or when has self-control and the excellence of virginity appeared as now? Or when has death been so despised except when the Cross of Christ has appeared? And this no one doubts when he sees the martyr despising death for the sake of Christ, when he sees for Christ's sake the virgins of the Church keeping themselves pure and undefiled.<sup>58</sup>

What is not involved here is any denial of male social power: Anthony remained active, when he wanted, in the public sphere. He, and later monastic saints, in some respects seem more conventionally masculine than some of the major legendary saints. All ascetics, at least as depicted in art, had beards and maintained roles within acknowledged male power structures. Their masculinity was desexualized less in the way in which they are represented, than in their adaptation of a specifically asexual social role.

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<sup>57</sup> *Life of Anthony*, 45, 47.

<sup>58</sup> *Life of Anthony*, 79.

For ascetics and martyrs, bodily sanctity was not only attained through activity while alive, but in the cult of relics. Christian communities focused on contact with the dead saint's body as the way to maintain a connection to the saint's power. Accounts of the perceived power of relics are common. The *Martyrdom* of Polykarp is one of the earliest descriptions of efforts made to secure the saint's relics:

[17:1] But the jealous and envious Evil One, the adversary of the family of the righteous, having seen the greatness of his martyrdom and his blameless life from the beginning, and how he was crowned with the crown of immortality and had won a reward which none could gainsay, managed that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this and to touch his holy flesh... [18:1] The centurion therefore, seeing the opposition raised on the part of the Jews, set him in the midst and burnt him after their custom. [2] And so we afterwards took up his bones, which are more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold, and laid them in a suitable place; [18:3] where the Lord will permit us to gather ourselves together, as we are able, in gladness and joy, and to celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom for the commemoration of those that have already fought in the contest, and for the training and preparation of those that shall do so hereafter.<sup>59</sup>

The later (fourth century) *Martyrdom* of Sergios and Bacchos links the suffering of the martyr's body to its holiness:

After a great while some religious men...tried to steal the body from the spot, as if it were some precious treasure. The saint [Sergios] would not suffer **his body, which had been dragged around, whipped, and paraded so publicly for the sake of his faith in Christ**, to be moved in secret, so he asked of God that a fire be set in the spot, not to seek revenge on those attempting the theft or to burn

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<sup>59</sup> Marcion, *Martyrdom of Polykarp* 17-18. This is not an isolated incident. Compare Justin's account of the efforts of Christians to preserve the bodies of martyrs in the *Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs Justin, Chariton, Charites, Paeon, and Liberianus, Who Suffered at Rome* 5, "Rusticus the prefect pronounced sentence, saying, 'Let those who have refused to sacrifice to the gods and to yield to the command of the emperor be scourged, and led away to suffer the punishment of decapitation, according to the laws.' The holy martyrs having glorified God, and having gone forth to the accustomed place, were beheaded, and perfected their testimony in the confession of the Saviour. And some of the faithful having secretly removed their bodies, laid them in a suitable place, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ having wrought along with them, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen." Trans. by the M. Dods, *ANF*, 1, [<http://ccel.wheaton.edu/fathers2/ANF-01/anf01-54.htm>].

them, but so that by lightening the gloom of night he would reveal the robbery to those in the castle of Rosafae, which is just what happened. Once the fire was burning in the place where the saint lay, some of the soldiers living there saw the flames reaching to the sky, and thought that the great blaze had been set by some enemy, so they came out armed and pursued those attempting to steal the saint's body. They prevailed on them to remain there a few days and to build from stones and clay a tomb where he lay. Once they had honorably covered the body of the saint, they went away.<sup>60</sup>

The story here not only shows the postmortem concern of a saint with his body, but an explanation of why the cult center of Sergios and Bacchos was at Rusafa.

A similar rhetoric of a body made holy through suffering, and the saint's concern for her tomb persists in the *Life* of Thomaïs of Lesbos, although her suffering was beating at the hands of her husband, and her tomb was in Constantinople, not remote Syria:

Thus after the saint had endured her many afflictions for a considerable time (for she had already borne for thirteen years that violent abuse, **painful wounds, <those> immoderate bruises, <and> blows**), she received her blessed end and was transported to the ageless life without end.... While still living she had commanded those she lived with not to place her inside the holy church, but outside in the forecourts until the all-compassionate God might desire to work miracles through his grace and to show where she should be laid.... And this is what happened: by the time forty days had passed after her departure to the Lord, many miracles had occurred, since her holy remains provided cures readily to those coming to them, and wrought extraordinary wonders.<sup>61</sup>

Such cases abound in the sources, and confirm that the bond between sanctity and the saint's body continued in all cults centered on a saint's relics. It is interesting to note that the concept of sanctity "inscribed on the body," which may appear a trope of postmodern literary theory, was not unfamiliar to Byzantine authors. In the *Posthumous Miracles* of St. Photeine, the author exalts his saint's power by commenting "For in one female body

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<sup>60</sup> *Passion* of Sergios and Bacchos 29, trans. John Boswell, *Same Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York: Villard, 1994), 389 (with emendations).

<sup>61</sup> Appendix II, *Life* of Thomaïs, ch. 16

were imprinted the deeds and accomplishments of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, saints and all just people. Thus she knows especially how to award the gift of light more lavishly than the others."<sup>62</sup> Here sanctity is explicitly inscribed on the body, and that inscription is what makes the saint powerful as a miracle-worker.

### C Sanctity and Gender in Cults

Once *holy people* become *saints*, especially saints with cults, the nature of their relationship to society changes. Saints became saints because of what they did, but as saints they are defined by what they do, in particular what they do for supplicants. One saint looks after pregnant women,<sup>63</sup> another brings rain,<sup>64</sup> another aids gunners.<sup>65</sup> This combination of *power* and *definition by power* is a cross-cultural attribute of masculinity.<sup>66</sup> Byzantium was not an exception to this common anthropological observation: it was at all times a society in which men were defined by social status and function, and women by their relationship with men.<sup>67</sup> To the extent that they wield

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<sup>62</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, trans., "The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine," *AnalBoll* 112 (1994), 103-4. St. Photeine, the Byzantine name for the Samaritan woman at the well (Jn. 4:8-26), became the patron saint of eye diseases.

<sup>63</sup> St. Eleutherios in Greece, although St. Anastasia the Roman looks after childbirth. St. Gerard is patron of expectant mothers in the West.

<sup>64</sup> The prophet Elias (Elijah) in Greece.

<sup>65</sup> St. Barbara in the East.

<sup>66</sup> Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds., "Introduction: Accounting for Sexual Meanings," in *Sexual Meaning: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-27, esp. 8-9.

<sup>67</sup> Again, we can see this most clearly at the imperial level. During the course of Byzantine history, many women wielded significant power over the imperial office. In almost every case, they did this through males they married or dominated. As previously noted, one of the women who ruled in her own right, Irene the Athenian (797-802), did so as "Emperor," not "Empress." Cf. Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley and Los Angeles:

public power, all saints are masculine figures. The final question I address here then, is whether cults were gendered. Did male and female saints act differently in their cults; and did Byzantine men and women choose saints to supplicate or celebrate because of gender?

It is tempting to argue that female saints had different clients and repertoires of miracles from male saints, that they dealt with "women's issues." Such activity would show some real gender differentiation in roles. For instance, it is possible to point to the miracles for women performed by Thomaïs of Lesbos and maintain this was *because* she was a female saint.<sup>68</sup> There is some suggestion that gendered miracle working was occasionally an issue: in the fifth-century *Life* of Melania the Younger, the short conspectus of miracles has her cure only women.<sup>69</sup> Examination of a range of saints' *Lives*, however, does not support such a claim for the Byzantine era. *Lives* of male saints show them also frequently aiding women supplicants: Daniel Stylites (fifth century) reformed a harlot (ch. 39), and cured a woman's daughter of some unknown disease (ch. 79);<sup>70</sup> Theodore of Sykeon (seventh century) cured a woman's malady of the womb (ch.

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University of California Press, 1982); and Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>68</sup> See Appendix II, *Life* of Thomaïs. Thomaïs cures women with female complaints in four cases. see ch. 13 (issue of blood), ch. 4 (breast cancer), ch. 17 (demonic possession), and ch. 22 (abdominal pain). She also aids women supplicants on two other occasions (ch. 12 and ch. 22). Thomaïs' help, however, is not restricted to women – she aids male supplicants on eight occasions.

<sup>69</sup> Gerontius, *Vita* of Melania the Younger 60–61, ed. and trans. into French by Denys Gorce, *Vie de sainte Mélanie*, Sources chrétiennes 90 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962), trans. into English by Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1984).

<sup>70</sup> *Vita* of Daniel the Stylite, translated by Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford: 1948), 1–84.



26). women possessed by demons (ch. 35, 71, 84), a woman with dysmenorrhea (ch. 96) as well as performing other miracles for women;<sup>71</sup> Nikon the Metanoite (tenth century) cured a women of unspecified cancer (ch. 54), and another of paralysis (ch. 53);<sup>72</sup> and Athanasios of Constantinople (fourteenth century) cured a number of women's maladies (ch. 37-38, 39, 40 etc.).<sup>73</sup> In all these cases, the complaints were more explicitly "female" than those cured by Thomaīs or for that matter Mary the Younger. Even in a *Life* such as that of the ninth-century saint Athanasia of Aigina, where there is a surplus of female over male clients, examination of the individual incidents shows no particular gender inflection.<sup>74</sup> Most of the cures were for non-sex related illnesses. Based on their activities as miracle workers, it seems that male and female saints performed the same cultic and thaumaturgical roles. Once men and women achieved the status of saint, gender differentiation was scarcely a major aspect of their saintly activity.<sup>75</sup>

Might gender have figured in the "consumer" aspect of the cult of saints?

Evidence is very sparse, but little suggests that the gender of saints' clients played a major

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<sup>71</sup> *Vita* of Theodore of Sykeon, translated by Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford: 1948), 87-192.

<sup>72</sup> *Life* of Nikon, ed. and trans. Denis F. Sullivan, *The Life of St. Nikon* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987).

<sup>73</sup> Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athansios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite*, Alice-Mary Talbot, ed. and trans. (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1983).

<sup>74</sup> *Life* of Athanasia of Aigina, *HWB*, 154-57. She heals one adult man, two boys, four adult women and one girl.

<sup>75</sup> Following a discussion on this topic, Alice-Mary Talbot ran a statistical check on the issue using the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiographical Database*, which contains data from the lives of all eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century saints. The check confirmed that no correlation between the gender of saints and the gender of their supplicants can be established, [Personal email communication, 07/23/1997].

role. In pilgrimages, the important factors were the fame of the saint, the cures for which the shrine was famed, the social class of the pilgrims, and locality.<sup>76</sup> In Constantinople, we know that various groups held festivals in which patron saints were celebrated, and that at least one of these festivals, the *Agathe*, was specifically a women's festival.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, Michael Psellos, the only source for this event, does not name the church with which the festival was connected, nor the icons used in ceremonies.<sup>78</sup> This might not matter if Angeliki Laiou's contention, that the *Agathe* was a women wool-workers' guild festival, is correct: several guilds had such celebrations, and the basis for participation was clearly not gender, but economic activity.<sup>79</sup>

Claudia Rapp's recent article, in which she examines the six surviving manuscripts that collect the lives of women saints (so-called *meterika*), suggests even more strongly that gender and activity around a cult were not strongly correlated.<sup>80</sup> Her expectations were that these manuscripts would show some relationship between the women end users, usually nuns, and the women saints in manuscripts. Her investigations show that only one of these manuscripts was addressed exclusively to nuns.<sup>81</sup> Instead,

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<sup>76</sup> Élisabeth Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris: CNRS, 1993), Chap. 6, "Visites des pèlerins et des fidèles."

<sup>77</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Festival of the 'Agathe': Comments on the Life of Constantinopolitan Women," in *Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos*, Vol I. (Athens: 1986), 111-22, repr. in Angeliki E. Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Brookfield VT: Variorum, 1992), No. III.

<sup>78</sup> Psellos is true to form here. The survey of Byzantine historians in Appendix I, Table A12, shows that he seems to have deliberately avoided naming saints.

<sup>79</sup> Laiou, "Agathe," 118-121.

<sup>80</sup> Claudia Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and their Audience," *DOP* 50 (1996), 313-44.

<sup>81</sup> Another was addressed "monks and ... nuns," Rapp, "Figures," 320.

she argues that both men and women collected and read lives of women saints, and that women saints were presented as models for both sexes. Even the libraries of Athonite monasteries, which excluded all females, including animals, maintained "a surprising number of texts relating to holy women."<sup>82</sup> Rapp finds that male authors of saints' lives usually ignored the gender of the intended audience, although occasionally they did promote a woman saint as a model if they knew there was a female audience. There are not sufficient female hagiographers to make any general statements,<sup>83</sup> but we can document a few more cases where women patrons selected hagiographic material. In such cases, and leaving aside materials about the Theotokos, they choose nearly all material about male saints.<sup>84</sup> Rapp is able to show that when male patrons were involved in providing material for women, there was a "tendency of male authors to establish female models for the saintly conduct of women," with Thekla being a particular favorite.<sup>85</sup> She suggests however, that this may simply have been a convenient way of

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<sup>82</sup> Rapp, "Figures," 321, citing Alice-Mary Talbot's conference paper "Women on Mount Athos," now published in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism: Papers from the Twenty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994*, ed. Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham (Aldershot, England; Brookfield VT: Variorum, 1996), 67-79.

<sup>83</sup> Of those women we know who wrote on saints, Theodosia (9th century) wrote a hymn on St. Ioannikios; Theodora Raoulaina (13th century) wrote a *Life* of Theodore and Theophanes *Graptoi*. Palaiologina of Thessalonica (c.1400) wrote canons on Demetrios of Thessalonica and Theodora of Thessalonica, but since she was a nun in the convent of St. Theodora, there are no gender implications. See Rapp, "Figures," 327-28.

<sup>84</sup> In the case of a manuscript commissioned by Anna Komnena Raoulaina (14th century), twelve of the saints were male, and two female. See Rapp, "Figures," 327.

<sup>85</sup> Rapp, "Figures," 329. Many of the female models presented by male authors were Old Testament figures. From the Christian era Thekla provided a model in the *Lives* of Synkletika (a hermit), Olympias (a widow, deaconess, and founder), Golinduch (a Persian martyr), and Theodosia (an Iconodule martyr).

grouping figures from the vast corpus of hagiography.<sup>86</sup> In short, we have no evidence that women looked to female saints more than to male saints, and only slight evidence that men may have acted with the gender of the saints in mind.

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Our survey of the numbers of male and female saints over time shows that sainthood was always a predominantly male achievement and became more so over time. This conclusion intersects with the argument made in Chapters II and III that a small number of saints with major cults largely occupied the "field of sanctity." While not denying that some women saints had strong localized cults, the major saints were also overwhelmingly male.<sup>87</sup> Males thus dominated the roster of saints in Byzantium in depth as well as breadth. It does seem likely that the two phenomena were linked; that sainthood was largely known through the major male saints must surely have made it more likely that males would be considered as new saints.

On the issue of numbers then, the story seems simple, but the situation is much less clear when we look at sanctity and gender from the perspective of saintly individuals. Leaving aside saintly activities such as pious works, martyrdom, charity, and so forth, which were gender neutral even when constrained differently by society for men and women, we find that sanctity was intimately tied to the saint's body. It was the control and surrender of the body to God that signaled a saint, and the saint's bodily presence in relics that was central to the cult. If sanctity was as masculine as the numbers suggest,

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<sup>86</sup> Rapp, "Figures," 331.

<sup>87</sup> Especially so, perhaps, in the period after the decline of the cult of Thekla and before the rise of the cult of Katharine of Alexandria.

one might imagine that the cult of saints would exclude women altogether, as their human bodies were not male. But this was not the case at all. A saint like Perpetua might envision herself as male, but the texts made much of the femaleness of her body.

Blandina was a "weak despised women," but also an image of Christ on the Cross. Male saints, on the other hand, had their gendered bodies disempowered. George, performing as Christ's champion, is nevertheless presented as being penetrated repeatedly, while Anthony and later ascetics flaunted the heroic strength of the classical hero's body.

The evidence about cult and gender presents yet another conundrum. Here we find that as cult figures, there is not much evidence to suggest that female saints acted in any specifically feminine way (nor male saints in a masculine way). And there are only the slightest hints that the gender of the saint influenced the religious practice of clients of either sex.

Sources make clear that gender was an organizing category in Byzantine society, in law, and in family arrangements.<sup>88</sup> The cult of saints was not organized around gender as such, rather it fitted an overwhelmingly male pattern where cultural conceptions of sanctity pushed gender limits. Social and thaumaturgical power masculinized saints of both gender, but at the same time they were feminized in relation to God. As the numerical survey makes clear, however, the interplay of gender and sanctity did not impact equally on men and women. The coming chapters delve deeper into this inequality: the next examines the ways gender functioned in the *Lives* of male saints

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<sup>88</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten I/1* (Vienna: 1981)[=JÖB 31:1 (1981)], 233-4. repr. in Angeliki E. Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Brookfield VT: Variorum, 1992), I.

before the last takes up the question of why in later Byzantium sainthood was ascribed to so few women.

## CHAPTER V

### SANCTITY AND MASCULINITY

Previous chapters argued that, both statistically and by definition, Byzantine sanctity was an essentially masculine quality, and that masculinization was normative for female saints. What then was the nature of saintly masculinity? Since the focus here remains on the virtual disappearance of women neo-saints in later Byzantine history, it might seem natural to look at the male saints of the crucial ninth to eleventh centuries in order to evaluate the role of masculinity in their *Lives* and cults. Such an approach is only part of the answer: Chapter II made clear that when one looks at the cult of saints overall, in any Byzantine period, it was the major biblical and legendary saints who dominated.<sup>1</sup> Since it was their cults that effectively produced and reproduced the tropes of sanctity and gender in Byzantine society, the major saints are fundamental to our understanding of later saints. Here then, I want to examine both the masculinity of the subjects of the major cults, and how the male contemporaries of the few new Byzantine women saints refracted that masculinity.<sup>2</sup> The male saints of the tenth century and later were less

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<sup>1</sup> By "major saints" I mean the small number of saints whose cults were so large that they dominated the cult of saints. See the discussion in Chapter II.

<sup>2</sup> The *Herrenfrage*, the problem of masculinity, has only become a scholarly concern in recent years. See Allen J. Franzen, "When Women Aren't Enough," *Speculum* 68:2 (1993), 445-72; Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), especially the article by Jo Ann McNamara, "The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of Gender System, 1050-1150," 3-29. Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington DC.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), began an extended discussion of "Homo byzantinus," but, while they did interrogate the "image of women" [112-14], they did not put *masculinity* as such into question. Charles Barber, "Homo Byzantinus," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997), 185-99, has begun investigation of the issue within Byzantine studies.

important in terms of cult, but their *Lives* are essential to understanding what hagiographers of the period were thinking. I conclude the chapter with a particular study of nuptial imagery in saints' *Lives*. Since marriage is an intrinsically gender-related social institution, its invocation in saints' *Lives*, and by male mystics, enables a close examination of how one aspect of gender operated within the discourse of sanctity. We shall discover that gender is a basic trope of religious language in Byzantium.

### A Sanctity and Masculinity: The Cult of Major Saints

The gendering of the major saints was complicated: most saints were male, but male sanctity, or rather saintly masculinity, was distinctly odd. Although Byzantine hagiographers repeatedly invoked the masculine heroes of the ancient world, we find among major male saints rather many beardless virgins and celibate ascetics. In one important respect, however, the middle Byzantine period saw the consolidation of a major new motif of saintly masculinity, that of the military saint. Let us begin with one of the beardless virgins who became a great warrior, St. George of Lydda.

George's cult is among the most prominent in surviving documents, in church dedications, and in iconography. Unlike the saints of the middle Byzantine period, with their usually modest dossiers of documents, there is a vast Greek literature on George that would require another dissertation to analyze.<sup>3</sup> His *Life* was edited in the Metaphrastic

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<sup>3</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1909), 45-76; Karl Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911). See also Earnest Wallis Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George of Cappodocia: The Coptic Texts* (London: D. Nutt, 1888); and idem, *George of Lydda: The Patron Saint of England: A*



corpus in what became the normative text.<sup>4</sup> and he was one of the saints whose feast day was so major that most manuscripts of the SynaxCP list no other saints for the day.<sup>5</sup> I use George as a paradigm case with which to explore the masculinity of the major saints because his cult was among the very largest, and yet overlaps in its main features with that of the other leading saints.

At first glance, it might appear that no saint was more masculine than George. His most renowned later images portray him as a military saint, usually in armor and sometimes on a horse. Although his most famous story, the killing of the dragon and aiding the princess, is a late addition, George was just as heroic in his other stories. Oddly, for one of the most popular of all saints, nothing whatsoever can be established about him as a historical figure. Among the earliest references to his cult in the West are papal condemnations by Pope Gelasius I of the myths surrounding him.<sup>6</sup> George's masculinity derives then, not from any historical figure, but purely from the features of his cult; the texts, the expectations his clients held of him, and perhaps most importantly, the iconography.

As discussed at length below, elements of George's legend blur gender lines: he was feminized in relation to Christ, who kept George as "a pure virginal bridegroom for

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*Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia: Translations of the Ethiopic Texts as found in the Manuscripts from the Makdala* (London: Luzac, 1930).

<sup>4</sup> Krumbacher, *Der heiliger Georg*, 162-63.

<sup>5</sup> SynaxCP, 623-26.

<sup>6</sup> In 496, Pope Gelasius issued a warning to the Roman church about certain "forged acts of St. George." See Cornelia Steketee Hults, *St. George of Cappodocia in Legend and History* (London: David Nutt, 1909), 1; Cf. *ODB* 834-35.

himself."<sup>7</sup> In his activities within the world, however, from the earliest days George manifested several strands of masculinity: those of the classical hero, the Biblical prophet, and the philosophic sage. His legend focused on his multiple sufferings and death: in facing these George showed *andreia*, that is "courage" or more literally "manliness," a standard trope of classical masculinity. Part of the reason for George's suffering is that he was a foremost exponent of *parrhesia*. This "free speech" was the common attribute of saints that enabled them to speak the truth of the faith to the powerful. There are Biblical antecedents to this motif -- the prophets of the Jewish Bible spoke out against the sins of Israel.<sup>8</sup> Greek Christian sources, however, also based *parrhesia* on the saint's *apatheia*, a passionless attitude towards the things of this world, and an ideal that recalls the Cynic and Stoic ideals of the sage. In addition to his *passion* legends, George was a saint honored in many miracle collections.<sup>9</sup> These celebrated above all the power of the saint to intercede with God and produce results in this world.<sup>10</sup> In one much-discussed story, a Muslim soldier throws an object at a mosaic of George. George showed his power and ability to act by turning the missile around and striking the attacker in the heart.<sup>11</sup>

The masculine themes of the texts echo in what we know of his clients' expectations. For most saints, it is difficult to know exactly what part they played in their

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<sup>7</sup> Budge, *George: The Coptic Texts*, 282.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, Amos.

<sup>9</sup> Joannes B. Aufhauser, ed., *Miracula S. Georgii* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1913).

<sup>10</sup> See Chapter IV for discussion of "power in the world" as a masculine attribute.

<sup>11</sup> Henry Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 75.

clients' lives. With George, we have some possibility of understanding his appeal, since the seventh-century *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon presents Theodore as a devotee of George.<sup>12</sup> George is Theodore's guide and defender. When Theodore is ill-treated,

God's holy martyr, George, appeared to Theodore's mother and the other women, girt with a sword, which he drew as he came towards them saying threateningly, 'Now I shall cut off your heads because you ill-treat and punish the boy and prevent his coming to me.' On their swearing solemnly that they would never do it again, he took back his threat and disappeared.<sup>13</sup>

Repeatedly the *Life* of Theodore raises the theme of George as both strong defender and counselor.<sup>14</sup> When Theodore gives advice to another, the role he ascribes to George is clear, "The Lord Jesus Christ, Who knoweth secrets, will give effect to the mediation of the holy martyr George according to your faith and He will fulfil your request."<sup>15</sup> George always presents himself to Theodore as a young man, but he is a young man who is powerful to act as defender and intercessor in this world because of his relationship to God. Theodore was not alone in putting his trust in George, whose appeal grew throughout the span of Byzantine culture.<sup>16</sup> The strength of George's cult must have

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<sup>12</sup> *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon, trans. Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford: 1948), 87-192. The author of the *Life* is also called George (ch. 22). Cf. Christopher Walter, "The Origins of the Cult of Saint George," *REB* 53 (1995), 296, on Theodore's devotion to George.

<sup>13</sup> *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon 9.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon 23, "He founded his dwelling on the hallowed spot which was literally and figuratively made of rock [Mt. 7:24-25], where there stood the revered oratory of the holy and glorious martyr George, in order easily to repel the attacks of alien winds and to ward off the uprising of the flood, that came like waters in their wake."; Ch 78. "He therefore laid the matter of his resignation before St. George in prayer and besought God that he might without condemnation deliver up his bishopric. He received assurance that his request was granted."

<sup>15</sup> *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon 96.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix I, Table A12. Among the historians surveyed, George was mentioned more frequently and by more writers than any other saint (always excepting the Theotokos).

derived from what he offered his clients -- the protection of a powerful intercessor in heaven and the world.

George's reputation as an efficacious saint received a powerful boost when his iconographic type stabilized as that of a young warrior.<sup>17</sup> The image of the mounted soldier symbolizes one of the most powerful marks of masculine physical power, yet it was not one of George's earliest characteristics. Indeed, the motif of the *military saint* seems only to have crystallized in Constantinople during the tenth century when a list of "soldier saints," to support the imperial armies, formalized the older metaphor of a "soldier of Christ."<sup>18</sup> Some early martyrs, including George, were soldiers in their *Lives*. The creation of the military saint category, however, led to the rewriting of other saints' *Lives* to remake them as soldiers when they were alive. Demetrios, for example, a deacon in ninth-century texts, became a military officer by the time of his tenth-century Metaphrastic *Life*.<sup>19</sup> George's *miracula* began to present him as a mounted knight, and by the eleventh-century as dragon-killer.<sup>20</sup> George was among the most common subjects of religious art,<sup>21</sup> and the militarization of his iconography occurred during the same

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<sup>17</sup> David Howell, "St. George as Intercessor," *B* 39 (1969), 135-36, notes the transformation from earlier portrayals of him as an *orant* (a person at prayer).

<sup>18</sup> Christopher Walter, "The Thracian Horseman: Ancestor of the Warrior Saints," *BF* 14:1 (1989), 663. The list of military saints became quite extensive, but there were defined echelons. The leading military saints were George, Demetrios, the two Theodores, Prokopios and Merkurios.

<sup>19</sup> Walter, "Thracian Horseman," 663; idem, "St. Demetrios: The Myroblytos of Thessalonika," *Eastern Churches Review* 5 (1973), 162-65.

<sup>20</sup> Walter, "Saint George," *REB* 53 (1995), 320-21

<sup>21</sup> *ODB* 835; Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 186; cf. Temily Mark-Wiener, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art* (Ph.D. Dissertation: New York University, 1977).

period.<sup>22</sup> In the twelfth century, John II Komnenos made sure everyone knew George as a soldier when he placed an image of the saint in military garb on coins.<sup>23</sup>

The promotion of the military saints may have been an imperial project, but their reception and popularity among the faithful went far beyond the military. Christopher Walter comments that, "Without acquiring a monopoly of <protective> functions, the military saints exercised them with an efficacy which encouraged their invocation."<sup>24</sup> Henry Maguire also notes that, "in order to encourage confidence in the beholder," Byzantine artists represented the military saints as "strong, solid and physically active."<sup>25</sup> Scholars have not previously noted that the creation and success of the cult of *military saints* represented a significant intensification in the cultural representation of saintly masculinity.

While icons depict most male saints with beards, a clear indicator of masculinity, a puzzling aspect of the cult of military saints is that beardless young men are disproportionately prominent.<sup>26</sup> Some commentators suggest that the image of George as

<sup>22</sup> The transformation of George's image was not restricted to the Greek-speaking world. Cf. Nikolai Ovčarov, "Sur l'iconographie de St. Georges aux XIe-XIIe siècles," *Byzantinoslavica* 52 (1992), 121-29, who uses Bulgarian evidence to trace the development in iconography.

<sup>23</sup> *ODB* 835.

<sup>24</sup> Walter, "Thracian Horseman," 663; cf. Delehaye, *Saints militaires*, 113.

<sup>25</sup> Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 78.

<sup>26</sup> The importance of the beard for Byzantine men in the tenth century may be seen in a story from the *Life* of Nikon 68, ed. and trans. Denis F. Sullivan, *The Life of St. Nikon* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987), 232-35. The miracle story focuses on a young child whose "vital parts received serious damage" in an accident that "threatened the loss of his genitals." His parents "were sorely struck by arrows of grief and a sword pierced the middle of their heart. For they saw their child a monster instead of child and that he would be practically beardless." The boy's father takes him to Nikon's tomb, and smears moisture from the saint's coffin and lamp-oil all over the "suffering area." The cure works, and the danger passes. The point to note here is that in the most fundamental way the beard is the marker of adult masculinity.

a young beardless man appealed because of a certain androgyny.<sup>27</sup> If androgyny was present, it was not unique to George. Other military saints also appeared as beardless youths.<sup>28</sup> Their beardless state, however, was not a reflection of their age; according to their *passio*, the beardless Sergios and Bacchos were both officers of some rank. The depiction of warrior saints without beards may have been an effort at historical accuracy by iconographers,<sup>29</sup> but if so, they were not consistent.<sup>30</sup> The crux here is that the very saints whose power to act in the world was guaranteed by the unmistakable masculine

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<sup>27</sup> Walter, "Saint George," 320:

"There can be not doubt that [George] had an exceptional affective appeal, difficult perhaps for us to grasp, since the Byzantines have not bequeathed us many empirical descriptions of their feelings. Some reconstruction can be tentatively undertaken.... Thomas Mathews has studied the affective attitude of the Byzantines towards their icons and the saints represented on the icons. 'One was supposed to fall in love with these saints.' Or elsewhere: 'The involvement of the Orthodox beholder with his painted images was complete... The believer entered a world of images in a way the modern view of paintings cannot accomplish.' However, empathy as a characteristic of human psychology, must keep pace with development and changes in artistic media. It may not be amiss therefore to quote James Baldwin's description of a budding actor in a film. It seems to me to give some insight into the way that a Byzantine saw an icon of St. George: '...The face of a man, of a tormented man. Yet, in precisely the way that great music depends, ultimately, on a great silence, this masculinity was defined and made powerful by something which was not masculine. It was not feminine either and something...resisted the word *androgynous*. It was a quality to which numbers of persons would respond without knowing what it was that they were responding. There was a great force in face and a great gentleness...It was a face which suggested, resonantly in the depths the truth about our natures.'"

<sup>28</sup> Beardless saints: Prokopios, Sergios and Bacchos, Floros and Lauros, Mamas, Panteleemon, Tryphon. Some icons of Menas have him beardless, although this is not his later type. Demetrios sometimes has a moustache. Merkurios has an "incipient beard." Cf. Dionysios of Fourna, *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysios of Fourna*, trans. Paul Hetherington (London: Sagittarius Press, 1974). Dionysios was an eighteenth-century author who set down the iconographic norms of Byzantine painting. In contrast to the beardlessness of many military saints, *Dionysios' Manual* states that most martyrs, all apostles, except Philip and Thomas, are represented with beards, as are virtually all episcopal and monastic saints. Excluded are saints usually seen as eunuchs, such as Stephen the Protomartyr or Patriarch Germanos.

<sup>29</sup> Byzantine adult males wore beards, but that was not the style of Roman soldiers.

image of knighthood, jettisoned or reversed other marks of male social power such as beards and family attachment. We see a similar pattern in the cult of the archangels. Angels were sexless by definition, and were beardless in art, but they still manifested masculinity. The Archangel Michael for instance typically appeared as a warrior and general of the armies of heaven.<sup>31</sup> Christine Havice proposed that "the choice to emphasize George's or Demetrios' youth, beyond corresponding to textual details, underlines innocence, perhaps even sexual immaturity, <and was> perhaps an analogue to the virginity topos for so many female saints."<sup>32</sup> There may be something to this, since women were the other major category of saints who were usually shown young.<sup>33</sup> But before trying to resolve this ambiguity in saintly masculinity, it may help to consider the cult of a very different saint.

Nicholas of Myra was the only major saint whose cult in the Byzantine era grew as greatly as George's. He competes with George also in the number of surviving images.<sup>34</sup> Like George, Nicholas was attractive to clients because of his power to do miracles.<sup>35</sup> Unlike George and the other military saints, Nicholas was not a martyr. His

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<sup>30</sup> Some military saints were usually represented with beards, for instance Niketas, and both Theodores. This last is especially interesting since one of the Theodores is described as "the recruit" (*Tiron*), and yet was bearded. Again, age seems not to be the determinative factor.

<sup>31</sup> Dionysios of Fournà, *Painter's Manual*, 65; cf. Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 70.

<sup>32</sup> Christine Havice, Art History University of Kentucky, <honorsch@ukcc.uky.edu>, Personal email communication, 01/07/1997.

<sup>33</sup> Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 31.

<sup>34</sup> Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 169; Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin: Bottega D'Erasmus, 1983).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 169, who cites Manuel Philes' poem describing a church dedicated to Nicholas as "a common remedy of safety" and "a sea of miracles flowing without envy."

icons show him as a bishop, and conventionally masculine in dress, beard, and baldness. His dossier was not composed of exciting accounts of tortures, but almost entirely of accounts of his miracles.<sup>36</sup> As Henry Maguire notes, iconography reflects this difference: George's sufferings are depicted in imitation of the sufferings of Christ, while Nicholas' images usually concern more mundane miracles.<sup>37</sup> There is an interesting consequence: whereas George's power derives from his relationship with Christ, as Christ's victor, and as Christ's beloved, Nicholas stands as a much more autonomous worker of wonders. One consequence, perhaps, is that there is never any impetus to compromise Nicholas' masculinity, since his cult treats him more as a substitute divinity to deal with the everyday problems of life than as a mediator with Christ.<sup>38</sup>

Here then may be a clue to the iconography of many military saints. Their military status and the exploits they undertook secured their masculinity, and the power it gave them to intervene for their clients. Their youth, beardlessness, and innocence, however, separated them from the worldly cares of adult males, and put them in a more intimate relationship with Christ.<sup>39</sup> Icons portrayed bishops and monks, by contrast, as adult men, with their separation from the world witnessed by their ascetic appearance.

Henry Maguire notes that Byzantine artists adopted schematic registers of corporeality for different types of saints: they stressed the immateriality of ascetics and

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Charles W. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). Jones' approach is somewhat odd in presenting the texts about Nicholas as "verbal relics."

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 186.

<sup>38</sup> Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 169, argues that Nicholas' popularity derived from his being a "generalist" in mundane matters.

<sup>39</sup> This point is developed further below.



bishops, while allowing Biblical figures and the military saints to exist in a more fully articulated space.<sup>40</sup> In this context, we may note that Nicholas, although a bishop, was represented as active and moving in space.<sup>41</sup> While both incorporeality and youthful innocence were iconographic modes that separated the saint from secular society, the saints with a relatively more dynamic representation were the ones with the largest cults. In effect, the Byzantine cult of saints evolved a model of saintly masculinity connected to the themes of secular masculinity, but distinct in that it found a variety of ways to desexualize the bodies of the saints.

### **B Sanctity and Masculinity: Byzantine Era Saints**

No new Byzantine male saint achieved the renown of the major legendary and Biblical saints.<sup>42</sup> The types of figures, moreover, who became saints in the Byzantine period were strikingly dissimilar to the saints who had major cults in that period. George and Demetrios, subjects of major cults, seem very distant from the various monastic founders and ascetic hermits; and the legends of the warrior saints trampling dragons are quite incongruent with the ascetic and political struggles of Athanasios in the fourteenth century. The opportunity to achieve martyrdom, and the supply of new martyrs, was much less in the Byzantine period. There had to be some shift in the types of men who

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<sup>40</sup> Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 48-99.

<sup>41</sup> Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 183, fig. 160.

<sup>42</sup> The "big story" in sainthood in the ninth century and after was not the new cults of contemporary saints. Rather it was expansion of the cult of Nicholas of Myra, a non-martyred bishop, who seems to have much more in common with Byzantine era saints than the legendary martyrs. When we consider that even among new cults, the most successful were new cults of

became saints. The sanctity of new saints, however, reflected the motifs of the major cults, both in accounts of the saints' activities while alive and in their cults.

There were far more male than female saints in the Byzantine era, and they were of more diverse types.<sup>43</sup> Some new cults reiterated distinctively male motifs, such as the sainted bishop, others reprised the role of Christian intellectual. The majority focused on monks. The goal here is not to examine the sanctity and masculinity of all these saints, but to demonstrate that the male saints were always able to reproduce the themes we see in the cults of the major saints.

The Byzantine era saints were not able to approach the glory of the martyrs, but their cults easily assimilated them to ancient ascetics. As we saw in the last chapter, the early ascetics themselves stood in comparison to the martyrs.<sup>44</sup> There was almost a Platonic descent: the martyrs imitated Christ, the ascetics imitated the martyrs, and the later ascetics imitated the earlier ones.

Saints engaged in the *agon*, and the Byzantine hagiographers maintained the language of athletic contest in full force. In his "struggles," Luke of Steiris (tenth century) "afflicted his body with heavy labor,"<sup>45</sup> while Nikon the Metanoite (tenth century) was "like an Olympian in a contest, a wrestling match,"<sup>46</sup> for whom "God

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old saints, for instance Elijah or Menas, we need to consider the possibility that the Byzantines simply preferred their saints to be legendary and powerful.

<sup>43</sup> See tables in Chapter IV.

<sup>44</sup> See the discussion of Anthony of Egypt in Chapter IV.

<sup>45</sup> *Life of Luke of Steiris*, ed. and trans. Carolyn L. Connor and W. Robert Connor, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1994), 32.

<sup>46</sup> *Life of Nikon* 80.

strengthened his body even more than gymnasts are by food."<sup>47</sup> For the most part, the men celebrated as saints conducted their *agon* through extreme asceticism. Cyril of Philea (eleventh century) lived three years in silent contemplation,<sup>48</sup> and spent his entire life on a regimen of uncooked vegetables. Even in his nineties when ill "he did not relax his *askesis* which had become for him because of his long custom and manner of living a second nature."<sup>49</sup> Cyril also bound himself in horrendous fetters, which caused fetid wounds, because he argued "to acquire virtue one must pay blood."<sup>50</sup> Paul Magdalino suggests that extreme asceticism became unfashionable in the twelfth century,<sup>51</sup> but if so, an important route to sainthood was closed, since that was the period when we see a real dip in the numbers of new male saints. When numbers rise in the Palaiologan era, we again find accounts of extreme mortification, for example when Romylos (fourteenth century) emulated the Forty Martyrs by spending a night in the open air covered in snow.<sup>52</sup> Romylos' *Life* shows the undiminished persistence of agonistic language. He was a "spiritual athlete" and "champion of virtue," the contemplation of whom was "good to see with the eyes of the soul."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Life* of Nikon 82.

<sup>48</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (+ 1110)*, Introduction, critical text and French translation by Etienne Sargologos, *Subsidia hagiographica* 39 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1964), ch. 23.

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 51.

<sup>50</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," in Hackel, *Saint*, 59-60.

<sup>52</sup> Bartusis, Mark, Khalifa Ben Nasser, and Angeliki E. Laiou, "Days and Deeds of a Hesychast Saint: A Translation of the Greek Life of St. Romylos," *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 9:1 (1982), 32.

<sup>53</sup> Bartusis, "Romylos," 25.

Frequently the saint's *agon* involved some separation from the world, either through pilgrimage or long retreats in isolated places.<sup>54</sup> Holiness was something almost tangible and by going to holy places, some of their holiness seems to have attached itself to the saint in the eyes of contemporaries. Again, this pattern persisted. Maximos the Kausokalybites (fourteenth century):

...went up to Constantinople in order to venerate <the instruments of> the passion and the holy relics. And again he returned to the Holy Mountain and he took up abode in the wild places of Athos, without shelter, without a home, like others <such as> Onouphrios and Peter the Athonite...for the most part he lived in the wild places content with plants and acorns and sweet chestnuts and some other things for provisions. And this wild place held him for a period of ten complete years.<sup>55</sup>

The goal of the saint in all these struggles was the *apatheia*, or carelessness towards the world, described earlier. Cyril of Philea, for instance, remained calm when a tragic accident befell his daughter.<sup>56</sup> He even scolded his wife for being upset. Weeping for God, however, was acceptable for male saints,<sup>57</sup> even when it made them "wail like a mother who is burying her son."<sup>58</sup> Tears of compunction, a repeated theme of both male

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<sup>54</sup> Travel and pilgrimage to holy places was common. Nikon, "traveled through many places in Eastern regions" [*Life of Nikon*, 82]; Cyril of Philea went to Chonai and Rome, [Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 18 & 19].

<sup>55</sup> Niphon, *Life of Maximos 2*, in François Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AnalBoll* 54 (1936), 43, repr. in François Halkin, *Saints moines d'Orient* (London: Variorum, 1973), XI.

<sup>56</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 13. Cf. the calmness of Mary the Younger when her son died, discussed in Chapter VI.

<sup>57</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Bartusis, "Romylos," 35.

and female saints' *Lives*,<sup>59</sup> were only for the saint's relationship to God, not about their worldly or family life.

As with the major saints, one result of *apatheia* was the right to *parrhesia*, free speech. With early martyrs, this was often a matter of speaking against the state. In the Byzantine context, free speech helped the saints act within the political structures of the empire. When an official visited Luke of Steiris, Luke "spoke in his customary fashion" and was "not overawed by the man's office."<sup>60</sup> The important Komnenian general Philokales was told by Cyril of Philea, "You govern with tyranny," and "He who wishes to command men but who is a slave to anger and money, to pleasures and love of power, will become an object of derision."<sup>61</sup>

After the saints' period of testing by *askesis*, and often because of their freedom of speech, the texts present many of the saints as powerful actors in the world. The saint's position in society was sometimes just a matter of public miracles: Cyril expelled demons, cured an epileptic, and blessed curative water.<sup>62</sup> More direct political power was also available to the saint.

The *Life* of Nikon the Metanoite shows the power a saint could wield, and is worth looking at in detail, as he was contemporary with the women saints under consideration. Nikon was one of the most important saints of the tenth century in the

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. The long description in the *Life* of Nikephoros of Miletus 28, "Vita Sancti Nicephori Episcopi Milesii, Saeculo X," *AnalBoll* 14 (1895), 158-59; and Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Life of Saint Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksall, Stockholm, 1986), ch. 8, p. 30.

<sup>60</sup> *Life* of Luke of Steiris 92.

<sup>61</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 35.

Peloponnesus. He was a traditional sort of saint, and his *Life* demonstrated his holiness by relating multiple physical miracles. During his lifetime, he was widely revered as a holy man. His public power was immense. In one episode, Nikon, who had been wandering for some time, arrived in Sparta, where he was to spend the rest of his life. Sparta was suffering from a pestilence, and the Spartans, knowing of Nikon's holiness, begged him to help. Nikon:

...promised relief from the danger if they drove outside their city the Jewish race which lived amongst them, lest it might be contaminating them by its abominable customs and the pollution of its worship. "For if you obey me in this," he said, "the pestilence will leave and I will spend the rest of my life with you" ...And at his presence the disease departed and the Jews were banished from the city.<sup>63</sup>

Nikon moved to the city and built a church, but his public power faced opposition. One man, John Aratos, refused to help him:

Nor did this nobleman (John) cease defying the holy man... For he was not at all in agreement with the other Spartans, but was in opposition to their wishes. Hence he asserted that the removal of the Jews outside the city was not just or reasonable, and the rash man, swelling with passion, did not blush to censure the Spartans for this with every word.<sup>64</sup>

John brought back into the city one of the Jews who had been ejected. This drove Nikon to action:

The gentle man (Nikon) thence became a warrior... He seized a club which was lying nearby and inflicting many blows on the Jew drove him out of the city and seemed more fearful to his enemies than Herakles with his club, as they say. For the Jewish people were for the just man (Nikon) so to be shunned that he wished to give their name neither to his ear nor his tongue. The words of David agree with him quite literally which say: "Lord, I have hated those who hate you, and wasted away because of your enemies. I hated them with a perfect hate."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 51.3, 53.3, 56.2

<sup>63</sup> *Life of Nikon* 33.

<sup>64</sup> *Life of Nikon* 35.

<sup>65</sup> *Life of Nikon* 35.

When John Aratos heard of this attack on the Jew:

He considered the act a provocation to anger.... For evil is always contentious and rash enough to undertake even irrational acts. John came forth in anger at the saint, and indulging in his bold and undisciplined tongue this bold man was not at all ashamed to violently attack, to abuse, to shove, to frighten (as if he could) with threats. <sup>66</sup>

Nikon said, "Depart poor wretch, weep for your sins; for in a short time you will know what the fruit of your presumption is and the wages of evil." <sup>67</sup> There was no delay for the divine retribution called down by the saint. John had dreams in which he was whipped and suffered a burning fever. He ended by begging for Nikon, who came to his bedside and said, "The things which you have done to me, brother, must be forgiven you, in so far as is in my power. But when departure from this life has been ordained from above there will be no one thereafter who will be able to disperse God's plan." <sup>68</sup> John then died after three days and Nikon's victory was complete:

Fear then from this crept upon the inhabitants of Sparta -- no ordinary fear. And one could see them all, from the highest to the lowest, with reverence and fear coming to the saint and eagerly fulfilling all the things commanded by him. For the example convinced all who were scornful to the servants of Christ that reward comes to the just man and that God judges those here on earth. <sup>69</sup>

The text is both disturbing and interesting. The author clearly meant Christians to read this text and see in it a manifestation of Nikon's power and holiness. As a saint, he has both the social standing and the sacred power to engage in an *agon* over virtue. But what we also have here is a presentation of Nikon's holiness as sacred masculinity. He is

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<sup>66</sup> *Life* of Nikon 35.

<sup>67</sup> *Life* of Nikon 35.

<sup>68</sup> *Life* of Nikon 35.

<sup>69</sup> *Life* of Nikon 35.

a politically dominant figure who is able to make people do things. When he needs to act, the author depicts him as using violence (clubs), and makes a direct comparison to the story of Herakles, the paradigm of the classical male hero, who is often depicted wielding a club.

Nikon was not alone in his ability to act in the world. Luke of Steiris gave advice to generals.<sup>70</sup> Much closer to the center of power in Constantinople was Cyril of Philea, whose *Life* depicts him as a major figure in the circle of the new Komnenian dynasty. When the matriarch Anna Dalassena, in disgrace after the fall of Romanos IV Diogenes, met Cyril in 1071, Kataskepenos has him predict, "May your sons reign in the cities and amongst the nations and may their name become celebrated, and dreadful to all their enemies."<sup>71</sup> Alexios I Komnenos himself twice came sixty miles to Philea to visit the saint, as did many other dignitaries. The theme of the saint's power in the secular world persisted. Niphon, author of the *Life* of Maximos the Kausokalybites, insists at the outset that the saint was "a support and guide towards succor, not only to monks but indeed to emperors and high officials."<sup>72</sup>

The *Lives* of course describe the new saints' activities while they were living holy men rather than dead cult figures, but there was congruity also in the nature of the saints' cults.<sup>73</sup> Although minor in comparison to the major saints, *Lives* often describe the initial stages of a new saint's cult. Just as with George and company, the new saint remained

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<sup>70</sup> *Life* of Luke of Steiris 92.

<sup>71</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 77.

<sup>72</sup> Niphon, *Life* of Maximos I.

<sup>73</sup> See discussion in Chapter III.



present in the community through his relics and icons, he acted in the world through miracles, and functioned as a distinct powerful personality within local communities.

In sum, the *Lives* of Byzantine era male saints took the motifs of saintly masculinity upheld by the cults of major saints -- the *agon*, *apatheia*, separation from the world of the family, and power to act in the world -- and made the new saints reenact the paradigms of the old. Taking into account the difference in types of saint, we see a continuity of themes that intermingle sanctity and masculinity. In contrast to the women saints considered in the next chapter, Byzantine society was able to continue to produce and recognize male saints precisely because men could always reproduce the sanctity manifest in the major cults.

#### **C Nuptiality in the *Lives* of Male Saints<sup>74</sup>**

So far, we have probed the ways in which gender inflected the sanctity of male saints. The motifs of sanctity were also motifs of a sacred masculinity. This is perhaps enough to explain the decline of new women saints in Byzantium. But the conjunction of gender and sanctity was more intricate. As already noted, saints were male towards the world, but not towards God. With God, the themes of power, endurance, and free speech did not apply. In that relationship, there was an element of passivity. A study of the theme of nuptiality in male saints' *Lives* suggests that Byzantine writers were prepared to

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<sup>74</sup> The following discussion was presented in a substantially different form at the Byzantine Studies Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, September 26, 1997. In this context, "nuptiality" means "images and metaphors of marriage."

compromise the masculinity of their subject when doing so enhanced the saint's intimacy with God.

In recent years, scholars have explored the gendering of Byzantine female saints.<sup>75</sup> The notable disparity between numbers of new male and female saints during the Byzantine period: the continued use of the trope of the "virile woman"; and the appearance of married women saints in the ninth to eleventh centuries, are all phenomena that have provoked questions about the role of gender in female sanctity. With men, the situation is very different. While it has long been recognized that, as Christian heroes, male saints reversed standard classical tropes of masculinity,<sup>76</sup> the essential masculinity of male saints has been largely unquestioned.<sup>77</sup> This is a commonplace of modern historiography -- women figures have "gender," while maleness is unproblematic.

It is important to place the masculinity of male saints in Byzantium under the sign of gender. I propose that, just as female saints were often masculinized in the hagiographical literature, male saints *could be* feminized. Such feminization, or gender reversal, might be interrogated in a number of ways -- the themes of penetration in martyrs' bodies, the abandonment of familial social roles by monks -- but here I focus on a hitherto unexamined, and perhaps minor, theme in male saints' *Lives*: the nuptial

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<sup>75</sup> See Patlagean, "La femme déguisée"; Alice-Mary Talbot, "General Introduction," in *HWB*, esp. x-xv; and, most recently, see Lynda Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

<sup>76</sup> Unlike the classical hero's body, which is a source of power and independence, the saint's body is penetrated and destroyed in the case of martyrs, or deliberately weakened by ascetics. Cf. Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 19, 434.

<sup>77</sup> For a recent discussions of male gendering in some Late Antique philosophers and fathers, see Nonna Verna Harrison, "The Feminine Man in Late Antique Ascetic Piety," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 48: 3-4 (1994)[<http://www.columbia.edu/~usqr/harrison.html>].

relationship of male saints and Christ. In this task two types of texts have proved to be of interest: the use of nuptial and "near nuptial" imagery in hagiography, and texts by mystical writers which envision a marriage of their souls to Jesus.

As participants in a culture permeated with Christian imagery, we may not always be aware of the startling nature of some Christian themes and images. My students at Fordham are often bemused, for instance, when I seek to convey the embarrassment of the crucifixion by asking them if they would wear an image of an electric chair, or a syringe, around their necks if Jesus had been executed in modern America.<sup>78</sup> They simply "forget" that the cross represents a violent form of capital punishment. In the same way, bridal imagery -- in first communion ceremonies for Roman Catholic girls and in relation to women religious -- is extremely familiar. But the very familiarity of the image should not obscure the fact that we have a universal human institution, defined by erotic and sexual interaction between the parties, being taken as a model for a Christian's relationship to Christ.

The use of nuptial imagery to describe relationships with Christ goes back to the *Song of Songs*, allegorized by Christian authors as a series of metaphors for the relationship between the soul and God, and to the New Testament, where marriage, and the figure of Christ as the Bridegroom, is used in both the gospels and epistles to refer to Christ's relationship with the Church.<sup>79</sup> The comments of St. Paul were also important, "I

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<sup>78</sup> For the embarrassment of the cross, see Athanasios of Alexandria, *The Life of Anthony*, trans. Robert C. Gregg (New York: Paulist, 1980), ch. 74-75.

<sup>79</sup> Jesus is referred to as a "bridegroom" directly or indirectly numerous times in the New Testament. The gospels all use the term: see, Mt. 9:15, 25:1-10; Mk. 2:19-20; Lk. 5:34-35; Jn. 3:29. Although the Pauline epistles do not use the term bridegroom, they do invoke nuptial imagery: in 2 Cor. 11:2, Paul refers to Christ as a husband (ἀνὴρ) with whom he has joined

am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ."<sup>80</sup>

Although such nuptial images were also commonly used to describe the relationship of the Church and Christ, I am here concerned only about their use in reference to individual people. It seems to have been Origen, in his discussion of the *Song of Songs*, who first made prominent the idea that the relationship between Christ and the individual soul was as between a bridegroom and bride.<sup>81</sup> Tertullian was the first to employ the term "sponsa Christi" for consecrated virgins;<sup>82</sup> and the idea was rapidly taken up by Greek writers, so much so that Peter Brown argues that by the fourth century Origen's use of the term "bride" for the souls of males and females had given way to its almost exclusive use for virgin women.<sup>83</sup> The term was rapidly applied to female saints such as Thekla,<sup>84</sup> and "bride of Christ" remained very common, although not ubiquitous, in reference to female religious figures -- both nuns and female saints -- throughout the Byzantine period.<sup>85</sup>

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Christians as "pure virgin brides": In Eph. 5:23-25 Paul describes Christ's relationship to the Church as that of husband and wife. Rev. 21:2 presents the union of the bride and husband as the consummation of all things.

<sup>80</sup> 2 Cor. 11:2

<sup>81</sup> Pierre Adnès. "Mariage Spirituel." *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980), Vol. 10, col. 391; Brown, *Body and Society*, 274. There were, however, Gnostic roots to the idea, see Marvin W. Meyer, "'Male' and 'Female' in the Gospel of Thomas," *New Testament Studies* 31 (1985), 557-58.

<sup>82</sup> Adnès. "Mariage Spirituel," 393.

<sup>83</sup> Brown. *Body and Society*, 259-274.

<sup>84</sup> E.g. *Life of Thekla*, in *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*, ed. and French trans. Gilbert Dagron, *Subsidia hagiographica* 62 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978), #26 (p.274).

<sup>85</sup> E.g., Elisabeth of Herakleia, [HWB, 127]; Theodora of Thessalonika, [HWB, 200]; Irene of Chrysobalanton [Rosenqvist, *Irene*, ch. 3]. For repeated use about a living woman, see

What is less well known is that images of nuptiality pervade some texts representing male saints' relationships -- with Christ and with each other. This imagery is not present in all, or even most, male saints' *Lives* but is present in enough that it cannot be dismissed as one writer's eccentricity. In all the texts I examined, Christ is the bridegroom but the role of the saint varies: in most cases, he assumes a female role, but a few are "bridegrooms of Christ." The texts, which present male saints or religious figures as "brides of Christ," perform a gender reversal familiar in western medieval sources.<sup>86</sup>

Let me give some examples:

Methodios of Olympos, in the late third century, is the earliest person I can find who describes a man as a "bride of Christ." The saint in question is Paul of Tarsus, whom Methodios sees as both a bride of Christ and a spiritual mother.<sup>87</sup> In the *Symposium* 3:9, Methodios writes of Paul that "When he had grown to manhood and was remade and fully developed in spiritual perfection, he had been made into a helpmate (βοηθός) and bride (νύμφη) of the Word (τοῦ λόγου)."<sup>88</sup> The context here is Methodios'

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Gregory Palamas, "To the Most Reverend Nun Xenia," trans. in *The Philokalia*, ed. G.E.H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard and Kallistos Ware (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), Vol. 4, 293-322.

<sup>86</sup> The Western sources are usually of a later date than the Byzantine texts I am discussing here. See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), esp. Chap. IV, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing." Cf. John Kitchen, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 108-11, where the use of nuptial themes did not result in male saints being called "brides."

<sup>87</sup> Methodios of Olympos, *Symposium*, ed. and French trans. by Herbert Musurillo, as *Methode d'Olympe, Le Banquet*, Sources chrétiennes 95 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1963). English trans. Herbert Musurillo, as *St. Methodius, The Symposium, a Treatise on Charity*, Ancient Christian Writers 27 (Westminster MD: 1958). See Harrison, "Feminine Man," for a discussion of the text.

<sup>88</sup> Methodios of Olympos, *Symposium*, 3.9.

discussion of how a Christian helps the Church grow through teaching. Keeping to his theme, Methodios adds that Paul "receiving the seed of life and conceiving, he who had before been called a child, now became Church and mother."

The ancient passion of the martyrs Sergios and Bacchos, dated uncertainly to the fourth century, describes their forced humiliation when they were dressed in women's clothes and paraded through the streets.<sup>89</sup> The pair chant acceptance of their feminization for God: "You... have covered us with the robe of righteousness; as brides you have decked us with women's gowns, and joined us to you."<sup>90</sup>

In the fifth-century *Philotheos Historia* (or *History of the Monks of Syria*),<sup>91</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus does not hesitate to present his Syrian monks as related to Christ in a string of explicitly nuptial allusions. Drawing on the *Song of Songs*, Theodoret has this to say about Peter the Galatian's love for Christ:

As an apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved (ὁ ἀδελφιδός μου) among the sons; in his shadow I yearned and sat, and his fruit was sweet in my mouth" [Song 2:3]. So this divine man [Peter] did nothing unreasonable when he fell in love (ἔρωας) with the same bridegroom and used the words of the bride, "I am wounded with love (ἀγάπης)" [Song 5:8].<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> "Passio Antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi." *AnalBoll* 14 (1895), 373-95, trans. John Boswell, *Same Sex Unions in Pre Modern Europe* (New York: Villard, 1994), 375-90. See Boswell's discussion of the date, p. 147 n172. The Bollandist editors did not assign a date, while Enrico Lodi in *Enchiridion Euchologicum Fontium Liturgicorum, (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 15* [Rome: 1979]) dated it to the early fourth century.

<sup>90</sup> "Passio Antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi," 381. "ὡς νύμφας κατεκόσμησας ἡμᾶς γυναικείαις στολαῖς." Although the story of the saints being paraded through the streets in women's clothes was preserved in the Metaphrastic version of the life, the use of the term "brides" was not. See PG 115:1009D.

<sup>91</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Philotheos Historia*, ed. with French trans. by Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy Molinghen, as *Histoire des Moines de Syrie* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1977), 2 vols.; English trans. by R. M. Price as *A History of the Monks of Syria* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian, 1985). References are to standard text divisions. Translations are Price's.

<sup>92</sup> Theodoret, *Historia*, 9.2.

And, commenting on his monks as a whole, Theodoret says:

...they did not grasp honor from men. Instead they transferred all their love (τὸ φίλτρον) to the Bridegroom, like modest women who are eager to be loved (φιλεῖσθαι) and praised by their spouses but despise adulation from others.<sup>93</sup>

Theodoret clearly found this language congenial. Long passages in his *Epilogue on Divine Love*, written later, are devoted to exploring the theme of nuptial imagery.<sup>94</sup>

The case of Theodoret is particularly interesting for Byzantinists because we know his work was widely read and copied throughout Byzantine history. At least forty-two manuscripts which contain the full text of the *Philotheos Historia* are known (dating from the tenth-seventeenth centuries), not to mention multiple manuscripts with excerpts, as well as translations in Syriac, Georgian, and Arabic. We do not have here some obscure patristic reference, but a text that we know fired the religious imagination of later Byzantine readers.<sup>95</sup>

Although he does not specifically call any monks or saints "brides," in his *Life of John the Almsgiver*, Leontios of Neapolis does have St. John invoke the Pauline text [2 Cor 11:2] in an address to monks, and effectively turn them into brides in relation to God.

For if, having legally married a wife in this world of the flesh, we are forbidden by God and by the laws to desert her and be united to another woman, even though we have to spend a long time separated from her in a distant country, and shall incur punishment if we violate our vows, how then shall we, who have been joined to God through the Orthodox faith and the Catholic Church - as the apostle says: "I espoused you to one husband that I might present you as a pure virgin to Christ" [2 Cor. 11:2] -- how shall we escape from sharing in that punishment

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<sup>93</sup> Theodoret, *Historia*, 15.6.

<sup>94</sup> Theodoret, *Historia*, 31. See esp. 31:5-6, 19, 21. Theodoret uses a variety of words to refer to this love – *agape*, *eros*, *pothos*, *philtro*n, *philia* – but, as pointed out by R. M. Price, "there is no difference in meaning between them." [*History of the Monks of Syria*, 206 n1].

<sup>95</sup> Canivet and Leroy Molinghen, *Histoire*, Vol 1, 57-63.

which in the world to come awaits heretics, if we defile the orthodox and holy faith by adulterous communion with heretics?<sup>96</sup>

In this text, not only is the monk's relationship with Christ nuptial, but a break in the bond is cast as "adulterous."

Other texts denote male saints as the bridegrooms [νόμφοι] of Christ. Although not common, this usage occurs in widely varied hagiographic contexts, but is not seen in western sources.<sup>97</sup>

A fifth-century *enkomion* of St. George by Theodotos of Ankyra is replete with nuptial imagery.<sup>98</sup> I have only been able to locate surviving Coptic and Ethiopic [Geez] translations of the text, but it does seem to have been widespread in a variety of forms, and to have been translated into a number of languages. Theodotos presents George in conventional masculine terms as an "athlete" and "warrior." But from the outset George, surely the most celebrated of all martyr saints, is feminized in some ways. He is

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<sup>96</sup> Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, trans. Elizabeth Dawes, in *Three Byzantine Saints: Contemporary Biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon and St. John the Almsgiver* (London: 1948), 251.

<sup>97</sup> I have not been able to locate any instance in which a male saint was called a "sponsus Christi." The entire *Patrologia Latina Database* had not one instance. Even after Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross popularized the notion of "spiritual marriage," Western writers preserved an exclusively feminine identity in relation to the Bridegroom: examples include Bernard-François de Hoyos (d. 1735), Paul of the Cross (d. 1775) and Nicholas Factor (d. 1583) who were all "brides." To preserve heterosexual roles, some Western male religious figures contracted marriages with a female person – divine Wisdom: examples include Henry Suso (d. 1366) and Laurent Justinien (d. 1456). For discussion see Adnčs, "Mariage Spirituel," col. 388-408.

<sup>98</sup> Ernest A. Wallis Budge, ed. and trans., *The Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George of Cappodokia. The Coptic Texts* (London: D. Nutt, 1888). See also Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *George of Lydda: The Patron Saint of England. A Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia. Translations of the Ethiopic Texts as found in the Manuscripts from the Makdala* (London: Luzac, 1930).



repeatedly described as "beautiful" and his physical presentation emphasized.<sup>99</sup> George is resurrected and killed a number of times in the text, and in both texts and in illustrations his body is repeatedly penetrated and violated. In a very real sense, he is made a subject of rape. None of this is especially unusual with male martyrs.

Theodotos' presentation of George's relationship with Christ is striking. George is awarded the crown of martyrdom by Christ, not as the judge of the athletic contest, but as "the true and Holy Bridegroom, Our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>100</sup> George had been promised in marriage to a woman, a marriage that was never accomplished: Theodotos comments that "he did not know that Christ was keeping him a pure virgin bridegroom for himself."<sup>101</sup> When George actually dies, his reception in heaven is quite extraordinary. Christ himself, not an angel, retrieves his soul, and utters a long salutation: <sup>102</sup>

Hail My George! Hail Beloved of myself and my angels! Hail, champion of the kingdom of Heaven! Blessed art thou this day, O George My Beloved.<sup>103</sup>

And later,

I swear by my right hand, O my beloved one, that I will establish a covenant with thee...all the saints shall know thee by reason of the honor which I will show thee, O my beloved and they shall know that thou art George the beloved of God.<sup>104</sup>

Theodotos presents the relationship between Jesus and George in unambiguously erotic terms. Christ wins George's love from a potential wife and refers to him repeatedly as his

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<sup>99</sup> Cf. Walter's comments ["Saint George," 320] on George's "androgyny," discussed above.

<sup>100</sup> Wallis Budge, *Martyrdom and Miracles*, 276.

<sup>101</sup> Wallis Budge, *Martyrdom and Miracles*, 282.

<sup>102</sup> Wallis Budge, *Martyrdom and Miracles*, 323.

<sup>103</sup> Wallis Budge, *Martyrdom and Miracles*, 320.

<sup>104</sup> Wallis Budge, *Martyrdom and Miracles*, 321.

"beloved." George is given special prominence among all other saints. When George dies he is welcomed into heaven by Christ and awarded a special covenantal closeness to Christ.

This text could be dismissed, especially given its translation history, so let me turn to a more mainstream writer, Leontios of Neapolis. Writing in the seventh century, Leontios of Neapolis seeks to use nuptial and fraternal imagery in his portrayal of the sixth-century Syrian "holy fool," Symeon of Emesa.<sup>105</sup>

After Symeon and John deserted their families to pursue an ascetic life, they spent some time in a monastery where they were tonsured together and underwent some sort of brotherhood rite.<sup>106</sup> They desired to leave for the desert and as they depart Leontios names them as "the pure bridegrooms of Christ" (οἱ νύμφιοι οἱ καθαροὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ).<sup>107</sup>

We again find "bridegroom" imagery used about St. Athanasios of Constantinople in the fourteenth century, who is called a "truly spiritual bridegroom." "Bridegroom" here might simply be a reference to Athanasios' role as bishop,<sup>108</sup> but, on closer examination, it

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<sup>105</sup> Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Fool*; ed. Lennart Rydén in *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1963); Rydén's ed. repr. in *Léontios de Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.J. Festugière (Paris: Guethner, 1974), with a French translation by A.J. Festugière. For English translation, see Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontios' Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 131-71.

<sup>106</sup> Earlier in the text Leontios had mixed discourses. After recounting how Symeon was deemed worthy of adoption as a *son*, he has Christ apply to the soul the verses of the Song of Songs [4:7] "you are all fair, my love; there is no flaw in you." [Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, ed. Lennart Rydén, 123].

<sup>107</sup> Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, ed. Lennart Rydén, 133.

<sup>108</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, who edited and translated the text, suggested this interpretation, Personal email communication, 07/23/1997.

appears that the author is using the term independently of the episcopal office.

Theoktistos the Stoudite, the author in question, begins his *Oration on the Translation of The Relics of Our Holy Father Athanasios*,<sup>109</sup> by weaving together a variety of nuptial and "shining" metaphors -- he casts his own text as the "ill-clad guest" at the wedding banquet and Athanasios as a disperser of "sunny rays."<sup>110</sup> When Theoktistos eventually says of the Patriarch that "the truly spiritual bridegroom, like a great sun after its plunge to earth...lights up the whole earth sending forth miracles like sunbeams,"<sup>111</sup> there is no doubt that this is another instance of a saint being presented as the bridegroom of Christ.

As readers may have noted, there is a large gap in the examples cited above between the late antique and pre-iconoclastic texts and Athanasios in the fourteenth century. And I admit that the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database* did not pull up any "male bridegrooms" of Christ for the centuries it covers. I propose, however, that some writers remained interested in presenting their saintly subjects as more closely related to Christ than merely as servants. Although, for perhaps the majority of saints, "servant" is the highest level of intimacy their biographer assigns to them, we have a number of cases of what I suggest is "near-nuptial" imagery.

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<sup>109</sup> Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Oration on the Translation of The Relics of Our Holy Father Athanasios*. Patriarch of Constantinople, ed. and trans. Alice-Mary Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1983).

<sup>110</sup> Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Oration*, 1.

<sup>111</sup> Theoktistos the Stoudite, *Oration*, 4.

Peter of Atroa was a wonder-worker who died in 837. His dossier includes a *Life*, a reedited *Life*, and a compilation of posthumous miracles.<sup>112</sup> In seeking to express Peter's power and closeness to God, the author of the posthumous miracles notes that after he had left his body he "was established with his desired one (ποθούμενος) the Lord Jesus Christ, conversing with him as a friend (φιλικῶς) face to face."<sup>113</sup> In this case, the imagery is perhaps more directly erotic than nuptial.

Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022) is probably the best known Byzantine saint in the modern world. His biographer, Niketas Stethatos, does not use any variant of "νόμφη" about him, but he does have Symeon take on the procreative (with the Holy Spirit) role Methodios of Olympus had earlier assigned to Paul. At one point Symeon says, "Come then, my children, my brothers and my fathers whom I have assembled with Christ my God, and to whom I have given birth through the Holy Spirit in my teaching of the divine word."<sup>114</sup>

Finally Nicholas Kataskepenos, the twelfth-century author of the *Life* of Cyril of Philea, has Cyril teach about intimacy and prayer in this interesting passage:

There are seven manners and seven kinds of prayers, as says the Abbot Anastasios. Three of them exist under the rule of fear and chastisement; the four others are used by those who are assured of their salvation and have a share in the kingdom of God. When a man is plunged into voluptuousness he holds to a prayer as a man condemned and without confidence, as man touched by the pain of

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<sup>112</sup> See *La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, ed. and trans. Vitalien Laurent, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 29 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1956), and *La vita retracta et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, ed. and French trans. Vitalien Laurent, *Subsidia hagiographica* 31 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1958).

<sup>113</sup> Laurent, *Vita retracta*, 89, p. 135.

<sup>114</sup> Niketas Stethatos, *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949-1022) par Nicétas Stéthatos*, ed. Irénée Hausherr, and French trans. P. Gabriel Horn, *Orientalia Christiana* 12 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1928), #64 (p. 86).

death; in the second manner, a man takes himself before God and speaks to him as a debtor; the third manner differs from the two preceding, for one presents oneself to the Master as a slave, but a slave remains under the rule of fear and the fear of blows; in the fourth, the man carries himself in regard to God as a freed (?) servant, freed from servitude and waiting to receive a recompense because of the mercy of God; in the fifth manner [of prayer], better than the first four, one holds oneself before God and speaks to him as a friend; in the sixth manner, superior to that, the man speaks to God in all confidence as a son "for I have said that you are of the gods, you are of the son of the Most High." you all who want it; in the seventh manner, which marks a progress and which is the best of all, one prays among those who have undergone *adelphopoiia* with Christ [or "among the adopted brothers of Christ"].....<sup>115</sup>

Later, in the course of a long sermon, Kataskepenos has Cyril take up a specifically nuptial theme, without naming himself as "bride":

The Lord has need of such servants who abstain from passions and dress in the nuptial robe (ἔνδυμα τοῦ γάμου). Believe that the nuptial robe, indicated by the divine words of Christ, is the grace of the Holy Spirit: he who is not fit to be so dressed may not be a participant in the celestial marriage (τοῦ ἐπουρανίου γάμου) and the spiritual feast.<sup>116</sup>

These three examples from later Byzantine texts are not exactly "marriage" with Christ, but they do approach nuptiality in different ways: Peter now lives face to face with his "desired one," and Symeon "gives birth" to his followers with -- if not Christ -- the Holy Spirit. Finally Cyril of Philea argues that the highest state of intimacy with Christ is to have undergone *adelphopoiia* with him, here distinct from both friendship and adoption.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, 9:2. The English here is dependent on Sargologos' French.

<sup>116</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, 51, 47:6.

<sup>117</sup> See John Boswell, *Same Sex Unions*, for an extended discussion of the *adelphopoiia* ceremony. Boswell's views have been severely criticized. In this case, I am merely suggesting a connection with nuptiality. On this issue see the careful review articles by Philip Lyndon Reynolds, "Same-sex Unions: What Boswell Didn't Find -- *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* by John Boswell," *Christian Century* 112:2 (Jan 18, 1995), 49-54; and Claudia Rapp,

*Council in Trullo*, canon 44, and related commentaries by Byzantine canonists, such as Theodore Balsamon and Matthew Blastares yield additional examples of male religious figures who were presented in nuptial relationship with Christ.<sup>118</sup> The lawyers repeatedly assert that such a monk is subject to the penalties for adultery. Blastares, for example, writes, "Concerning the monks and nuns who lapse: For if one who has been joined to the Heavenly Bridegroom divorces him and joins himself to a woman, this affair is adultery, even if you call it marriage ten thousand times."<sup>119</sup> In this context at least, monks as well as nuns were married to Christ.

So what is going on here? What do these texts mean? Although one could argue that references to "bridegrooms of Christ" are mere grammatical curiosities, nuptial imagery is so common that it represents a persistent effort by authors to find a way to represent both intimacy and saintly power. The point about saintly power should be clear. A major function of a hagiographer is to propose his subject as a powerful intercessor. The claim that a saint has a special relationship with Christ is specifically connected with claims for the saint's power to intercede.<sup>120</sup>

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"Ritual Brotherhood in Byzantium," *Traditio* 52 (1997), 285-326. Neither reviewer thinks that Boswell was correct in suggesting that *adelphopoiia* was a sort of same-sex marriage. Rapp, however, suggests that the ceremony was quite common, was an instance of "fictive kinship," and created familial bonds recognized in society. Reynolds believes that same-sex couples may have used the ceremony, without such use being the intent of the Church.

<sup>118</sup> *Council in Trullo*, canon 44 and related commentaries, in Theodore Balsamon, *Opera*, in PG vols.137-138, and in Rhalles-Potles.

<sup>119</sup> Matthew Blastares, *Syntagma* M.15, trans. Patrick Viscuso, *A Byzantine Theology of Marriage: The "Syntagma kata stoicheion" of Matthew Blastares* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Catholic University of America, 1989, UMI 8905346), 194 n58.

<sup>120</sup> See, for example, the cases of Peter of Atroa and George discussed above.

These goals of presenting intimacy and power are related, and both call for emphasizing the closeness of the saint to Christ. But why not do this in some other way? I suggest that the desire to represent intimacy with Christ in saint's lives can be seen as part of a wider problem with how to represent intimacy and closeness.

As has been noted by David Konstan, friendship was a problematic social construct for Christian writers, and it remained so in Byzantium.<sup>121</sup> But without friendship how does one discuss intimacy and equality between two men? I propose that some authors seized on the image of Christ the Bridegroom to do so. Marriage to Christ, even at the cost of making the saint "female," was a rhetorically powerful way to achieve the authors' goals.

Before coming to any more conclusions, let me point to two other areas where nuptial or near nuptial language was also used -- the writings of male mystics and hagiographers' attempts to represent intimacy between saints.

Contrary to Peter Brown's suggestion that Origen's use of nuptial language about the soul was displaced onto the body of the consecrated virgin women,<sup>122</sup> and well before the use of the image in the West, Byzantine mystical writers were willing to turn themselves female in order to be a bride to Christ the Bridegroom. In their writings, a heterosexual model of human relationships required that the saint or mystic assume a female role in relationship to the male Christ. In the mystical writers, this becomes

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<sup>121</sup> David Konstan, "Problems in the History of Christian Friendship," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4:1 (1996), 87-113; Margaret Mullett, "Byzantium: A Friendly Society?" *Past and Present* 118 (1988), 3-23.

<sup>122</sup> Brown, *Body and Society*, 274.

overtly erotic with the male Christ being said to penetrate the "female" soul of the mystic.

Let me give just two examples. Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022), writes:

76. The grace of the Holy Spirit is given as a pledge to souls that are betrothed to Christ: and just as without a pledge a woman cannot be sure that her union with a man will take place, so the soul will have no firm assurance that it will be joined for all eternity with its Lord and God, or be united with him mystically and inexpressibly, or enjoy his unapproachable beauty, unless it receives the pledge of his grace and consciously possess Him within itself.

78. It is as if the contract were written through the practice of the commandments and then signed and sealed by the virtues. Only then does Christ the bridegroom give his ring -- the pledge of the Spirit -- to the soul that is His bride to be.

79 Before the marriage the bride-to-be receives nothing but the pledge given by her future husband; she waits until after the marriage to receive the dowry that has been agreed upon and the gifts promised with it. So the Church -- the bride-to-be composed of all the faithful -- and the soul of each of us first receive from Christ the bridegroom-to-be, only the pledge of the Spirit....

81 Should the bride-to-be transfer her love from the man to whom she is affianced to another, sharing his bed, whether publicly or not, not only does she not receive anything of what her betrothed had promised her, she might rightly expect the censure and punishment of the law. The same is true in our case. If someone shifts the love he has for Christ, his betrothed, to the desire for some other thing...he will become hateful and abhorrent to Christ and unworthy of being united with Him, for it is written "I love (*agapao*) them that love me (*phileo*)" (Prov 8:17).<sup>123</sup>

Niketas Stethatos (d. post 1076), a disciple of Symeon, is much more explicit in

*On the Inner Nature of Things:*

48 There is nothing so kindred to the divine Logos as the soul's purity and chastity. Their mother is a devout all-embracing self control; and the father of this is fear. For once fear has changed to longings and is imbued with desire for things divine, it makes the soul not only fearless and full of love for God, but also the very mother of the divine Logos.

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<sup>123</sup> Symeon the New Theologian, *One Hundred and Fifty-three Practical and Theological Texts*, 76-82, trans. in *The Philokalia*, ed. Palmer et al., Vol. 4., 40-41.



49 Once impregnated by fear, the soul becomes through repentance pregnant with the Logos of divine judgment: the birth-pangs of hell encompass it, heartfelt anguish and travail afflict it as it reflects on the retribution due for the evil it has done. Then, having through copious tears and labours gestated in the mind's womb the Spirit of salvation it has conceived, it brings it forth into the world of the heart. Thus liberated from the pangs of hell and the anguish of judgment, the soul is joyously filled with longing for the blessings in store for it; purity and chasteness attend on it and, spurred by intense desire, unite it with God. Through this union it experiences an ineffable delight and sheds the sweet pleasurable tears of compunction. Exempt from the ordinary forms of perceptions and as though in ecstasy following the bridegroom, it cries voicelessly, I pursue Thee in the fragrance of thy myrrh; tell me, O Thou whom my soul loves, Where Thou feedest Thy flock.... Once the bridegroom has led the soul into the sanctuary of His hidden mysteries, He will initiate it with wisdom into the contemplation of the inner essences of created things. <sup>124</sup>

Let me emphasize that these are by no means isolated examples: Gregory of Nazianzos,<sup>125</sup> Theoleptos of Philadelphia (c.1250-1322),<sup>126</sup> Gregory of Sinai (1265-1346),<sup>127</sup> and Gregory Palamas (1296-1359),<sup>128</sup> all make use of this nuptial imagery.

Saints' *Lives* not only discuss the saints' intimate relationship with Christ, a number also discuss intimacy between the saints, texts that I can only signal here. The *Passio* of Sergios and Bacchos presents their relationship in nuptial terms.<sup>129</sup> Eusebonas

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<sup>124</sup> Niketas Stethatos, *On the Inner Nature of Things*, 48-49, trans. in *The Philokalia*, ed. Palmer et al., Vol. 4., 120.

<sup>125</sup> Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homily 37:10-12*, PG 36:359-428, cited in Viscuso, *Byzantine Theology of Marriage*, 194.

<sup>126</sup> Theoleptos of Philadelphia, *On the Inner Work in Christ*, trans. in *The Philokalia*, ed. Palmer et al., Vol. 4., 183.

<sup>127</sup> Gregory of Sinai, *On Commandments and Doctrines*, trans. in *The Philokalia*, ed. Palmer et al., Vol. 4., 233.

<sup>128</sup> Gregory Palamas, *Topics of Natural and Theological Sciences*, trans. in *The Philokalia*, ed. Palmer et al., Vol. 4., 367.

<sup>129</sup> See the "Passio Antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi," cc.19-20, trans. Boswell, *Same Sex Unions*, 385 [with slight emendations]:

Meanwhile the blessed Serge, deeply depressed and heartsick over the loss of Bacchus, wept and cried out, 'No longer, brother and fellow soldier, will we chant together, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" You

and Abibion were joint founders of a "retreat of philosophy," joined by Symeon Stylites after their death. To describe their intimacy, Theodoret says that: "Having shared throughout life the same convictions and the same habits, and displayed as it were, one soul in two bodies, they made many love the world as they did."<sup>130</sup> The theme is common: Cyril of Scythopolis, in *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, cites Euthymios and Theoktistos as having one soul in two bodies.<sup>131</sup> Symeon of Emesa and John in Leontios' *Life of Symeon the Fool* were discussed above.<sup>132</sup> For the middle Byzantine period, the *Life of Mary the Younger* twice focuses on intimacy between males in erotic and/or

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have been unyoked [ἀπεζεύχθης] from me and gone up to heaven, leaving me alone on earth, bereft [literally, "made single"], without comfort.' After he uttered these things, the same night the blessed Bacchus suddenly appeared to him with a face as radiant as an angel's, wearing an officer's uniform, and spoke to him. 'Why do you grieve and mourn, brother? If I have been taken from you in body, I am still with you in the bond of confession [τῷ τῆς ὁμολογίας συνδέσμῳ], chanting and reciting, "I will run the way of thy commandments, when thou hast enlarged my heart." Hurry then, yourself, brother, through beautiful and perfect confession to pursue and obtain me, when finishing the course. For the crown of justice for me is with you." At daybreak when he rose he related to those who were with him how he had seen the blessed Bacchus in the night and in what sort of garb."

Boswell's translation of this passage has been criticized, but the nuptial and erotic language is clearly present, a theme maintained in the Metaphrastic version of the life, where Bacchos calls Sergios "ὁ γλυκὺς ἐταῖρος καὶ ἐραστής," his "sweet companion and lover," [PG 115: 1024B]. Although in *Same Sex Unions*, Boswell takes eleventh-century and later liturgical manuscripts as his main evidence for the rite of *adelphopoiia*, the ritual is well represented in hagiography. See, for instance for the sixth century, the *Life of Symeon of Emesa*, and the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, 134; and for the seventh century the *Life of John the Almsgiver*, 4. Cf. Rapp, "Ritual Brotherhood."

<sup>130</sup> Theodoret, *Historia*, 26: 4.

<sup>131</sup> "He [Euthymios] had as neighbor an inspired man called Theoktistos. He came to love him and grew so united to him in spiritual affection that the two became indistinguishable in both conduct and thought and displayed, as it were one soul in two bodies." See Cyril of Scythopolis. *Lives*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 49:2 (Leipzig: 1939). Trans. by R. M. Price, as *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian 1991): Euthymios 7.

<sup>132</sup> Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, ed. Lennart Rydén, 134-137.

nuptial terms.<sup>133</sup> In chapter 1, Mary's brother-in-law, Vardas Vratzes forms a relationship with one Nikephoros.<sup>134</sup> Later the focus shifts to Vaanes, Mary's son, and also a saint in modern calendars.<sup>135</sup> This theme of male intimacy is often expressed in a particular way: the saints -- two men -- are said to have "two souls in one body." The *Life* of Cyril of Philea, for example, states that Alexios I Komnenos and Cyril are, "through the love of God... like two souls in one body."<sup>136</sup> The phrase seems to originate as a Greek description of "*philia*," and was taken up by Aristotle in that light.<sup>137</sup> But it can also be

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<sup>133</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger*, AASS Novembris IV:692-705. English trans. by Angeliki Laiou, in *HWB*, 239-289. Laiou specifically notes the nuptial connotations of the language used, see p. 246, p. 256 n52, and p. 284 n142.

<sup>134</sup> "As with time their friendship grew even stronger, Vardas was eager to make it even closer: so he devised a firm and unbreakable bond. Once, as he was talking with Nikephoros, he said 'Since, O dearest of men, we have been connected and bound together so intimately, I think it proper to make this bond of love more forceful and perfect by adding to it the ties of a marriage alliance' [with Mary the Younger]." *Life of Mary the Younger 2*, *HWB*, 256.

<sup>135</sup> Vaanes' relationship with another man is described in terms that invoke both nuptiality and procreation:

"As his associate and helper in all his excellent exploits he had a certain Theodore, who succeeded his father as *tourmarches*, a man brave and robust in military matters, but braver still in the ways of God. Vaanes was yoked (συζευχθεῖς) to him like a pedigreed young bull, and together they plowed in themselves as though in a fertile land, and they sowed the seeds of virtue like the best of farmers." *Life of Mary the Younger 30*, *HWB*, 284.

<sup>136</sup> Nicholas Kataskepenos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, ch. 46.1.

<sup>137</sup> The phrase has a long history in Greek literature and philosophy. Euripides, *Orestes*, l. 1046, has the phrase "one soul" used by Elektra to Orestes to describe their [brother-sister] relationship. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. H. Rackham (London: Heinemann, 1926), l 168b, cites "mia psuche" as a saying. The Loeb renders this -- the context is the nature of *philia* -- as "friends have one soul between them." Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. Robert Drew Hicks (London: Heinemann, 1925), 5.19.12, l.20, says that in answer to the question "what is a friend," Aristotle replied, "a single soul dwelling in two bodies." Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937-1943), and trans. E.R.A. Sewter (New York: Penguin, 1969), 3:6, relates a document of Alexios I Komnenos in which he states, in describing his relationship with his mother, that they have "one soul in separate bodies." Michael of Ephesus [12th cent], in a commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* notes that in an epitaph for Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian [i.e., of Nazianzos] had

used for a number of other relationships: brother-sister, the ecclesial community, mother-son. What is of interest here is that it also had a history of being used about especially close marriages.<sup>138</sup>

How could Byzantine writers cast male saints and, in the case of mystics, even themselves, in a bridal relationship to Christ? Let us review the evidence here. We have male saints who are depicted as brides and bridegrooms, or in some other nuptial relationship to Christ, and mystical writers who present their souls as female, so that they can describe their relationship with Christ in nuptial terms. On the other hand we also have myriad cases of female saints being said to have a "man's soul in a woman's body," for instance Gregory of Nyssa's sister Makrina and Mary the Younger.<sup>139</sup> Let us not forget the innumerable "brides of Christ" who are also female.

In sum, we now have a situation in which female saints are often said to have "male souls," while some male writers who become saints are willing to say that their souls are female; and both males and females may be married to Jesus. I do not think it is

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noted "one soul in two bodies." Cassian uses the same phrase for himself and his friend with whom he visits the eastern monasteries.

<sup>138</sup> The canonist Theodore Balsamon, *Rhalles-Potles* 4:561, describes marital union as "one humanity having more or less the same soul which is perceived in two hypostases." See the discussion in Viscuso, *Byzantine Theology of Marriage*, 229. The theme of marital soul-union was not a late one, cf. Praetextus, *Inscription on his Wife Paulina* [4<sup>th</sup> Cent.] "To you I could entrust the fast-closed depths of my own mind/And so as friends we have been joined in trust,/ By long acquaintance, by shared initiations of the gods./All in one bond of faith, one single heart, united in one mind." See H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, cited in Brown, *Body and Society*, 15.

<sup>139</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of St. Macrina*, trans. Kevin Corrigan (Toronto: Peregrina, 1987), 26, 32; *Life of Mary the Younger* 3, *HWB*, 257. See the discussion of this theme in Chapter VI.

going too far to assert that gendered imagery was a major category through which Byzantine authors discussed relationships with Christ and God.

One could argue that nuptial images simply feminize the male saint, just as female saints are masculinized as "athletes" and "warriors," and that what we see are the workings of some Gnostic desire for an original state of androgyny.<sup>140</sup> The imagery of male saints, however, does not mirror that of females: the masculinity of male saints, unlike the femininity of females, is well maintained by other metaphors (fatherhood, athletics, soldier status, public power).

I propose that, in addition to considering the efforts of Byzantine writers to express types of human-divine and human-human relationships which approached equality, another approach to understanding the nuptial imagery in male saints' *Lives* may be fruitful: examination of the working of erotic and gendered imagery in religious texts.

Consider first, for example, the image of "bride of Christ" in reference to women. It is the very familiarity of the term which makes it work: familiarity with an image normalizes it even as the image retains its power because of the (hetero-)sexual role proposed. Christians can gaze upon the image and completely ignore the sexual aspect in a swirl of rhetoric about virginity and "angelic" lifestyles. The *topos*, though, derives its power from bringing to the user a direct image of an erotic relationship between Christ

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<sup>140</sup> Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," refers to heterodox forms of urban asceticism in fourth-century Constantinople described by Evagrius in *Historia eccl.* I, 21, [ed. Bidez-Parmentier (London: 1898), 31-32.] He describes ascetics who haunted the cabarets and especially the baths, mingling there with the women without any emotion, for "they want to be men with men and women with women, and to participate in one and the other sex, without being of either themselves."

and the saint, an image which maintains its power but can be coped with only by a gaze which sees but does not acknowledge.

The nuptial language about male saints and used by male mystics is not that different from the bridal imagery of female saints. Let us be frank: what they propose is a conjugal relationship with Christ, but, as with female "brides of Christ," a commonplace no-one finds shocking, it is possible for a culture to use an image that is powerful because of its shock value, but nevertheless to normalize the image. What is proposed directly, since there is no feminization of Christ in these texts,<sup>141</sup> is some sort of same-sex nuptial connection, a proposal which I think is powerful, but "occluded" -- that is, obscured or psychologically put out of view -- for both the writer and his reader by its very impossibility.

So here is the paradox: I simply did not believe that Byzantine authors would willingly propose a male-male conjugal union as an image of a man's relationship to Christ. But then why did I believe that they would willingly propose an erotic relationship of female saints [or nuns] and Christ? In both cases, they were prepared to use images that did precisely this.

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<sup>141</sup> Christ is always the Bridegroom, and this is consistent in all the texts I have examined. Although arguments have been made that Christ is feminized in Christian art, I have not come across texts for this study in which Christ is feminized in metaphor as bride, although he is sometimes made into a passive "beloved" cf. Theodoret, *Historia*, Prol. 5, in which the monks are described as the lovers (*erastai*) of the beauty of God, and God, or Jesus, is described as the "beloved" (*eromenos*). For Christian art, see Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 119-41.

Masculinity, at least as presented in saints' *Lives*, was quite different from the classical ideal: instead of philosophic wisdom, Christ's foolishness was sought; instead of physical strength, the body was weakened, and this weakness was described in loving detail by hagiographers; instead of actual competition with other men, the "spiritual athlete" competed with demons and himself; and instead of a statue that portrayed his earthly beauty, the holy man was depicted by an icon which, although beautiful in form and color, was concerned with the metaphysical beauty of the saint. Classical ideals of masculinity were thus inverted, but to create an alternate vision of masculinity, not to feminize the male saint. In a formal sense, male saints lived up to a certain standard of manhood, and behaved in stereotypical gender-defined ways in their *Lives* and in the cults. Hagiographers recognized this stereotype when they compared male saints to heroes of antiquity such as Herakles. With the advent of the *military saint* category, we see an important, if ambivalent, intensification of saintly masculinity in the tenth century and later. Male saints' gender was not erased in sanctity, rather sanctity was conceived of as almost entirely a male characteristic.

Male saints were not assimilated to women or androgyny, but there is an important disruption of gender in some saints' stories. A Christian saint was not an independent divinity, but defined by a relationship with an all-powerful God, a relationship rarely, if ever, conceived of as a relationship between equals. The saint was a figure who had surrendered to and been penetrated by the power of God. If we accept that this definition by a subordinate relationship was implicitly feminizing, we can see saints as feminized figures. We have seen that nuptiality afforded one common set of

images for the relationship between male saints and God. Even where nuptial imagery was not used, Christian sainthood sat at the cultural intersection of gender and sanctity.



CHAPTER VI  
SANCTITY AND WOMEN

**A Women Saints in Byzantium**

Chapter I documented the remarkable decline in the numbers of new women saints in later Byzantine history. After the nineteen women "new saints" who lived between the eighth and tenth centuries, in the last five centuries of the Byzantine state only two royal convent founders achieved saintly recognition.<sup>1</sup> As I argued in chapter III, the cultural location of sainthood in Byzantine religious life is not described by reference to the cults of new, and usually minor, saints of a given period. Nevertheless, the virtual disappearance of women from the ranks of new saints calls for explanation.

Scholars, following Evelyne Patlagean, have stressed the significance of the married women saints of the ninth and tenth centuries. The stress on the *Lives* of these women saints is justified, but the thesis put forward by Patlagean and adopted by most subsequent writers is inaccurate.<sup>2</sup> She claimed that married women saints of the ninth and tenth centuries represented a transition from masculinized women saints of earlier eras to a model that promoted a "new ideal" of domestic sanctity. This thesis must be put aside. We cannot claim that one ideal of sanctity was succeeded by another when believers continued to consume in much greater quantity the older narratives of sanctity. And the greater problem, that the married saints Patlagean discusses had no successors.

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<sup>1</sup> See Table 1:1

<sup>2</sup> Patlagean, "La femme déguisée"; Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1982), 73-75; Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography," 540.

precludes any assertion of a "new ideal." This does not mean we should dismiss the women saints examined by Patlagean as unimportant. Many of them were indeed married. In some cases, they were married before entering a monastery;<sup>3</sup> and in others, the saints in question were empresses, so factors other than gender may have been involved in their sainthood. But in a couple of cases -- Mary the Younger and Thomaïs of Lesbos -- we indeed have very rare examples of married women, of the middle class or lower nobility, who were hailed as saints after short lifetimes of pious good works. The authors of their *Lives*, especially that of Mary, made impassioned pleas for the eligibility of married people for sainthood. Examination of their *Lives* within the context of sanctity and gender already discussed will give us part of the answer as to why these pleas were so ineffective.

*The masculinization of women saints*

By far the largest contingent of women honored as saints in Byzantine hagiography, amounting to 70 percent of the total,<sup>4</sup> were female martyrs. Martyrs have the distinction of achieving sainthood by their deaths, not their lives. Once the Empire became Christian, opportunities for martyrdom diminished,<sup>5</sup> but the truly impressive courage of martyrs had set the basic parameters for sanctity. It might seem that the gender of martyrs had little impact on what made them saints. In one sense this was true:

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<sup>3</sup> E.g., Athanasia of Aigina and Theodora of Thessalonica.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter IV, Table 4.5.

<sup>5</sup> This route to sanctity always remained open in Orthodoxy. During the iconoclastic period several women achieved martyrdom by defending icons, as did the Russian royal women who died at the hands of the Tartars in the thirteenth century, and the Greek women who became "neo-martyrs" under Turkish rule. See Agnes B. C. Dunbar, *A Dictionary of Saintly Women*, 2 vols. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1904-05), for listings under the appropriate categories.

women who died for the faith became saints for precisely the same reason as their brethren, but what did have a gendered impact was the way these struggles were conceived. The conflict with the Roman state was repeatedly cast as an *agon*, an athletic struggle. Indeed it is a *topos* of saint's *Lives* to refer to the saint's struggles as an *agon*, to God as the *agonothetes*.<sup>6</sup> to the saint as an "athlete of God," and to the saint's prize in heaven as a *stephanos*, a victor's crown.<sup>7</sup> The metaphors, drawn from ancient Greek games, are fundamentally male.<sup>8</sup> To engage in an *agon* is to undertake a male struggle, and women who became martyrs showed themselves to have "manly courage."<sup>9</sup>

Women also took part in the ascetic movement,<sup>10</sup> which, as Clark has argued, allowed more freedom of action than any alternative roles available to them.<sup>11</sup> The cost of that freedom was their gender. Ascetic practice, very often starvation, removed signs of femininity, such as menstruation, from a woman's body, and this seems to have been a goal. Amma Sarah, who lived thirty years in the desert, is quoted as saying "I am a

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<sup>6</sup> The "judge of the game," or the "umpire."

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix II for their use in the *Life* of Thomaïs of Lesbos. In the SynaxCP the routine name for saints is "athlete of god."

<sup>8</sup> Jennifer Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 129, notes two examples of ancient Greek women celebrated as heros after athletic contests.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth A. Clark, "Devil's Gateway and Bride of Christ: Women in the Early Christian World," in *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays in Late Ancient Christianity* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen, 1986), 45. The Greek word for courage is *andreia*, "manliness."

<sup>10</sup> See *Apophthegmata Patrum*, trans. Benedicta Ward as *The Desert Christian: The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 82, 230, for desert mothers.

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth A. Clark, *Women in the Early Church* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1983), 17.

man."<sup>12</sup> Similar statements by saints and their biographers can be multiplied many times. As with women martyrs, it was high praise to be able to report of a woman ascetic, as for example with Mastrida, that she "struggled no less than a man."<sup>13</sup>

The culmination of the association of female sanctity with masculinity was in the literary tradition of women disguised as monks.<sup>14</sup> It is not crucial that these women existed for their *Lives* to represent a distinct cultural phenomenon.<sup>15</sup> Transvestite saints, some of whom were married to begin with, went through a process of breaking with their former feminine identity and symbolically destroyed their female flesh.<sup>16</sup> Since Byzantine monks wore beards, the abbots of the monasteries they entered usually took the women in the stories to be eunuchs. Symbolically then transvestitism was the female

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<sup>12</sup> Ward, *The Desert Christian*, 230.

<sup>13</sup> Leo Papadopoulos et al., *The Lives of the Saints of the Holy Land and the Sinai Desert throughout the year, according to the Church Calendar from The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church in Greek and other sources* (Buena Vista, Col.: Holy Apostles Convent, 1988), 101.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter IV, fn. 25. For discussion, see Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 621; John Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif," *Viator* 5 (1974), 1-32; Vern L. Bullough, "Transvestitism in the Middle Ages," in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (Buffalo NY: Prometheus, 1982), 43-54; Marie Delcourt, "Female Saints in Masculine Clothes," in *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, trans. Jennifer Nicolson (London: Studio, 1961), 84-102; Kari Vogt, "The Woman Monk: A Theme in Byzantine Hagiography," in *Greece & Gender*, ed. Brit Berggreen and Nanno Marinatos (Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1995), 141-48.

<sup>15</sup> There is considerable doubt as to the actuality of some of these women. See Delehay, *Legends*, 199-206, and Anson, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Delcourt, 90; Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 605.

equivalent of castration,<sup>17</sup> and, as Patlagean puts it, "proposed a model of feminine sanctity which transgressed hierarchies of nature, family, and monasticism."<sup>18</sup>

In the previous chapter, I argue that the discourse of sanctity challenged the gender norms of male saints, but the male saints were not feminized in the way that female saints were masculinized. Women martyrs' bodies were made holy through identification with the male body of Jesus; ascetic women starved themselves, and even went naked, in a way that defeminized their bodies as menstruation stopped and breasts withered. That some women saints lived as men was only an extreme case of what was already expected.

*Is Mary a woman? The relation of Mary to other women saints*

One woman apparently exempt from the implicit incompatibility of femininity and sanctity was the most important saint of all, Mary the mother of Jesus. More was written about her than about any other woman,<sup>19</sup> and a full understanding of Byzantine male conceptions of womanhood requires that this material be analyzed. But the relevance of Mary to models of sanctity for other women is complex since she was not simply a woman. She was the mother of God, intermediate between divinity and humanity, not entitled to the worship (*latreia*) due only to God, but to a "higher veneration" (*hyperdoulia*) peculiar to her alone. Unlike other saints, her position derived

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<sup>17</sup> Delcourt, 101.

<sup>18</sup> Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 615. Some authors express a concern that this was a model of sanctity almost impossible to achieve. Such a concern seems, however, to reflect modern ideas about saints as models rather than Byzantine religion's stress on saints as effective intercessors.

from her role in salvation history, not her pious activity. As an object of veneration, she was mother, bride, and virgin.<sup>20</sup> All are feminine roles, but the tension between the various categories makes it impossible to place Mary in any accepted social category.<sup>21</sup> For an anthropologist, it is the very ambiguities of Mary's position which make her such a powerful symbol,<sup>22</sup> but the uniqueness of her position abrogated any model she might have presented for the sanctity of other women.

*Female spirituality?*

Given the masculinization of women saints, it would be interesting to undertake the exploration of female spiritual writing that scholars have attempted for the West.<sup>23</sup> This is only rarely an option for Byzantium, where the voice of saintly women remains silent and their religious beliefs, practice, and spirituality remain nearly impossible to ascertain.<sup>24</sup> There are only six or seven women writers whose work survives from the

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<sup>19</sup> BHG t.3 Supplement, 123-174, lists fifty pages of writings on the life and feasts of Mary. No other saint, male or female, had anywhere near this amount of material devoted to them.

<sup>20</sup> Catia Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9 (1984/85), 86.

<sup>21</sup> Galatariotou, "Holy Women," 91.

<sup>22</sup> Galatariotou, "Holy Women," 88-90.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Elizabeth Alvida Petroff, "Introduction," in *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3-61. Caroline Walker Bynum, "'...And Woman in his Humanity': Female Imagery in Writing of the Later Middle Ages," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991), 153, uses women's writings to argue that many medieval images of female sanctity "were not...created by or especially attractive to women."

<sup>24</sup> Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Life of Saint Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksall, Stockholm, 1986), xxxv, argues for a female author for the *Life* of Irene, a view that has not been widely accepted, but he does not explore any distinctive female sensitivity in the *Life*.

entire history of the Empire,<sup>25</sup> and these, notably Anna Komnena, often echo male views of women,<sup>26</sup> as do the *typika* of foundations for women's convents. The religious writings of only one female hymnographer, Kassia in the ninth century, survive in quantity, and, while these do hint at a distinctly female appreciation of the Christian story, her work is not extensive enough to argue more widely about Byzantine women's spirituality.<sup>27</sup> The spiritual letters of the fourteenth-century princess Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Paleologina survive, but give little insight into earlier periods.<sup>28</sup> Feminine sensibility may be indicated by the occasional references to convents decorated with icons of female saints,<sup>29</sup> and to collections of the lives of female saints made for nunneries,<sup>30</sup> but this information is also sparse.

While Byzantine female spirituality is a closed book, female sanctity is open to investigation only through the prism of male hagiographers. I argue here that despite the

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<sup>25</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou(-Thomadakis), "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten I/1* (Vienna: 1981)[=*JÖB* 31:1 (1981)], 253; eadem, "Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," *BF* 9 (1985), 61.

<sup>26</sup> Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 120-121.

<sup>27</sup> Eva Catafygiotou Topping, "Kassiane the Nun and the Sinful Woman," *GOTR* 26 (1981), 203-4. Cf. Andrew R. Dyck, "On Cassia *Kurie he en pollais*," *B* 56 (1986), 67. Dyck contrasts the treatment of the "sinful woman" of Lk. 7:36 by the important sixth-century male hymnographer Romanos to that of the ninth-century nun, Kassia. He finds that while Romanos treated the woman as a stereotype, Kassia treated her as "a human being wrestling, like all others, with the universal problem of sin and redemption."

<sup>28</sup> See Angela C. Hero, "Irene-Eulogia Choumaina Palaiologina Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *BF* 9 (1985), 119-147.

<sup>29</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 8.

<sup>30</sup> Rosenqvist, *Irene*, li. See also Henrik Birnbaum, "A Calendar of Women Saints (review article)," *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 2.1 (1975), 63-67. The suggestion that calendars of women saints can throw light on women's spirituality is challenged, however, by Claudia Rapp in "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and their Audience," *DOP* 50 (1996): 313-44.

efforts of such writers to assert the possibility of a feminine sanctity, they were unable to do so in any convincing way. The older masculinizing ideals, reinforced by the continuing vitality of the cults of the major saints, could not be broken. The rest of this chapter examines the persistence of the trope of a "man's soul in a woman's body," and shows how developments in the ideology of Christian marriage, as well as in the social power of monasticism, combined to bring about a cultural impasse that precluded later Byzantine women from joining the ranks of the saints.

### **B The History of a Trope: Female Bodies and Male Souls**

In an often-quoted opening passage, the writer of the *Life* of St. Mary the Younger argued:

Only men are called to compete in secular contests and prove their bodily strength. The arena of virtue, however, is open to women no less than to men, and God the prize-giver generously grants the rewards and victory crowns to both sexes equally. Neither sex, nor fortune, nor weakness of the body, nor differences in station, nor anything else is an obstacle for entering the contests, to those who desire to do so. Here [i.e., in the arena of virtue] women are not sent away while men are accepted, nor are the slaves and the poor deemed unworthy and rejected while the masters and the wealthy are considered worthy of the contest; those who are young and minors are not disqualified, while the one who is fully of age and already a man is admitted; nor does the master of the games accept those who have chosen celibacy over those who bear the yoke of marriage. On the contrary, all sexes, offices, ages, and walks of life are called to this good fight: *kings of the earth, and all peoples; princes and all judges of the earth; young men and virgins, old men with youths*. So also with the blessed Mary, the wonder of our generation, who is the subject of our discourse. Although she was a woman, although she was married and bore children, nothing hindered her in any way from finding favor with God: neither the weakness of female nature, nor the annoyances of wedlock, nor the needs and cares of child-rearing. To the contrary, it was these things which gave her the occasion to find favor with God, and thus proved that those who believe and claim that such things form an obstacle to virtue are foolish and create *pretexts for sins*.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 1, *HWB*, 254.



Opening passages on the equality of men and women in the arena of sanctity are quite common in hagiography.<sup>32</sup> That in the *Life of Mary the Younger*, for instance, largely reproduces the tropes of a sermon by John Chrysostom on the martyr Ignatius.<sup>33</sup> The author's concern to build on earlier models of sanctity is shown by his striking addition of the binarisms of marriage and childbirth to those that are deconstructed by sanctity.

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Theodoret of Cyrrhus on the moral and spiritual equality of men and women: "God applies the same laws to men and women, since the difference lies in the shape of the body and not in the soul. The woman like the man is rational...and knows like him what to shun and what to pursue; sometimes she discovers what will be of benefit better than the man does...Moreover, the prizes of virtue are offered to women as to men, since the contests of virtue are shared."

*Cure of Hellenic Maladies*, cited in Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, trans. R. M. Price (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985), 189. Cf. also, Palladius of Aspuna, *Lausiaca History 5*, trans. W.K. Lowther Clarke (London: SPCK; New York: Macmillan, 1918). "I have recorded to the best of my feeble powers the famous name of each of the athletes of Christ, male and female, describing a few short contests out of the many mighty ones engaged in by each..."

<sup>33</sup> John Chrysostom, *Homily on S. Ignatius and S. Babylas*, trans. W.R.W. Stephens, NPNFI, Vol. 9, [<http://www.ccel.wheaton.edu/fathers/NPNFI-09/igandbab.html>]: "Lately, for instance, a maiden quite young, and unmarried, the blessed martyr Pelagia, entertained us, with much joy. Today again, this blessed and noble martyr Ignatius has succeeded to her feast. The persons are different: the table is one. The wrestlings are varied: the crown is one. The contests are manifold: the prize is the same. For in the case of the heathen contests, since the tasks are bodily, men alone are, with reason, admitted. But here, since the contest is wholly concerning the soul, the lists are open to each sex, for each kind the theatre is arranged. Neither do men alone disrobe, in order that the women may not take refuge in the weakness of their nature, and seem to have a plausible excuse, nor have women only quitted themselves like men, lest the race of men be put to shame: but on this side and on that many are proclaimed conquerors, and are crowned, in order that thou mayest learn by means of the exploits themselves that in Christ Jesus neither male nor female, neither sex, nor weakness of body, nor age, nor any such thing could be a hindrance to those who run in the course of religion; if there be a noble readiness, and an eager mind, and a fear of God, fervent and kindling, be established in our souls. On this account both maidens and women, and men, both young and old, and slaves, and freemen, and every rank, and every age, and each sex, disrobe for those contests, and in no respect suffer harm, since they have brought a noble purpose to these wrestlings."

Despite his opening paean to female sanctity, however, he could not resist lauding Mary by commenting, after describing her fortitude in facing the death of a child, that:

..by none of these things indeed was she, who bore a male soul in her female body, once made effeminate.<sup>34</sup>

Here we have a case where the prologue, in which Byzantine writers often display their most concentrated literary skills and guiding ideological contentions, is vitiated by the assumptions of the internal text.

Patlagean, and later Kazhdan, saw the first passage as significant, but overlooked the second. In neither case was the author especially innovative, but both passages reproduce literary traditions essential to our understanding of female sanctity. The second passage in particular bears on the two intertwined themes of male religious writing: the evil of a woman's body and the virility, or masculinity, of the virtuous soul. While a recent flurry of monographs has focused on the subject of the "virile woman" in late antique and western medieval Christianity,<sup>35</sup> the trope did not prevent late ancient or western women from being recognized as saints.

The root of the problem was a patristic disgust with, and fear of, women's bodies that is impossible to deny.<sup>36</sup> John Chrysostom (c.347-407), Archbishop of

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<sup>34</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 3, "Ἐπ' οὐδενὶ γοῦν τούτων ἀπάντων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐν γυναικείῳ τῷ σώματι φέρουσα κατεμαλακίσθη ποτέ." Cf. *HWB*, 257.

<sup>35</sup> Kerstin Bjerre-Aspegren, *The Male Woman: A Feminine Ideal in the Early Church* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1990); Gillian Cloke, *This Female Man of God: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Lynda Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society Ca. 500-1100*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

<sup>36</sup> There is an extensive literature on patristic misogyny that traces its roots in classical anti-women rhetoric, but this interpretation does not explain the intensity and long duration of the attacks. See Clark, *Women in the Early Church*; and Graham Gould, "Women in the

Constantinople and the greatest of Greek preachers, argued that, "Among all the savage beasts, none is so harmful as women."<sup>37</sup> On another occasion, he wrote about one woman that:

The whole of her bodily beauty is nothing more than phlegm, blood, bile, rheum, and the fluid of digested food!... If you consider what is stored up behind those lovely eyes, the angle of the nose, the mouth and cheeks you will agree that her well-proportioned body is nothing but a whitened sepulcher.<sup>38</sup>

John of Damascus (c.700-754), a theologian from Damascus, opined:

Woman is a sick she-ass...a hideous tapeworm... the advance post of hell.<sup>39</sup>

When Athanasios of Alexandria explained the appearance of the Devil to Anthony of Egypt, the devil took the form of a woman.<sup>40</sup> The Fathers univocally interpreted the

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Writings of the Fathers: Language, Belief, and Reality," in *Women in the Church*, ed. W. J. Shiels and Diana Woods, *Studies in Church History* 27 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 1-13.

<sup>37</sup> John Chrysostom, cited in John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG 1325A.

<sup>38</sup> John Chrysostom, *To Theodore*, 14, ed. and trans. Jean Dumortier as *A Théodore*, *Sources chrétiennes* 117 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1966), 167. The whole chapter is a misogynistic attack on women who try to "enslave" a man through marriage. For a modern Orthodox defense of Chrysostom, whose comments on women and Jews have proved embarrassing, see David C. Ford, *Women and Men in the Early Church: The Full Views of St. John Chrysostom* (South Canaan PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1995). Ford presents texts that show some nuances in Chrysostom's views. Elizabeth Clark discusses the apparent paradox that Chrysostom, along with some other Church fathers, maintained deep relationships with women even as he defamed them. She proposes that the fathers were able to conceptualize their female friends in a liminal, or transitional, state between the sexes by separating them from marriage. See Elizabeth A. Clark, "Friendship between the Sexes: Classical Theory and Christian Practice," in *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1979), 48-49.

<sup>39</sup> John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, quoted by Lavinia Byrne, *Women before God* (Mystic CT: Twenty-third Publications, 1988), 11. *Sacra Parallela*, Book G, Tit. VIII-XII, in PG 95: 1311-32, comprises a compendium of Biblical and patristic misogynistic texts.

<sup>40</sup> Athanasios of Alexandria, *Life of Anthony the Great* 5, trans. Robert C. Gregg (New York: Paulist, 1980), 34. The theme of a woman's body as a danger was not restricted to Greek writers; Jerome, in the *Life of Hilarion* 7, *NPNFII*, Vol. 6, notes the sexual temptations of Hilarion manifested as visions of naked women, "How often when he lay down did naked women appear to him."

creation stories to mean that men were superior to women, and the Eden myth to blame sin and death on women's weakness. As Topping puts it, they developed "a durable theology of women" but "no comparable theology of men."<sup>41</sup> They reinforced an ingrained intellectual misogyny that never disappeared.<sup>42</sup> Passages displaying such attitudes can be multiplied,<sup>43</sup> and clearly presented a real problem to male writers who were also committed to the equality of men and women in Christ.<sup>44</sup> Backed up by the overt misogyny of the Church fathers, it is hardly surprising that hagiographers developed a tradition of female sanctity in which a woman's sanctity originated in how closely she approached masculinity.

Quite apart from the problem of women's bodies, longstanding Greek prejudice saw virtue (*arete*) as essentially male, a view that was maintained by both Hellenistic Jewish writers,<sup>45</sup> and by later Christian secular opinion.<sup>46</sup> There was a real fear that men's

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<sup>41</sup> Eva Catafygiotu Topping, "Patriarchal Prejudice and Pride in Greek Christianity: Some Notes on Origins." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 1 (1983), 14.

<sup>42</sup> Catia Galatariotou has described the continuing purchase of these ideas in later centuries. For Neophytos of Cyprus in the twelfth century, images of sex, linked to women, are intertwined with images of death. See Catia Galatariotou, "Eros and Thanatos: A Byzantine Hermit's Conception of Sexuality." *BMGS* 13 (1989), 95-137. The Eastern fathers, however, never went as far as Augustine did in identifying original sin with sex.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. texts in Clark, *Women in the Early Church*; and Alcuin Blamires, *Women Defamed and Women Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Blamires points out [2-3] that such attitudes hardly originated among the Church fathers, but have a long genealogy in Greek medical thought.

<sup>44</sup> Graham Gould, "Women in the Writings of the Fathers," 3.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Philo, *Questiones et Solutiones in Exodum 1:8*: "For progress is indeed nothing else than the giving up of the female gender by changing into the male, since the female gender is material, passive corporeal and sense-perceptible, while the male is active, rational, incorporeal and more akin to mind and thought," cited in Elizabeth Castelli, "I Will Make Mary Male: Pieties of Body and Gender Transformation of Christian Women in Late Antiquity," in *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, ed. Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (New York: Routledge, 1991), 32. Elsewhere Philo wrote "...it is fitting and proper for it [the soul] to bring together those (elements) which have been divided and separated, not that the masculine

virtue would be damaged by any tendency to act like women. Chrysostom, again, got right to the point:

Christ wants us to be stalwart soldiers and athletes. He has not furnished us with spiritual weapons so that we take upon ourselves the service of girls worth only three obols, that we turn our attention to matters which concern wool and weaving and other such tasks, that we sit alongside women as they spin and weave, that we spend all day having our souls stamped with women's habits and speech. We have rather been so armed in order that we might cast down the invisible powers which assault us, wound their leader, the devil, drive out the fierce phalanx of demons, raze their fortifications to the ground, bind in chains the powers of the world ruler of darkness, rout evil spirits, breathe fire, and prepare and equip ourselves to brave daily.<sup>47</sup>

In this light, it was possible to praise a man for having a "manly" soul.<sup>48</sup> Mary the

Younger's son Vaanes, for example, is described as

...courageous (manly) in body, but much more courageous (manly) in his soul and predisposition.<sup>49</sup>

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thoughts may be made womanish, and relaxed by softness, but that the female element, the senses, may be made manly by following masculine thoughts and by receiving from them the seed for procreation, that it may perceive (things) with wisdom, prudence, justice and outrage, in sum, with virtue." From *Questiones et Solutiones in Genesis II:49*, quoted in Elizabeth Castelli, "I Will Make Mary Male." 32.

<sup>46</sup> Theophylakt Simocatta. *Historia. II:14:1-14*, trans. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact of Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 62-63, presents a speech by a veteran:

"Men of Rome unless you would belie the name by your actions: men, that is, if your hearts are masculine like your body".... [to a tribune who had just made a speech] "In all honesty, O tribune, to whom were you directing this harangue? Rustics you would have deceived with this talk, men who use the winnowing fan rather than the sword.... Why did you assume you were addressing an assembly of women, insulting our natures as well as our race? With word you misrepresent deed, bringing shame on the council. Did you not realize that you were pouring forth disgraceful words in the presence of men?"

<sup>47</sup> John Chrysostom, *Adversus eos qui apud se habent subintroductas virgines* ("Introduction and Refutation Directed Against Those Men Cohabiting with Virgins"), 10 [Clark translation 221-22], cited in Castelli, "I Will Make Mary Male," 45.

<sup>48</sup> "Andreia" means both manliness and a special sort of heroic courage. For its use in Byzantine epic, see Sarah Ekdawi, Patricia Fann, Elii Philokyprou, "Bold Men, Fair Maids and Affronts to their Sex: The Characterization and Structural Roles of Men and Women in the Escorial Διγενής Ἀκρίτης," *BMGS* 17 (1993), 26-27.

<sup>49</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 30, *HWB*, 284.

Even when writing about a virtuous woman, the gendering of virtue was not forgotten. The woman's virtue was exalted specifically to spur men on to compete.<sup>50</sup> It was the conjunction of the two prejudices -- women's bodies as bad, and virtue as male -- that led to an entire tradition of conceptualizing female sanctity.

We might ask why the effort was made at all? The problem for the male writers was twofold. The Biblical texts clearly asserted that men and women were equal in some sense,<sup>51</sup> and from the outset, the Church recognized the sanctity of significant numbers of Biblical and early Christian women. Writers from all parts of Christendom affirmed that even if Christian virtue was understood in masculine terms such as "arena" and "combat," women could compete.<sup>52</sup> Despite these claims of equality, women saints were often

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<sup>50</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes. *Life of Matrona of Perge I*, trans. in Khalifa Abubakr Bennasser. *Gender and Sanctity in Early Byzantine Monasticism: A Study of the Phenomenon of Female Ascetics in Male Monastic Habit with a Translation of the Life of St. Matrona* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Rutgers University, 1984).

"It is most beneficial, and at the same time a holy work, to praise as much as we can those who lead a temperate life and who love virtue. For they are worthy of it [praise], and also, speaking about them will make other men desire to do similar things. If the object of praise is a woman who is the weaker part of humanity and too delicate for hard work, this praise is beneficial to men at the same time as it is to women. It is able to kindle the enthusiasm of both [men and women] toward good work(s). Women would be moved to take up the same pains [hard work] and rewards, since they belong to the same sex, while men would not want to seem second to women and less noble in their labors. Matrona's life was one of those of praiseworthy and virtue-loving ones. She competed with men in virtue, and surpassed all in marvelous accomplishment, as will be made clear as the story continues."

<sup>51</sup> Gal. 3:28 is the most important passage, "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus." [NRSV]

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Theodoret of Cyrhus. *Cure of Hellenic Maladies*, cited above; and John of Ephesus, "Not only is the mighty strength of Christ God apt to show its activity in men who are powerful in appearance and mighty and forceful, but also in weak, feeble, and frail women," in *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 27 [PO 18:541], cited in Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 121.

added as an afterthought to group biographies. In his most important hagiographic work, for instance, Theodoret of Cyrrhus notes:

After recording the way of life of the heroic men, I think it useful to treat also of women who have contended no less if not more; for they are worthy of still greater praise, when, despite having a weaker nature, they display the same zeal as men and free their sex from its ancestral disgrace.<sup>53</sup>

The most straightforward method of resolving the inherent tension was simply to argue that a woman could become a man through her behavior, and then simply be named as a man. One of the "desert mothers" said to the brothers:

"It is I who am a man, you who are women."<sup>54</sup>

Gregory of Nyssa worried if he could praise his saintly sister Makrina and still call her a woman:

It was a woman who prompted our narrative, if, that is, we may call her a woman, for I do not know if it is appropriate to apply a name drawn from nature to one who has risen above nature.<sup>55</sup>

Palladios of Aspuna lauded Melania as "the man (ἄνθρωπος) of God,"<sup>56</sup> and he was queried by his deacon about the woman deacon Olympias, he responded:

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<sup>53</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, "Marana and Cyra," in *Philotheos Historia*, ed. with French trans. by Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy Molinghen, as *Histoire des Moines de Syrie* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1977), 2 vols.; trans. R. M. Price as *A History of the Monks of Syria* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian, 1985), 29:1. References are to standard text divisions. English translations are Price's.

<sup>54</sup> Amma Sara, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Sigma: Sarah 9, trans. by Benedicta Ward as *The Desert Christian: The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 230. In *Sigma: Sarah 4*, there is an instructive scene: "Another time, two old men, great anchorites, came to the district of Pelusia to visit her. When they arrived one said to the other, 'Let us humiliate this old woman.' So they said to her, 'Be careful not to become conceited thinking to yourself: 'Look how anchorites are coming to see me, a mere woman.' But Amma Sarah said to them, 'According to nature I am a woman, but not according to my thoughts.'"

<sup>55</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Makrina 1*, trans. Kevin Corrigan (Toronto: Peregrina, 1987).

*Deacon:* What sort of woman is she?

*Bishop:* Do not say "woman" (γυνή) but rather "manly creature" (οἶος ἄνθρωπος) She is a man in everything but body...in her life, and in her work, and in her knowledge and her patience under afflictions.<sup>57</sup>

And later:

It is to the shame of men that a manly woman (ἀνδρεία γυνή) received them, and to the condemnation of bishops that a woman deacon extended hospitality.<sup>58</sup>

This "nominative" solution found some support in the West,<sup>59</sup> but a more sophisticated way of writing women's sanctity was available, one which took advantage of the Greek Christian distinction between body and soul.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Palladios, *Lausiaca History*, IX.1 (s.v. "Or"), ed. Cuthbert Butler. 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898-1904), and trans. W.K. Lowther Clarke (London: SPCK, 1918). Palladios remarked in his introduction that his book "contains also memoirs of aged women and illustrious God-inspired matrons, who with masculine and perfect mind have successfully accomplished the struggles of virtuous asceticism, (which may serve) as a model and object of desire for those women who long to wear the crown of continence and chastity."

<sup>57</sup> Palladios, *Palladii dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* 56, ed. Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), trans. Herbert Moore as *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* (London: SPCK, 1921), 140. See discussion in Elaine Gounaris Hanna, "Women Saints and the Need for Appropriate Role Models for Girls Today," Paper given at Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese, Midwest Region, Delegates Meeting, Indianapolis, Indiana, 25 September 1998, [<http://stgindy.org/Ministries/Ladies/RoleModelsWrapper.htm>]

<sup>58</sup> Palladios, *Dialogus* 60, trans. Moore, 150.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Jerome, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios* III.5, PL 26:567a: "As long as a woman is for birth and children, she is different from man as body is from soul. But when she wishes to serve Christ more than the world, then she will cease to be a woman, and will be called man." Cited in Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 4; and Paulinus of Nola, *Epistle 29.6, to Sulpicius Severus*, CSEL 29, 251 "What a woman she is, if it is permissible to call such a manly Christian a woman." Cited in Margaret R. Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989; pb New York: Vintage, 1991), 53.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, "Domnina" in *Historia* 30:5:

"From the time when Christ the Master honored virginity by being born of a Virgin, nature has sprouted meadows of virginity and offered these fragrant and unfading flowers to the Creator, not separating virtue into male and female nor dividing philosophy into two categories. For the difference is one of bodies not of souls: "in



It was possible to praise a woman for denying the femaleness of her body. The anonymous fifth-century *Life of Olympias* praised its subject in precisely this way.

literally dematerializing her:

She had life without vanity, an appearance without pretense, character without affectation, a face without adornment; she kept watch without sleeping, she had an immaterial body, a mind without vainglory, intelligence without conceit, an untroubled heart, an artless spirit, charity without limits, unbounded generosity, contemptible clothing, rectitude of thought, undying hope in God, [and] ineffable almsgiving.<sup>61</sup>

And, although we have no women authors confirming this, it seems certain that some women took bodily denial to heart. Matrona of Perge was a Byzantine example:

She continued praying and making vigils and humbling her body by fasting, so it would be submissive to the pious designs of the soul. For she did not regard the body as the most hated enemy like the ill-reputed and abominable Manicheans, but she handled its irrational impulses with great intelligence, bringing it to a right order, and believing in what the blessed Paul says, "make not provisions for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof." [Rom. 13:14.]<sup>62</sup>

If a woman's body could be denied, what more could be done? Here, well-known Biblical texts suggested the answer: that virtuous women could have "male souls" or show "male spirit." The Mother of the Maccabees, celebrated as St. Solomonis in Byzantium, was the model of the saintly woman with a masculine soul:

The mother was especially admirable and worthy of honorable memory. Although she saw her seven sons perish within a single day, she bore it with good courage because of her hope in the Lord. She encouraged each of them in the

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Christ Jesus," according to the divine Apostle, "there is neither male nor female" [Gal 3:28]. And a single faith has been given to men and women: 'there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in us all' [Eph. 4:5-6] And it is one kingdom of heaven which the Umpire has set before the victors, fixing this common prize for the contests."

<sup>61</sup> *Life of Olympias* 13, trans. Clark, *Women in the Early Church*, 129.

<sup>62</sup> *Life of Matrona of Perge* 2, trans. in Bennasser, *Gender and Sanctity*, 158 [emended]; cf. *HWB*, 19-21.

language of their ancestors. Filled with a noble spirit, she reinforced her woman's reasoning with a man's courage, and said to them, "I do not know how you came into being in my womb. It was not I who gave you breath..."<sup>63</sup>

The Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*, a much contested document but one that does reveal aspects of early Christian thought, at one point suggests androgyny as a Christian goal,<sup>64</sup> but ends by reiterating the theme that women can become spiritually like males:

Simon Peter said to them, "Let Mary leave us, because women are not worthy of life." Jesus said, "I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every woman who will make herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> 2 Maccabees 7:20-22 [NRSV]:

"Υπεραγόντως δὲ ἡ μήτηρ θαυμαστὴ καὶ μνήμης ἀγαθῆς ἀξία ἦτις ἀπολλυμένους υἱοὺς ἑπτὰ συνορῶσα μιάς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας, εὐνύχως ἔφερε διὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Κύριον ἐλπίδας. Ἐκαστὸν δὲ αὐτῶν παρεκάλει τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ, γενναίῳ πεπληρωμένη φρονήματι, καὶ τὸν θῆλυν λογισμὸν ἄρσενι διερεΐρασα, λέγουσα πρὸς αὐτοὺς."

From *The Septuagint Version: Greek and English*, ed. and trans. Lancelot C.L. Brenton (London, S. Bagster, 1844; repr. Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 1970.) Thanks to Martha Vinson for this reference. Cf. Theodore of Stoudion, "Funeral Oration for His Mother," PG 99: 889D.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *Gospel of Thomas* 22, trans. Thomas O. Lambdin, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. James Robinson, 3d. ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988): "Jesus said 'When you make two into one, and when you make the inside like the outside, and the outside like the inside, and the above like the below, and when you make the male and female one and the same, so that the male will not be male and nor the female female....then you will enter [the kingdom.]'" The *Gospel of Thomas* was not unique in seeing the advantages of androgyny. Clement of Alexandria, in *Stromateis*, 6.12.100. *ANF* 2, 503, wrote, "[To the true Gnostic] his wife is...as a sister...as being destined to become a sister in reality after putting off the flesh, which separates and limits the knowledge of those who are spiritual by the peculiar characteristics of the sexes. *For souls themselves by themselves are equal*. Souls are neither male nor female when they no longer marry or are given in marriage. And is not the woman translated into a man when she is become equally unfeminine, and manly and perfect?" Cited in Miles, *Carnal Knowing*, 66. Cf. Wayne A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions* 12 (1973/1974), 165-208.

<sup>65</sup> *Gospel of Thomas* 114. Cf. Marvin W. Meyer, "'Male' and 'Female' in the Gospel of Thomas," *New Testament Studies* 31 (1985), 554-70.

This motif of women saints with male souls became a trope of Byzantine hagiography.<sup>66</sup> John of Ephesus wrote about a Syriac woman saint that she was:

A woman who by nature only bore the form of females but in herself also bore the character and soul and will not only of ordinary men, but of mighty and valiant men.<sup>67</sup>

The sixth-century *Life* of Elisabeth of Heracleia stated that "not men alone, but women also are called to virtue by the Holy Spirit," and that Elisabeth "transformed female weakness into male resolve." Elisabeth was an abbess, but has the distinction of trampling to death a dragon.<sup>68</sup> Unlike Mary the Younger, these saints attained sanctity by being degendered to varying degrees; Elisabeth was a celibate abbess and killed dragons, Euphrosyne became a monk. The various *Lives* of Matrona of Perge repeatedly made the same point about several holy women. The *Vita prima* stated:

In the good and God-serving exercise, she had as a teacher the blessed Eugenia who, having virginity in body and manliness at heart, showed the nobility of her soul not only by her name but in fact too.<sup>69</sup>

The theme was maintained in the later Metaphrastic version of the *Life*:

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<sup>66</sup> It also appealed to some in the West. Cf. Augustine, *Sermon* 282, "For what thing might there be more glorious than these women, whom men may wonder at sooner than they may imitate? But chiefly the glory of him in whom they do believe and that they with holy zeal in his name contend with one another are indeed, according to the inward man neither male nor female; so that even in them that are women in body the manliness of their souls hides the sex of their flesh and we may scarce think of that in their bodily condition which they suffered not to appear in their deeds." Cited in Miles, *Carnal Knowing*, 53.

<sup>67</sup> John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. "Mary," [PO 18:559] in Harvey, *Asceticism and Society*, 121.

<sup>68</sup> *HWB*, 122, 129-30; cf. François Halkin, "Saint Elisabeth d'Héraclée, Abbess à Constantinople," *AnalBoll* 91 (1973), 251.

<sup>69</sup> *Life of Matrona of Perge, Vita Prima*, 2, trans. Khalifa Bennasser, *Gender and Sanctity*, 158. Cf. *HWB*, 20.

As she [Matrona] led a moderate and modest social life, after marriage and cohabitation [wifehood], she did not care for vain beauty, but she trained the inner man, thus trying zealously to go through life with dignity and sobriety.<sup>70</sup>

It is vital to understand that such images permeate *Lives* of married Byzantine laywomen of the ninth and tenth centuries. Far from rejecting the traditions that masculinized earlier women saints, they reproduce it. This is especially striking in the case of Mary the Younger where the hagiographer had tried so hard at the outset to find a place for a married female saint. Mary the Younger, like many before her, "bore a male soul in her female body," and was not "once made effeminate" when life events such as the death of a child occurred.<sup>71</sup> Thomaïs of Lesbos' first appearance might as well have been as a little boy:

The name "Thomaïs" <was given> to her, a child who was born in accord with a promise, who by nature was female, but by virtue and ascetic discipline much more male than men.<sup>72</sup>

And later, once Thomaïs was married:

But as for her daughter, who was of a tender age at which it was more customary to occupy herself with childish playthings, who discerned the tumult of life, and who was married to a man, was she unmindful of virtue, or did she neglect the zealous and God-pleasing life, or have a lazy disposition? By no means! She continued to hold more readily to her aforementioned virtues. And one could see in this situation an unusual married couple; for the wife was manly and masculine in virtue, and strove to surpass her own nature [i.e., sex] by works of zeal done for virtue's sake.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes, *Life of Matrona of Perge*, 3, trans. Khalifa Bennasser, *Gender and Sanctity*, 120.

<sup>71</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 3; cf. *HWB*, 257.

<sup>72</sup> Appendix II, *Life of Thomaïs* 3. Cf. *Life of Thomaïs* 9, "He <Stephen> did not cease restraining the blessed <woman> from her blessed and customary purpose and activity, while she, on the other hand, increased her charitable purpose and disposition, showing manly courage for the superior and better <course>."

<sup>73</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 7.

Byzantine authors were sensitive to bodily beauty, which, despite their dismay about women's bodies in general, they expected from both male and female saints in particular.

The author of Thomaïs' *Life* enjoyed playing with the inherent ambivalence:

She disclosed her hidden beauty by its external manifestation and revealed the grace of her soul by her bodily features; revealing her invisible virtues by the visible, her internal virtues by her external beauty. One could see in her a perfect bodily harmony, which suggested her spiritual beauty of her soul.<sup>74</sup>

The author of the *Life* of Paraskeve the Younger, written not much later than those of Mary and Thomaïs, generalized the notion of the man's soul in woman's body.

"Beautiful are the top performances of god-loving men against the common enemy, and they are very much worthy of speeches of praise. But by far better and most illustrious, are the genuine deeds of youth performed by women of masculine spirit and much justified to receive praise. For they have the lot of a weaker nature and yet they were not hindered by this at all to climb up to the summit of virtue. but they made the female <element> male through a virile mind and accomplished the same and even more than the men."<sup>75</sup>

Even in cases where a woman was not a saint, but her holiness was being proclaimed, we find the same trope. In the late eleventh century, Michael Psellos, in an *enkomion* on his own mother, claimed that, "there was nothing feminine about her, apart from her sex. For the rest her soul gained in strength and became more like a man's."<sup>76</sup> Long after women had ceased to become new saints, the fourteenth-century author of many saints' *Lives*, Constantine Akropolites, wrote an *enkomion* on the tenth-century transvestite saint,

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<sup>74</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 6.

<sup>75</sup> *Life* of Paraskeve, ed. François Halkin in "Saint Parascève la Jeune et sa vie inédite BHG 1420z," *Studia Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia* 1 (Sofia: 1980), 281-292. The passage is translated in Claudia Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and their Audience," *DOP* 50 (1996): 324. *ODB* 1585 "Paraskeve of Epibatai," does not mention the 14th century MS edited by Halkin.

Euphrosyne the Younger. He began, in the only way he could, by discussing how women might take up masculine virtue.<sup>77</sup> We thus have a pattern of thought here that has never ceased, and against which we must understand the specific cases of the married female saints.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Michael Psellos, *Funeral Oration on his Mother*, cited in Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 436.

<sup>77</sup> Constantine Akropolites, "Eloge sur Ste. Euphrosyne la Jeune par Constantin Acropolite." ed. François Halkin, *B* 57 (1987), 56.

<sup>78</sup> The masculinization of saintly women continues in Orthodoxy and elsewhere. Constantine Cavarinos, *St. Methodia of Kimolos* (1865-1908), *Modern Orthodox Saints* 9 (Belmont MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1987), 17, applied directly to her the words of Palladios, *Lausiak History*, "There are certain women of manly spirit, to whom God apportioned labours equal to those of men, lest any should pretend that women are too feeble to practice virtue perfectly."

More startling is this recent exchange about Sister Helen Prejean, a modern US Catholic nun admired for her work against the death penalty. It is a transcript of a "Charlie Rose Show" of 1996. Charlie Rose is interviewing the film director, Tim Robbins:

CHARLIE ROSE: How did you get inside of her head -- not Susan, but Sister Helen, to understand the story that she had told?

TIM ROBBINS: Well, I, of course, was going in with prejudices becau- because of my own experiences with nuns. So-

CHARLIE ROSE: Those nuns you've told us about.

TIM ROBBINS: My first draft- my first draft was a little bit-

CHARLIE ROSE: Young Tim.

TIM ROBBINS: Yeah. And I, you know, and I still had the voice in my head-

CHARLIE ROSE: Yeah.

TIM ROBBINS: -so I wrote some lines that really weren't, you know, that good, and I got notes back from Sister Helen, saying, you know- with the little circles and lines to the margin thing. 'A little too nunnish.' So- and I guess that- you know, you didn't want- I didn't want to write a, a sanctimonious kind of holier than thou character, and so the first- when I- on my second draft, I just said, 'Okay, here's, here's the ideal. She's a man. I'm writing as a man and a human being who makes mistakes, you know.' It was a tip I got from a screenwriter, Ron Shelton-

CHARLIE ROSE: Who made Bull Durham.

TIM ROBBINS: -who made Bull Durham. And he said, 'Write a woman's character as a man, you know, and then change any, any specifics, and you'll find, you know, there's very few things you have to change. And so I- basically, that was, that was the thing. And you know, also understanding -- and Susan kept reminding me of this, as well, is that she did make mistakes. She's, she's in over her head, you know. She's a human being: She's not a saint.

### C     **The Impact of the Rise of Christian Marriage**

The cognitive conflicts that led to women saints being ascribed "male souls" did not preclude women from becoming saints -- clearly in the early and middle Byzantine centuries a number did. I suggest that changes in the social and religious position of women in the ninth and tenth centuries, above all concerning marriage, entailed a new ideal for pious women, but one that came to exclude sainthood. Much of the scholarship in this area is familiar but has not been brought to bear on the decline in new women saints.

As in all agricultural societies, marriage was the norm for the vast majority of Byzantines of all classes in all periods. Marriage was not, however, the norm for saints. The *Lives* of earlier saints, who lived after the period of persecution, yield manifold examples of upper middle class and noble women able to pursue other modes of life through travel and monasticism. A number of late antique female saints who were married, such as Melania the Younger, acquired their fame by ending their marriage and taking up asceticism. Byzantine era women saints, other than the small group of married lay women, and those few who were martyrs or empresses,<sup>79</sup> all reached sainthood by stepping outside the norms of marriage. It is then significant that by the eleventh century, these options had narrowed drastically. Female monasticism, although an option for a few, provided the only two women saints of the later period, but both were royal women

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Transcript, *Charlie Rose* (PBS 11:00 pm ET), February 8, 1996.

[<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/angel/walking/timrobbins.html>]

<sup>79</sup> Appendix I, Table A2.

and there is a "strong dynastic element" to their sainthood.<sup>80</sup> And while stories of the journeys of male saints continued to feature in hagiographic accounts, opportunities for women's travel and long-distance pilgrimage declined as the Byzantine world became progressively smaller and unstable.<sup>81</sup>

There was, as far as women's sanctity was concerned, a progressive diminution of possibilities in the later Byzantine world. Byzantine women of later periods could not even potentially lead the "masculine" lives of earlier holy women. This lends critical weight to two contemporaneous developments, one ecclesiastical, the other secular, in the ideology and social signification of marriage. There is always "change" in any social institution, but a number of scholars have identified the middle Byzantine period (from the tenth to twelfth century) as a time when multiple shifts in the Church's relationship to marriage heightened its prominence in society.<sup>82</sup> I suggest that we cannot overlook the correlation of such developments in marriage, the preeminent matrix of women's lives, with the decline in new women saints.

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<sup>80</sup> Irene, the wife of John II Komnenos, and Theodora of Arta, the wife of Michael II Angelos of Epiros. Cf. Angold, *Church and Society*, 435.

<sup>81</sup> Élisabeth Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris: CNRS, 1993), 40-43, points to the importance of pilgrimage in the *Lives* of male middle Byzantine saints. Such motifs could not be deployed in the *Lives* of female saints of the period. Cf. Alice-Mary Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 15.

<sup>82</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 405, 424-25, suggests increasing patriarchal concern with marriage from the time of Patriarch Sisinnios in 997, and documents ever greater attention thereafter: John Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (Crestwood NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1975), 26, sees a "decisive" change at the beginning of the tenth century; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris: de Boccard, 1992), 91-95, focuses on the growing secular approbation of marriage, which she suggests became clear in the Komnenian era.



From its beginnings, the Church had been concerned about marriage,<sup>83</sup> but marriage was an institution of the secular world rather than a religious rite.<sup>84</sup> Civil courts retained most jurisdiction until the tenth century, although some legal control of marriage was incrementally passed to the Church from the time of Justinian.<sup>85</sup> From the end of the tenth century, we see a concerted effort by the Church, building on the support of the emperors, to bring marriage under its legal control.<sup>86</sup> In Novel 89, Leo VI (886-912) required that all marriages of free people take place in a liturgical ceremony.<sup>87</sup> Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) extended the requirement to marriages of slaves in his Novel 24 (1084). The religious significance of marriage law was accentuated during the tenth century by a major religious dispute, which lasted more than a decade and concerned the impermissible fourth marriage, or tetragamy, of Leo VI.<sup>88</sup> Imperial decrees transferring control of marriage to the church were inserted in the collections of *nomocanons*,<sup>89</sup> which

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<sup>83</sup> Paul discussed marital issues frequently, e.g. 1 Cor. 7, Eph. 5:22-33, 6:1-4. Charles Munier, *Mariage et virginité dans l'Eglise ancienne (Ier-IIIe siècles)* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1987), provides original texts and French translations of the most important early writers.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. John Chrysostom, *On Marriage and Family Life*, trans. Catherine P. Roth and David Anderson (Crestwood NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986), 76, 89. His texts make clear that marriage was not connected with the church by many in his audience, and that the ceremonies were occasions for very secular parties.

<sup>85</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 404; Meyendorff, *Marriage*, 25-26.

<sup>86</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 405-25.

<sup>87</sup> Leo VI the Wise. *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage: texte et traduction*, by Pierre Noailles and Alphonse Dain (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1944), 294-97.

<sup>88</sup> Ostrogorsky, *ByzState*, 259-60; Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1966), 212-26. Leo VI needed to marry for a fourth time to ensure an heir. Unfortunately, he ran into conflicts with his own earlier marriage legislation.

<sup>89</sup> Systematic compilations of secular and ecclesiastical law.

in this way attracted the extended attention of canon law commentators.<sup>90</sup> Michael Angold has shown that ecclesiastical concern with marriage law was not purely academic. Patriarchs of Constantinople from the time of Sisinnios in 997 developed and expanded the moral and legal claims of the Church over marriage, even in the face of imperial resistance.<sup>91</sup>

Just as marriage moved under the control of ecclesiastical courts, the liturgy of the marriage blessing also became more central. From the fourth century some sort of blessing in church, after the civil ceremony and during the Eucharist, had gradually become a norm, but there was no separate service, and it was not required.<sup>92</sup> The legal obligation of a church blessing, imposed by Leo VI, required that a separate marriage rite develop, since the church had to marry people to whom it would not give communion. Marriage in church, originally a simple rite of blessing, came to be surrounded by distinct ceremonies and customs such as the normal use of marriage crowns and wedding rings. Moreover, betrothal, a previously distinct rite that took place in the family, also became a church rite.<sup>93</sup> The central claim of the Church by the twelfth century, after a certain amount of confusion, came to be that its liturgical blessing was required for the validity of any marriage.<sup>94</sup> By any measure, this amounted to a dramatic change.

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<sup>90</sup> Jean Dauvillier and Carlo de Clerq, *Le mariage en droit canonique oriental* (Paris: Sirey, 1936), 4.

<sup>91</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 415.

<sup>92</sup> Meyendorff, *Marriage*, 26.

<sup>93</sup> K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les Églises chrétiennes du Ier au XIe siècle* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1970), 191-209.

<sup>94</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 416.

What were the results of these developments in law and liturgy on the Christian theology and ideology of marriage? Typically, the Church fathers had accepted marriage, but with severe reservations. Angold cites Basil of Caesarea as the greatest influence on church teaching,<sup>95</sup> but Basil's influence was on efforts to regulate and limit marital life. John Chrysostom (d.407) composed a whole series of sermons on marriage in which he outlined a somewhat more optimistic theology on the subject, but even he ends up arguing that the main reason for marriage is to prevent fornication.<sup>96</sup> While Byzantine churchmen at no time placed marriage on an equal footing with monastic life, there is some evidence that as marriage became central to its courts and required in its liturgy, there were some efforts to present a loftier assessment. The major canon lawyer Theodore Balsamon (d. after 1204) elevated marriage to a "mystery" [i.e. a sacrament] by linking it to the grace imparted by Christ at Cana.<sup>97</sup> A century later, the canonist Matthew Blastares (c. 1335) wrote extensively on marriage, and took pains to expand on earlier Church statements that marriage was honorable and blessed.<sup>98</sup> Finally, in the early fifteenth century, Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1420) wrote a commentary on church services that suggest such elevated notions had become widespread. He had this to say after describing the rite of crowning:

...the Lord alone is the sanctification, the peace and the union of His servants who are being married. The priest then gives Communion to the bridal pair, if they are

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<sup>95</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 424.

<sup>96</sup> John Chrysostom, *On Marriage and Family Life*, p. 99, "We should seek a wife for this reason only, in order to avoid sin, to be freed from all immorality." Cf. p. 86.

<sup>97</sup> Patrick Viscuso, *A Byzantine Theology of Marriage: The "Syntagma kata stoicheion" of Matthew Blastares* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Catholic University of America, 1989), 249.

<sup>98</sup> Viscuso, 179-80, 251.

worthy. Indeed, they must be ready to receive Communion, so that their crowning is a worthy one and their marriage valid. For Holy Communion is the perfection of every sacrament and the seal of every mystery. And the Church is right in preparing the Divine Gifts for the redemption and blessing of the bridal pair; for Christ Himself, who gave us these gifts and who is the gifts, came to the marriage (in Cana) to bring it peaceful union and control. So that those who get married must be worthy of Holy Communion they must be united before God in a church, which is the house of God, because they are children of God in a church where God is sacramentally present in the Gifts, where He is being offered to us, and where He is seen in the midst of us.<sup>99</sup>

Although marriage rites in Orthodoxy eventually became separated from Holy Communion,<sup>100</sup> Symeon clearly sees a bridal pair as worthy of Communion, and that their marriage is a place where God operates to bring about peace and union.

For the Church, then, from the tenth century on, marriage came to occupy a much more central place in its law, its liturgy, and its sacramental theology. Marriage was defined as good in itself, and marital relationships as blessed and honorable. This might suggest that the Church would be more amenable to married women saints, but it was not.

The problem was the view held by churchmen of the nature of marriage. They continued to be disturbed by the bodily aspect of marriage, which they considered defiling. Married clergy, for instance, could not engage in sex before celebrating the Eucharist, and the chasteness and honor of marriage remained lower than the chasteness of monastic life.<sup>101</sup> Part of the reason for this was that the elevation of marriage did not result in a higher opinion of women.<sup>102</sup> For Blastares, women were weak, liable to

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<sup>99</sup> Symeon of Thessalonica, *Against the Heresies and on the Divine Temple*, 282, PG 155:512-13, trans. in Meyendorff, *Marriage*, 111-12. Cf. discussion of same passage in Ritzer, *Marriage*, 204-6.

<sup>100</sup> Meyendorff, *Marriage*, 20-24.

<sup>101</sup> Viscuso, 188-91.

<sup>102</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 430-31.

temptation, and vulnerable to sexual passion.<sup>103</sup> Marriage was clearly placed "in the world," and the woman in the union was an unequal partner, a vessel over whom the husband held authority -- indeed "ownership."<sup>104</sup> In this light, the dubiety of women saints for the later Byzantine church becomes clearer. Marriage became more central to the Church's life and internal discourse, but the location of women within marriage was not compatible with a notion of sainthood that called for a primary relationship with God and the power to perform miracles.

Just as marriage was undergoing a radical shift in Church life, it took on a new role for the landed nobility in the secular world. Profound changes began to take place in the political and social profile of the governing classes of the Empire in the late ninth century.<sup>105</sup> After the seventh century, Byzantium became an agrarian society in which the militarized and bureaucratic central government in Constantinople governed and directly taxed a large free peasantry. With the advent of the Macedonian dynasty in 867, international social and international power relations were refashioned. As Muslim unity and power waned, Byzantium began a period of military expansion. The military necessities of attack were quite different from those of defense and, in particular, mobile professional troops were required for distant campaigns. Despite imperial legislation to protect the Empire's free peasantry, in which the emperors posed as defenders of the poor,

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<sup>103</sup> Viscuso, 209.

<sup>104</sup> Viscuso, 207, 210.

<sup>105</sup> The developments described here have been recounted many times. The best overview is still Ostrogorsky, *ByzState*, 255-308. See also Rosemary Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality," *Past and Present* 73 (1976), 3-27; Hélène Saradi, "On the 'Archontike' and 'Ekklesiastike Dynasteia' in Byzantium with Particular

the military needs of the Macedonian emperors led to increased taxes and to dependence by the state on the support of the private military retinues of its generals, particularly in Anatolia. These regional commanders and their families, called in the sources the "powerful" (*dunatoi*.) began to use their local power to establish large personal estates and distinct lineages.<sup>106</sup> The long period in Byzantine history when family names fell out of use came to an end as greater emphasis was placed on the family.<sup>107</sup> Marriage was never simply a relationship between two people, but as aristocratic families rose to prominence in Byzantine society, it became a matter of family inheritance and political strategy.<sup>108</sup> While, in religious culture, marriage would remain an inferior way of life to monasticism, to the new upper classes of the Empire it became paramount.

This process intensified with the advent of the Komnenian dynasty (1081). The eleventh century was a time of extraordinary social and economic fluidity. If one wants an economic explanation, it would seem that the tremendous release of capital occasioned by Basil II's successors led to increased trade and wealth, above all amongst the people of

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Attention to the Legal Sources: A Study in Social History of Byzantium," *B* 64 (1994), 69-117, 316-51; Charalambos S. Sifonas, "Basile II et l'aristocratie byzantine," *B* 64 (1994), 118-33.

<sup>106</sup> It was the imperial taxes, necessary for the military expansion, that seem to have so impoverished the peasantry that the *dunatoi* were able to usurp their lands.

<sup>107</sup> Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 3-4, 99-104. Cf. Paul Stephenson, "A Development in Nomenclature on the Seals of the Byzantine Provincial Aristocracy in the Late Tenth Century," *REB* 52 (1994), 187-211, for a recent discussion of the rise in importance of family names.

<sup>108</sup> Evelyn Patlagean, "Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *A History of Private Life: I: From Rome to Byzantium*, ed. Paul Veyne, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 597-8. Dynastic marriage had always been an issue at the imperial level, but what became more significant was its spread to lower levels of society. The misfortune of St. Mary the Younger, a member of the minor nobility, began with just such a match; cf. *Life of Mary the Younger 2*, *HWB*, 256.

Constantinople. Mid-century emperors responded to the increased economic and political power of the Constantinopolitan populace by showering favors.<sup>109</sup> They also downgraded the military infrastructure of the empire. One result was that the great rural families, such as the Komnenoi and Doukai, moved their operations to the capital and disputed control of the throne. With the gradual fading of the Macedonian Dynasty's political power, competition between the great families became wide open. The sense of insecurity is evident in the works of Kekaumenos, where the author recommends that only one's own family should be trusted.<sup>110</sup>

In this political maelstrom, Alexios I Komnenos was able to take control by use of money, mercenaries, and the imposition of a harsh military regime, but he maintained control by elevating his family in a way no previous emperor had done. Under the direction of Alexios' mother, the matriarch Anna Dalassena, the Komnenoi mastered the social network by using the dynastic methods of the Anatolian families from which they came.<sup>111</sup> Ultimately, Alexios was related by marriage to all other major families,<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Cf. Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, trans. E.R.A Sewter as *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin, 1966), 170. Psellos attacked his favorite emperor, Constantine IX Monomachos, precisely because he had given away so much to the lower, but now much richer, classes.

<sup>110</sup> Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1984), 74-75.

<sup>111</sup> Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, 105.

<sup>112</sup> It is worthwhile emphasizing just how central marriage was to this policy. Alexios was related to the Doukai by his marriage to Irene Doukaina and by his brother Adrian's marriage to Zoe Doukaina; to the Melissenoi by his sister Eudokia's marriage; to the Taronites clan by his sister Maria's marriage; to the Dalassenoi by his mother; to the Diogenes family through his sister Theodora, although this seems to have been one of Anna Dalassena's mistakes given the fall of Romanos IV Diogenes and the later revolts of various members of the Diogenes family against Alexios. In addition, Alexios acquired a relationship to the Paleologoi through the marriage of his wife Irene's sister, Anna, to George Paleologos. The pattern continued in the

which enabled him to weather decades of political and military setbacks by counting on the support of his family network. Alexios built up the authority of his family through a complex title system and by giving his relatives actual power. He was fortunate in having a large number of relatives who were good soldiers – his brothers, his Doukas relations, and various Paleologoi and Melissenoi, led armies against the Normans and supervised the building of a new fleet.

The centrality of family, and hence marriage, to the Byzantine elite became a permanent aspect of the social structure. Later Byzantine aristocrats proudly strung together all the great names they inherited from both parents. Thus, in a period when the Church's legal, liturgical and theological encouragement of a specifically Christian ideal marriage intensified, there was a real conjunction with the dynastic concerns of the elite.

Marriage, of course, had a central place in women's lives and social location, but the scattered nature of our sources makes it difficult to show how changing views of marriage in the ecclesiastical and public arenas impacted on individuals. There are, however, several suggestive accounts of married women in the tenth to twelfth centuries - the core period that saw the precipitous decline of new women saints.<sup>113</sup>

Sources repeat that mothers loved their children, and wept over them in times of trouble. The *Life* of Luke of Steiris contains an entire sequence on Luke's widowed mother, and her love, care and need for her son, noting that "as mothers do, [she] was

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next generation, when Alexios became related to the Bryennioi by his daughter Anna's marriage. See Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, 105-106.

<sup>113</sup> Recent summaries are Angold, *Church and Society*, 426-40; and Lynda Garland, "The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women: A Further note on the Conventions of Behaviour and Social Reality as Reflected in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Historical Sources," *B* 58:2 (1988), 361-393.



deeply grieving and eager to help her beloved."<sup>114</sup> Michael Psellos wrote an *enkomion* of his mother Theodote, one in which he suggested that she was saintly (although there is no evidence that she was ever celebrated as a saint). Psellos, whose family was distinctly middle class, celebrates his mother for her piety, and her calmness, but also for her independence and education. Theodore of Stoudion had written in the same tradition as Psellos two centuries earlier.<sup>115</sup> but, as Lynda Garland notes, there is a significant change: Theodore said little about his mother's relationship with her husband, but Psellos presents his mother as an ideal wife and mother.<sup>116</sup> Despite her piety she took care to make herself look attractive to her husband, and Psellos comments that she "was not only the coworker and help to my father, according to divine order, but that he also found her first among those who are most beautiful."<sup>117</sup> More than this, however, Psellos dwells on his mother's love and care for him and his education. Mother love was not a new invention of the eleventh century, but it is clear that it was expected from mothers.<sup>118</sup> Thinking about this, we might compare two Marys. The cult of the mother of Jesus dwelt on her love and care for her son, a love that was celebrated in some of the most important iconic portrayals of

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<sup>114</sup> *Life of Luke of Steiris*, ed. and trans. Carolyn L. Connor and W. Robert Connor. *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1994), 18-24, 114

<sup>115</sup> Theodore of Stoudion, "Funeral Oration for His Mother," PG 99: 883-902. There is a useful summation of this speech in Charles Diehl, *Byzantine Portraits*, trans. H. Bell (New York: 1927).

<sup>116</sup> Garland, "Life and Ideology," 375.

<sup>117</sup> Cited in Garland, "Life and Ideology," 375.

<sup>118</sup> Theodore's mother, however, showed no emotion even when her young son was pleading to stay with her as she entered a convent. See Diehl's comments in *Byzantine Portraits*, 115.

her. Compare this with the life of Mary the Younger, who loved her children but did not weep when they died.

The *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos, a member of the rural military elite, slightly higher up the social scale than Psellos, had a lot to say about women and family in the late eleventh century.<sup>119</sup> Kekaumenos, writing a series of counsels for his son, had a different goal than Psellos. Still, his is a much darker picture of a family under siege. Family was central to his thought, and he assumes the centrality of women and marriage, but he also displayed an extreme suspicion of women, whom he saw as subject to advances from all men, and as sexually untrustworthy. Kekaumenos' ideal was that a woman in marriage should subject herself to her husband's will, look after his house, and provide him with children.<sup>120</sup> A good wife was certainly not one that refused sex, tried to escape to a convent, or gave away the family wealth. Thomaïs of Lesbos would have been Kekaumenos' worst nightmare.

Psellos wrote more conventional *enkomia* on a number of imperial women. In his funeral oration on Irene Pegonotissa, he gave another portrait of an ideal marriage. Here Psellos emphasized less the mutual love of couples for each other, than the duty and obedience women owed to their husbands. He supposed that the perfect couple would both come from a good family, that the husband would be ideal, and the marriage

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<sup>119</sup> Kekaumenos, *Cekaumeni strategikon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus*, ed. B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg: 1896; repr. Amsterdam: 1965). The most discussed sections are translated in Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 236-37. See discussion by Garland, "Life and Ideology," 369-70, and Angold, *Church and Society*, 392-96.

<sup>120</sup> "Whoever buries his wife has lost half his livelihood, more if she was a good woman." Cited in Angold, *Church and Society*, 393.

predestined. Once married, however, the ideal wife was depicted as retiring, shy, reticent and quiet in speech. But she was also to be a good mother, and to have sexual relations with her husband.<sup>121</sup> Psellos was specific on this point, claiming that she was "wiser than virgins, since they abstain from bodily relations, but their souls are not always purified from desire, while she, having contracted a legal marriage arranged by her parents was quite virginal in other relationships, as much in her soul as her body."<sup>122</sup> These themes, put forward by a most secular writer, accord well with the views of churchmen on the functions and nature of married life.<sup>123</sup> We know from Psellos, as well as Anna Komnena, that such shrinking violets were far from the reality of imperial women's lives.<sup>124</sup> Still, ideology and actuality came together on one point: although the hagiographic theme of resistance to marriage recurs in some secular texts, Laiou is surely right in claiming that "the example of the elegy of the Kaisarissa Irene, where one meets no ambivalence on the subject of marriage, is a tendency throughout the twelfth century."<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> A number of authors have addressed a new stress on the purely erotic aspects of marriage in the twelfth century. Laiou, *Marriage*, 103, thinks that the stress on the sexual aspect on marriage was new in the Komnenian era, and detects a frank concern not just with physical beauty, always a concern to the Byzantines, but with pleasure also. Cf. Lynda Garland, "Be Amorous, But be Chaste...": Sexual Morality in Byzantine Learned and Vernacular Romance, " *BMGS* 14 (1990), 62-120.

<sup>122</sup> See discussion in Laiou, *Marriage*, 91-93.

<sup>123</sup> Laiou, *Marriage*, 105, notes that even canon lawyers in the twelfth century were uneasy with sexual abstinence between spouses.

<sup>124</sup> See Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 114-21, and Garland, "Life and Ideology," 390-93, for discussions of the radical contrast between the frequently reiterated ideology and the reality of women's agency.

<sup>125</sup> Laiou, *Marriage*, 93.

Saints' *Lives* also might present an ideal of a normal married woman. There is no reason to suppose that authors presented a battered wife as any kind of model for Byzantine women.<sup>126</sup> But if we look at the margins of saints' lives, we see a better representation of developing social ideals. In the *Life* of Thomaïs, for example, the exemplary married woman in the life is not Thomaïs, but her mother Kale:

His wife and life companion was Kale, who was most beautiful in character, and more beautiful in soul. She was quite temperate, and, to speak truly, was of one mind with her husband. She was praiseworthy in conduct, intelligent in her mind, and good in her disposition... Kale was given <in marriage> to be a companion for the aforementioned man, and they were revealed to be a golden team, a team thrice happy and blessed, vigorously bearing the evangelical yoke and observing the divine precepts... Kale, who was God-pleasing in her lifestyle, was lawfully united with a man of the same habits. And one could often see both of <these> wise <individuals> holding in contempt the fine things of life, since they were of one mind. They had enough wealth and money that they were neither enslaved by poverty, nor were they swollen by the weight of money, but they proceeded along in a middle path which is a clear sign, I think, of their virtue.<sup>127</sup>

This was the ideal, a modest wife of one mind with her husband, not the conflict of Thomaïs' marriage. Moreover, what the couple desire is not, at first, monastic life, but to be loosed from the "fetter of sterility," which "tore apart their soul." Eventually God intervened and "removed from them their disgrace... the heavy collar of childlessness." It was only after the death of her husband that Kale entered a convent. Thomaïs' mother is a veritable model of good wifeliness. She was modest, pious, and loyal to her husband. But she was not a saint.

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<sup>126</sup> Cf. Angold, *Church and Society*, 434, who argues just this point. There is no evidence that the *Lives* in question circulated widely, nor that exemplarity in marriage was a major concern of the writers.

<sup>127</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 3.

The contemporary epic Διγενής Ἀκρίτης sets forth similar views on ideals of marriage and womanhood.<sup>128</sup> but also provides more insight into the problems the masculinizing language of female sainthood faced. In the text, just as *andreia* underlines masculinity, modesty and "protection of herself from male society" underlines femininity.<sup>129</sup> The poem does portray a masculinized woman -- Maximou -- but she is a villainess. Maximou goes out in the world, acts without fear, speaks freely to men, and blasphemously claims that her own *andreia* comes from God.<sup>130</sup> Fearlessness, activity in the world, free-speech (*parrhesia*) and *andreia*, it bears repeating, were exactly the qualities ascribed to both male and female saints.

We can now see the impact of marriage changes on women's sainthood. The trope of the "man's soul in a woman's body," and the stress on the use of gendered language that masculinized women both continued to be important in hagiography. As we saw in Chapter IV this amounted to a one-gendered model of sainthood in which gender inflected language might be used about both men and women, but in rather different ways. But this conflicted with the role of women in relation to marriage. A married woman, by all social expectations, was irretrievably female -- she was beautiful, she was a mother who loved her children, she was a partisan of her family, and she was subordinate to her husband.

None of this was especially new. What was new was the Church's promotion and acceptance of marriage. A new ideal of life for the good Christian woman was available,

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<sup>128</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, 399-400, discusses the centrality of marriage and family in the poem, and relates this to Kekaumenos' views.

<sup>129</sup> Ekdawi et al, 34.

but such women could not fit into the masculine paradigm of sanctity. While marriage may possess its own virtues, such as being a "good wife," the virtue of marriage placed women in an irretrievably feminine role and was not commensurable with the heroic and masculine sanctity of saints. For women, these transformations in the social significance of marriage closed off previous forms of sanctity; martyrdom was unnecessary and it was now much less conceivable for a woman to lead an independent ascetic life.<sup>131</sup> None of this applied to men, who at all times could leave family, and adopt the extreme ascetic practices that impressed the Byzantines. A married male saint who remained in his marriage was not acceptable to the Byzantines either, but for men the monastic option remained open.

#### **D Women and the Monasticization of Sainthood**

Byzantine monasticism passed through distinct and varying phases of power and prestige. Its history in the post-Iconoclastic period has been traced in recent years. In general, scholars have seen a period of monastic triumph following the defeat of Iconoclasm, and periods of great public and state support for monasticism in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>132</sup> These centuries see a major change in the contours of Byzantine monasticism, the establishment of a new series of monastic powerhouses -- on Mount

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<sup>130</sup> Ekdawi et al, 35.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Laiou, *Marriage*, 93, "The matrimonial strategy of the Byzantine aristocracy, based upon a highly elevated assessment of nuptiality for men as well as for women, eliminated the image of the virgin approaching marriage unwillingly. The ideal is now that of a young woman who celebrates her wedding and to whom one wishes good offspring.... The new model...suppressed the choice which had formerly confronted the Byzantine woman between divine marriage and human marriage."

Athos, Patmos, Chios -- to replace the increasingly endangered monasteries of Anatolia. These new foundations were to become active producers of hagiographic literature, as well as the major centers of monastic prestige. The Komnenian period, in contrast, was perhaps a period of retrenchment, in which literate society and court culture rejected monks.<sup>133</sup> It was, however, also the period in which the great independent monasteries consolidated their status and prestige.<sup>134</sup> After the recapture of Constantinople in 1261, and especially following the Hesychast victory in the mid-1300s,<sup>135</sup> monasticism again triumphed and monks established another major center at Meteora. One aspect of the success of monasticism, especially Athonite monasticism, in the Palaiologan era was the virtually complete domination of the episcopate.<sup>136</sup>

Although the cultural contradictions outlined so far in this chapter were most important, the decline in numbers of new women saints in Byzantine culture must also be understood within the history of monasticism. Undulations in the prestige and power of monasticism are smoothed considerably when one considers changes in the types of new

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<sup>132</sup> Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Angold, *Church and Society*, 265-382.

<sup>133</sup> Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," in Hackel, *Saint*, 51-66. In the sweep of Byzantine history, the period of disapproval was a temporary phenomenon, not a trend.

<sup>134</sup> John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 223-24.

<sup>135</sup> John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 100-3.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Aristeides Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of Papacy* (Crestwood NY: SVS Press, 1994), 306. After Athanasios I, all patriarchs of Constantinople but two were monastics. The trend to monasticism became even more intense under Isidoros (1347-50). He consecrated thirty-two new bishops, for the most part members of the same monastic circle. For a complete list of patriarchs, and which ones were monks, see Paul Halsall, *Bishops/Patriarchs of Constantinople*, [<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/byzantium/texts/byzpatcp.html>].

saints. Chapter IV demonstrated that despite variations in the total number of new saints, there was a distinct trend towards monastic saints (Table 4:3), especially among women where the few later saints were all nuns. The statistics, based on the BHG cohort, do not tell the entire story for male saints, since they include a number of martyrs from outside the Byzantine world. Angeliki Laiou's study of Palaiologan-era saints gives a more accurate impression -- all the saints she studies were monks, and most had an association with Mount Athos.<sup>137</sup>

Monasticism was important in the history of sainthood because of public awareness of monks. Calculation of the absolute number of monks is of course impossible, but Charanis, working on a population estimate for the Empire at its height of about twenty million, argued that up to one percent of the population were monks.<sup>138</sup> The sheer number of monks meant that their influence would have been felt everywhere. Many families would have had relatives in orders. Monks also effectively publicized their own culture. At least some saints' *Lives* were written for popular consumption, and monks were constantly on the road, both the itinerant holy men and monks from one monastery visiting another. The bigger monasteries had subsidiary *metochia* in Constantinople that their monks visited. Monasticism reached and affected equally the low, the middle, and the upper reaches of Byzantine society.

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<sup>137</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 84-114.

<sup>138</sup> Peter Charanis, "The Monk as an Element in Byzantine Society," *DOP* 25 (1971), 73. He suggests 50,000 monks in up to 7000 monasteries. One need not take the figures literally to accept his point, but the figures seem less extreme when one considers that in Crete in 1632 much better records show up to 2% of the population under monastic vows.



The monks and nuns who feature so prominently in early hagiography tended to be hermits, anchorites and others who renounced society, and it was as hermits that female ascetics had been so impressive to hagiographers. But it was cenobites who had led the defense of the icons,<sup>139</sup> and the post-iconoclastic period saw the beginning of the permanent ascendancy of cenobitism. Indeed, excessive asceticism, while still impressive, came to be considered slightly boorish; as Kazhdan indicates "the struggle against the iconoclasts required resistance, not escapism."<sup>140</sup> Eremitism became an adjunct rather than an alternative to communal life, and the most prestigious form of monasticism. For a time, this meant that both monasteries in the countryside and the major Constantinopolitan monasteries, such as the Stoudion, were equally celebrated. Women's monasteries also benefited at first; they were able to maintain the cults of monastic saints such as Irene of Chrysobalanton.<sup>141</sup> After the tenth century, greater prestige was associated with the new Aegean and Athonite monasteries, and monastic saints of the period included the founders of these monasteries, for instance, Christodoulos of Patmos.

The history of women's monasticism does not parallel that of men's. A great deal of work on women's monasticism has made it clear that while male monastic power increased in the later centuries of the empire, there were always factors that made

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<sup>139</sup> Alexandr P. Kazhdan, "Hermetic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth Centuries (sic)," *GOTR* 30:4 (1985), 478.

<sup>140</sup> Kazhdan, "Hermetic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals," 480-81

<sup>141</sup> Women's monasteries also seem to have supported the initial cults of women saints outside Constantinople, such as Theodora of Thessalonica, and Athanasia of Aigina.

women's monasticism weaker and less prestigious.<sup>142</sup> Not only were there far fewer monasteries for women than for men, but their locations had an important correlation with the history of sainthood. Women's monasteries tended to be smaller urban institutions, and heavily concentrated in the capital -- they also tended to be poorer.<sup>143</sup> Although convents had only a small foothold in the major monastic centers of earlier centuries, they were altogether excluded from the most prestigious monastic centers of the later Byzantine period, those in Athos and Meteora.

Within male monasticism, the spiritual exercises and spirituality associated with hesychasm took on an ever-greater predominance, leading to the complex religious disputes of the fourteenth century. Hesychasm emphasized the intellectual

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<sup>142</sup> Dorothy de F. Abrahamse, "Byzantine Asceticism and Women's Monasteries in Early Medieval Italy," in *Medieval Religious Women I: Distant Echoes*, ed. Lilian Thomas Shank and John A. Nichols (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1984), 31-50; eadem, "Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine Period: Problems and Perspectives," *BF* 9 (1985): 35-58; Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the ΤΥΠΙΚΑ," *JÖB* 38 (1988): 263-90; Elizabeth Koubena, "A Survey of Aristocratic Women Founders of Monasteries in Constantinople between the Eleventh and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Les femmes et le monachisme*, ed. Perreault, 25-32; Maria Loukaki, "Monastères de femmes à Byzance du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à 1453," in *Les femmes et le monachisme*, ed. Perreault 33-42.; Jacques Y. Perreault, ed., *Les femmes et le monachisme byzantin/Women and Byzantine Monasticism, Actes du symposium d'Athènes/Acts of the Athens symposium, 1988*, Publications de l'Institut Canadien d'Archéologie à Athènes/Publications of the Canadian Archeological Institute at Athens No. 1 (Athens: 1988); Hélène Saradi-Mendelovici, "L'infirmitas sexus' présumée de la moniale byzantine: doctrine ascétique et pratique juridique," in *Les femmes et le monachisme*, ed. Perreault, 87-97.; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Okeanos: Harvard Ukrainian Studies VII [= Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko]* (Cambridge MA: 1984), 604-618; eadem, "Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity," *BF* 9 (1985), 103-117; eadem, "Monastic Experience"; eadem, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," *DOP* 44 (1990), 119-30.

<sup>143</sup> Talbot, "Monastic Experience," 4-5 and Tables I and II. The concentration in urban areas was a function of who founded convents, mostly aristocratic and imperial women, who often retired to them. Male monastery founders seem to have been able to act more independently.

accomplishment and spiritual feats of saints such as Gregory Palamas, which women, deprived of education and literacy,<sup>144</sup> could not hope to emulate.

One also detects in documents about nuns a certain uneasiness about how to conceive them. As with women saints, male writers long expected nuns to acquire masculinity, or at least "masculine spirit" through monastic life, a pattern that continued in the last centuries of the Empire.<sup>145</sup> Convent founders, however, were unhappy about leaving administration in women's hands. Commonly, male administrators received control of the nuns' property, and abbesses had to submit to the community's priest.<sup>146</sup> In addition to the real limits a nun might face in conducting worldly business, it is clear that, male spirit or not, the founders of convents (often female) subscribed to cultural norms that saw women as weak and lacking common sense.<sup>147</sup>

In short, a resurgent monasticism produced the majority of the later Byzantine saints after the trough in saint-production of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mount Athos' complete exclusion of women symbolized the prominence thereafter of a type of monasticism that precluded the type of sanctity women had exercised in the early church. Women could still become nuns,<sup>148</sup> but it is notable that one of the few later women to

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<sup>144</sup> Laiou, "Role of Women," 255-57. Laiou found literacy rates amongst aristocratic women in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of between 7 and 16 percent. The sample was, it should be noted, miniscule. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns," 605, notes the scanty evidence on the intellectual life of late Byzantine nuns, and it does seem not possible to assess their literacy rates.

<sup>145</sup> Talbot, "Monastic Experience," 10-11.

<sup>146</sup> Galatariotou, "Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities," 284-87.

<sup>147</sup> Judicial and notarial texts did not treat nuns any differently than lay women. Cf. Saradi-Mendelovici, "L'infirmetas sexus' présumée de la moniale byzantine." 95.

<sup>148</sup> Talbot, "Monastic Experience," 2. Female monasteries were perhaps 35% of the total in Palaiologan Constantinople, but these institutions produced no saints.

achieve sanctity, the Empress Irene, had a cult supported by the male monastery of the Pantokrator.<sup>149</sup>

### **E Married Women Saints**

It is now time to bring together the various themes I have examined in relationship to the lives of the last generations of Byzantine women saints. We have seen that there was a decline and virtual disappearance of new women saints in the tenth and eleventh centuries, that the literature of female sanctity persistently masculinized women saints, and that marriage became socially and religiously more prominent during the same period in which new women saints cease to be recognized. I have argued strongly that an ideal of women centered on marriage contradicts an ideal of sanctity that degendered women. I do not suggest that this was the only issue in the decline of new women saints: the monasticization of sainthood must also play a part. All this rests on the conviction that the small number of married lay women saints in the ninth and tenth centuries and the absence of new women saints in later Byzantium, are phenomena that demand an explanation, and that ultimately result in new ways of understanding Byzantine saints both male and female. Who then were these women, and how do their *Lives* inform our understanding of what happened?

Among even the small number of women celebrated as new saints after the end of Iconoclasm,<sup>150</sup> many simply reiterated older themes of women's sanctity. The Iconoclast

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<sup>149</sup> SynaxCP 888-90; John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typika and Testaments* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1999), 725-81.

<sup>150</sup> See Table A2; cf. Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," *BZ* 84/85:2 (1991/1992), 392-96, for a discussion of Iconoclast era women saints.

period itself saw the last two women martyrs of the Byzantine era.<sup>151</sup> Others were the last echoes of the theme of women dressed as monks and need detain us no longer.<sup>152</sup> Two appear only as followers of male saints, and cannot be said to have had any significant cult of their own.<sup>153</sup> The *Life* of Theoktiste of Lesbos, the only *vita* of a middle-Byzantine female saint with a substantial manuscript tradition, was a retelling of the legendary life of Mary of Egypt.<sup>154</sup> A number of other women who appear as "saints" in modern lists seem to have done so purely on the basis of *synaxarion* entries or private documents with no other indication of a cult.<sup>155</sup> Despite her Greek *Life*, it is hard to consider Paraskeve of Thrace as a "Byzantine" saint since her origins and cult were

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There is an overlap of these saints with the saints discussed here since Kazhdan and Talbot focus on the period in which the women lived, whereas I focus on the period in which the women were recognized as saints. Among the saints listed, but not considered here are: Theodora of Kaisaris, a woman who fled to a convent to avoid marrying Leo III's son (BHGNA 2424m), Anthousa of Mantineon, [d. 808-809] BHG(NA 2029h), tortured under Constantine V, and Anthousa the daughter of Constantine V.

<sup>151</sup> Mary the Patrician, (BHG 1195) and Theodosia, (BHG 1773y-1774e). Kazhdan and Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," 392, stress the lack of reliable data on these two saints, who are probably a doublet, i.e., a case in which one story was split into two "saints." Anna in the *Life* of Stephen the Younger might also be considered a martyr for refusing to denounce him. The *synaxarion* notices for Theodosia and Stephen the Younger are translated in BDI.

<sup>152</sup> Anna/Euphemianos the Younger [8-9 Cent.](BHG 2027), Euphrosyne the Younger [c.921-23](BHG 627) and Marina of Sicily [d. 1062](BHG 1170).

<sup>153</sup> Anna, in *Life* of Stephen the Younger (BHG1667)[10C], and Theodora, a disciple of Basil the Younger [10C](BHG NA 264d-f, cf. p.202)

<sup>154</sup> The *Life* (BHG 1723-1726) is attributed to the 10th century; cf. *HWB*, 95-116. The *Lives* of both Mary of Egypt and Theoktiste were only two examples of a much more widespread theme of the naked woman hermit. See discussion in John Wortley, ed. and trans., *The Spiritual Beneficial Tales of Paul Bishop of Monembasia* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian, 1996), 187-90.

<sup>155</sup> The Empress Irene's [d. 803] "vita" (BHG 2205) is simply a compendium of related excerpts, some unflattering, from Theophanes' *Chronographia*. [Cf. Warren Treadgold, "The Unpublished Saint's Life of the Empress Irene," *BF* 8 (1982), 237-51]. Theoktiste [d. sub Irene], mother of Theodore of Stoudion, gained an entry in the BHG (BHG 2420) purely on the basis of her son's *enkomion*. [Cf. Theodore of Stoudion, "Funeral Oration for His Mother," PG 99: 883-902.]

Slavic.<sup>156</sup> Matrona of Chios is given a very doubtful fourteenth-century date in BHG, and is better considered as a post-Byzantine saint.<sup>157</sup>

That leaves just ten Byzantine women saints for whom we have significant amounts of information.<sup>158</sup> None were martyrs, and eight of them were married,<sup>159</sup> a fact that accounts for the repeated claims that there was a new ideal of female sanctity. Leaving aside the very low absolute numbers for any "ideal," given that we are considering a period of four centuries, we must recognize that the *Lives* of many of these women are based not on their marital status but on much older motifs of sanctity.

#### *Echoes of Older Motifs of Sanctity*

Monasticism is the central element of both the sanctity and cult of many of the women. Of the ten, six were either founders or abbesses of convents, one was a simple

<sup>156</sup> BHG 1420z-1421. Cf. *ODB* 1585.

<sup>157</sup> BHG 1220 gives Matrona's date of death as 1306-10, apparently accepted by Alice-Mary Talbot, *HWB*, 321. Petit, *BibAc*, 186, dates her death in 1462. Matrona's story refers to her dealing with barbarian marauders from the West at a time when Chios was under Genoese control, but this does not clearly date her life since the Genoese held the island for extended intervals between 1261 and the sixteenth century. The later date derives from published Greek lists of new saints, especially Nikodemos the Hagiorite's *Neon Martyrologion*. Both BHG and the *Neon Martyrologion* refer to Metropolitan Nilos of Rhodes as the source of her story. The early date is thus far from certain, and the development of the cult seems to have been post-Byzantine. See the not-entirely-satisfactory discussion (since she does not mention that Matrona was not a martyr) in Efthalia Makris Walsh, "The Women Martyrs of Nikodemus Hagiorites' *Neon Martyrologion*." *GOTR* 36:1 (1991): 71-91.

<sup>158</sup> Most of their lives have now been made available in annotated and commented English translations. Athanasia of Aigina [9 Cent.](BHG 180) [*HWB*, 137-158]; Theokleto [9 Cent] [no translation of SynaxCP entry]; Theodora [empress, d. 867](BHG 1731-1735) [*BDI*, 353-382]; Theodora of Thessalonica [d. 892] (BHG 1737-1741) [*HWB*, 159-237]; Theophano [empress, d. 893](BHG 1794-1795e)[in prep. by Jan Olof Rosenqvist]; Mary the Younger [d. 902](BHG 1164) [*HWB*, 239-289]; Irene of Chrysobalanton [9-10 Cent.](BHG 952) [Rosenqvist, *Irene*]; Martha of Monembasia [9-10 Cent.](BHG 1175) [Wortley, *Spiritually Beneficial Tales*, 112-14]; Thomaïs of Lesbos [10 Cent.](BHG 2454-2457)[*HWB*, 291-322, and Appendix II below]; Irene [empress, d. 1134](BHG 2206)[no translation of SynaxCP entry]; Theodora of Arta [queen, d.c.1270](BHG 1736) [*HWB*, 323-33].

nun, and another spent time in a convent.<sup>160</sup> It was convents also that maintained the memory of these women, and provided a focus for their usually small-scale cults.<sup>161</sup> In most cases the marriage of a woman saint ended early in her career and was not the focus of the hagiographer's attention. Rather than surveying all the monastic women, I will try to unwrap more closely the continuation of older monastic themes in two.

In the case of Theodora of Thessalonica, her marriage can hardly be ignored, since she did not resist marriage and bore three children.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, her once-married status was understood to be a problem,<sup>163</sup> and the *Life* does focus on her relationship with her daughter Theopiste. Theodora's sanctity, however, did not derive from her married life. She lived a life of sufficient monastic rigor for her biographer to use it to argue her sanctity, but her asceticism was far from extraordinary.<sup>164</sup> It was in another area of traditional sanctity that she excelled. Only soon after her death did her sanctity become

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<sup>159</sup> The exceptions were Irene of Chrysobalanton and Martha of Monembasia.

<sup>160</sup> Athanasia of Aigina, founder and abbess; Irene of Chrysobalanton, abbess; Martha of Monembasia, abbess; Theophano the Empress, founder; Irene the Empress, was founder of the Pantokrator Monastery (or, more accurately the major influence on her husband's foundation), and was tonsured before her death; Theodora of Arta, founder of the Convent of St. George, where she was later a nun. Theodora of Thessalonica, was a nun not an abbess, although her daughter was. Theodora the Empress spent some of her life in the convent of Gastia. Although she was not tonsured, she was buried there. [ODB 2038]

<sup>161</sup> Monasteries were important in maintaining the cults of Theodora of Thessalonica (by far the most important of the cults); Theophano the Empress; Irene of Chrysobalanton; Irene the Empress; Theodora of Arta, as well as the cult of Thomaïs of Lesbos. It is not clear that Martha of Monembasia or Athanasia of Aigina had any significant local cult.

<sup>162</sup> *Life* of Theodora of Thessalonica 8. *HWB*, 169.

<sup>163</sup> *Life* of Theodora of Thessalonica 59. *HWB*, 214. Monks discussing her "all marveled at how a woman who lived in a city and had once been married could be elevated by God to such a height of glory, so as to surpass all women known to us with regard to the miracles she accomplished."

<sup>164</sup> *HWB*, 159.

apparent: oil from a lamp burning near her tomb did not run out, and the lamp then began to gush oil. The oil was used to cure cases of a smallpox epidemic sweeping through the city. At this point Theodora began her career as one of the most important local saints of Thessalonica, a myrrh-giving saint whose methods may have been adopted by the greatest of Thessalonian saints, Demetrios.<sup>165</sup> An icon was painted, under miraculous circumstances, her body was transferred, and both a *Life* and an *Account* of posthumous miracles were composed.

The *Life* of Athanasia of Aigina presents another case where there may be less than meets the eye.<sup>166</sup> Although Athanasia is a married woman saint, her two marriages are not part of the story in the central way that they are for Mary the Younger and Thomaïs of Lesbos. Athanasia resists her marriages in a quite conventional, and not distinctively female, way. From the viewpoint of gender analysis, the *Life* remains significant for a number of reasons. It contains a "*Life* within a *Life*" in which the "inner saint" is male. The text provides its own model of an acceptable narrative of sanctity where we can examine how Athanasia's sanctity is coordinated with that of the monk Matthias.

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<sup>165</sup> It is not certain which saint has priority as a myrrh-giver. The cult is described by Evelyne Patlagean, "Théodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IXe-XXe siècles)," in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastini (Rome: L.U. Japadre Editore, 1984), 39-67. See also Alice-Mary Talbot, "Family Cults in Byzantium: The Case of St. Theodora of Thessalonike," in *AEIMQN: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 6 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1996), 49-69. Talbot notes a major three-century gap in the evidence for the cult between the late ninth century texts and a series of texts from the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries that show that the cult was flourishing then. This may simply reflect documentary lacunae. At any event, by the thirteenth century, Theodora was no longer a "new saint" to those who celebrated or wrote about her. She was a wonderworker of a quite conventional type.



The basic details of Athanasia's life and *vita* are quite clear. The *Life* survives in one dated manuscript of 916, and the circumstances described date her to the early ninth century, a time of Arab raids on the Aegean islands. Although this was the period of the second iconoclasm, the topic of Iconoclasm simply does not arise. Athanasia as a child received a mystical experience of God:

One day while sitting and weaving at the loom by herself, she saw a shining star descend as far as her chest. It shed abundant light on her, and then disappeared from sight. By this light therefore, she was abundantly enlightened in her soul and came into an absolute hatred for the vanity of life.<sup>167</sup>

Consequently, Athanasia desired to become a nun, but her parents forced her to marry.

The first husband died within sixteen days of the marriage in an Arab raid. Later, following an otherwise unknown imperial edict that all women and widows should marry foreign men, her parents made Athanasia marry again. She lived with the second husband for a number of years, engaging in works of piety, but succeeded in persuading him to enter a monastery. He died soon after. Taking advantage of her "freedom," Athanasia assembled a group of other women, gave away all her possessions, and began a monastic life. Her austerities were manifold, and included, after four years, retreating with her sisters on to an isolated mountain. As well as performing various miracles, Athanasia also had mystical experiences of both light and visions.<sup>168</sup> Later in life she visited Constantinople and lived there for six or seven years. Just before her death she left Constantinople and died, after foretelling her own death in a place called Timia. The *Life* goes on to describe her posthumous miracles.

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<sup>166</sup> *HWB*, 137-58.

<sup>167</sup> *Life of Athanasia of Aigina* 1, *HWB*, 142.

Since Athanasia was married twice, her *Life* superficially supports the claim that the ninth century sees a new acceptability of married women saints. As with Theodora, it is worth examining this claim in more detail. The question is whether Athanasia is a new model of saint, or merely an old model adopted for a new period: a practice we know happened with the recycling of the story of Mary of Egypt in the *Life* of Theoktiste. Again, Athanasia's marriages are not central to her story. She does not seem to have had children, and her husbands were mere obstacles to her monastic career. Neither is presented as being evil in any way or even personally an obstacle to sanctity. They are merely removed. In this respect, the *Life* resembles not the Lives of Mary the Younger and Thomaïs, but older stories of women saints who leave husbands, travel and found monasteries. The fifth-century saint Melania the Younger,<sup>169</sup> for instance, was forced by family pressures into marriage; she persuaded her husband to give up sexual relations, and then pursued a glorious career of travel, asceticism, and monastery foundation. Athanasia's story essentially transferred these tropes to the smaller Byzantine world of the ninth and tenth centuries. Athanasia was able to pursue an active career of asceticism and monastic foundation. She founded monastic institutions, although they are somewhat less impressive than those of Melania. She traveled, not around the Mediterranean, but to Constantinople. Rather than representing a "new model" of married sanctity then, or even a married woman saint, the *Life* of Athanasia represents a recurrence of the old motif of a

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<sup>168</sup> *Life* of Athanasia of Aigina 10, *HWB*, 149.

<sup>169</sup> Gerontios (d. 485), *The Life of Melania the Younger*, trans. Elizabeth A. Clark (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1984).

Christian noble woman who, upon gaining "freedom" from marriage, engages upon an idiosyncratic religious career.

It is not her marriage that marks Athanasia's *Life* of interest in terms of gender, so much as her mysticism. She received intense mystical experiences in childhood and after, and the *Life* connects these to her ability to perform miracles.<sup>170</sup> The author does not suggest that mystical experience is necessary to sanctity, for the monk Matthias also had the ability to heal without the same degree of mysticism. Possibly here, the author is experimenting with mysticism as a way to describe saintly women. If so, the experiment was not taken up, since no women were seen as leaders in the Hesychast movement, which later provided so many of the male saints of the last Byzantine centuries.

Monasticism is not the only older motif we find in the lives of the ten middle Byzantine women saints. Four of them were queens and recalled the long tradition of sainted monarchs.<sup>171</sup> It is hard to escape the impression that there was a strong dynastic element in all but one case. Theodora the Empress, as restorer of icon veneration in 843, was clearly the special case because she played a unique role in the sacred history of Orthodoxy.<sup>172</sup> Leo VI effectively canonized his wife when he built a church as a memorial soon after her death and named it the "Church of St. Theophano." Although some bishops objected to this name, which was changed, and her body was moved eventually to the Convent of St. Constantine, which she had founded, Leo was successful

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<sup>170</sup> *Life of Athanasia of Aigina* 11, *HWB*, 149.

<sup>171</sup> Theodora [empress, d. 867]; Theophano [empress, d. 893]; Irene [empress, d. 1134]; Theodora of Arta [*Despoina* of Epiros, d.c.1270].

in his efforts.<sup>173</sup> Theophano acquired a small, but long-lasting cult, one that was always connected to her imperial rank.<sup>174</sup> Irene, the wife of John II Komnenos, was also the benefactor of her widowed husband's efforts to promote her sanctity. Although it was never strong, her cult -- such as it was -- depended on Irene's burial and the commemoration of her death in the Pantokrator monastery.<sup>175</sup> The monastery functioned as a mausoleum for the Komnenoi, and the imperial connection was clear. It was so well endowed with other saints' relics, though, that the Russian pilgrims in later centuries do not even mention Irene.<sup>176</sup> The *despoina*, Theodora of Arta and her husband Michael II, after her reconciliation with him, built a series of churches around Arta, which set a pattern for later members of the family.<sup>177</sup> Her own foundation of St. George, where she was buried, was located in the center of Arta, and eventually acquired Theodora's name, as her tomb became the center of a cult.<sup>178</sup> In her case, as with the other sainted queens, older themes of sanctity remained powerful.

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<sup>172</sup> Cf. *ODB* 2037-38. Her *Life* dwells on her Orthodoxy, her fidelity to images, and her desire that her iconoclast husband be forgiven, see François Halkin, ed., "Deux Impératrices de Byzance," *AnatBoll* 106 (1988), 28-34.

<sup>173</sup> See Glanville Downey, "The Church of all Saints (Church of St. Theophano) Near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *DOP* 9/10 (1955/65), 301-5; and Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 295-98. Cf. Evelyne Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir," in Hackel, *Saint*, 104, who calls the cult an "imperial cause."

<sup>174</sup> Paolo Cesaretti, "Some Remarks on the Vita of the Empress Theophano (BHG 1794)," Svenska Kommitten for byzantinska Studier, *Bulletin* 6 (1988), 25 notes the emphasis in her *Life* on her character as "queen."

<sup>175</sup> *SynaxCP* 888-890.

<sup>176</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 295-98, cf. 311.

<sup>177</sup> Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 237-39.

<sup>178</sup> *HWB*, 324.

*Married Lay Women Saints: Thomaïs of Lesbos and Mary the Younger*

For all the scholarly discussion of a new ideal of women's sanctity, we are essentially left with Thomaïs of Lesbos and Mary the Younger as lay women who were married at the time of their deaths, achieved sanctity in their daily lives, died in acts of domestic violence, and who were later hailed as saints.<sup>179</sup> This is not a very large sample on which to base "stages" talk.<sup>180</sup> Aspects of the *Life* of the Empress Theophano, also married at her death, overlap in some respects, but her imperial position and Leo's promotion of her cult were perhaps more important.<sup>181</sup> Theodora of Arta's *Life* does reiterate the theme of an abused wife, but the document is as much a chronicle as a *vita*.<sup>182</sup> and it is going too far to claim that it "revived the theme of a wife mistreated by her husband."<sup>183</sup> It is also worth noting that neither Mary nor Thomaïs achieved much popularity in the Byzantine period. Nevertheless, a close reading of these lives provides a key to understanding the cultural conflicts that I outlined in general.

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<sup>179</sup> Cf. Majeska, *Travelers*, 283. The fourteenth-century Russian pilgrim, Zosima, reported on another saint, Kalia the Laywoman who fits into the pattern. He reports about the *Povasil'jas* convent: "St. Calia the laywoman reposes here. Her husband was a rich merchant and spent three years at sea. She was wise, God-fearing, and charitable, and gave away all their possessions without her husband's knowledge, all of them. Her husband returned and drove her to her death, assuming she had spent their means uselessly. God granted her curative powers: cripples and sick prostrate to her and are healed." Unfortunately, neither the saint nor the monastery is known from a Greek source, and there is no way to date the saint.

<sup>180</sup> In her translation of the *Life* of Mary the Younger, Angeliki Laiou raised the possibility that the *Lives* of Mary and Thomaïs were essentially the same story [*HWB*, 251-52]. If they were the same saint, then we would "have only one example of a married female who becomes a saint without becoming a nun." See my discussion, and rejection, of Laiou's comments in Appendix II.

<sup>181</sup> She also counts as founder of a monastery, another common way to sainthood.

<sup>182</sup> *HWB*, 323-33. The document is short, and the first half is in the form of a chronicle rather than a conventional saint's *Life*. The second part does promote standard themes.

We must be clear in discussing these texts that we cannot access through them the historical women called Mary and Thomaïs, although there is no reason to deny that they existed. The real value of the *Lives* to a cultural historian lies in the texts themselves, and what we can determine about the social values and paradoxes the authors evince. It would be preferable to be able to probe the thought world of Byzantine women, but hagiography cannot legitimately be used for this purpose.<sup>184</sup> What we can do is to evaluate cultural attitudes towards women in the middle Byzantine period, and perhaps garner some details of their daily life in a time of social change.<sup>185</sup>

The *Life* of Mary the Younger [LMY] is a much more complex story and addresses the issues of becoming a saint and the gender problem more directly than does

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<sup>183</sup> Cf. Angold, *Church and Society*, 435. Theodora is abused, but unlike Mary and Thomaïs, she is reconciled with her husband before she dies.

<sup>184</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, "Old Wine in New Bottles: the Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period." in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 15-26, indicates one way around this impasse. She analyzed the hagiographers as historical subjects rather than their saints. In the fourteenth century one hagiographer (Theodora Raoulaina) was a woman, but there were no indisputable women writers of saints' *Lives* for the earlier period under discussion here – cf. discussion in Chapter III, fn. 142.

<sup>185</sup> This is a very different theoretical approach from the intense and erudite study of hagiography practiced by the Bollandists. They were motivated by a desire not to profane the cult of saints by giving honor to apocryphal persons. Their editions of texts are invaluable, as are their philological notes and source criticism, but Bollandists did not really explore the cultural context and import of the *vitae*. In the Bollandist-edited *Lives* of women saints listed in the bibliography, for instance, there is no attempt in the prefaces to assess the *Lives'* contribution to the history of Byzantine women. Cf. Evelyne Patlagean, "Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale," *Annales E.S.C* 1 (1968), 106-126, repr. in *Structures sociales, famille, chrétienté à Byzance IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (London: Variorum, 1981), V, 106. See Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography*, trans. V.M. Crawford (London: Longmans, Green, 1907), for a Bollandist's robust criticism of miracles, hagiographers and popular credulity. As Delehaye points out there are a number of ways to be misled: accurate topographical information means no more than that an author knew a particular city or shrine (224-25); a lack of outrageous miracles can merely mean that the life is an abbreviation of a more suspect text (223).

the *Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos* [LTL]. The LTL, however, presents a much more active female saint. There is a possibility that the LMY, with its limited acquaintance with biblical texts, had a lay author,<sup>186</sup> while the heavier use of psalmody in LTL might indicate a monastic author. Taken together these *Lives* shed light on women's social location in Constantinople, a town and a village, on marriage; and on the two male authors' efforts to make sense of what constitutes holiness for a Byzantine woman.

Apart from these *Lives*, there is little other documentation of the existence of Mary or Thomaïs. Since we are dealing with ninth- and tenth-century women whom we know through later texts, which survive in manuscripts copied many centuries later, it is appropriate to ask how legitimate it is to extract factual information about their lives and culture. We are able to do so because information on background and circumstances given by the hagiographers can be judged against the information available from the histories and other saints' *Lives* of the period, and from sources such as Theodore of Stoudion's eulogy on the death of his mother, Theoktiste.<sup>187</sup> Such comparisons provide confirmation that the picture of the saints given by their biographers was grounded in contemporary social ideology if not always in actual experience.

Scholars' discussion of these *Lives*, as a turning point in Byzantine hagiography and conceptions of female sanctity, derives from a 1976 article by Evelyne Patlagean.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> A suggestion supported by the LMY's concern with details of military office and campaigns, as well as the familiarity with secular classical texts. Cf. *HWB*, 245

<sup>187</sup> Theodore of Stoudion, "Funeral Oration for His Mother," PG 99: 883-902.

<sup>188</sup> Patlagean, "La femme déguisée," 621. The suggestion was rapidly adopted by other scholars: Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power*, 73-75; Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography," (1986), 540. It is still going strong, see, for instance, Angold, *Church and*

The *prima facie* case for this argument is that until the ninth century hagiography of female saints had taken as its subjects either early martyrs and ascetics or, less frequently, the tradition of women disguised as monks. In each of these hagiographical traditions female sanctity arises from a denial or disregard of femininity.<sup>189</sup> In contrast, Mary the Younger was a married woman with children, whose sanctity flowed from her family experience, and Thomaïs, although childless, was sanctified through her unhappy marital life. This, according to Patlagean, was a new characterization of sanctity or at least a new place to look for it -- Mary's hagiographer was especially keen to emphasize the point.<sup>190</sup>

Patlagean unquestionably uncovered important texts for understanding Byzantine views of women's sanctity, but I suggest that she and others have misread their significance. Scholars have uniformly presented these texts positively, as demonstrating that women were able to exercise virtue as women rather than by denying or destroying their femininity.<sup>191</sup> In reading these modern accounts, one would think that the *Lives* were the work of some Byzantine feminist and that a flowering of *vitae* of married female saints took place in the centuries following, as hagiographers mined a new source of saintliness for their readers' edification. Instead, the opposite occurred: the always-

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*Society*, 434-35, who says it shows a concept found on the assumption of "spiritual equality between men and women"; and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Introduction," in *HWB*, xii-xiii.

<sup>189</sup> By "femininity," I mean "that which society at the time considered to be appropriate or natural to women." No stand is taken on whether there are, or are not, 'essential' characteristics of womanhood.

<sup>190</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger 2*, *HWB*, 254. "Even though she was a woman, united to a man, and had children, absolutely nothing prevented her from attaining the glory of God -- not the weakness of her nature, not the torments of her marriage, not the necessities and the cares of feeding of her children. Rather all these things served as the basis of her glory. To those who say and think that these circumstances and the rest create an obstacle to valor, she is the proof to free them from their vain debates."



meager tradition of female saints came to a rapid close. Rather than leading to new possibilities of sanctity for women, the shift in women's roles signaled by the *Lives* proved to be incompatible with fundamental Byzantine ideals of holiness.

The discussion above of the traditions of female sanctity in Byzantium and the changing social context of women's lives after the tenth century helps explain why. In the ninth and tenth centuries, earlier forms of female religious practice and sanctity became either unnecessary (martyrdom) or unfeasible (heroic asceticism). During the same period, the institution of marriage began to take on greater social and religious significance as new noble lineages were established and marriage came under the juridical control of the Church. If women were to continue to become saints without the special circumstance of imperial promotion, it was necessary that hagiographers take account of these new circumstances. The LTL does so obliquely, the author of *Mary's Life* more directly, but as both texts reveal, it was difficult to overcome the strong cultural contradictions involved in the idea of a married woman as a saint.

The LTL was probably the earlier text.<sup>192</sup> The LMY is a later and anonymous account of the life and posthumous miracles of a ninth-century noblewoman of Armenian origin, *Mary he Nea*.<sup>193</sup> who died in 902. In its present form the *Life* cannot have been set down before 976, as it refers to Basil II (976-1025), and it was possibly written after

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<sup>191</sup> Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power*, 72.

<sup>192</sup> See Appendix II for discussion.

<sup>193</sup> This could be translated, "the New," "the Junior," or "the Younger." St. Mary Major would, of course, be the mother of Jesus. Many women named "Mary" have been regarded as saints and it is curious that this particular "St. Mary," who had no great cult or public awareness, was awarded an epithet that compares her directly to the greatest female saint. Maryanne Kowaleski suggested that the epithet may stress the motherhood of both women.

1025.<sup>194</sup> The author of the LTL probably lived not long after his saint, while a century or more separates the LMY author and the historical Mary the Younger. In each case, both saints and authors lived at a time when Byzantium was at the height of its medieval power, militarily aggressive, and not undergoing any great religious controversy. The texts then reflect internal Byzantine developments in conceptions of women and female sanctity uncomplicated by polemical intent or western influence. As such, they are prime sources with which to explore the social and religious transformations that left Byzantine Christianity bereft of new female heroes for centuries to come.

The major job of a saint's *Life* is to show why the subject is worthy to be called "holy." For Thomaïs and Mary this required the defense of a married woman as a saint. As we have seen, one of the often distinct trends in the construction of female sanctity was the attempt to see women's holiness in masculine terms, whether as a martyr, identified with the male body of Christ, as an ascetic, whose body lost its female biological characteristics, or as a transvestite living a monk's life. At the very least, the sexual abstinence of a convent was usually required. Neither Mary nor Thomaïs could fit into these categories, and the hagiographers had to struggle.

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<sup>194</sup> See *Commentarius Praevius*, *AASS Novembris* IV, 691. There are some internal suggestions that some version of the life might have been composed earlier. St. Mary is called on three occasions "the wonder of our generation," and her son who became a monk is mentioned as still living. Evelyne Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir," in Hackel, *Saint*, 91, nevertheless gives the date of composition as "after 1025" without comment. Laiou, *HWB*, 243-44, argues for a later eleventh-century date, since the mention of Basil II (ch.2) indicates he was a past emperor, does not commemorate him as recently dead. Two manuscripts survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were used in 1925 by the Bollandist editors to establish the text, see *Commentarius Praevius*, 688: *Codex Vaticanus graecus* 800, fols. 230-249, and *Codex Laurae Sancti Athanasii Athonensis*, K. 81, fols. 89-105.

For the LTL, it was not enough for Thomaïs to be a pious married woman. Her mother, Kale, was also a pious woman, and eventually a nun, but not a saint. What then made Thomaïs deserve recognition as a saint? The hagiographer tries to assimilate her to other models of sanctity. He spends one chapter comparing her to an apostle,<sup>195</sup> and another comparing her to a martyr.<sup>196</sup> Above all, Thomaïs' character, her willpower, determination, perseverance, and zeal impressed him.<sup>197</sup> For the author, marriage and marital life is not the reason for her sanctity, but a place where her character enables her to achieve sanctity in spite of marriage.

An additional hint that the author remains uncomfortable with Thomaïs' marriage is the one major oddity in her life pattern. She postpones marriage until she is twenty-four, far beyond the usual age for a Byzantine girl.<sup>198</sup> The author puts this down to Thomaïs' desire to avoid marriage, a commonplace of hagiography.<sup>199</sup> But later the now married Thomaïs is said to be "of a tender age at which it was more customary to occupy herself with childish playthings."<sup>200</sup> It may be that the author used the age of twenty-four to maintain the marriage-resistance topos. Although the LTL does not claim that

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<sup>195</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 9.

<sup>196</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 8.

<sup>197</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 9. "And indeed, <though> suffering, she did not relax her zeal, rather she enlarged her purpose. And one could see a new struggle over this. He [Stephen] did not cease restraining the blessed <woman> from her blessed and customary purpose and activity, while she, on the other hand, increased her charitable purpose and disposition, showing manly courage for the superior and better <course>."

<sup>198</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 6. Upper class girls married usually married soon after twelve years of age; see Angeliki E. Laiou, "Role of Women," 16.

<sup>199</sup> Thomaïs' parents forced her to marry. Objection to marriage until parental pressure made it unavoidable was a frequent *topos* of hagiography. cf. Lynda Garland, "Life and Ideology," 367.

Thomaïs abstained from marital intimacy,<sup>201</sup> it does claim that she lived an "angelic life," which is often a reference to sexual abstinence.<sup>202</sup> Abstinent or not, Thomaïs had no children, unlike the fertile Mary the Younger, and we may see here another conflict between ideals of domesticity and ideals of sanctity. Marriage was not Thomaïs' way to sanctity, instead it was the place of her martyrdom.<sup>203</sup>

According to the LMY, others recognized Mary's sanctity because of her pious acts in her lifetime,<sup>204</sup> the incorruption of her body,<sup>205</sup> and miracles performed after her death. The local clergy then established a cult.<sup>206</sup> If the account of her cult in the LMY is accurate, it seems that her cult began spontaneously, and that her married status presented little problem to her early admirers. The hagiographer, who had to take account not only of Mary's reputation for miracles, but of how her sanctity conformed to tradition, directly addresses the issue, and far more positively than in the LTL. The prologue concerns itself entirely with an exposition of the possibility of female sanctity and the insistence that the grace of sanctity is available to all -- regardless of gender, wealth, or class.<sup>207</sup> In

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<sup>200</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 6.

<sup>201</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 16, does claim that "she was given in marriage to Christ as a most beautiful bride and fair virgin who preferred the adornment of virtues to the vanity of silken clothes." I am unwilling to read this as indicating sexual abstinence when the author does not specifically claim it. The trope was too common for him not to use it more aggressively in making the claim for sanctity. If, however, there is a claim that Thomaïs was a virgin, my argument is strengthened.

<sup>202</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 2. Thomaïs' father, however, who certainly engaged in sex to produce his daughter, is also (ch. 3) praised for his "angelic lifestyle."

<sup>203</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 15 and 16.

<sup>204</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 3 and 5.

<sup>205</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 12.

<sup>206</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 11.

<sup>207</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 1. Quoted in full above.

particular. this grace is not restricted to celibates:<sup>208</sup> marriage and its cares "served as the basis [for Mary's] glory."<sup>209</sup> The author assails those who would deny this. The rest of the LMY validates this theory of sanctity by an exposition of the married woman's virtues to prove Mary's holiness.

Simply because hagiographers wrote within a tradition does not mean that they indiscriminately employed *topoi* or that they did not reflect some real aspect of the saint's life. They commingled the *topoi* with individual characteristics of the saint so that the universally recognized traits of sanctity reinforced whatever may be unusual or strange.<sup>210</sup> In Mary's case, this was her married state. In accord with standard hagiographic expectations, Mary was of noble birth,<sup>211</sup> as well as physically beautiful.<sup>212</sup> As a model of a virtuous woman she was charitable to the secular church and to monks,<sup>213</sup> and she

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<sup>208</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger 1*: "God who oversees our trials does not receive celibates while rejecting married people."

<sup>209</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger 1*.

<sup>210</sup> The conventional structure of the *Life* may also be a means to allow the author to introduce new themes. It begins with a prologue (ch. 1) in which the author makes the main point, the moral of the story, in this case the availability of grace to both sexes. In accordance with hagiographical traditions there is then presentation of background information on the saint (ch. 2). Mary's life occupies just eight paragraphs (ch. 3-10), and her posthumous vindication two (ch. 11-12). A variety of miracles take up almost the half the narrative (ch. 13-24). The future of Mary's children is also discussed, with both eventually becoming monks (ch. 25-31). A conventional prayer to the saint and to God ends the *Life*.

<sup>211</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger 2*. Cf. Rosenqvist, *Irene*, 1.

<sup>212</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger 2*. "A maiden who is exceeding beautiful, not only to the eyes, but also in her soul." Cf. Irene of Chrysobalanton who was "renowned for moral and corporal beauty alike," Rosenqvist, *Irene*, 9; Theodora of Thessalonica, *HWB*, 167; Thomaïs 2, *HWB*, 297; Theodora of Arta, *HWB*, 330.

<sup>213</sup> This was perhaps a particularly important *topos* in establishing virtue to monastic readers. See *Life of Mary the Younger 3*, "She looked to the monks as fathers," and ch. 5. "She aided widows, orphans and monks." Cf. Laiou, *HWB*, 251, who thinks the text is hostile to monks.

extended mercy to the lower classes in "time honored acts of benevolence."<sup>214</sup> Mary's crossing of class boundaries, by helping the poor in her village, and by refusing to regard her servants as slaves,<sup>215</sup> was also typical of many saints. In many of these *topoi*, Mary was virtuous for the same reasons as male saints.<sup>216</sup>

The novelty was that, in addition to all the conventional themes, the hagiographer rests Mary's virtue on her household activities. The other married women saints, such as Thomaïs and Athanasia of Aigina, often resisted marriage. Mary alone, so far as I can determine, is presented as content with married life and praiseworthy because of her care for her house:

I shall not even mention her scrupulous housekeeping, her love of industry, her plainness in dress and her simplicity, her self-control at the table, or all the other guileless aspects of her life.<sup>217</sup>

Even more characteristic of an ideal married women than housework was her relationship to her children, and the *Life* uses this also to signify Mary's holiness. In doing so the hagiographer tries to have it both ways: Mary loves her son Orestes so much that she is "rent in pieces" when he dies, but the child's death also shows Mary's fortitude.<sup>218</sup> Other women might have "conquered nature" by destroying their femininity, Mary does it by

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<sup>214</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 3. Charity is also a much emphasized virtue in the *Lives* of other lay women. Cf. *Life* of Thomaïs 8.

<sup>215</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 5. It is this that gets her into trouble with false accusations of adultery.

<sup>216</sup> Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Lives of the Saints, Ethical Teachings, and Social Realities in Tenth-Century Byzantine Peloponnesos." *GOTR* 30 (1985), 299.

<sup>217</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 3. Some of this is cliché. Theodore of Stoudion praised his mother (also married) in much the same way. See "Funeral Oration for His Mother," PG 99: 885C. Theodore's mother was not, however, a saint, and her household duties paled before her later monastic asceticism.

<sup>218</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 4.

taking her woes as a bereaved mother and assimilating herself to the equanimity of the mind of Job.<sup>219</sup>

From this discussion of how the *Lives* justified their subjects' sanctity, it seems that the LMY takes a more positive view of marriage than the LTL, but the situation is rather more complex. Both were written against the background of growing ecclesiastical concern with marriage spurred by the marriage laws of Leo VI (d. 912) and the subsequent crisis over his fourth, and illegal, marriage. Although the secular ideology of marriage had not reached the stage we see in the Komnenian period and later, marriage was certainly of increasing significance to the upper levels of society.

The *Lives* reflect the changes in marriage. The references in LTL to the crowning ceremony of marriage and the play of this with the name "Stephen" (i.e. "crown") may be an allusion to the increased prominence of marriage ritual in religious discourse.<sup>220</sup> Mary the Younger's family background is of special interest in establishing the extent to which these *Lives* reflect the social change of the ninth century. Her family was of noble origin and Armenian,<sup>221</sup> the specific groups to whom family and lineage were becoming increasingly important. Armenians came in great numbers into the more central area of the Empire on many occasions throughout the middle centuries of the Byzantine era.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 4.

<sup>220</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 6.

<sup>221</sup> Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power*, 72, describe Mary as middle-class. She certainly was not from the highest levels of the aristocracy, but the description of her father's origin, that fact that her family owned land outside Constantinople, and her marriage to a high level officer all suggest that "middle-class" is an inaccurate description of her social rank.

<sup>222</sup> While Armenians spoke a different language, and perhaps more importantly practiced a different form of Christianity than Byzantine Greeks, their accommodation is presented here as unproblematic. The text does not seem to address Mary's ethnicity in any religious dimension.

For the upper classes, integration was often accomplished through intermarriage with Greek families.<sup>223</sup> The LMY clearly presents marriage in the upper class, and between ethnicities, as a strategy to create kinship bonds that strengthen both families: friendship was not enough.<sup>224</sup> Mary's marriage is proposed by Vardas Vratzes to his friend Nikephoros so that "the bonds of kinship shall be added to this bond of love, so that we shall be bound together twice over by our joining in intimacy and by a kin relationship."<sup>225</sup> As with the Bardas family, the mixed ethnic background of the couple is

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Dogmatic theology is not perhaps appropriate to a saint's life, but for Mary to be an Orthodox saint her family must have converted. Possibly the hagiographer was also of Armenian heritage and did not want to raise what may have been an awkward aspect of their ethnicity for Hellenized Armenians. Cf. Peter Charanis, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire." *Byzantinoslavica* 22 (1961): 196-240; reprint in Peter Charanis, *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum, 1973), V. Cf. Paul Peeters, "Une sainte arménienne oubliée." *Handes Amsorya* 4 (1927), 728; reprint in Paul Peeters, *Recherches d'histoire et philologie orientales*, Subsidia hagiographica 27 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1951).

<sup>223</sup> Many of the great families that originated in Anatolia in this period were of mixed origin, as is manifest through both their Armenian surnames and the variation of forenames in family trees. The Bardas family, for instance, which provided at least one emperor, gave the Greek name "Nikephoros" to every second generation. Cf. Charanis, "Armenians," 221.

<sup>224</sup> There has been some discussion recently concerning the weakness of friendship in Byzantium, on which the *Life of Mary the Younger* has some bearing. Mary has friends who show up as people from whom to borrow money (*Life of Mary the Younger* 3), but apart from that one incident they have no presence in the account, and little more can be said about female friendship. Cf. Margaret Mullett, "Byzantium: A Friendly Society?" *Past and Present* 118 (1988), 3-23.

<sup>225</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 2. There is, however, an intriguing report of the relationship between Mary's brother-in-law, Vardas Vratzes, and her future husband, Nikephoros. Vardas meets Nikephoros and becomes friendly with him, so friendly that he suggests a marriage between Nikephoros and Mary to create a kin relationship between himself and Nikephoros. There are a number of ways of looking at this episode: it might suggest some sort of homosexual relationship (cf. Laiou, *HWB*, 246), or merely that Vratzes wanted to strengthen his family by creating kinship with Nikephoros' family. Nikephoros background is not given, but *drungarius* was a high office to hold, and his name is Greek, and so he might very well have been an advantageous ally for Armenian immigrants. Both John Boswell and Evelyne Patlagean have written in recent years of a liturgical bonding ceremony between men. [Patlagean, "Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," 596, where she notes that discussion of the ceremony does not occur often in hagiography because of the link with homosexuality; John Boswell, *Same Sex*



expressed by the mix of Greek and Armenian names given to Mary's children: Stephen and Orestes; Vardanes and Vaanes. The details of the marriage, including its end, are perhaps particular to Mary and Nikephoros, but the model of marriage -- arrangement by family, a significant spousal age gap, sex for procreation, and female authority within the house -- reflects some social reality of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The marriages in the *Lives* refract social ideology in different ways. Both saints suffer from domestic violence at the hands of their husbands, but while both women were saints, only Mary would have measured up as good wife.

The *Life* of Thomaïs of Lesbos, although its story echoes that of Mary the Younger -- a pious married woman is driven to death by her husband -- presents, within hagiographic constraints, a distinct structure and story about Christian marriage and holiness. As noted earlier, unlike the LMY, great care is taken to present and discuss the marriage and lives of the saint's parents, Michael and Kale, who are as much characters as Thomaïs, and who dominate the first quarter of the life. Their marriage is carefully presented as happy and God-pleasing -- indeed they are referred to as a "golden couple" and compared to Anna and Joachim, the parents of the Virgin Mary, in their desire for children.<sup>226</sup> Against this background, the disastrous marriage of Thomaïs and Stephen unfolds as something aberrant, and Thomaïs' persistence in what are rather conventional good works becomes heroic. Unlike her mother, who was of one mind with her father,

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*Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York: Villard, 1994).] If the relationship here was homosexual, the hagiographer does not allow for the possibility of any kinship being established by church liturgy. More concretely, the story illustrates the importance of formal bonds of kinship to the upper classes of the period. Friendship was not enough: alliances between families had to be by marriage.

<sup>226</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 3.

Thomaïs contravenes St. Paul's instructions that women should be obedient to their husbands;<sup>227</sup> at one point she calls her husband "Satan." and disperses his wealth to the poor. There is a problem here, then, for those who think that the LTL was attempting to promote an ideal of domestic sanctity. The author may have found a way to make a married woman a saint, and a way to describe piety in marriage, but was unable to find in marriage a locus of sanctity.

The LMY gives some insight into Mary's very different marriage. We only glimpse St. Mary's home life obliquely and her childhood is passed over without mention.<sup>228</sup> Her father plays no role in the *Life* after moving the family to Constantinople. Since Mary's father was dead by the time she reached marriageable age, her mother had full parental rights over her and Vardas Vratzes had to deal with the mother to procure Mary for Nikephoros. Neither Mary's upbringing nor her relationship with her mother is discussed at all, other than to say that she was there to keep her company after the other daughters had left.<sup>229</sup> Mary is presented as a good wife, the contours of that goodness relate to her housekeeping skills and her faithfulness rather than to any personal rapport between the couple. Mary's age at marriage is not clear from the

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<sup>227</sup> Eph. 5:22-25. Hagiographers seem not to have considered St. Paul's comment in I Tim. 2:15, that women could be saved "through childbearing," as a source for a model of female sanctity.

<sup>228</sup> This might indicate that the hagiographer, despite referring to Mary as "the wonder of our generation," was writing at a later rather than earlier date, and that he had no personal knowledge of her background. It was usual to write about a saint's childhood, but not necessary. Irene of Chrysobalanton's youth was ignored in her *Life* (Rosenqvist, *Irene*, xxii).

<sup>229</sup> Grosdidier de Matons, José, "La femme dans l'empire byzantin," in Pierre Grimal, ed., *Histoire mondiale de la femme* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1967), Vol. III, 29, notes that Byzantine women writers in general do not describe their upbringing.

text. She is described as a "chaste...maiden who is exceedingly beautiful."<sup>230</sup> yet she must have been much younger than Nikephoros, who held a senior military office. Difference in age and experience, as well as the arranged nature of the union, make it unsurprising that the relationship is presented in terms of children and fidelity. Love is not a factor and the couple are not presented as sharing any activities or intimacies. They have sex, but we know it only because of their four sons. It is significant, though, since other accounts of pious married women so often have them persuade their husbands to take vows of abstinence, that sex presents no problem to Mary's hagiographer -- confirmation that he intended to portray a woman in a realistic marriage as a saint. Unlike Thomaïs' wicked husband Stephen, Mary's Nikephoros is not demonized.<sup>231</sup> The marriage collapses only when Nikephoros believes Mary to have been unfaithful with a slave, a crime against marriage.<sup>232</sup> His physical ill treatment of her is extreme, causing her death.<sup>233</sup> Whether this indicates socially acceptable violence against women, or drama by the hagiographer is unclear, but it certainly reinforces codes of marital behavior.<sup>234</sup> I suggest that, in accordance with its prologue, the LMY does try to present marriage as a place where sanctity can be achieved.<sup>235</sup> As might be expected, the *Life's* ideal of

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<sup>230</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 2.

<sup>231</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 5, states that her "husband Nikephoros was the bravest of those fighting against the Bulgarians."

<sup>232</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 7 and 8.

<sup>233</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 9.

<sup>234</sup> Patlagean suggests this marital violence in hagiography may reflect the monastic authors' hyperbole about the vexations of marriage, although cases in eleventh-century law also refer to many assaults on wives. It is not certain, however, that the *Life of Mary the Younger* was written by a monk. Cf. Patlagean, "Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," 601-602.

marriage is not that of twelfth-century literature, but it does accord well with Kekaumenos' views, as well as later churchmen's theology of marriage. Unfortunately, her marital role leaves Mary as a very implausible saint.

Thomaïs was an altogether more convincing saint, at least according to the standards established by the cults of the major Byzantine saints. She lived up to the masculine power and authority expected of such figures. Although she was born in Lesbos, Thomaïs' life and activities unroll entirely in Constantinople. Unsurprisingly for a saint's life, the text presents a sacred topography of the city -- most sites are specified in relation to some church or monastery. Within this space, Thomaïs is able to move freely, by day and by night, as she attends various shrines and religious processions. She is also able to frequent marketplaces and other crowded areas.<sup>236</sup> On one occasion, she stripped naked in the street to help a poor man.<sup>237</sup> She exercised her saintly right to *parrhesia* (free speech) in telling her husband what she thought. Although her world is smaller, in many respects she measures up well against another tenth-century saint, discussed in the previous chapter, Nikon the Metanoicite.

There could not be a greater contrast with Mary the Younger. What is striking is the total lack of agency on Mary's part; early women saints often resisted marriage, as had Mary's near contemporaries Athanasia of Aigina and Thomaïs, but for an aristocratic girl

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<sup>235</sup> Cf. the different view of Laiou, *HWB*, 251.

<sup>236</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 6, 8.

<sup>237</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 8. There may be some exaggeration in the account. Public nakedness was a trope of some male saints' *Lives*; see Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontios' Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), for an account of Symeon of Emesa, who not only stripped naked, but publicly defecated in the street.

of Mary's class, no expression of will or life apart from her family is envisaged. She has no general freedom of movement. It was only in relation to her marriage that Mary was active in society and piety. For Mary, as wife of a senior military official in the countryside, her place in village life was considerable. Once married she was mistress of her house. She attended the village church and was able to form social contacts with the peasantry. The most interesting episode was her intervention to preserve her villagers from high taxes.<sup>238</sup> The point of the story is to establish Mary's benevolence, since we know that high taxes enabled others of Mary's class to buy up peasant lands, but it also reveals that in rural areas it was conceivable for noblewomen to exercise influence and power over lower class inhabitants. The degree of agency available to Mary was related to her location. An interesting aspect of the LMY is the distinction it makes between the permissible activities of a woman in the countryside and in a town. Byzantine women until the eleventh century are usually presented as largely restricted to their homes.<sup>239</sup> While she was living in the village with her husband after their marriage, it was acceptable for Mary to journey alone to church each day, but once she moved to the larger town of Bizye, Mary, unlike Thomaïs, had to curtail her extra-domestic activities and worship at home.<sup>240</sup> She could no longer be seen in the streets. The "women's quarters" are a *topos* of Byzantine historical literature,<sup>241</sup> but as *Mary's Life* discloses, there may

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<sup>238</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 3.

<sup>239</sup> Laiou, "Role of Women," 24.

<sup>240</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 5. It may be that Thomaïs' slightly lower social status gave her more freedom, but there is also some indication perhaps of the security and stability of urban life in Constantinople in the tenth-century.

<sup>241</sup> Both Anna Komnena (Comnena), *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), and Michael Psellos (Psellus), *Chronographia*, trans. as

have been a urban/rural aspect to Byzantine women's confinement. Any power outside the home she had in society, however, emanated from her position as a married woman.

The common motifs of sanctity neglected by the LMY bring to light the problem of harmonizing them with Mary's married status. Abstinence, or rather disgust with sex, is not a theme at all, for obvious reasons. But neither is *parrhesia*, or free speech, a traditional perquisite of both male and female saints.<sup>242</sup> A possible explanation is that it made no sense to propose Mary as a model married woman and then have her breaking codes of decorum by freely speaking her mind. Similarly, Mary's prayer life is intense, but it is oriented to church services rather than ecstatic or mystic prayer. Apart from some devotional exercises in church,<sup>243</sup> she also does not engage in any extremes of asceticism,<sup>244</sup> even to a degree acceptable for a married woman.<sup>245</sup> The *lacunae* in the LMY, especially in comparison to other *Lives* of women saints, make clear that many of the themes of traditional sanctity were not compatible with married life. It may have been true that only marriage gave Mary, as with other women, a significant social role,<sup>246</sup> but

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*Fourteen Byzantine Rulers* by E.R.A. Sewter, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), repeatedly situate the activities of imperial women in the "women's quarters," even though the women are active politically and receive male visitors there.

<sup>242</sup> Cf. Thomaïs above; and Irene, Rosenqvist, *Irene*, 89. Mary is only called on to speak and be powerful once she is in heaven, *Life* of Mary the Younger 33.

<sup>243</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 3. "taking some place secretly in the body of the church, she would at first ceaselessly throw herself on her knees, in order that she might be proved by wearing herself out with sweaty toil of her actions against the ground."

<sup>244</sup> Rosenqvist, *Irene*, xlv, points out that extreme asceticism was unfashionable by the tenth century. His subject Irene of Chrysobalanton, however, is portrayed as undertaking peculiar devotions such as standing all night with her arms in the air, and starving herself until it appeared the "skin was clinging to her bones" (p.77).

<sup>245</sup> Theodote, the mother of Theodore of Stoudion, slept on the ground as a mortification, and starved her body until it became "diaphanous." Cf. Diehl, 281 and 296.

<sup>246</sup> Grosdidier de Matons, 31.

his adherence to social expectations of marriage severely hampered the author's ability to present Mary as a powerful saint.<sup>247</sup> While the LTL failed to display a conjugality in Thomaïs life that accorded with social norms of marriage, the more serious failure of the LMY was to put forward a saint unable to measure up to the cultural expectations of sainthood established by the cults of major, and usually male, saints.

Both *Lives* were keenly aware of gender, and sought to praise the femininity of the saints. Thomaïs is described as an "adornment to the female sex."<sup>248</sup> She was "a woman who exceedingly surpassed all Lesbian women in her beauty and greatness.... adorned with bodily graces, whom all the virtues bedecked."<sup>249</sup> In claiming she was martyred through her beatings, her biographer uses specifically female metaphors: "She adorned herself with wounds as with pearls, with hurts as with most precious stones, she was embellished by thrashings as with golden <coins>, and henceforth presented herself as a *queen clothed and arrayed in diverse colors* before the Ruler of all."<sup>250</sup> In addition to her beauty, chastity, and virtue, Mary is "the embellishment of all women living in the Universe."<sup>251</sup> And from the outset the author acknowledges that "she was a woman, united to a man, and had children." and that "absolutely nothing prevented her from attaining the glory of God -- not the weakness of her nature, not the torments of her

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<sup>247</sup> The problem of a making a pious married woman an active saint was also an issue for the Empress Theophano. Cf. Cesaretti, "Some Remarks on the Vita of the Empress Theophano," 24, "Theophano does not count among the strong women of Byzantium: pious and weak... She is not a real character in the vita either where instead of proceeding like a hostess she moves like an embarrassed guest."

<sup>248</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 1.

<sup>249</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 3.

<sup>250</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 9.

<sup>251</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 33.

marriage, not the necessities and the cares of feeding of her children. Rather all these things served as the basis of her glory."<sup>252</sup>

A very different story lies below the affirmative surface of the texts. The hagiographers cannot escape the masculinist assumptions of traditional hagiography, and the need to justify the possibility of female sanctity in the first place betrays some uneasiness, even more so when marriage is concerned.<sup>253</sup> Mary's struggle in life is still an *agon*, played out in the *stadion aretes*, the arena of virtue, and presided over by the divine *agonothetes*.<sup>254</sup> In her struggle with her husband, Thomaïs "increased her charitable purpose and disposition, showing manly courage for the superior and better <course>."<sup>255</sup> In short, the basic scenario remained masculine. It could be argued that, unlike in late antiquity, this *agon* no longer referred to any current social reality, since Hellenistic *gymnasia* were long vanished. But metaphors of masculinity pervade too many aspects of the *Lives* to be rejected merely as linguistic conventions. When the hagiographer asks rhetorically what challenges Mary overcame, his question is "whether she would basely collapse and be feminized, or on the contrary, bear herself nobly and be made manly?"<sup>256</sup> The words are significant: *emalakizeto*, "to be feminized," literally

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<sup>252</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 1.

<sup>253</sup> See discussion above on the frequent occurrence of prologues arguing for the possibility of feminine sanctity. In addition to the defense of marriage in the prologue of the *Life of Mary the Younger*, the *Life of Thomaïs* 6, notes that virginity and marriage are "appreciated and revered by all."

<sup>254</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 1: "The arena of virtue is not only open to men but to women also. The God who presides over the struggle bestows generously to each of the sexes common prizes and crowns."

<sup>255</sup> *Life of Thomaïs* 9.

<sup>256</sup> *Life of Mary the Younger* 3.



means to be softened and implicitly to respond like a woman: the root of *endrizeo* is *aner*, man. The author equates becoming a man with becoming a saint. Although she is a mother, Mary's aim, as far as the author is concerned, is to "conquer nature," the nature in question being her feminine urges to cry out at the death of her child.<sup>257</sup> We find that Thomaïs of Lesbos, "by nature was female, but by virtue and ascetic discipline much more male than men."<sup>258</sup> She and her husband presented "an unusual married couple; for the wife was manly and masculine in virtue, and strove to surpass her own nature (i.e., her sex) by works of zeal done for virtue's sake."<sup>259</sup> The female saint's struggles can either effeminize or masculinize her. Mary succeeds, for instance, when she overcomes the challenge presented in getting to church regularly; the hagiographer insists that, "By none of any of these things indeed was she, who bore a male soul in her female body, once made effeminate."<sup>260</sup> Thus, after all the declarations of the spiritual equality of men and women, the hagiographer can still only suppose that female sanctity implies a "male soul in a female body."

Saints' *Lives* were not alone in finding what was praiseworthy in women to be masculine. The liturgy for Irene of Chrysobalanton's feast day praises her "manly mind set."<sup>261</sup> Secular women received the same treatment. The Empress Irene, the only

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<sup>257</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 4. Cf. Theodore of Stoudion's mother.

<sup>258</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 5.

<sup>259</sup> *Life* of Thomaïs 7.

<sup>260</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 3.

<sup>261</sup> "*andreio phronemati*," Rosenqvist, *Irene*, 117.

woman ever to use the masculine title *Basileus*.<sup>262</sup> was celebrated for her "masculine spirit."<sup>263</sup> Psellos' mother, Theodote, was called "the man of the family."<sup>264</sup> and Anna Komnena repeatedly commends her grandmother by comparing her to men.<sup>265</sup> Whatever changes the ninth century had brought about in the social and religious status of married women could not efface the profound belief in Byzantium that in so far as a woman was admirable, she approached masculinity.

In the case of *Mary the Younger's Life*, which makes the most determined effort to argue for married women's sanctity, the conflict becomes acute. Despite high infant mortality,<sup>266</sup> it was expected that mothers love their children. The hagiographer himself speculates that she was "rending herself in pieces inside."<sup>267</sup> but goes on to praise her composure following the death of her firstborn. She almost "conquers nature" to achieve it.<sup>268</sup> It is hard to see the appeal of such a saint, especially when the Theotokos was available as both a powerful intercessor and a loving mother.

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<sup>262</sup> Elisabeth Bensammar, "La titulature de l'impératrice et sa signification. Recherches sur les sources byzantines de la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *B* 46 (1976), 271.

<sup>263</sup> "To arrenopon phronema." See Diehl, 81.

<sup>264</sup> Diehl, 279.

<sup>265</sup> Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, III: 7-8. Anna claims that her grandmother, Anna Dalassena, a most active woman who ruled the Empire for a time, was saintly in her behavior and piety. Nevertheless, of the Komnenian women, it was Irene, the subservient wife of John II Komnenos, who alone became a saint.

<sup>266</sup> Mortality rates are not determinable for much of Byzantine history. Cf. Evelyne Patlagean, "Birth Control in the Early Byzantine Empire," trans. Patricia M. Ranum, in *Biology of Man in History*, ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 1-2. Isolated indications from sources such as the *Life* of Mary the Younger suggest they were as high as in the West. The early death of two of Mary's four sons does not surprise the hagiographer.

<sup>267</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 3.

<sup>268</sup> *Life* of Mary the Younger 4.

Despite the repeated assertions of scholars that Mary the Younger and Thomaïs presented role models to Byzantine married women, their notable failure to acquire widespread cults challenges that claim. Although no Byzantine era saint reached the ranks of the major saints, several became well-known, and more conventional female saints such as Theoktiste of Lesbos and Theodora of Thessalonica achieved some renown. Mary, according to the LMY, did generate a local tomb-based miracle cult, for which there is archeological support.<sup>269</sup> Her cult, however, spread no further, and she is not mentioned in the SynaxCP.<sup>270</sup> It is true that her *Life* was copied in two later manuscripts, but, given the encyclopedic tendency of compilers, that is minor support for her fame. Eventually, she was entirely forgotten by both Greeks and Armenians.<sup>271</sup> Thomaïs, the more active if less successfully married of the two, fared better, although she won only a minor cult. She appeared in one manuscript of the SynaxCP, and it cannot have helped that her feast day, January 1, coincided with the major feast of Basil the Great. She also continued to be known to religious writers,<sup>272</sup> and there is some evidence of a popular cult in later Byzantium. Russian pilgrims to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries describe visiting the tomb of the saint at the Convent of the Virgin "τὰ

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<sup>269</sup> Cyril Mango, "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 11 (1968), 9-13.

<sup>270</sup> The SynaxCP has no entry for her on February 16. Other women saints of the period are mentioned: Theodora of Thessalonica, April 5; Athanasia of Aigina, April 18; Irene of Chrysobalanton, July 28; Theoktiste of Lesbos, Nov. 9.

<sup>271</sup> Peeters, "Une sainte armenienne oubliée," 713.

<sup>272</sup> The *Life* translated in Appendix II and another *vita*, more a panegyric than a life, were both preserved, although only in single copies. Unlike Mary the Younger, Thomaïs also attracted later authors. Constantine Akropolites' later *enkomion* was based on the first *Life*, but it included slight additional information such as Thomaïs' parents' residence in Chalcedon, and it is a further

μικρὰ Ῥωμῳίου."<sup>273</sup> But here, as frequently happened with Byzantine saints, the story of Thomaïs of Lesbos was conflated with that of another Thomaïs, a sixth-century Alexandrian saint (feast day April 14), who had been beaten to death by *her* father-in-law. It is not clear if this mistake was particular to Russian travelers or to the local population as well. In either case, it is startling to note that prayers at the tomb of Thomaïs were considered effective in quieting "carnal passion."

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In conclusion, in the ninth and tenth centuries, when faced with the piety of a married woman such as Mary the Younger or Thomaïs, it was clearly possible for popular cults to grow. Once writers attempted to fit the new saints into the literary tradition of sainthood, the discord between the new social ideal of a married woman and the fixed model of sainthood became apparent. While the *Life of Thomaïs* is a significant text in our consideration of the life and activities open to a married middle class women in Constantinople in the Middle Byzantine period, Thomaïs contravenes expectations of married women by controlling her own actions and following her own will, and this model of female sanctity failed to develop. The *Life of Mary the Younger* represented a perhaps more earnest attempt to develop traditional ideas on feminine sanctity, to go beyond the now unachievable paradigms set in late antiquity. The author tackled head-on the challenge presented by a married woman of his time to traditional notions of sanctity, but despite his resolve to recognize sanctity in marriage, the tension between the roles of

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witness to a persistence of awareness of the saint among writers. Constantine Akropolites, *Laudatio S. Thomaidis* (BHG 2457), in *AASS* Nov IV: 242-46. Cf. Talbot, "Old Wine," 19.

<sup>273</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 321-25.

saint and matron was insupportable. The authors of these *Lives* made impassioned pleas for the eligibility of married women for sainthood, a great change from the masculinized women saints of earlier periods, but their pleas failed miserably because it proved impossible to match categories of sanctity with expectations of femininity.

Marriage and family loyalty acquired an ever higher status in Byzantium from the ninth century on, but satisfactory models of female sanctity were not developed and new women saints virtually disappeared from the Byzantine scene after the eleventh century. That women no longer became saints probably had little bearing on women's religious practice. Sainthood was always a prerogative of the few and Byzantine male saints of all periods were no more like their fellow men than female saints were like other women. In later centuries, however, the real distinction in Byzantine life was that men might aspire to sanctity, but women only to piety.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

My presentation of research in this dissertation has tried to do three things: (1) refocus the concern of scholars when we talk about the social and religious phenomenon of sainthood away from the sanctity of individual saints towards a consideration of the actualities of cult; (2) explore sanctity and gender as interrelated social phenomena built on understandings of the body; (3) understand why the development of Byzantine society and religion led to a virtual halt in the production and reception of new women saints in Byzantium after the eleventh century. In each of these areas, I have reached specific new conclusions.

By surveying the cult of saints as a whole, using statistical methods and an extensive database, I have argued that successive types of new saints do not determine the history of sainthood in Byzantium. These new saints tended to have small, local, and/or short-lived cults. The pattern was set rather by the massive cults of a few major saints, and future research agendas must include an examination of the growth of the cults of George and Nicholas in middle and late Byzantine society. Equally important will be a study of the Metaphrastic movement in Byzantine hagiography, a literary effort so successful that its products overwhelm all other manuscript survivals of saints' *Lives*.

The interrelation of sanctity and gender has been much discussed for western medieval society, but hardly at all for Byzantium. The overall approach in this study has been to combine a reading of the texts informed by modern theories of gender with a more traditional reconstruction of the roles of sainthood and women in Byzantine society.

I have sought to expand such analysis for Byzantine women and, just as importantly, to begin the exploration of masculinity in the *Lives* of Byzantine male saints, a topic not hitherto broached by scholars. I concluded that for both male and female saints, gender and the religious inflection of gender was an important element of Byzantine religious discourse.

With respect to women saints, I have striven to emphasize the intensity of the decline seen in the numbers of new women saints and to challenge the *topos* of recent historiography that there was some new ideal of domestic sanctity for women in the ninth and tenth century. There is no evidence that the texts upon which this argument has been based were widely read or influential. While Metaphrastic manuscripts survive in the hundreds, these *Lives* have one or two manuscript witnesses. Rather than seeing them as indicators or creators of a new ideology, they are better read in terms of their internal contradictions. The *Lives* do attempt to defend the possibility of married women saints, but in doing so they are unable to extricate themselves from the masculinizing discourse of earlier women saints' *Lives*. Nor do the *Lives* succeed in presenting an example of marital relations in accord with the ideologies of marriage then developing in both secular society and the Church.

Byzantine Christianity insisted on the moral equality of the sexes, but this moral equality had to operate in a complex matrix of the social possibilities open to women and male perceptions of femininity. Male hostility to women, who were seen as either irrational and/or responsible for bringing sin into the world, was a constant, supported in part by patristic misogyny. Earlier centuries produced many female saints, but, apart

from martyrs, whose death alone sufficed for sainthood, this had been, for their hagiographers at least, at the cost of their femininity.

This masculine model of female sanctity was becoming irrelevant to the situation of Byzantine women by the ninth century, if not earlier. By the same period, the Byzantine cult of saints became fixed in durable patterns by the preponderance within it of the cults of a relatively small number of major saints. With the exception of the Theotokos, the major saints were all male. When faced with the piety of a married woman such as Mary the Younger, it was possible for popular cults to emerge, but hagiographic texts show a discord between the social ideal of a married woman and the standard motifs of sainthood. Conflict of cultural symbols is normal and can have divergent consequences. The Theotokos is an extreme case -- the mother of her Son, and the bride of the Father, who are both one God -- and yet she is the most powerful of Christian saints. The paradox of female sanctity of less exalted and more typical women proved more intractable for Byzantine hagiographers and, perhaps, for the monastic culture they inhabited.

Sanctity for the Byzantines remained an essentially masculine quality. Men produced hagiography almost exclusively, and local cults tended to be attached to churches, again usually controlled by men. It may have been the case that Byzantine women looked for other qualities in religion, but those few women whose written evidence has survived adopted, for the most part, the attitudes of the dominant culture. The feminine divine was certainly present in Byzantium in the form of the cult of the Theotokos, but for lesser saints the models were overwhelmingly masculine. The "soul equality" of men and women is one of the most distinctive features of Jesus' teaching, as



represented in the New Testament. It was a teaching echoed also in the letters of Paul. In the discourse of early Christian writers, however, this soul equality was understood not in terms of gender equality, nor even of an underlying androgyny, but in terms of the primacy of the "male soul," which could be possessed by some women. From the time of the *Lives* of early female saints, there was a tendency to remove any sexual attributes and to assimilate holy women to the model of holy men; hagiographers praised androgyny and "manliness" in women, and there was the much discussed phenomenon of female transvestite saints.

The attempt in the middle Byzantine period, by a rather small number of hagiographers, to argue that women could manifest holiness within marriage is significant because in marriage, especially with children, the role of "wife" would seem to be unambiguously feminine. But, in recounting their subjects' lives even these hagiographers were unable to escape the ancient models of female sanctity. An impasse was reached between the hagiographers' explicit defense of women's holiness, a sometimes passionate discussion of the relationship between gender and sanctity, and the implicit preconceptions of the masculine nature of sanctity that their writings reveal. When the saints' proponents, the hagiographers, laud even married woman with accolades such as "a man's soul in a woman's body," an acute level of cultural contradiction is apparent. It was this assumption that sanctity was basically masculine which placed a limit at all times on women saints, and, since by the eleventh century criteria for female sanctity embodied contradictions which were ultimately irreconcilable, made women saints such as Mary the Younger and Thomaïs among the last exemplars of Byzantine female sanctity.

The clash of cultural symbols evident in the women saints' *Lives* and other contemporary texts sustains a profound analysis: the more Byzantine women's social roles were restricted to those of wife and mother, even when these received social approval, the less conceivable it became that a contemporary woman could approach the sanctity of the masculine heroines of the early church. With isolated exceptions, Byzantine women ceased to become saints.

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## APPENDIX I: METHODOLOGY AND TABLES

### A Problems in Analyzing Data on Byzantine Saints

A goal of this study is to lend prosopographical insight to the Byzantine cult of saints.<sup>1</sup> Rather than building up a dossier of information on a single saint, a prosopographical approach to sanctity seeks to use biographical details about large numbers of saints in order to evaluate the cultural function of the *cult* of saints. Much of the data on individual saints is dispersed and incomplete; we may know for instance only a given saint's name, gender, and status as a martyr. Prosopographical compilation is a method that permits such data to furnish a more general account of a social phenomenon, an account that stands alongside the studies of individual cases.<sup>2</sup> If the data yielded only

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<sup>1</sup> "Prosopography," in this context is a subset of "cliometrics" — the use of statistical and/or quantitative data to evaluate the past. For an introduction and bibliography, albeit one which insists too much that prosopography is a method of studying elites, see George Beech, "Medieval Prosopography," in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ed. James M. Powell, 2d ed. (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 185-226.

<sup>2</sup> Prosopography has been used extensively in Byzantine studies, for instance to study peasants and monastic networks. See Angeliki E. Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); and Peter Hatlie, *Abbot Theodore and the Stoudites: A Case Study in Monastic Social Groupings and Religious Conflict in Constantinople* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, May 1993). The method has been very influential in large scale studies of sanctity in the West, especially after Donald Weinstein, and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), and André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Bibliothèque des études françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 241 (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981), trans Jean Birrell as *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). More recently, following her long series of articles on the subject, the relationship of gender and sanctity among western saints has been analysed in Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society Ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Prosopographical methods have been used to examine sainthood in Byzantium, although on a much smaller scale than for the West. See Patlagean, "La femme déguisée"; eadem, "Sainteté et pouvoir." in Hackel, *Saint*, 88-105; and Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," *BZ* 84/85:2 (1991/1992), 391-408.

marginally significant statistical information or the quality of the data were poor, any inferences would be worthless. For Byzantine sainthood, however, the statistical variations are significant and dramatic, and different but independent sets of data can be correlated. This puts us in a strong position to suggest some cogent conclusions about how sanctity functioned in Byzantine culture.

Since the data on sainthood were available but scattered, collection and analysis required that I make choices about how to quantify the data, and about which methodologies to employ. Some of these involved the construction of large scale tabular presentations of data. Such technical discussions and multi-paged tables had no place in the preceding chapters, but here I will take the opportunity to lay bare the foundations upon which this study rests.

*Methodological assumptions and available sources*

The study makes a basic distinction between two aspects of sainthood: the individual characteristics of saint's life (or more exactly, the publicly credited characteristics), generally known as *sanctity*; and the public phenomena surrounding a saint, that is the *saint's cult*. Byzantine sources produce details on both aspects.

The first issue -- who was a saint -- is relatively unproblematic. In the absence of official canonization procedures, this study accepted as saint any person Byzantine sources name as a saint.<sup>3</sup> With individual saintly figures, the situation is not always clear. The *Synaxarion* of the Great Church commemorated many deceased emperors and

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<sup>3</sup> Official canonization, as in the West, does not always clarify who was a saint in a given society. Political considerations meant that there were few new English saints in the later middle ages, but this did not prevent the development of a lively cult, complete with a tomb,

empresses but only a few of them had any cult.<sup>4</sup> In their cases, we have figures who were in an official calendar but often for "political" reasons. Some imperial figures, however, were the subjects of living cults. The same *Synaxarion* also contained names of many early martyrs and pious monks who left no evidence of an actual cult and who were probably added by enthusiastic compilers. If we were to winnow the saints in the *Synaxarion* because of external data, it would be difficult to justify excluding some emperors without also excluding some of the monks. Conversely, for some saints who were not recorded in any surviving calendar we do have evidence of a cult; Mary the Younger, for instance, is known only through her *Life* and her tomb-cult in a provincial church. BHG includes "saints" such as Theodore of Studion's mother Theoktiste, apparently based on his *enkomion* of her, although she probably had no cult. There were other cases, however, where such *enkomia* about relatives -- for instance, those by Gregory of Nyssa -- do seem to have established cults. In a prosopographical analysis of sanctity, rather than excluding certain individuals at the outset, the most secure route was to take into account all such saintly figures.

For individual saints we need to know the coordinates of their sanctity: these include the reason for sainthood (martyrdom, asceticism, missionary activity, theological writing, monastic or hierarchical position), geographical location, gender, types of holy

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pilgrimages, and cures around King Edward II. See Caroline Bingham, *The Life and Times of Edward II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973).

<sup>4</sup> *Synaxaria* were calendarically organized collections of short readings about saints made for use in the liturgy. The *Synaxarion* of the "Great Church" (i.e., Hagia Sophia, the cathedral of Constantinople) was especially influential and much imitated. The 1902 edition by Hippolyte Delehaye -- cited as SynaxCP throughout this study -- is about 600 pages long and remains the touchstone of studies in Byzantine sanctity.



activity while alive, miracles after death, and ethnicity. These are ascertainable, to some degree, for virtually all saints. Gender and reason for sainthood are usually known. We can often identify the monastic or hierarchical position of saint, and on occasion geographical data as well. Specific details of holy activity and miracles are less easy to secure.

Scholars have always concentrated on *hagiography* as the primary source of information about saints. Hagiographical literature is composed of saints' *Lives (vitae)*, collections of miracle stories (*miracula*), calendrical documents of various sorts, and more general homilies and laudations (*enkomia*) about a given saint.<sup>5</sup> For some saints this type of literature establishes a veritable dossier,<sup>6</sup> but extensive material is available only for a minority of saints. Most of those whose names survive in church calendars, for instance, do not have surviving *Lives*, nor any other evidence of a living cult. *Lives*, however, are not the only source of information about the coordinates of sanctity for individual saints. The calendars themselves, along with *synaxaria* and *menaia* (collections of calendar-arranged information about saints that were created for liturgical use and contain short notices about each saint), give a great deal of information, especially when analyzed statistically. The vast amount of surviving hymnography cannot be overlooked either; hymns often lack concrete detail, but do yield data about

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<sup>5</sup> René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1953), 69-83; and Jacques Dubois and Jean-Loup Lemaitre, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 5 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1996).

saints' cults. The sources of information all have problems: surviving *vitae* record much data, but in many cases of a contradictory or legendary nature; calendar and *synaxaria* entries also often present legendary information, or conflate a number of saints of the same name into one.<sup>7</sup> In some cases, there is a conflict between historical facts about a saint, known from independent sources, and stories about the saint that were propagated as part of the cult. Although this disparity is upsetting to inquirers, especially pious inquirers, into the biography of an individual saint, for cultural historians it is less a problem, since it is the recorded and popular view of a saint's life that is of interest in understanding the cultural norms of sanctity.

There is a substantial body of non-documentary evidence about the material components of saint's cults. Extensive, although fragmentary, data does exist about the dedications of churches, monasteries and other sanctuaries of individual saints. We know that relics and their veneration were an important aspect of many cults and, although no Byzantine list of relics survives, descriptions by foreign pilgrims and data from church calendars permit an account of the cult of relics, at least in Constantinople.<sup>8</sup>

Scholars have scrutinized iconographic and sphragistic data associated with the cult of saints,<sup>9</sup> although they were not subject to special investigation for this study.

Iconographic data is probably too fragmentary to allow any but the most general

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<sup>7</sup> On occasion, one saint might be "split" into two distinct saints by calendar compilers -- the most famous case is that of St. Theodore. See Nicolas Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AnalBoll* 104 (1986), 327-35.

<sup>8</sup> The modern distribution of relics in the Greek Church has been studied and may be relevant. See Otto Meinardus, "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," *Oriens Christianus* 54 (1971): 130-178.

comments, but the huge number of surviving seals provides important statistical information.<sup>10</sup>

The cult of saints itself generated all of the above sources. This study also assesses evidence about the public awareness of sainthood from non-cult related literature. For the entire duration of the empire, Byzantine secular authors maintained a virtually unbroken tradition of secular histories. Since sainthood was such a feature of the Byzantine world, saints appear in these histories. For the first time, this study evaluates the cult of saints in this historiographical literature by identifying the frequency with which saints appear.

*Previous collection of hagiographical sources*

Because information about Byzantine sainthood is so widely dispersed, I was dependent on earlier scholars' work in collecting and organizing the data. Chief among these efforts was the work of some of the great Francophone scholars of hagiology. The Bollandist scholar Hippolyte Delehaye began, and François Halkin continued, the vital work of collecting and organizing the manuscript and literary information about every Greek saint they could locate. The result was the core reference work, the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* and its supplement, the *Novum Auctarium BHG*.<sup>11</sup> In all, they assembled a bibliography of texts on over a thousand saints. Delehaye also constructed

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<sup>9</sup> See most recently Henry Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> See John Cotsonis, "Women and Sphragistic Iconography: A Means of Investigating Gender-Related Piety," *Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers* 19 (Madison WI: Byzantine Studies Conference, 1993), 59.

<sup>11</sup> Cited as BHG and BHGNA throughout this study. See the List of Abbreviations for full citation. Delehaye began publication in 1895 and François Halkin continued its elaboration

from a complex manuscript tradition an edition of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> For the *realia* of the Byzantine cult, the Herculean efforts of Raymond Janin to assemble the data on every Byzantine sanctuary are the precondition of any general assessment of the cult of saints.<sup>13</sup> The work of other scholars such as George Majeska is important,<sup>14</sup> but the publications of Delehayé, Halkin, and Janin are central.<sup>15</sup>

The problem with using the BHG, the SynaxCP, and Janin is that they were not particularly directed to statistical analysis. Delehayé and Halkin did not conceive of computerized use of their data, although both were willing to use simple statistics. They organized huge amounts of data in printed form, and in doing so simplified much more complex manuscript traditions.<sup>16</sup> Janin repeatedly drew the wrong conclusions about particular sanctuaries.<sup>17</sup> The only way to be absolutely sure that the data these scholars collated are clean enough for accurate analysis would be to go back and check each of their entries, as well as subsequent literature on each saint, a project not feasible for this

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as late as 1984. In all this represents nearly a century of scholarly effort.

<sup>12</sup> SynaxCP.

<sup>13</sup> Cited as Janin, *EglisesCP*, and Janin, *EglisesGC*. Janin's work on the provinces was incomplete at his death.

<sup>14</sup> Cited as Majeska, *Russian Travelers*.

<sup>15</sup> Post-Byzantine printed sources on saints are also of some use. See in particular, Meinardus, "Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church"; and Petit, *BibAc*. Both compiled data about aspects of the cult of saints in the modern Greek speaking world that in some cases confirms information from Byzantine sources, but also indicates changes that have taken place since the fifteenth century.

<sup>16</sup> Ugo Zanetti, [zanetti@ori.ucl.ac.be], private email communication, May 1996. Fr. Zanetti's comments were important in this discussion of the problems of using the work of Delehayé, Halkin and others. He was concerned that faults in the original data would lead to statistical results "built on sand."

<sup>17</sup> See for example Majeska's comments in *Russian Travellers*, 439 that Janin is "not always exact and sometimes simply wrong." Majeska acknowledges that Janin remains fundamental.

study, and possibly not for one lifetime.<sup>18</sup> Even if we could obtain a perfectly secure set of data from surviving Greek texts, matters would improve only slightly: although vast amounts of data survive, the documentary and physical records are by no means complete. For many saints only incidental data survive.<sup>19</sup> And while prosopographical methods effectively uncover otherwise obscured patterns in the cult of saints, there will always be a problem in any reduction to quantification of sainthood, which is necessarily subject to the instability of human life and society.

The situation is not quite as dire as these observations might suggest. Statistical methodology affords a defense of this study's use of data. Faced with the mass of information on Greek saints, one has to start somewhere and the works of Delehaye, Halkin, and Janin are the only practical place. Random mistakes or omissions in data collection do not necessarily invalidate data analysis unless statistical variances are small, or a persistent bias in data collection crops up. With these scholars' work, there is no persistent bias, and the conclusions one can draw about the cult of saints are based on large variances that render small mistakes and omissions harmless.

While tables throughout this study display the magnitude of statistical variances, the lack of bias in the sources is less evident. The *chi square test* -- a statistical test of

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<sup>18</sup> The task is huge. There are no exact figures of the numbers of Byzantine saints: 5000-plus saints are named in the index of Delehaye's edition of the *SynaxCP*; about 3,800 are listed in Sophronios Eustratiades, *Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens: n.d.); Enrica Follieri lists 2622 saints in connection with her compilation of hymnographical data in *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 5 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966); there are approximately 1039 saints (excluding groups) in the BHG.

<sup>19</sup> Similarly, when collecting data on church dedications or artistic evidence, problems arise because of limited and chance survivals, concentration of evidence in certain geographical areas (Constantinople and Mt. Athos for example) and the sheer insecurity of much of the data we have about, for instance, the dating of churches.

independence -- makes it possible to establish this.<sup>20</sup> Table A1 compares the relative sizes of the cults of two subsets of saints -- major legendary saints and New Testament leaders. In this case, I am interested not in drawing conclusions about the cult of saints, but in the validity or representativeness of the numerical figures themselves. Row 1 bases a comparison of two sets of saints on figures derived from Janin (the number of dedicated churches in Constantinople), and Row 2 on figures derived from BHG (the number of documents about each saint). The second set of figures shows the *expected frequencies* of churches and documents predicted by the chi-square test. If Janin had been influenced by BHG or *vice-versa*, the first set of figures (actual cases) should diverge from the *expected frequencies*. In this case the divergences are insignificant, showing that the variables recorded in the BHG (that is, number of documents) are independent of the variables (number of dedicated churches) recorded by Janin. This is crucial. The fact that the data sets are independent, and yet produce similar conclusions about the size of cults, establishes that omissions and mistakes by Halkin, Delehaye, and Janin were random, and do not invalidate conclusions about the cult of saints based on their data when the variances are great.

Since inferences drawn from Byzantine sources are reasonably secure, we are also able to deepen our insight into the cult of saints by using post-Byzantine data. Otto Meinardus' survey of saints' relics in modern Greek churches,<sup>21</sup> and Louis Petit's survey

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<sup>20</sup> See Joseph F. Healey, *Statistics: A Tool for Social Science Research*, 3d ed. (Belmont, C.A.: Wadsworth, 1993), 254-63. On the issue of data independence, Healey notes that, "Two variables are independent if, for all cases, the classification of a case into one variable has no effect on the probability that the case will fall into any particular category of the second variable." (p.254).

<sup>21</sup> Meinardus, "Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," 130-178.

of seventeenth- to early twentieth-century Greek *akolouthias*,<sup>22</sup> provide information about the size of Post-Byzantine saints' cults.<sup>23</sup> When one correlates the saints who possess the most modern relics, or whose *akolouthias* were most popular with early modern printers, with the saints who have the most extensive Byzantine documentary record, the correspondences are noteworthy, as are the differences.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Petit, *BibAc*. An *akolouthia* is a liturgical rite. When a service is for a saint, it is sometimes accompanied by a reading about the saint's life, Cf. *ODB* 46–47.

<sup>23</sup> Janin, *EglisesCP*, and Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, both detail the histories of relics in the various churches and sanctuaries they investigate in Constantinople, but lack the geographic range of Meinardus' survey. While it would be better to have access to enumerations of relics in Byzantine era churches, not to mention time-based sequencing of such data, Meinardus' data should not be dismissed out of hand.

<sup>24</sup> For the correlation, see Tables A9, A10, and A11.

**Table A1**  
**Relative Size of Cults of Legendary Saints and New Testament Saints**

	Legendary Saints <sup>a</sup>	New Testament Saints <sup>b</sup>	Totals
No. of church dedications in Constantinople	92	77	169
No. of relevant docs. in BHG	<u>454</u>	<u>449</u>	<u>903</u>
	546	526	1072
<i>Expected frequencies<sup>c</sup></i>			
Churches	86	93	169
Docs	<u>460</u>	<u>445</u>	903
	546	193	1072

*Source:* Table A3: Total Documents about each Saint in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*; Table A5: Dedications of Churches, Chapels and Monasteries.

*Notes:*

<sup>a</sup> "Legendary saints" refers to summed data from SS. Demetrios, George, Kosmas and Damian. Theodore Tiron and Theodore Stratelates, Michael the Archangel, Nicholas of Myra.

<sup>b</sup> "New Testament Saints" refers to summed data from SS. John the Baptist, John the Theologian. Thomas, Paul, Peter, Andrew, and churches and documents dedicated to apostles as a group.

<sup>c</sup> The second set of figures in gives the *expected frequency* using the standard *chi square test* for relationship between variables.



**B The *Saints' Prosopographical Database*:  
Establishing a Cohort of Saints for Analysis**

The prosopographical analysis of sanctity in this study derives from a *Saints' Prosopographical Database*. In constructing the database, I had to make many decisions about which sources of information to use, which coordinates of sanctity to accumulate data on, and on how to establish a neutral cohort for analysis.

There is no defined list of Byzantine saints, and so the *Database* uses an array of information sources.<sup>25</sup> Although consulted, saint's *Lives* -- which, in contrast to *synaxaria* and calendar entries, exist for a distinct minority of named saints -- could not be the main source in most cases. Instead, the basis of the data discussed here was the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*.<sup>26</sup> It includes basic information on the personal characteristics of Byzantine saints: for instance, their dates, feast days, gender, and usually the reason for sainthood.<sup>27</sup> Data in the *Saints' Prosopographical Database* was not restricted to that in the BHG. Other available sources filled in much of the detail. When, for example, the BHG did not give a saint's dates, but other sources did, I could then count that saint in statistical totals for a given century. Several other scholars' efforts to collect global data about saints proved to be especially valuable -- notably that in the

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<sup>25</sup> See "Sources of Data in the *Saints' Prosopographical Database*" at the end of this section.

<sup>26</sup> See Section A above, for a discussion of the BHG.

<sup>27</sup> Information is often lacking in BHG on one factor or another, but is most complete for martyrs, who are, however, by far the largest category of saint. Whenever possible, the *Saints' Prosopographical Database* supplied the basic data from the other sources used.

*Married Saints of the Church*.<sup>28</sup> The BHG, however, provided the chief guideposts and the basis for the correlation of data from all other sources.<sup>29</sup>

Since one focus of this study is Byzantine female saints, it was important to avoid a possible research bias that might lead to the over-representation of women saints in statistical tables.<sup>30</sup> A neutral cohort of subjects is essential in a study where the statistical tabulation of gender and sanctity plays such a large role. The BHG allows for exactly this type of cohort. While not an exhaustive list of Byzantine saints, the BHG's overwhelming advantage is that its compilers assembled its information randomly.<sup>31</sup> Even when other saints are known, the cohort used here for statistical purposes includes only those saints who appear in the BHG/ BHGNA. For instance, I know of more women saints in the ninth and tenth century than reported in the BHG,<sup>32</sup> and it is certain that at least one of the BHG's female saints -- Theoktiste (BHG 2420), mother of Theodore of

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<sup>28</sup> Agioreitou Monachou Moyseos, *Oí Έγγαμοί Άγιοι τής Έκκλησίας κατά τὸ μνηολόγιο* [The Married Saints of the Church According to the Menologion] (New Smyrna: Ekdotis "Akritas," 1988), trans. with additions by Melania Reed and Maria Simonsson as *Married Saints of the Church According to the Menaion* (Wildwood CA: St. Xenia Skete, 1991).

<sup>29</sup> The *Saints' Prosopographical Database* is not exhaustive. More available data remains: for instance, time and resources constraints prevented full entry of data from the SynaxCP. More data could also be generated from reading and data analyzing every saint's life. The *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database of the 8th-10th Century*, ed. Aleksandr P. Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1998), has done precisely this for eighth- to tenth-century saints, but it will not address lives of the earlier saints whose cults remained so important during that period.

<sup>30</sup> Female saints unlisted in standard compilations were sought out, for instance, but not male saints.

<sup>31</sup> If Delehaye and Halkin had a goal, it was bibliographic completeness. They seem to have had no other specific purpose or question in mind. Figures for the post-Byzantine period, given for comparison in some tables, derive from a variety of lists of modern Greek saints. Since there has been no work comparable to the BHG for the post-Byzantine period, I was unable to establish a neutral cohort for such saints. The figures, then, are less stable and, even with the low numbers, probably over represent female saints.

<sup>32</sup> Compare Table 1:1 and Table A2.

Stoudion -- was not a saint with any cult.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the extra saints I know about are excluded from analyses and Theoktiste is included, because to alter the cohort would distort it.<sup>34</sup> Future research, based on surviving *synaxaria*, may expand the cohort, but not, I think, change the general outlines or conclusions drawn from the data in the BHG-based sample.

Quite apart from the issue of a neutral cohort, the creation of a prosopographical database of saints invites innumerable choices. How to count saints, and when calendars list saints in groups, how should they be considered? How to classify a saint? Which century to place a saint in? Does a single document about an individual's sanctity mean that the figure ever was a "saint" beyond that evidence? In compiling this database, I attempted to make rational choices, to make the choices consistently during data collection, and to maintain randomness (that is, to collect and organize data without distorting it in one way or another).

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<sup>33</sup> She was included in the BHG on bibliographical grounds alone. Her son, a well-known saint, wrote a funeral oration for her that survives. The BHG compilers apparently took this as sufficient basis to list her. No other evidence of her "sainthood" survives.

<sup>34</sup> Because of the same need to preserve the neutral cohort, statistical analyses proceeded in the face of other known problems. It is not clear that some female saints were distinct figures (for instance the iconodule martyrs Maria the patrician and Theodosia were probably a doublet), or that some saints ever had any cult (Theodore of Studios's mother, or Theodora, the disciple of Basil), or represent anything other than later fiction (Irene of Chrysobalanton, Theoktiste of Lesbos). The predicament here is that these data problems with female saints became clear because of this study's concentration on gender. There are, without doubt, similar problems with data on male saints that did not come to light. To alter the cohort for the problematic female figures but not for male ones would introduce precisely the research bias the study tried to avoid. The overall figures are so clear, however, that conclusions would not change significantly even if all adjustments were made with respect only to the female figures. Whether, for instance, there were eight or eleven women saints in the ninth century, they remain a small proportion of the total number of "new saints."

First, which saints to include? I collected data on any and all saints who left a documentary record, or were recorded as saints, in hagiographical manuscripts, synaxaria, and were recorded as such in the BHG. Saints were entered and counted in the statistical cohort if the BHG names them and attributes Greek documentary records to them.<sup>35</sup>

There were real problems in quantifying the number of saints. The main issue revolves around groups of saints; for instance, all the fathers of the early councils could be counted as saints, and on many occasions we have calendar entries for a saint "and his/her fellow martyrs." Since such "fellow martyrs" had no individual cult, and it is impossible to decide which groups to exclude and which to include, in general the database accepts only named individual saints. With smaller groups, however, if three or four names were indicated, those saints were counted individually. In the large number of cases, a group was recorded as "xxx and companions," only the named saints as recorded in the BHG were counted, again to maintain neutrality. Large collective groups of saints<sup>36</sup> and groups of anonymous saints were all excluded.<sup>37</sup>

Allocation of saints by century was important for time-sequenced tables. Presumed century of existence determined a saint's placement. This meant that I excluded from totals the 233 saints, who are recorded in the BHG, who fulfilled the

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<sup>35</sup> The database includes early Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and other oriental saints, who had Greek cults, but excludes a few medieval western saints with Greek *Lives* (for example, Benedict and Dominic).

<sup>36</sup> For example, all the fathers of ecumenical councils, saints of mass martyrdoms.

<sup>37</sup> In some cases, the names of all group members are known – for instance, the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, and the fathers of particular ecumenical councils. These groups were also excluded. To have included groups would have massively increased, and distorted, numbers. In many cases, there were group martyrdoms of ten or more saints, and in some cases thousands are said to have been martyred.

above criteria, but for whom the BHG gave no dates and for whom I was unable to find dates elsewhere.<sup>38</sup> When I knew a saint's date of death, I included those who died up until the sixth year of the next century in the previous century's totals. I placed a saint who died in 905, for instance, in the ninth, not the tenth, century. It would have been interesting to have allocated the dates of compositions of *Lives*, but since very few Greek hagiographical manuscripts survive from before the tenth century, and the dating of *Lives*, especially those of early saints, is somewhat speculative, I was unable to do this.<sup>39</sup> A special problem with assigning saints to particular centuries concerned the large number of martyrs during the "Great Persecution" initiated under Diocletian.<sup>40</sup> The "Great Persecution" lasted from 297 to 312. In some cases, it is not clear in exactly which year the martyr(s) died. I allocated all saints from this persecution to the fourth century, with an unavoidable distortion in figures for that century.

When it came to categorizing types of saints, the raw data indicated that four categories of saint stood out: *martyrs*, *ascetics/monastics*, *monastic leaders*, and *bishops*. Other liturgical categories of saint had so few members (for instance *apostles* or *evangelists*) as to be statistically, if not cultically, insignificant. By *martyr*, I mean any saint who was killed for the faith. In ancient and modern times, this has been by far the

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<sup>38</sup> This exclusion only applied to diachronic tables. In some cases, no date is given because the saint is legendary and known to be so, in other cases even quite well-known saints simply have no assignable date, for instance St. Mary of Egypt (who was probably legendary).

<sup>39</sup> Aleksander P. Kazhdan attempted to date the *Lives* of saints who lived between the 1st and 10th centuries, but his study remains unpublished.

<sup>40</sup> Data on these saints are particularly plentiful. Since the "Great Persecution" immediately preceded the legalization and eventual triumph of Christianity it may not have been that more Christians were martyred at this time, but that the newly liberated Christians were able to preserve more information about them than about earlier martyrs.

most common way of achieving sainthood in Greek Christianity, although it was less dominant in the medieval period. By *ascetic* I mean any saint whose sanctity depended on a reputation for holiness achieved through religious life. This excludes private asceticism carried out at home but includes *stylites*.<sup>41</sup> anchorites, hermits,<sup>42</sup> and monks. *Monastic leader* is a category because after the sixth century leadership positions in monasticism, either as an abbot/abbess or as a monastery founder, became a significant marker of sanctity. Finally *bishops*, including patriarchs and popes, form a substantial segment of the saintly population and received their own category.<sup>43</sup>

All these choices leave possible challenges to the statistics drawn from the *Saints' Prosopographical Database* and to their interpretation. However, the statistical margins, both in terms of gender and in terms of types of saints, are so great that even quite major

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<sup>41</sup> Although they are famous, stylite saints – who stood on pillars for years at a time in a very visible form of ascetic discipline – were a small group and, like "evangelists" they are not statistically relevant. The saints in question were:

- Isidora Stylites (BHG 959-959b), prob. 4th Century, feast on May 1
- Theodoulos Stylites (BHG 1785-1785e), 4th Century, feast Dec 4, May 28
- Symeon Stylites of Mandra (BHG 1678-1688), 5th Century, feast on Sept. 1
- Symeon Stylites the Younger (BHG 1689-1691), 6th Century, feast on May 24
- Daniel Stylites (BHG 489490e), 5th Century, feast on Dec 11
- Mark Stylites or "Salos" (BHG 2254-2255), 6th Century, feast day unknown
- Alypius Stylites [known as "St. Stylianos"] (BHG 64-66d), 7th Century, feast on Nov 26
- Luke Stylites (BHG 2239), 10th Century, feast on Dec 11
- John Stylites, of Calabria (BHG 894-894a), 11th Century, feast on Feb 23
- Lazaros of Mt. Galesios (BHG 979-980e), 11th Century, feast on Nov 7
- Clement Stylites (BHG 2074), 12th Century, feast on Jan 26
- Paul Stylites or "Salos" (BHG 2362), unknown date, feast on Feb 27

<sup>42</sup> "Anchorites" were religious living solitary lives in urban locations; "hermits" followed their calling in remote and isolated areas.

<sup>43</sup> One category – that of "wonderworker" – is of interest. A substantial number of saints had this as a title, and yet "wonderworking saints" might belong to one of several categories – martyr, bishop, monastic holy man. Unfortunately, data collection was too far advanced when this became apparent and I shall not be analyzing this category here. In a later study, however, I intend to address this issue.

problems with the original data leave the interpretative results intact.

Within the criteria given, BHG and BHGNA record 1159 names of individual saints from the first to the fifteenth centuries and of these 1039 (89.6 percent) can be assigned to particular centuries. It is the cohort of 1039 that provided the basis for the time sequenced tables in the study.

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**Table A2**  
**Byzantine Female Saints, 6-15th Centuries (with BHG number)**

Century	Saints
6	Anastasia* [under Justinian] (BHG 79-80e) <sup>a</sup> Athanasia* [and Andronikos] [5 or 6 Cent.] (BHG 120-123i) Golinduch [martyr under Chosroes] (BHG 700-702b) Marina* [date?] (BHG 1163-1163e) Martha, mother Symeon Stylites [d. 551] (BHG 1174) Matrona* of Perge [5-6 Cent.] (BHG 1221-1223) Thomais of Alexandria (BHG 2453-2453b) Maria [and Xenophon] [6C?] (BHG 1877u-1879)
7	Anna, nun in Jerusalem [d. 614] (BHG 2028)
8	Irene [empress, d. 803] (BHG 2205) Mary the Patrician, [mart. under Leo Isaurus] (BHG 1195) Theodora of Kaisaris [mon. under Leo Isaurus] (BHGNA 2424m) Theodosia, martyr sub Leo Isaurus (BHG 1773y-1774e) Theoktiste, mother Theodore of Studium [d. under Irene] (BHG 2420) <i>Anna, in vita of Stephen the Younger (BHG1667)<sup>b</sup></i> [SynaxCP 264.54]
9	Anna/Euphemianos the Younger* [8-9 Cent.] (BHG 2027) Anthousa of Mantineo [d. 808-809] (NA 2029h) Athanasia of Aigina [9 Cent.] (BHG 180) Mary the Younger [d. 902] (BHG 1164) Theodora [empress, d. 867] (BHG 1731-1735) Theodora of Thessalonica [d. 392] (BHG 1737-1741) Theoktiste of Lesbos [9 Cent.] (BHG 1723-1726) Theophano [empress, d. 893] (BHG 1794-1795e) <i>Anthousa, daughter of Constantine V</i> [SynaxCP 914.3-34] <i>Kassia, the poet</i> [a saint only in modern Orthodox lists] <i>Theokleto</i> [SynaxCP 914.3-34] <i>Theopiste, daughter of Theodora of Thess.</i> [cf. Petit, <i>Bib.Ac</i> ]
10	Euphrosyne* the Younger [c.921-23] (BHG 627) Irene of Chrysovalanton [9-10 Cent.] (BHG 952) Martha of Monembasia [9-10 Cent.] (BHG 1175) Paraskeve of Thrace [10C] (BHG 1420z-1421) Theodora [disc. Basil Jun.] [10C] (BHG NA 264d-f, cf. p.202) Thomais of Lesbos [10 Cent.] (BHG 2454-2457) <i>Anna of Leucate</i> [SynaxCP. 837-40]
11	Marina* of Sicily [d. 1062] (BHG 1170) ["Byzantine" status doubtful]
12	irene [empress, c. 1134] (BHG 2206)
13	Theodora of Arta [queen, d.c.1270] (BHG 1736)
14	Matrona of Chios [BHG date c. 1406-10] (BHG 1220) [date doubtful]
15	<i>Thomais</i> [In Phrantzes]

Source: BHG/BHGNA, *Saints' Prosopographical Database*

**Notes:**

Table A2 supplements Table 1.1.

a \* indicates a transvestite saint.

b Saints named here in italics are known to have existed from sources other than those recorded in BHG and so were excluded from the cohort subject to statistical analysis. They are included here to complete the picture.

Table A3  
 Total Documents about Each Saint in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* and *Follieri Initia Hymnorum*

Cent	Saint	Epithet	Feast Day	BHG Nos	Total in BHG	Hymns
1	Mary	Mother of God	09/08, 11/21	1046-1161d	355	999
1	John	the Baptist	06/24 +	831-967m	121	335
4	Demetrios	Forerunner of Thessalonica, Myroblytos	10/26	496-547z	109	97
4	Nicholas	of Myra, wonderworker	12/06, 05/9, 10, 20	1347-1364n	95	72
1	John	the Theologian/ Evangelist	11/26, 05/08	899-932t	90	87
4	George	the Martyr megalomartyr	04/23, 11/03, 01/30	669y-691y	87	87
4	Kosmas & Damian	Anargyroi (without pay)	11/01, 25, 07/01, 10/17	372-392	79	86
5	John	Chrysostom	11/13, 01/27 (Trans.)	870-881z	74	157
1	Thomas	Apostle	10/06	1800-1844b	69	68
1	Apostles & Disciples		06/30, 01/03, 04	150-160p	56	172
1	Paul	Apostle	06/29, 09/01	1451-1465x	49	2
4	Theodore	Tiron (footsoldier)	02/17, 22, 11/20	1760-1773	41	74
1	Stephan	Protomartyr	12/26, 27, 08/02	1648x-1665h	39	86
1	Klement	of Rome	11/25, 24	319-351e	37	28
1	Andrew	Apostle	11/30	93-110c	33	46
4	Menas	of Egypt, wonderworker	11/11, 3Rd Sun After East	1250-1269m	32	39
0	Michael	Archangel	09/06, 11/08 (09/29 West)	1282-1290g	31	38
5	Alexios	Man of God, Homo Dei	03/17, 06/17, 18	51-56h	30	18
1	Peter	Apostle	06/29, 01/15, 16, 09/05	1482-1489 /last inc. Andr	29	73
0	All Saints		Sunday After Pentecost	1616-1617y	28	136
0	Eusebios	of Alexandria		635-635z	28	
1	Peter & Paul Together	Apostles		1490-1502	28	83
4	Constantine	the Great, Isapostolos	05/21	361x-369k	27	44
4	Gregory	the Theologian, of Nazianzos	01/25	723-730v	26	56
4	Pachomios		05/15, 14, 07	1396-1401v	26	23
4	Gurias Samonas Abibus		11/15, 12/02	731-740m	24	36
0	Angels		11/08, 09/06	123z-129q	23	61
1	Philip	Apostle	11/14, 07/31	1516-1530c	23	45
5	Symeon	Stylites, of Mandra	09/01	1678-1688	22	44
4	Group: XL Martyrs	of Sebasteia	03/09	1201-1208m	21	59
1	Luke	the Evangelist	10/18	990y-993t	20	43
5	Onuphrios		02/12, 07/05	1378-1382c	20	27
4	Barbara +1		12/04	213-219q	19	51

(Table A3 -- Continued)

Cent	Saint	Epithet	Feast Day	BHG Nos	Total in BHG	Hymns
4	Panteleemon (Pantaleon)	Iamatikos, anargyros	07/27	1412z- 1418c	19	44
2	Paraskeve		07/26, 11/08, 09, 10/14	1419z- 1420x	19	20
4	Justina		10/02	452-461c	18	34
4	Kyprian	the Great	10/02	452-461c	18	34
4	Silvester	of Rome	01/02	1628-1634g	18	32
1	Thekla		09/24	1710-1722	18	59
4	Artemios	wonderworker	10/20	169y-174e	17	30
1	Lazaros		03/17, 18, 05/04, 05 +	2213g 2231	17	50
4	Ephrem	the Syrian	01/28	583-592k	16	50
4	Euphemia	of Chalcedon	12/16, 07/11	619-624n	16	66
4	3 Hierarchs		01/30	746x-748w	16	40
4	Kyros & John	"anargyroi"	01/30, 31	469-497I	16	52
4	Marina		07/17	1165-1169d	16	42
4	Prokopios	of Caesarea	07/08	1576-1582c	16	53
1	Dionysios (Denis) +2	the Areopagite	10/03	554-558m	15	36
7	John	Klimakos	03/30	882-883g	15	35
0	Mary	the Egyptian	04/01	1041z- 1044e	15	67
5	Andrew	Saios, "Fool for Christ"	05/28	115z-117k	14	4
6	Andronikos		02/27, 03/02, 10/06, 09	120-123i	14	15
3	Makarios	of Egypt	01/19, 20	999g-999t	14	29
1	Matthew	Apostle, Evangelist	11/16	1224-1228d	14	35
4	Theodore	Stratelates (the General)	02/07, 08, 06/08	1750-1753m	14	66
3	Mamas		09/02	1017-1022	13	31
9	Theodore	of Studium	11/11	1754-1759m	13	21
3	Tryphon	wonderworker	02/01	1856-1858x	13	32
1	James	Brother of the Lord	10/23, 09	763y-766i	12	51
4	Niketas		09/15	1342y- 1346e	12	24
2	Polykarp	of Smyrna	02/23	1556-1564	12	26
3	Seven Sleepers	of Ephesus	10/22, 23, 08/02	1593-1599d	12	33
4	Abraham		10/29, 19	5-8e	11	8
3	Christopher		05/09	308w-311k	11	28
1	Konon		11/04, 03/05, 06, 08	2077-79 t.3	11	21
0	Makarios	Romanos	10/23, 24, 05, 01/19	1004-1005p	11	10
1	Mark	the Evangelist	04/25	1035-1038t	11	35
4	Mary (Maria)		10/29, 19	5-8e	11	5
0	Phocas	hortulanus	09/22, 07/22	1538-1540b	11	
4	Anastasia +3	the Pharmakolytria Apostle	12/22	81-83b	10	35
1	Bartholomew		06/11, 08/25	227-232f	10	59
1	Holy Innocents		12/29	823z-827e	10	39
3	Laurentios +2		08/10	976-978b	10	26
0	Martinianos		02/13, 03/18	1177-1180	10	28
4	Theodota +3		12/22	81-83b	10	5
7	Anastasios		01/22	84-90	9	29
1	Anna	Mother of the Virgin Mary	09/09, 12/09, 07/25	130x-134d	9	114
4	Anthony	Abbot	01/17	140-141h	9	42

(Table A3 – Continued)

Cent	Saint	Epithet	Feast Day	BHG Nos	Total in BHG	Hymns
10	Athanasios	of Lavra, the Athonite	05/05	187-191f	9	20
6	Daniel	Sketiota		2099z-2102d	9	
4	Epiphanius		05/12	596-601m	9	33
4	Euplus		08/11, 12	629-630p	9	26
5	Euthymios		01/20	647-650d	9	48
2	Floros & Lauros		08/18	660-664m	9	23
6	Gregentios		12/19	705-706i	9	4
9	Group: XLIII Martyrs	of Amorion	03/06	1209-1214	9	30
5	John	Kalybites	01/15, 03/17	868-869h	9	27
8	John	of Damascus, Damascene	12/04, 11/29	884-885m	9	25
7	John	Almsgiver, eleemosynarios	11/12	886-889	9	37
4	Julitta	of Iconium	07/15, (Or 06/15)	313y-318e	9	34
4	Kirykos	of Iconium	07/15, (Or 06/15)	313y-318e	9	34
7	Maximos	the Confessor	01/21, 08/13	1231-1236d	9	61
0	Michael & Gabriel	Archangels	11/08	1290y-1294c	9	60
4	Paul		01/15 16, 05, 04	1466-1470	9	23
4	Spyridon	of Trimithu, Wonderworker	12/12, 08/11	1647-1648p	9	39
9	Theodora	Empress	02/11	1731-1735	9	5
9	Theophanes	Chronographos, Confessor	03/12, 17	1787z-1792e	9	24
1	Zacharias & Elizabeth	parents of John the Baptist	09/05, 12/30	1881-1881x	9	36
3	Agatha		02/05	36-38b	8	40
6	Arkadios & John		01/26, 30	1877u-1879	8	26
4	Athanasios	the Great, of Alexandria	01/18, 05/02	183-186b	8	64
4	Basil	of Caesarea 'the great'	01/01	244-246a 247-262p (works)	8	78
4	Eugenios +3		01/20, 21	608y-613	8	13
7	Gregory	of Agrigentum	11/23, 24	707-708f	8	24
6	Gregory	the Great	03/12 Or 08, 11, 14	720-721f	8	19
4	Gregory	the Illuminator	09/30	712-713e	8	37
4	Group: Patres Nicea I		Sunday After Ascension	1431-1431p	9	32
4	Hilarion		10/21	751z-756n	8	32
4	Irene	Isoapostolos	05/05, 04, 23	952y-954c	8	30
0	Nikephoros		02/09	1331-1334g	8	29
2	Phokas	of Sinope	09/22, 21, 07/22, 23	1535y-1537d	8	56
3	Polyeuktos	of Melitine	01/08, 09	1566-1568k	8	28
6	Sabas		12/05	1608-1610	8	35
1	Thaddeos	Apostle	06/19, 08/20, 21	1702-1705	8	17
6	Xenophon & Maria +2	Coniuges	01/26, 30	1877u-1879	8	27

(Table A3 -- *Continued*)

*Source:* BHG; *Saints' Prosopographical Database*; Henrica Follieri [Enrica Follieri], *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 5 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966).

*Notes:*

Table A2 supplements Table 2.2.

**Century:** century of saint's activity. "0" indicates that the date is unknown or, as with the angels, not relevant.

**Saint:** saint's name, a plus sign (+) indicates that the saint is usually celebrated with companions.

**Epithet:** common title or epithet

**Feast Day:** Feast day or days, an important identifier of saints.

**BHG Nos.:** reference number of the items in the BHG

**Total in BHG:** number of documents about the saint in the BHG

**Hymns:** number of hymns for the saint in the Follieri. *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*

Table A4  
Titulature of Saints of September in *Synaxaria*

Day	Saints	Title (Delehaye/Mateos)	Other Info
1	Symeon Martha 40 Women Agathokleia + 3 Paul Joshua Mary	hosios pater/ <i>hosios</i> hosia meter hagiai martyres/ <i>hagiai</i> hagia martyr/ <i>hagia</i> hagios apostolos plain hyperagia/ <i>hagia</i>	stylite Symeon's mother  NT OT NT
2	Mamas Theophylact John Nesteutes Paul the New Aeithala + 3 Eleazar & Phineas	hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> - hosios pater/ <i>en hagiois pater</i> - / <i>en hagiois pater</i> martyr/ <i>hagios</i> plain	  - <i>hagioi patriarchai</i>    OT
3	Anthimos Theoktistos Basillissa Ariston Stephen of Trigleia Constantine	hagios hieromartyr/ <i>en hagiois pater</i> hosios pater/ <i>hagios</i> hagia martyr/ <i>hagia</i> hosios & hieromartyr/ <i>hagios</i> hosios pater & homologetes/ -  hagios basileus/ <i>en hagiois basileus</i>	bishop of Nicomedia   bishop of Alexandria abbot  "among the apostles"
4	Babulas Babulas II Moses Hermione Petronius + 2 Okeanos + 4	hagios hieromartyr/ <i>hagios</i> <i>hieromartyr</i> / - nomothetes & prophet/ <i>nomothetes</i> hagia martyr/ <i>hagia</i> - / <i>hagios martyr</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i>	patriarch of Antioch  OT sub NT - dau. of Phil
5	Zachariah Kyril Abda & Benjamin Thouthael & Bebias Herais Peter	hagios endoxos prophet/ <i>hagios</i> hosios pater & hieromartyr - / <i>hagios</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i>  hagia martyr hagios apostolos/ <i>hagios</i>	NT - father of Bapt. bishop of Gortyn martyrs in Persia   NT
6	Michael Romylos + 3 Urbanus + 2 + Faustos + 12 / Anne	archistrategos/ <i>archistrategos</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios martyr hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> / <i>hagia</i>	angel
7	Sozon Euppsychios Stephen Peter Luke Evodos & Onesiphoros	hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios hieromartyr hosios pater hosios hagioi apostoloi	pope abbot abbot
8	Mary	hyperagia despoina/ <i>hagia despoina</i>	NT - birthday

(Table A4 - Continued)

Day	Saints	Title (Delehaye/Mateos)	Other Info
9	Joachim & Anna Severianos Fathers of Ephesus Chariton	"dikairoi"/ <i>hagioi</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagioi theophoroi pateres/ <i>hagioi</i> <i>pateres</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i>	sub NT re: 3rd ecumenical council
10	Menodoros +2 Baripsabba Pulcheria Paul	hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> "timia" hosios & homologetes	empress bishop of Nicea
11	Theodora Ias Diodoros & Didymos Peter Demetrios +2	hosia/ <i>hagia martyr</i> <i>hagia meter</i> hagios martyr hosios pater & homologetes/ <i>ditto</i> /hagios hieromartyr	TV, of Alexandria martyr in Persia metropolitan of Nicea man, wife and son
12	Autonomos Makedonias +2 Daniel Theodore / <i>Kornoutos</i>	hagios hieromartyr/ <i>en hagiois</i> <i>martyr</i> hagios martyr hosios hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> / <i>hagios martyr</i>	bishop of Prenaistos
13	Kornelios + family Makrobios +5 Julianos Peter of Atroa Kronidos +1 Olympiodoros	hagios hagios martyr hagios hosios pater hagios hagios martyr	NT a martyr
14	Papas John Chrysostom Plakilla	hagios martyr "tou en hagiois pater humor" eusebestate	bishop empress
15	Niketas Maximos +2 Philotheos Porphyry / <i>Stephen</i> / <i>fathers 6th</i> <i>council</i> / <i>Akakios</i>	hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios martyr hosios pater & thaumaturgos hagios martyr / <i>hagios protomartyr</i> / <i>hagioi kai makarioi pateres</i> / <i>en hagiois pater</i>	invention of relics bishop of Melitene
16	Euphemia Martin  Sebastiane Melitine Stephen	<i>hagia martyr/ hagia kai kallinikos</i> hagios hieromartyr/ <i>hagiotatos kai</i> <i>makariotatos</i> <i>hagia/ hagia martyr</i> <i>hagia martyr/ hagia</i> hagios <apostolos> & protomartyr	pope of Rome
17	Piste +3 Agathokleia Lucy & Geminianos Charalambos +1 Herakleides Myron Sophia & Eirene	<i>hagia</i> <i>hagia martyr/ hagia</i> <i>hagia/os martyr/ hagia/os</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios/ <i>hagios</i> <i>hagiai gunaikes/ hagai gunaikes</i>	martyrs bishop of Tamasos

(Table A4 -- Continued)

Day	Saints	Title (Delehaye/Mateos)	Other Info
18	Symeon Fathers 6th council Eumenios Kastor & Theodora Ariadne	hagios hieromartyr/ <i>hagios hieromartyr</i> <i>hagici pateres</i>  hosios pater & thaumaturgos/ <i>ditto</i> <i>hagios/ia martyr/ hagios/ia</i> <i>hagia/ hagia martyr</i>	Sub NT bishop J'lem  bishop of Gortyn
19	Trophimos +2 Susanna Januarios Peleus + 2 Timothy Agapios & Thekla Joshua of Naum Thomas / 150 martyrs	hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> <i>hagia hosiomartyr</i> <i>hagios hieromartyr/ hagios</i> <i>hieromartyr</i> <i>hagici</i> <i>hagios martyr</i> <i>hagici martyres</i>  <i>plain/ plain</i> <i>hagios apostolos/ hagios apostolos</i> <i>/ hagioi martyres</i>	bishop of Benevento martyrs  OT [2d time in month] NT ded. of a church
20	Eustathios +3 Thalelios & Artemidoros John of Egypt Hypatios & Andreas	hagios megalomartyr/ <i>hagios</i> <i>hagios martyr/ hagios</i>  megistos en homologetais <i>hosioi pateres &amp; homologetai</i>	a martyr
21	Jonah Jonah the Sabbaites Theodore Eusebius + 4 Isaac Bassa Menas / Kodratos	hagios prophetes <i>hosios pater</i>  <i>hagios martyr/ hagios</i> <i>hagios martyr</i> <i>hosios pater/ hagios hieromartyr</i> <i>hagia martyr</i> <i>hagios martyr/ hagios</i> <i>/ hagios apostolos kai hierarch</i>	OT monk  bishop of Sites church foundation
22	Kodratos Phokas Phokas  Priskos + 2 Drousilla Mary / Jonah / Jonah the Sabbaites	hagios hieromartyr & apostolos <i>hagios martyr/ hagios</i> <i>hagios hieromartyr</i> [MS Mr - thaumaturgos] <i>hagios martyr/ hagios</i> <i>hagia martyr</i> <i>hyperagia/ hagia</i> <i>/ hagios kai endoxos prophetes</i> <i>/ hosios</i>	bishop? bishop?  daughter of Trajan NT OT father of Theophanes
23	John the Bapt. Elisabeth Eusebius Andrew + 3 Xanthippe & Polyxene Herais Persisse	hagios prophet prodromos & baptist <i>hagia/ hagia</i> <i>hagios, homologetes</i> <i>hagios martyr</i> <i>hosiai gunaikes/ hagiai gunaikes</i>  <i>hagia martyr parthenos/ hagia,</i> <i>parthenos</i> <i>hagia martyr</i>	NT NT status?  sub NT. not martyrs
24	Thekla	hagia protomartyr & apostolos/ <i>ditto</i>	"theonymph"



(Table A4 -- Continued)

Day	Saints	Title (Delehaye/Mateos)	Other Info
25	Sabinianos +2 Theophilos Euphrosyne Paphnutios / Ia	hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hosios, homologetes/ <i>hosios</i> hagia & aeimneste/ <i>hosia</i> hagios & hosiomartyr/ <i>hagios,</i> <i>monachos</i> / <i>hagia</i>	archbishop of Ephesus TV, not a martyr
26	John 5 virgins & nuns	hagios, apostoles & evangelos/ ditto -	NT
27	Kallistratos Epicharis +1 Nektarios Flavian Ignatios	hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagia martyr/ <i>hagia</i> hosios pater hosios pater hosios pater	archbishop of C'ople archbishop of Antioch abbot
28	Chariton  Alpheios +5 Eustathios +	hosios pater, homologetes/ <i>theophoros pater, homologetes</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i> hagios martyr/ <i>hagios</i>	also called "hagios" in SynaxCP
29	Kyriakos Dada +2 Anastasia + 1 50 Martyrs Tryphon + 2	hosios pater/ <i>hosios</i> hagios martyr hagia hosiomartyr/ <i>hagia, asketria</i> - / <i>hagioi martyres</i> hagios martyr	founder of a mon. bishop martyrs and ascetics
30	Gregory + 2  Mardonios +8 +women	"en hagiois pater hemon"/ ditto and <i>hieromartyr</i> hagios martyr, <i>hagiai gunaikes/</i> <i>hagios, hagiai gunaikes</i>	bishop of Great Armenia, martyr

Source: SynaxCP; Juan Mateos, ed., *La Typicon de La Grande Église, Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40. X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962).

**Notes:**

Table A4 supplements the discussion of the titulature of saints in Chapter III and Appendix III. It is arranged by day, with the saints for each day in the order given in Delehaye's composite edition of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople. In column 3 the saint's title as given in Delehaye comes first, followed in italics by that of the Mateos' edition of the *Typikon* of the Great Church (Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40). A control is necessary since Delehaye was not specifically looking at titulature and so does not reflect any variances in his notes.

**Coding**

**Column 2**

/<name> = saint is in Mateos but not Delehaye

"ditto" = used when Mateos duplicates Delehaye, but space is limited

**Column 3**

no type or title = no adjective, presumed deliberate

- = info not given, presumed merely missing

**Column 4**

OT = Old Testament figure

NT = New Testament figure

sub NT = not in NT, but story connects immediately with NT figures.

### **C    *The Hagiographers' Prosopographical Database***

In addition to studying the characteristics of saints, I undertook a more limited prosopography of hagiographers and their choices of subject. Since the *Life* was so often a major support of the saint's cult, the role of the hagiographer was central. The subjects of the study here were all authors listed as having written two or more saint's *Lives*, or other hagiographical documents, in BHG. In some cases, I could find no clear data on the authors; I examined those for whom basic data was available on factors related to their work as hagiographers. Although the "two document" limitation excluded some hagiographers, often those who wrote one *Life* of a person they knew, it was intended both to keep the figures manageable, and more positively, to restrict discussion to those authors who had a more than passing interest in writing hagiography.

Data fields were based on: century of activity, religious or lay status, monastic status, number of saints the hagiographer wrote about, number of post-600 AD saints the hagiographer wrote about, number of female saints -- other than the Theotokos -- of any period the hagiographer wrote about, whether the hagiographer wrote about someone known to him, whether the hagiographer had a local connection with the saints, and whether the hagiographer was also recognized as a saint.

Table A5:  
Prosopography of Byzantine Hagiographers

Cent	Hagiographer	Status	No. of vitae	Byzant. subj.	Female subj.	Knew subj.	Loc	St
4	Amphilochius ep Iconium	bp	3	na	0	Y		Y
4	Athanasios ep Alexandria	bp	7	na	1			Y
4	Basil ep Caesarea	bp/m	10	na	1			Y
4	Ephrem Syrus	cle/m	10	na	1			Y
4	Epiphanius ep Salamis	bp/m	3	na	0	N		Y
4	Eusebios ep Caesarea	bp	8	na	0	Y	Y	
4	Gregory Nazianzus ep CP	bp/m	11	na	1	Y	Y	Y
4	Gregory ep Nyssa	bp	12	na	2	Y		Y
5	Arkadios ep Cyprus	bp	2	1	0			
5	Asterios ep Amaseia	bp	6		1			
5	Basil ep Seleucia	bp	9	na	1			
5	Hesychios presb J'lem	cle/m	12	na	0	N	Y	Y
5	John I Chrysostom ep CP	bp/m	29	na	2	Y	Y	Y
5	Cyril pat Alexandria	pat	3	na	0	N	Y	Y
5	Palladios ep Aspuna	bp	13	na	2	Y	Y	
5	Proklos ep CP	bp	8	na	0	N		Y
5	Theodoret ep Cyrhus	bp/m	37	na	3	Y	Y	
5/6	Leontios presb CP	cle	3	0	0	N		
6	Eustratios presb CP	cle	2	1	1	Y	N	
6	Cyril of Scythopolis	mon	7	na	0	Y	Y	
6?	Leontios mon	mon	2	0	0	N	N	
7	John ep Thess	bp	3	0	0	N	Y	Y
7	John Moschos	pat/m	4	3?	0	Y		Y
7	Leontios ep Neapolis	bp	4	2	0		Y	
7	Maximos confessor	mon	2	0	0	N		Y
7	Sophronios pat J'lem	pat/m	10	0	1	Y		Y
8	Andrew ep Crete	bp/m	16	0	0	N	Y	Y
8	Germanos I pat CP	pat	2	0	0	N	N	Y
8	John of Damascus	mon	9	0	2	N		Y
8	John presb Euboea	cle/m	5	0	2	N		
8?	Kosmas Vestitor	?	4	0	1	N		
9	George ep Nicomedia	bp	5	0	0	N		
9	Ignatios diac CP	cle/m	3	3	0	Y	Y	
9?	John Hagioelita		3	1?	0			
9	Methodios pat CP	pat/m	6	1	2	?		Y
9	Metrophanes ep Smyrna	bp	2	0	0	N	Y	
9	Michael Studites mon	mon	4	1	0	?	Y	
9	Michael Synkellos mon	mon	8	0	0	N		Y
9?	Nikephoros mon Blachernai	mon	2	1	0	?		
9?	Niketas Philosophos (Akominatos)		2	0	0	N		
9	Photios pat CP	pat	10	0	2	N		Y
9	Sabas mon	mon	3	3	0	?		
9	Theodore of Studion	mon	19	6	1	Y	Y	Y
10	Arethas ep Caesarea	bp	3	1	0	Y	N	
10	Constantine VII imp	lay	3	0	0	N	N	
10	Euthymios pat CP	pat/m	3	0	1	N	N	Y
10?	John ep Sardis	bp	2	0	1	N		
10	John Geometra	mon	3	0	0	N	N	
10	Leo VI imp	imp	10	0	0	N	?	
10	Niketas David Paphlagon	lay?	36	2?	2	?	?	
10	Peter ep Argos	bp	5	1	2	?	?	Y
10	Theodore Daphnopates	lay	4(5)	1(2)	0	Y	?	
10	Symeon Metaphrastes	lay?	150	9?	19	?	?	Y
11?	Gregory mon.	mon	2	1	0			

(Table A5 -- Continued)

Cent	Hagiographer	Status	No. of vitae	Byzant. subj.	Female subj.	Knew subj.	Loc	St
11	John Mauropous ep Euchaïta	bp/m	8	0	1	N	Y	
11	John VIII Xiphilinos pat CP	pat/m	4	0	0	N	?	
11	Michael Psellos	lay/m	10	2	1	?	?	
11	Nikephoros Ouranos	lay	2	2	0	N	?	
11?	Nilos mon Italogrec	mon	2	2	0	?	?	
11	Paul Evergetinus	mon	4	0	0	N		
11	Theophanes mon	mon	2	2	0	?		
12	Zustathios ep Thess	bp	5	1?	0		Y	
12	John Zonaras	mon	4	0	1	N	?	
12	Michael Glykas	lay	3	0	0	N	?	
12	Niketas ep Thess	bp	3	0	0	N	Y	
12	Theodore Prodromos	lay/m	7	1	1	N	?	
12?	Philip Keramios (same as next?)	cle	4	1	0	?	?	
12	Theophanes Philagathos Keramios, pred. cathedral of Rossano	cle/m	17	0	0	N	?	
12	Theophylact ep Ochrida	bp	6	1	0	N	Y	
13	George Acropolites	lay	2	1	0	Y		
13	George/Gregory II pat CP	pat	6	2?	1			
13	Germanos II pat CP	pat/m	3	0	0	N	N	
13	John Staurakios		3	2	2	?		
13	Maximos Planudes	mon	2	0	0	N		
13	Michael Choniates ep Athens	bp	2	0	0	N		?
13	Neophytos the Recluse	mon	28	3?	1	?	Y	Y
13?	Theodosios mon CP	mon	2	2	0	N		
14	Constantine Acropolites	lay	29	5?	6			
14	Demetrios Kydones	lay	2	0	0	N		
14	Gregory Palamas ep Thess	bp/m	7	1	1		Y	Y
14	Isidore Glabas ep Thess	bp/m	3	0	0	N	Y	
14	John XIII Glykys pat CP	pat/m	4	0	0	N	N	
14	Joseph Kalothetos	mon	4	3	0	N		
14	Kallistos I pat CP	pat/m	4	2	0	Y		
14	Makarios Chrysokephalos ep Philadelphia	bp/m	4	1	0	N	Y	
14	Makarios Choumnos	mon	4	1	0	N	Y	
14	Manuel Philes	lay	8	0	0	N	?	
14	Nicholas Kabasilas	mon?	5	1	1	N	Y	Y
14	Nikephoras Gregoras	lay/m	11	1	2	Y	?	
14	Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos	cle/m	8	1	4	N	?	
14	Nilos Kerameus pat CP	pat/m	2	1	0	N		
14	Philotheos Kokkinos pat CP	pat/m	16	5	2	Y	Y	Y
14	Philotheos ep Selymbria	bp/m	4	1	0	?	Y	
14	Theodore Hyrtakenus	lay	3	0	1	N	?	
14	Theodore Metochites	lay/m	7	1	2	?	?	
14	Theodulos Magister, mon	mon	2	0	0	N	N	
15	Bessarion ep Nicea	bp/m	2	0	0	N	N	
15	Demetrios Chrysoloras	lay	2	0	0	N		
15	Gabriel ep Thess	bp	3	0	0	N	Y	?
15	Gennadios Scholarios pat CP	pat/m	8	2?	0	Y		
15	John Eugenikos	cle	3	1	0	Y	N	
15	Makarios Makres ab Pantokrator	mon	4	1	1	?	Y	Y

(Table A5 -- Continued)

Cent	Hagiographer	Status	No. of vitae	Byzant. subj.	Female subj.	Knew subj.	Loc	St
15	Manuel II Palaiologos imp	lay/m	5	0	2	N	Y	
15	Mark Eugenikos ep Ephesus	bp/m	3	1	0	N	N	Y
15	Nilus ep Rhodes	bp	3	1	1	N	?	

*Source:* BHG; ODB; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Old Wine in New Bottles: the Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 15-26.

*Notes:*

Table A5 supplements the discussion of hagiographers in Chapter III and Table 3.6.

"Status" Codes

bp - bishop

pat - patriarch

mon - monastic

cle - other clergy

lay - lay person

"/m" following any status indicates that at some stage the hagiographer was a monk.

## D Physical Remains of the Cult of Saints: Sanctuaries

Records of dedications of churches and monasteries survive, both for those that are archeological survivals, and in greater number for buildings that are now no longer standing. Table A6 Dedications of Churches, Chapels and Monasteries (with Table A7 as a supplement), uses one of the best sources of information we have about the cult of saints in Byzantium, a source with some indication of how a cult developed over time. A number of major efforts have been undertaken to record and sort this information. Raymond Janin has done the most important work in his two volumes of *La géographie ecclésiastique de L'Empire byzantin*.<sup>44</sup> George Majeska also made heroic efforts, often cross-referenced with Janin, to identify and date the Constantinopolitan sanctuaries visited by the Russian pilgrims of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Anthony Bryer and David Winfield have compiled comparative data from the Pontic region. Good lists of church dedications are also available for a number of other cities, specifically Thessalonica, the second largest city of the empire for much of its later history, and Mistra, the center of an artistic and cultural revival in the Palaiologan period.<sup>45</sup>

The significance of the data in assessing the popularity of individual saints derives from the lack of centralized control over the naming of churches. Janin comments:

We have been able to retrieve the names of about 500 churches. In contrast, it is impossible to give those of numerous monasteries that are only

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<sup>44</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 439, points out that while Janin's work is the most ambitious and most extensive effort to document sanctuaries in Constantinople and is thus essential, he is often inexact and sometimes simply wrong in details. For the purposes of examining locations of saint-dedicated sanctuaries, it is clearly unfeasible to reexamine the details of each of Janin's entries. His inaccuracies – usually to do with location, sometimes to do with dating and occasionally to do with misidentification of monuments – are not such as to distort seriously the general inferences that can be made from a table such as this.

<sup>45</sup> See list of sources at end of Table A6.

known by the name of their founder or by that of the quarter in which they are found.

The names are a reflection of popular devotion which little occupies itself with the glories of the Church in order to satisfy its special tastes. One finds only one church in honor of St. Gregory of Nazianzos who restored Orthodoxy in the Capital in 379, one in honor of St. John Chrysostom, the greatest bishop of Constantinople, one oratory (ninth century) and a monastery (tenth century) under the invocation of St. Basil, and that is all for the great doctors of the Church. By contrast, the saints are honored for whom their lives are more or less legendary, above all the martyrs. The Theotokos is particularly cherished in the piety of the Byzantines who made her their protector; she possessed more than 120 churches, chapels and monasteries, while Christ had only thirty, to which it is necessary to add Hagia Sophia. Seven are under the name of the Holy Trinity, nine under the name "incorporals," that is the angels; St. Michael had twenty-four, St. Gabriel five. The apostles together had five, but St. John the Theologian had eight, St. Paul six, St. Andrew seven, St. Thomas five, St. Peter three, and five in common with St. Paul. Among the other saints the Prodromos (St. John the Baptist) comes in at the top with thirty-five sanctuaries; St. Nicholas of Myra had twenty eight, the deacon Stephen thirteen, the military saints (St. Theodore sixteen, Saint Demetrios ten, Saint George nine, the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia eight,) St. Panteleemon nine, St. Tryphon seven, St. Christopher six, SS. Kosmas and Damian, called the anargyroi, six, St. Anne seven, St. Anastasia eight, St. Euphemia five, etc. It does not seem that there was a regulation of the choice of names. It was without doubt left to the will of the founders.<sup>46</sup>

The table, after recording basic identification data about a saint (*name, feast day, martyr status, gender, century of saint's death*) indicates if a church or monastery dedicated to the saint is recorded in each location. In some cases it is not possible to identify which saint, of many with a given name, is meant: this is indicated by the word "unspecified." In other cases, the identification is far from certain. The number of documents recorded as referring to the saint in question in BHG is given to provide a different indicator of the extent of a saint's cult. Each sanctuary is given a letter indicating the order in which it is listed in the sources used to construct this table. Where available, the date of the construction of the church is given. Where this chronological

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<sup>46</sup> Janin, *EglisesCP*, 15 [my translation].

data is considered firm (or fairly firm) by the compiler of the sources used, the century of construction is given in plain text, but where it is insecure (for instance based on a first mention in some tangential document) it is italicized. In a few cases, where the dates of construction and disappearance are known, this is indicated. For Constantinople, where there were far more sanctuaries than in any other city and more information survives, a separate column gives the total number of sanctuaries dedicated to each saint. For example, "c13C" indicates the third church for the named saint indicated in the source, a church that was built in the thirteenth century: "*c13C*" indicates that the first mention was in the thirteenth century. Often, however, no information is available for chronology, a situation indicated by "?" In the case of Constantinople, the most frequently used documentary sources for the existence of sanctuaries are the various *synaxaria*: these date from the tenth century and later, but as composite documents themselves, they give no secure chronological indication about construction, and such sanctuaries have been designated with a "?" also. With some sources, for instance Maltezou on Kythira, no data as to the construction dates of sanctuaries are given, and in such cases, only the raw number of sanctuaries named for a saint is noted.

No attempt has been made to sequence the times of construction of the myriad churches dedicated to Christ or the Virgin Mary, and the numbers under their names indicate sanctuaries built under any of their titles. No distinction is made in this table with respect to the relative importance or size of a church, as not enough data are available. Finally, no distinctions are made here between monastic structures and secular churches.



**Table A6**  
**Dedications of Churches, Chapels and Monasteries**

Name	<i>Data on saint</i>				<i>Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations</i>											
	Feast	M	G	C	BHG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka	
Christ (name, feast, cross)			m	1	100+	* (total only =) (pp. 503-539)	31	8	5	3	14		3	8	3	
Holy Trinity						* (pp.487-488)	7	a?		3	10					
Mary (name, feast)			f	1	355	* (pp 156-244)	136	26	6	15	23	a6C'	7	Cathedral +9	Soumela +7	
Aberkios	10/22	Y	m	2	4	a12C'	1									
Adrian & Nathalie	08/26	Y	b	4	5	a4C'	1									
Agatha	02/05	y	f	3	8	9-13C?	1									
Agathoklia of Athens	09/17	y	f	1	0					a? <sup>1</sup>						
Agathonikos	08/23	y	m	4	7	a4C, b?, c?	3									
Agnes	01/21	y	f	4	2	5C'	1?									
Aimilianos	07/18	y	m	4	3	a9C'	1									
Akakios	05/08	y	m	4	1	a6C, b4-13C'	2									
Akindynos	11/02	y	m	4	4	a?, b14C'	2							a12c		
Akylina	06/13	y	f	4	0	a6C'	1									
Alexander	10/22	y	m	?	0	a?	1									
Alexios <i>Homo Dei</i>	03/17	n	m	5	30	a11C'	1									
Alypios the Stylite	11/26	n	m	7	4	a?	1									
Alphios	09/28	y	m	4	1	a?	1	a?								
All Saints						a10-15C, b?, c9C'	3			a13C'	3					
Ananias the Apostle	10/01	y	m	1	5	a13C'	1					a?				
Anastasia Pharmakolytria	12/22	y	f	4	10	a14C, b4C, c15C, d10C, e12C'	5	a?								
Anastasia the Roman	08/29	y	f	4	6	a?	1?									
Anastasios the Persian	01/22	y	m	7	9	a7C'	1									
Andrew Salos	05/28	n	m	5	14	a15C'	1									
Andrew the Apostle	11/30	y	m	1	33	a7C, b?, c8C, d6C, e?, f?, g?	7	a?		a10C?	2	a13C'		a?, b?		
Andrew Stratelates	08/19	y	m	4	4	a	1?									

<sup>1</sup> Janin, sv. notes moderns often mistake this church for St. Thekla.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint				Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations										
	Feast	M	G	C	BIIG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka
Anna, mother of Mary	09/09	n	f	1	9	a6c, b9C, c13C, 7 d10C, e?, f?, g13c'					1			a7-9C	a?
Antipas of Pergamon	04/11	y	m	1	4	a9C'	1								
Anthimos	09/03	y	m	4	6	a6C, b9C'	2								
Anthony abbot	01/17	n	m	4	9	a12C'	1?				3				
Anthousa	08/22	y	f	3	3	a?	1								
Anina	08/09	y	m	8	0	a9C	1								
Anysia of Thessalonica Apostles	12/30	y	m	4	4			a?							
		y	m	1	56	a4C, b4C, c?, d4C, e6C'	5	a11C, b? c13C <sup>2</sup>		a?, b?, c? <sup>3</sup>			a8C'		
Archippos & Philemon	02/20	y	m	1	2	a?	1								
Arsenius PatCP	09/30	n	m	14	0	a14C'	1								
Athanasios (unspecified)				m				a14C, b? c?			2				
Athanasios of Athos	05/05	n	m	10	9				a10C						
Athanasios PatCP	10/24	n	m	14	5	a14-15C'	1								
Athenogenes	07/17	m	m	4	2	a9C?, b12C'	2								
Auxentios	02/14	n	m	5	7									a14C	
Babylas	09/04	y	m	3	2	a?	1								
Barbara	12/04	y	f	4	19	a13C', b?, c?, d10C	4	a14C'					a	a13C, b?	a?
Baripsabbas	09/10	y	m	?	0	a11C'	1								
Barlaam	11/19	y	m	4	3	a?	1								
Bartholomew the Apostle	06/11	m	m	1	10	a9C'	1		a13C'						
Basil the Great	01/01	n	m	4	8	a10C, b12C'	2						a	a14C	a?
Basiliskos	05/22	y	m	4	2	a?	1	a15C'						a?	
Bassianos	10/10	n	m	5	0	a5-12C'	1								
Benjamin, Benias, Binaios	07/30	y	m	?	0	a?	1								
Blasios of Sebasteia	02/11	y	m	4	7	a?	1							a?	
Boris & Gleb	07/24	y	m	11	0	a13C'	1?								
Charalampos +	09/17	y	m	3	6	a?	1				3				
Chariton	09/09	y	m	?	0	a?	1?								

<sup>2</sup> Janin sv. argues the name is modern, and original name not known.

<sup>3</sup> Janin sv. notes only c is certainly from Byzantine period.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint					Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations									
	Feast	M	G	C	BHG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka
Chione, Agape, Irene of Thessalonica	04/16	y	f	4	1			a7C?							
Christina of Tyre	07/24	y	f	2	4	a12C	1								
Christophoros	05/09	y	m	4	11	a?, b15C, c?, d?	4					a? (&Chariton)		a14C	a?
Constantine the Great	05/21	n	m	4	27	a9C, b9C, c9C, d15C, e?, f9C, g9C, h?, i15C	9				1		a b	a14C, b?	a?, b?
Daniel the Prophet	12/17	n	m	-5	22	a13C	1?								
Daniel the Stylite	12/11	n	m	5	3	a5-12C	1								
David of Thessalonica	06/26	n	m	6	4			a6C <sup>4</sup>							
Demetrios of Thessalonica	10/26	y	m	4	108	* (pp. 88-94)	10	a5C, b16C			6		a	a?	
Demetrios Danax +	05/16	y	m	?	0	a?	1								
Diomedes	08/16	y	m	4	5	a6-14C	1								
Dionysios the Arcopagite	10/05	y	m	1	15					a13C					
Dometios	10/04	y	m	4	4	a6C	1								
Dominika/Domnina	01/08	n	f	4	4	a4C	1								
Domninos +	10/16	y	m	?	0	a?	1								
Eleutherios of Illyricum	12/15	y	m	3	7	a4C?	1							a14C	
Elias (Elijah) the Prophet	07/20	n	m	-5	22	a10C?, b9C, c5C, d9C, e14C	5	a14C, b?		a14C	2		a		a13C
Elissaios (Elisha)	06/14	n	m	-5	3	a?, b9C	1								
Epicharis	09/27	y	f	4	2	a?	1								
Epiphanius of Salamis	05/12	n	m	4	9	a?	1								
Eudokimos	07/31	n	m	9	3?	a10-15C	1								
Eudoxios	09/06	y	m	4	1	a13C	1?								
Eugenios of Trebizond	01/20	y	m	4	8									a6-9C, b?	a13-14C, b?
Eulampios & Eulampia	10/10	y	b	4	2	a?	1								
Eulogios			m	?	0	a5C	1								
Euphemia	09/16	y	m	4	16	a6C, b4-15C, c?, d5C, e6C, f9C, (g?, h?)	6 (8)								
Eusebios (unspecified)			m		0	a6C	1								

<sup>4</sup> This is Hosios David, in John Moschos *Spiritual Meadow* BHG 493. The monastery was under the name of SS Theodore and Merkurios.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint				Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations										
	Feast	M	G	C BHG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka	
Eustathios, Theosebios +	11/30	y	m	4	1 a?	1									
Eustathios, Theopiste +	09/20	y	b	2	6 a?	1				a					
Eustratios (unspecified)		y	m	?	0 a?	1							a(early)?		
Euthymios the Great	01/20	y	n	5	9		a13C?, b14C								
Faustos & Basileios	02/06	y	m	?	0 a?	1									
Febronia	06/25	y	f	4	7 a?	1									
Floros & Lauros	08/18	y	m	4	9 a?	1									
Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia	03/09	y	m	4	21 a5C, b12C, c7-12C, d9C, e?, f7C, g9C, h11C	8	a15C, b15C	a10C			a				
Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorium	03/06	y		9	9 a9C	1									
Gabriel	10/16	n		0	2 a?, b9C, c9C, d?, e11C	5									
Galatina			f	?	0 a?	1									
George of Lydda	04/23	y	m	4	87 a?, b?, c15C, d9C, e11C, f6C, g8C, h?, i8C	9	(a4C <sup>5</sup> ) a10C, b13C, c14C, e14C, f18C, g?, h?	a10C, b10C	a12C?, others?	9	10	a14C, b?, c10C, d13C	a?13C?, b14C, c?		
Gerontios <sup>6</sup>	04/12	y	m	?	0 a14C	1									
Gregory (unspecified)			m									a14?	a?		
Gregory of Nazianzos	01/01	n	m	4	26 a4C?, b9C	2?									
Gregory of Neocaesarea	11/17	n	m	3	3									a?	
Gregory of Nyssa	01/10	n	m	4	3							a14C	a6-14C		
Gregory Palamas	11/14	n	m	14	3		a16C								
Helen the Empress	05/21	n	f	4	0 <sup>7</sup> a13C,	1					a, b			a?	
Herais	05/30	y	f	?	0 a12C	1									
Hermaos			m	?	0 a5C	1									
Hermione	09/04	y	f	1	1 a6C	1									

<sup>5</sup> Janin sv. says it was not called St. George in Byzantine period.

<sup>6</sup> Janin sv. thinks this saint is that in the SynaxCP for 04/01 (04/12 in M. Gédeon's work). But BHG NA has a fourteenth century monastic Gerontios of 04/13. Perhaps the Church was named after him?

<sup>7</sup> BHG lists texts about Helen with those about Constantine.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint				Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations										
	Feast	M	G	C BHG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka	
Hesperos & Zoe	05/02	y	b	2	2	a6C, b?	2								
Hilarion		n	m	9	0			a9C?							
Horaiozele	07/26	y	f	1	2	a?	1								
Hyakinthos	07/03	y	m	2	4	a?	1								
Hypatios (unspecified)			m			a?	1								
Ia	08/04	y	f	4	2	a6C, b?, c?	3								
Ignatios of Antioch	12/20	y	m	2	5	a9C	1								
Ignatios	12/07	m	?	?	0	a15C	1								
Irenarchos	11/28	y	m	4	1	a?	1								
Irene of Perama	05/05	y	m	4	8	a5C	1								
Isaiah the Prophet	05/09	n	m	-6	6	a5C	1								
Isidoros of Chios	05/14	y	m	3	6	a6C	1								
James the Lord's Brother	10/23	y	m	1	12	a6C,	1								
James the Sawnasunder	11/27	y	m	5	7	a?, b?, c13C	3								
Jerusalem	09/24	y	b	1	1			a14C? <sup>8</sup>							
John (unspecified)			m							10		a			
John Chrysostom	11/13	n	m	5	74	a9C	1			1				a?	
John of Damascus	14/04	n	m	8	9	a14C	1								
John the Baptist, the Prodromos	08/29	y	m	1	121	*(pp.410-442)	36	a9C, b19C	a14C	a16C, b13C, c12C?	2	a	a14C, b?, c14C,	a?14C?, b13-14C, c? d?	
John the Theologian	05/08	n	m	1	90	*(pp.264-270)	8	a14C		a12C, b12C	1		a13C	a13C	
John the Kalybites,	01/15	n	m	5	9	a5C	1								
Jonah & Barachios	03/31	y	m	4	2	a12C	1								
Julian	11/08	y	m	4	3 <sup>9</sup>	a8C, (b?, c?)	1 (3)								
Julianna	12/21	y	m	4	2	a	1								
Kallinikos	07/29	y	m	?	4	a?, b?, c? (d?)	3 (4)								
Karpos & Papylos	10/13	y	m	3	3	a9-13C	1								
Katharine of Alexandria	11/25	y	f	4	7			a <sup>10</sup>							

<sup>8</sup> Could be another Saint Jerusalem, feast 07/26, 09/04

<sup>9</sup> Janin sv. is not sure whether these are all dedications for the same Julian.

<sup>10</sup> Janin sv. is doubtful that the Church was known by this name in the Byzantine period.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint				Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations										
	Feast	M	G	C BHG	Constant.	C/P No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka	
Klement (unspecified)			m				a13C								
Klement of Ankyra	01/26	y	m	4	6	a?, b9C	2				a?				
Kodratos	05/09	y	m	3	1	a?	1								
Konon	03/05	m	m	1	11	a6-10C	1								
Kornoutos of Iconium	09/12	y	m	?	0	a?	1								
Kosmas and Damian, the Physicians	07/01	y	m	3	79	a6C, b6C, c12C, d9C, e13C, 15C	6	a14C, a10C		a16C, b?, c?11, d13C	3	a		a?	
Kyprian & Justina	10/02	y	m	4	18	a?	1								
Kyriake	07/07	y	f	4	7	a15C <sup>12</sup>	1						a?		
Kyriakos (unspecified)		y	m			a5C	1								
Kyros and John	01/31	y	m	4	16	a12C, b?	2								
Lawrence the Deacon	08/10	m	m	3	10	a6C, b5C	2	a15C <sup>13</sup>							
Lazaros	03/07	y	m	1	17	a9-15C	1								
Lazaros Galesiotes	10/07	n	m	11	3	a14C, b14C	2								
Leo (unspecified)			m							1					
Leonides	04/16	y	m	3	2				a?						
Leontios	06/18	y	m	1	6	a?, b?	2								
Leontios Dometios Terence	10/16	y	m	?	0	a?	1								
Liberal		m	?		0					2					
Longinos the Centurion	10/16	y	m	1	7	a?	1							a?	
Longinos of Arauraka		y	m	?	0							a13C		see above	
Loukianos	10/15	y	m	4	5	a?	1								
Loukillianos +	06/03	y	b	4	6	a?	1								
Luke the Evangelist	10/18	n	m	1	20	a9C	1	a9C		a13C					
Maccabees	08/01	y	m	-3	10	a12C, b7C	2								
Mamas	09/02	y	m	3	13	a5C, b?, c7C	3						a?		
Mamelchtha	10/05	y	m	?	1	a?	1								
Manouel Sabel Ismael	06/17	y	m	4	4	a4C	1								
Margaret (unspecified)			f										a14C		
Marina of Antioch	07/17	y	tv	3	16			a?		a?	1	a b	a?		
Mark the Evangelist	04/25	y	m	1	11	a5C	1	a6C							

<sup>11</sup> Janin sv. notes this is a former Asklepiou!

<sup>12</sup> Assuming the church and the BHG texts refer to the same Kyriake.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint					Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations									
	Feast	M	G	C	BHG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka
Martha, Mary +3	06/06	y	m	?	0	a?									
Martyrios & Markianos	10/25	?	m	4	4	a4C	1								
Matrona of Thessalonica	03/27	y	m	4	0			a4C, b7C							
Maura	05/03	y	f	1	2	a6C	1								
Menas of Cotyaeum	11/11	y	m	4	32	a5-12C, b?	2	a9C			1				
Menas & Menaios	08/01	y	m	?	0	a6C, b?	2								
Menodora +2	09/10	y	f	4	3	a14C	1								
Merkurios	11/25	y	m	3	5			a?							
Methodios PatCP	06/14	n	m	9		a9C	1								
Melitene	09/16	y	f	2		a?	1								
Metrophanes	06/04	n	m	4	2	a?	1								
Michael Archangel	09/06	n		0	31	* (pp337-350)	24	a9C		a13C,	2		a		
Mokios	05/11	y	m	4	6	a4-14C	1								
Nazarios	10/14	y	m	1	4	a9C	1								
Nestor of Thessalonica	10/27	y	m	4	3			a?							
Nicholas of Myra	12/06	n	m	4	95	* (pp.368-377)	28	a12C, b17C, c12C, d14C, e15C, f?	a14C	a13C, b13c, c13C, d13C, e11C	5		a13C	a15C, b?	a?
Niketas	09/15	y	m	4	12										
Niketas Gothos	09/15	y	m	4	3	a?	1								
Niketas the Confessor	04/03	n	m	9	4	a9C	1								
Nikodemos		n	m	14	1			a14C							
Nilos of Ancyra	11/12	n	m	5	1							a5C			
Olympias the Deaconess	07/24	n	f	5	3	a5-6C	1								
Onesimos	02/15		m	1	5	a10C, b?	2								
Panteleemon	07/27	y	m	4	19	a15C, b9C, c12C, d?, e?, f?, g9C?, h?, g11C	9	a? <sup>14</sup>	a13C		a		a, b		
Paramonos	11/27	y	m	?	1			a13C <sup>15</sup>							
Parthenios of Lampsakos	02/07		m	4	4	a?	1								

<sup>13</sup> Janin sv. thinks the group, and hence the church, is merely a result of a copyist's error.

<sup>14</sup> Janin sv. notes the name is from after the Greek recovery of Thessalonica from the Turks.

<sup>15</sup> It is not certain that the St. Paramonos who may have had a church dedication in Thessalonica is the same with a text in BHG.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint				Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations										
	Feast	M	G	C	BIIG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka
Paraskeve	07/26	y	f	2	19	a10C, b?	2	a15C					a	a13-14C?	
Paul the Apostle	06/29	y	m	1	49	a9C, b14C, c15C	3	a15C							
Paul the Confessor	11/06	n	m	4	6	a4-13C	1	a9C?							
Pelagia of Tarsus	05/04	y	f	4	1	a?, b?	2	a13C?							
Peter & Paul	06/29	y	f	1	28	a?, b6-14C, c5C, d4C, e?	5	a15C	a11C						
Peter & Mark		y	m	1		a5C	1								
Peter the Apostle	06/29	y	m	1	29	a9C, b?, c11C	3							a11C	
Petronios	09/04	y	m	?	0	a?	1?								
Philemon of Gaza	11/22	y	m	1	1	a4C, b?	2								
Philemon & Apollonios	12/14	y	m	4	4	a?	1?								
Philip the Apostle	10/11		m	1	23	a6C	1		a?					a1282-	
Phokas the wonderworker	07/22	y	m	1	11	a?, b10C, c9C	3								
Photeine	02/26	y	f	1	7	a?, b12C	2	a14C							
Photeinos (unspecified)			m		0	a10C	1								
Photios & Aniketos	08/12	y	m	4	7	a?	1								
Photis		y	f	1	0			a14C							
Pionios of Smyrna	03/11	y	m	3	2	a?	1								
Plato of Ancyra	11/18	y	m	4	4	a6C	1				a5C <sup>16</sup>				
Polyeuktos	01/09	y	m	3	8	a6-13C, b?	2								
Polykarp of Smyrna	02/23	y	m	2	12	a16C	1?						a		
Pompeianos, Galaktion +		y	b	?	0	a?	1								
Priskos & Nicholas	09/22		m	?	0	a6C	1								
Probos & Tarachos & Andronikos	10/12	y	m	4	4	a?, b?	2								
Prokla, wife of Pilate	10/27	n	f	1	0	a?	1								
Prokopios of Caesarea	07/08	y	m	4	16	a6C, b7C, c?, d4c?	4								
Prokopios of Scythopolis	11/22	y	m	4	16									a13C	
Romanos of Antioch	11/18	y	m	4	0	a9-13C	1								
Sabas	12/05	n	m	6	8	a?	1?							a15C	a?
Samouel the Prophet	08/20	n	m	-9	1	a5C	1								

<sup>16</sup> See Foss, 34-35. Plato's cult spread to Constantinople by the sixth century. He also had a brother, Antiochos, also a martyr with a local cult, but no recorded church. Other saints are associated with Ankyra in literature, but without physical evidence: Eustathios, Theodotos and the seven virgins, and Socrates, but Foss (note 28) regards all these as legends.



(Table A6 -- Continued)

Name	Data on saint				Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations										
	Feast	M	G	C	BHG	Constant.	CP No	Thess.	Athos	Athens	Kythira	Ankyra	Smyrna	Trebizond	Matzouka
Sampson	01/27	n	m	6	4	a15C <sup>17</sup>	1								
Sergios	10/07	y	m	4	3	a6C, b?, c6C,	3								
Simon (unspecified)			m						a14C						
Sozon	09/07	y	m	4	2	a?	1	a9C'							
Spyridon	12/12	n	m	4	9										
Stephen protomartyr	12/26	y	m	1	39	*(pp.472-478)	12	a9C'		a9C					
Stephen of Constantinople	11/28	y	m	8	4	a8C	1								
Stratonikos (unspecified)			m			a12C	1								
Susannah	09/19	y	f	4	2	a10C	1								
Symeon (unspecified)			m			a?	1								
Symeon the Stylite	09/01	n	m	5	22	a5C	1								
Tarasios	02/25	n	m	9	3	a9C	1								
Taxiarchoi (Michael and Gabriel)	11/08	n		0	9	a9C, b14C	2	a? <sup>18</sup>	a10C	a?, b?, c11c?			a?	a14C?, b?	
Terentios Bikentios	12/11	y	m	?	0	a?	1								
Aimilianos															
Thalelaios	05/20	y	m	3	3	a?	1								
Thalelaios & Artemidoros	09/20	y	m	?	0	a?	1								
Thekla	09/24	y	m	1	18	a11-20C, b6C, c5C	3								
Theodora (unspecified)			f			a6C	1								
Theodora of Thessalonica	08/29	n	f	9	5			a14C <sup>19</sup>							
Theodore (unspecified)			m			*	15	a?, b14C		a11C, b18C	2		a, b, c		
Theodore Stratelates	02/08	y	m	4	14									a?, b?	a?, b?
Theodore Tiron	02/17	y	m	4	41									see above	
Theodore Gabras	10/02	y	m	11	1									a12-14C	a?
Theodosia	01/19	y	f	8	5	a14C	1								
Theodosios	06/11	n	m	6	4	a?	1?								
Theodota	12/22	y	f	4	10	a? (same st?)	1								
Theodoulos (unspecified)			m			a14C	1								

<sup>17</sup> Assuming the church is dedicated to Sampson "anargyros" of 01/27 or 06/27.

<sup>18</sup> Janin sv. notes another case in which the name may be post-Byzantine.

<sup>19</sup> Janin sv. notes in ninth century it was under name of St. Stephen the Deacon, and only becomes known as that of St. Theodora in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

(Table A6 -- Continued)

	<i>Data on saint</i>			<i>Sanctuaries dedicated to saint in specific locations</i>			
Theophano the Empress	12/06	n f	9	3	a9C, b9C	2	
Theophylakt of Nikomedia	03/08	y m	8	2	a10-14C	1	a11C
Therapon	05/14	y m	7	2	a?	1	
Thomas the Apostle	10/06	? m	1	69	a6C, b?, c4C	3	a13C
Thomas & Anthusa	02/22	? b	?	0	a?	1?	
Three Hierarchs	01/30	n m		16	a13C	1	2
Thyrsos	01/20	y m	3	3	a4C, b6C, c6C, d5C	4	
Timothy the Apostle	01/22	y m	1	5	a6C	1	
Timothy of Broussa	06/10	y m	4	1	a?	1	
Tryphon	02/01	y m	3	13	a6C, b6C, c?, d?, e?, f6C, g7C	7	a
Victor of Marseilles	07/29	y m	3	0	a14C	1	
(Victor &) Vincent of Saragassa	11/11	y m	4	4	a?, b6C	2	
Zacharias the prophet	05/16	n m	-5	5	a?, b?	2	a9C??
Zacharias, pat John Bap	09/05	n m	1	9	a5C, b?	2	
Zenais <sup>20</sup>	06/06	y f	1	1	a?	1	a14c
Zenobios	10/20	y m	2	4	a5C	1	
Zoe (unspecified)		f			a?		
Zoe (wife Leo VI)		n f	9	0	a9C	1	
Zotikos	12/31	? m	4	2	a14C	1	

<sup>20</sup> Janin sv. indicates that there may more than one St. Zenais

*Source:*

**Ancyra:** Clive Foss. "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara." *DOP* 41 (1987). 29-87. repr. in Clive Foss. *History and Archeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), VI.

**Athens:** Raymond Janin. *La géographie ecclésiastique de L'Empire byzantin*. Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Paris: L'Institut Français d'études byzantines/CNRS, 1975).

**Athos:** There are currently twenty major monasteries on Mt. Athos. Each of these has both a dedication and multiple chapels, subsidiary churches, and *sketes* – for the most part named after saints. The pattern of names used for chapels is similar to the general pattern and it is the data for the main houses that are included above. For instance, the major monastery of Vatopedi, dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin, has various appendages dedicated to: the Holy Trinity, the Virgin's Belt (Zoni), the Virgin Paramythia, All Saints, Nicholas, Demetrios (2), George, Andrew (2), John the Baptist (Prodromos), the Anargyroi (Komos and Damian), Modestos, and so on.

**Constantinople:** Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de L'Empire byzantin*, première partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, Tome III, Les églises et les monastères, 2d ed. (Paris: L'Institut Français d'études byzantines/CNRS, 1969); George P. Majeska, P., *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984).

**Kythira:** Chryssa Maltezo. "A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Island of Kithira during the Venetian Occupation," in *Charanis Studies*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 151-175.

Using a wide variety of documents Maltezo tried to document population and settlement patterns in Kythira, a Greek island which was ruled by Venice from 1204. She compiled specific information on the names of churches throughout the island. Some of her data was post-Byzantine, for instance eighteenth century census information, and she gives no indication of the date of the churches, nevertheless the naming patterns fit into a recognizable pattern.

**Smyrna:** Hélène Ahrweiler. "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIIIe siècle," *Travaux et mémoires* I (1965): 1-104. [esp. pp. 91-100]

Ahrweiler compiles a list of monasteries with their dedications. These must only have accounted for a limited percentage of all the sanctuaries in the region, although her list extends beyond just convents, to include churches they possessed, and toponymic data on sanctuary dedications.

**Thessalonica:** Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de L'Empire byzantin*, Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Paris: L'Institut Français d'études byzantines/CNRS, 1975).

**Trebizond and Matzouka:** Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols. (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985).

Trebizond, a city on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, was an ancient port that became the center of the Greek Empire of the Grand Komnenoi in the thirteenth century. Its most populous inland valley is known as the Matzouka. Bryer and Winfield compiled archeological data, site reports and information from historical documents and post-Byzantine travelers into an account of the churches and other monuments of the region. The area retained a largely Greek population until earlier this century. Excluded from the table above are churches clearly known to have been post-Byzantine, but in many cases all that remains is a name and a location, in which case I have recorded the name.

*Notes:*

Table A6 supplements Table 2.3.

**Table A7**  
**Dedications of Churches, Chapels and Monasteries (Smaller Localities)**

The names of churches in several cities are known, but cannot be added into the previous table without it becoming unwieldy. In general the patterns do not differ from those apparent above -- many churches dedicated to the Virgin, some dedicated to Christ, some to the "great saints" with widespread cults, and others to local martyrs or monastic founders. Here only named sanctuaries are indicated, not monasteries known by location or founder only.

City	Names of Sanctuaries (underlined = saint not in Table A5)
Chalcedon: city	Euphemia, Bassa, George
Chalcedon -Propontic coast	Theotokos (3), Elias, John Chrysostom, Peter and Paul, Michael (3), Sergios and Bacchos, Hypatios, <u>Nicholas Mystikos</u> , Auxentios, Stephen, Holy Apostles, Andrew, Tryphon, Demetrios, <u>Glykeria</u> , Christopher, Zacharias, Constantine
Kyzikos	George (2), Theotokos (3), <u>Kornelios</u> , Constantine, Holy Martyrs, Michael, Peter, <u>Porphyros: Proikonesos</u> ; Anne, George, <u>Hermolaos</u> , Theotokos, Timothy, Prokopios, Tryphon
Nikomedia	Anthimos of Nikomedia, Apostles, Michael (3), <u>Autonomos</u> , George (3), Diomedes, Dionysios, Eleutherios, Elias, <u>Herakleios</u> , Theodore (2), Theotokos (8), John the Theologian, Kosmas and Damian, Loukianos, Menodora +2, Nicholas, Panteleemon, <u>Photios</u> , Photios and Aniketos of Nikomedia, Christopher
Nikaia	Anthony, Michael (2), George, Theotokos (2), <u>Klement</u> , <u>Michael Maleinos</u> , <u>Neophytos of Nicea</u> , <u>Paschasios</u> , Holy Fathers, Tryphon, Hyakinthos
Mt. Olympos (Bithynia)	Aberkios, <u>Agapios</u> , Athenogenes, Andrew, Anne, Apostles, George, <u>Gregory of Paschana</u> , Eustratios, Eustathios, Zacharias, Elias, Theotokos (8), Thyrsos, John evan., <u>Kerykos</u> , Kosmas, Michael, Nicholas, Panteleemon, John the Baptist, <u>Sergios of Medikion</u> , Taxiarchs
Mistra	Demetrios, Christopher, Nicholas, George, SS. Theodores, Theotokos (4 - Evangelistra, Peribleptos, Pantanassa, Hodegetria), Christ (1)

*Source: Janin, EglisesGC (Chalcedon: city, Propontic coast; Kyzikos; Nikomedia; Nicea; Mt. Olympos); Steven Runciman, Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) (Mistra).*

*Notes:*

Table A7 supplements Table 2.3.

## **E Physical Remains of the Cult of Saints: Relics**

Relics reflect the bodily aspect of the cult of saints. We have a great deal of data about the location and veneration of relics in Byzantium but there are major gaps. The tables below draw from two data streams. Accounts by Russian pilgrims in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enabled George Majeska, in *Russian Travelers*, to reconstruct in depth the distribution and function of relics in late Byzantine Constantinople (Table A8). The Russian travelers' reports do not allow much insight into the cult of relics outside Constantinople, but we can penetrate further by consideration of the data collected by Otto Meinardus on the modern distribution of relics in the Greek world. Meinardus' figures show continuity in the cults of major saints, but also, when compared with Byzantine sources, the emergence of substantial new cults (Table A9). Consideration of relics indicates that thaumaturgy was a major aspect of the popular cult: relics of saints with specific powers achieved the greatest distribution, whereas many saints who were notable in documentary terms had little impact on the cult of relics. In some cases, however, raw figures are misleading, as for instance with Spyridon, where the main relic of the saint was a well-known and complete corpse around which there was an extensive cult (Table A10). Both Majeska's and Meinardus' studies show that the cults of Byzantine era saints functioned within the pattern established by the larger cults -- the cults of many newer saints also focused on relics (Table A8 and Table A11).

Table A8

## Relics in Constantinople (14th and 15th Centuries)

Church	Date of Construction	Relics Held in the Church
Hagia Sophia [=Christ]	4C, rebuilt 537	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics of passion [robe, sponge, spear] [on Thursday of Holy Week]</li> <li>• The True Cross</li> <li>• Stone on which Jesus sat at the Well [ref. <b>St. Photaine?</b>]</li> <li>• Table of Mamre</li> <li>• Icon of Mary which spoke to <b>Mary of Egypt</b></li> <li>• Chains of St. Paul (or Peter)</li> <li>• Tomb/column of Gregory the Wonderworker [of Neocaesarea] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-column "weeps" and people rub on it for cures</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Tomb of John Chrysostom [at high altar] + staff</li> <li>• Tomb of <i>Patriarch Arsenios</i> - incorrupt body - gave off holy oil</li> <li>• Iron pallet on which martyrs [Lawrence, or George and Niketas?] were roasted</li> <li>• Relics of forty martyrs?</li> <li>• Relics of 14,000 Holy Innocents?</li> <li>• tomb of Kyriakos</li> </ul> <p>[Chapels: ded. to Michael, Nicholas]</p>
Holy Apostles	4C, rebuilt 6C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pillar at which Christ was scourged</li> <li>• Column at which Peter wept</li> <li>• Tomb of Gregory Nazianzos [the theologian]</li> <li>• Tomb of John Chrysostom [from 438. after 1390s in Hagia Sophia?] -[or bodies of Gregory and John both taken to Rome in 13C]</li> <li>• Body of St. Polyeuktos [from 1090s?]</li> <li>• Body of St. Spyridon [used to be in the Hodegetria, later in Pammakaristos (1565), now in Corfu]</li> <li>• Tomb of Emperor Constantine and <b>Empress Helen</b> -[Helen's body stolen and taken to Venice in 13C]</li> <li>• Tombs of most emperors before 1028</li> <li>• [Before 1204 bodies of Andrew, Luke, Timothy. Under altar head of St. Matthew (now in Chartres)]</li> </ul>
New Church [of the Angels] ded. St. Michael	870s	[many relics bef. 1200, none in 14C]
Euphemia	7C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tomb of <b>Euphemia of Chalcedon</b> [body brought 626] [Body had chosen Orthodoxy at council of 451] [Body thrown into sea by Iconoclasts, restored, miraculously, in 8th century, but by 1200 it was out of city]. The body exuded blood. Head still there in 14th century.</li> <li>• Body of St. Michael of Chalcedon?</li> </ul>

(Table A8 -- Continued)

Church	Date of Construction	Relics Held in the Church
Sergios & Bacchos	6C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Heads of Sergios and Bacchos [bef and after 1200] [Sergios head now claimed by mon. Simonopetras on Athos]</li> <li>• Blood of Sergios [in 1200]</li> <li>• Blood of Epimachos [in 1200]</li> </ul>
Demetrios, mon	12C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tomb of <i>John IV Laskaris?</i> [13C boy emperor saint]</li> </ul>
Athanasios, mon	13C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics of Athanasios' body [the patriarch of 1289-93, 1303-09]</li> </ul>
Peribleptos mon [=Mary]	11C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Right hand of John the Baptist [which baptized Christ]</li> <li>• Head and beard of John the Baptist [head also in West]</li> <li>• Head of Gregory of Nazianzos</li> <li>• Head of <b>Tatiana</b></li> <li>• Relics of Symeon the receiver of the Lord</li> <li>• Body of <i>Gregory the Priest, of Nicomedia</i> [d. 1240 - not a martyr, although Ignatios of Smolensk says so]</li> <li>• Skull of <i>Stephen the Younger</i> [8th cent. iconodule martyr] -subject of a special procession in C'ple each year</li> <li>• Relics of Nicholas [which one?]</li> <li>• Head of James the Apostle?</li> <li>• Bodies of Holy Innocents</li> </ul>
Povasil'jas mon	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of <b>Kalia the Laywoman</b> [no other record of this saint]</li> </ul>
John the Baptist, Studium	5C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of <i>Sabas the Cook</i> [no other record]</li> <li>• Body of <b>Solomnis</b></li> <li>• Body of <i>Euthymios the Patriarch</i> [9C saint or 15C patriarch?]</li> <li>• Myrrh of Demetrios</li> <li>• [Earlier relics before Latins - head of John the Baptist, body of <i>Theodore of Studium</i> [9C], body of <i>Joseph of Thessalonica</i> [9C]</li> </ul>
Anastasia en tois Dominou	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics of <b>Anastasia of Sirmium</b> 12/22</li> </ul>
Pantokrator mon [=Christ]	12C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Slab on which the Lord was laid [brought from Ephesus by Manuel I]</li> <li>• Vessel in which water turned to wine</li> <li>• Head of Floros and Lauros, brothers</li> <li>• Head of James the Persian</li> <li>• Hand of <i>Stephen the Younger</i> [8C iconodule martyr]</li> <li>• Headless body of <i>Michael the monk</i> [Prior of Zobe near Sebastopolis, died c. 780-709 as a martyr to Arabs]</li> </ul>
Constantine mon	9C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of Klement of Ancyra [but head was stolen for Cluny]</li> <li>• Body of <b>Theophano</b> [in a mon. she had founded]</li> </ul>

(Table A8 – Continued)

Church	Date of Construction	Relics Held in the Church
Kecharitomene mon [=Mary]	12C	• Body of <i>John of Damascus</i>
Kyra Martha mon	13C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body/relics of <b>Mary Cleophas</b> (one of myrrh bearing women)</li> <li>• Body of <i>John the Almoner</i> [Supposedly stolen in 13C, but reported by Russian travelers]</li> <li>• Body of <b>Theodosia</b> [iconodule martyr, originally <b>Mary Patricia</b>].</li> </ul> <p>[Kyra (Lady) Martha, sister of Michael VIII Paliologos founded the convent, and its name reflects hers, but she is not a saint.]</p>
Lips mon [=Mary]	10C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of <i>Stephen the Younger</i> [but not a/c Byzantine sources]</li> <li>• Body of a St. Irene [not sure which one]</li> </ul>
Diomedes	6C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Table of last supper?</li> <li>• [Before 1200 had body of Diomedes]</li> </ul>
Andrew in Crisi mon	8C	• Body of <i>Andrew in Crisi</i> [Russians mixed him up with Andrew of Crete, buried either in Lesbos or Convent of Mighty Savior]
Andrew Salos Mon	13C or earlier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of Patrikios [although Synaxis at another mon.]</li> <li>• Body or staff of <i>Andrew Salos</i></li> </ul>
Eudokimos mon	10C?	• Body of Eudokimos
Euphemia	12C	• Body of <b>Euphemia</b> [Majeska suggested "rediscovered" after being lost by iconoclasts, cf. Theodosia and Andrew in Crisi]
ta mikra Romaïou mon [=Mary]	10C?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of <b>Elisabeth of Herakleia</b>, the wonderworker</li> <li>• Body of <b>Thomas of Lesbos</b> [mixed up with Alexandrian saint]</li> </ul>
Pege mon [=Mary]	6C	• Holy spring which cures [holy place rather than relic]
Romanos [later called Daniel]	4C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of prophet Daniel</li> <li>• Body of Romanos [misidentified as Romanos Melodos]</li> <li>• Body of Niketas the Great</li> </ul>
Virgin ta Kyrou [=Mary]	5C	• Miraculous icon [earlier had body of Romanos Melodos, but not mentioned by Russians]
Kosmas and Damian mon	5C	• Heads of Kosmas and Damian, covered in gold



(Table A8 -- Continued)

Church	Date of Construction	Relics Held in the Church
Blachernae [=Mary]	5C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robe and girdle of <b>Mary</b></li> <li>• Body of Patapios [but perhaps at nearby mon. of John Baptist he founded]</li> <li>• Body of <b>Anastasia</b></li> <li>• Relics of Panteleemon</li> </ul>
Nicholas and Priskos	6C?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of Gregory [unclear which one]</li> <li>• Head of Leontios [unclear which one]</li> </ul>
Nicholas in Petra mon	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Relics"</li> </ul>
John the Baptist in Petra	impt. from reign of Alexios I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• From 1390s relics of life of Christ, inc. blood from Crucifixion</li> <li>• Hand of <i>John the Faster [the younger?]</i></li> <li>• Minor relics of John the Baptist</li> <li>• Head of St. Boniface [of Tarsus?]</li> <li>• Relics of Panteleemon [he had relics widely dispersed in Byzantine period: in Hagia Sophia, in Pera, in St. George Mangana, at Cologne and on Athos.]</li> </ul>
Virgin Pammakaristos mon [=Mary]	12C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of Ignatios the God-bearer [of Antioch]</li> <li>• [Bodies of Carpus, Papylus, Trophimos, Philemon, Onesiphoros a/c one traveler, despite Carpus and Papylus having own Martyrion]</li> </ul>
Theodosia [earlier Euphemia?]	9C?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of <b>Theodosia</b> [at least pre 1204] - borne in procession and laid on the sick. Esp popular after her healing of a deaf mute in reign of Andronikos II. Became focus of large festival. Byzantines were confused as to which Theodosia: it was probably the body of an early martyr but assumed to be the body of the iconodule martyr/heroine of the Chalke gate.</li> </ul>
Stephen mon	6C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics of Stephen protomartyr</li> </ul>
Nicholas at Basilike	13C?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics?</li> </ul>
Frankish Church [=Nicholas or Mark]	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics?</li> </ul>
Irene [=Christ]	4C rebuilt 6C	
Virgin Iterapiotica mon [=Mary]	13-14C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of <b>Eudokia</b></li> </ul>
Virgin Hodegetria mon [=Mary]	5C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Icon of Virgin displayed on Tuesdays [takes control of its bearer.]</li> </ul>

(Table A8 -- Continued)

Church	Date of Construction	Relics Held in the Church
George Mangana mon	11C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics of Christ's passion [moved in 14C to John the Baptist at Petra]</li> <li>• Body of <b>Anne</b> [not mother of Mary]</li> <li>• Head of St. Andrew</li> </ul>
Philanthropos [=Christ]	? Impt in Palaiologan period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Healing pool</li> <li>• Body of <b>Aberkios</b> [in 1200 in Hagia Sophia] body laid on the sick each Wednesday and Friday.</li> <li>• Body of Anne the martyr</li> </ul>
Virgin Peremon [=Mary]	13C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• head of John Chrysostom</li> </ul>
Virgin tes Panachrantou mon [=Mary]	11C or earlier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of Basil of Caesarea</li> <li>• Footprints of Paul the Apostle</li> </ul>
Virgin tes Pantanasses Mon [=Mary]	11C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relics of Christ's passion</li> <li>• Robe, blood and hair of the Virgin</li> <li>• Leg of Ignatios the God-bearer [of Antioch]</li> </ul>
Lazaros mon	10C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of Lazaros [the friend of God] in a Column</li> <li>• Body of <b>Martha</b> in a column</li> <li>• Body of <b>Mary Magdalene</b> in a Column</li> <li>• Body of Melitios [of Antioch, or 13C anti Latin?]</li> <li>• Relics of <i>Lazaros of Galesium</i></li> </ul> <p>[the monastery was once restricted to eunuchs]</p>
Kyprian the sorcerer mon	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of Kyprian the sorcerer [of Antioch] [brought from outskirts of city for safe keeping]</li> </ul>
Andrew Salos mon	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Andrew Salos</i> - cures possessed people [but no body - assumed into heaven out of humility]</li> </ul>
?	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of Panteleemon</li> </ul>
Mighty Savior mon [=Christ]		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Body of <i>Andrew of Crete</i> ["discovered" in mid 14C: but also still at original burial site on Lesbos]</li> </ul>
Stephen at Mangana mon	14C ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of Stephen [had been a shrine pre 1204, but not mentioned in Greek sources after.]</li> </ul>
Barbara	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of <b>Barbara</b> [body in Venice.]</li> </ul>

Source: George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984).

*Notes:*

Table A8 supplements the discussion of relics in Chapter II.  
Female saints in **bold**; Byzantine-era saints in *italics*.

Table A9  
Most Popular Saints/Relics [relics  $\geq$  10, arranged by number of relics]

Saint	No. of Relics	Martyr	Gender	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
Charalambos	226	y	m	3	plague, animal ills	6	18	02/10
Panteleemon	173	y	m	4	patron invalids cripples	19	2	07/27
Tryphon	157	y	m	3	protects vines vs rats & caterpillars	13	9	02/01
Paraskeve	148	y	f	2	cures eye disease	19	11	07/26
George of Lydda	112	y	m	4	military saint	87	14	04/23
Kosmas the Physician	76	y	m	3	healer	79	1	07/01
Damian the Physician	71	y	m	3	healer	79	1	07/01
Theodore Stratelates	68	y	m	4	military saint	14	1	02/08
John Chrysostom	66	n	m	5	church father	74	2	11/13
Prokopios of Scythopolis	62	y	m	4	military saint	16	1	11/22
Barbara	60	y	f	4	protects vs. lightning patron gunners'	19	8	12/04
Marina of Antioch	53	y	tv	3		16	2	05/17
Stephen First Martyr	52	y	m	i		39	1	12/26
Andrew the Apostle	50	y	m	1		33	0	11/30
Kyriakos	49	y	m	4	child martyr	9	1	05/24
Basil the Great	46	n	m	4	doctor of church	8	0	01/01
Eleutherios of Ilyricum	46	y	m	3	protects mothers in childbirth	7	7	12/15
John the Baptist	45	y	m	1		100 +	7	08/29
Modestos of Jerusalem	44	n	m	7	protects flocks from disease	7	16	12/26
Theodore Tiron	43	y	m	4	military saint	41	1	02/17
Menas of Cotyaeum	35	y	m	4	protects pilgrims merchants	32	5	11/11
Merkurios	35	y	m	3	military saint	5	1	11/25
James the Sawnasunder	33	y	m	4	military saint	7	0	11/27
Demetrios of Thessalonica	31	y	m	4	patron Thessalonica military saint	100 +	7	10/26
Artemios	30	y	m	4		17	4	10/20
John the Almoner	28	n	m	7	patron hospitallers	9	0	11/12
Gregory of Nazianzos	27	n	m	4	church father	26	0	01/01

(Table A9 -- Continued)

Saint	No. of Relics	Martyr	Gender	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
Mamas	26	y	m	3	patron shepherds	13	0	09/02
Antipas of Pergamon	22	y	m	1		4	3	04/11
Dionysios the Areopagite	22	y	m	1	patron Athens	15	7	10/03
Dismyrii (2000) of Nicomedia	22	y	b	4				12/29
Eustathius	22	y	m	2		6	2	09/20
Ignatios of Antioch	22	y	m	2	bishop Antioch	5	0	12/20
Euthymios the Great	21	y	n	5		9	0	01/20
Anastasia the Roman	20	y	f	4		6	0	08/29
Hermolaus	20	y	m	4	teacher Panteleemon	1	0	07/26
James the Lord's Brother	20	y	m	1		12	3	10/23
Mary Magdalen	20	n	f	1		7	4	07/22
Athanasios the Great	19	n	m	4	doctor of church	8	4	01/18
Iulitta	19	y	m	4	mother of Kyriakos	9	1	07/16
Blasios of Sebasteia	19	y	m	4	throats	7	5	02/11
Michael of Synnada	18	n	m	9	thaumaturge	2	0	05/23
Nicholas of Myra	17	n	m	4	thaumaturge children Greece	95	11	12/06
Philip the Apostle	17	?	m	1	apostle	23	3	10/11
Anastasia Pharmakolytria	15	y	f	4		10	2	12/22
Niketas the Confessor	15	n	m	8	iconodule	4	0	04/03
Polykarp of Smyrna	15	y	m	2		12	4	02/23
Constantine the Great	14	n	m	4	1st Christian emperor	27	3	05/21
Gregory of Neocaesarea	14	n	m	3		3	0	11/17
Luke the Evangelist	14	n	m	1	evangelist	20	4	10/18
Kyriake	13	y	f	4		7	6	05/07
Symeon the Stylite	13	n	m	5		22	0	09/01
Constantine of Hydra	12	y	m	19		0	9	11/14
Parthenios of Lampsakos	12	n	m	4	thaumaturge	4	0	02/07
Stephen of CP	12	y	m	8	iconodule	4	0	11/28

(Table A9 -- Continued)

Saint	No. of Relics	Martyr	Gender	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia	11	y	m	4				03/09
Nestor of Salonika	11	m	m	4		3	0	10/27
Nicholas of Karpenisi	11	y	m	17		0	2	09/23
Photeine	11	y	f	1		7	3	02/26
Anastasius the Persian	10	y	m	7		9	2	01/22
Andrew of Crete	10	n	m	8	writer	5	0	07/04
Barnabas the apostle	10	y	m	1	apostle Cyprus	4	2	06/11
Klement of Ankyra	10	y	m	4		6	3	01/26
Gregory of Nyssa	10	n	m	4	church father	3	0	01/10
Helen the Empress	10	n	f	4	finder Cross	0	1	05/21
Pelagia of Tarsus	10	m	f	4		1	0	05/04
Phokas the Wonderworker	10	m	m	1	patron, sailors at sea, Black Aegean, Adriatic	11	0	09/22
Xene	10	n	f	19	patron of drunks	0	0	01/24
Kyriakos the Recluse	8	6c asc + 5 m	m	6		2	0	09/29

Source: *Saints' Prosopographical Database*; Otto Meinardus, "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," *Oriens Christianus* 54 (1971): 130-78.

*Notes:*

Table A9 supplements the discussion of relics in Chapter II.

**Coding**

**Number of relics** [No. of Relics] calculated by simple counting. All relics recorded, even if duplicates [for instance two places claimed a saint's head, were counted.

**Cultic role**, or special significance of saint, as recorded by Meinardus or in data collected from various sources in *Saints' Prosopographical Database*.

**[BHG]** Number of documents in BHG calculated from number of documents in BHG/BHGNA

**[BAG]** Number of documents in BAG calculated from number of *akolouthias* recorded by Louis Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1926).

**Feast date** [feast] as given by Meinardus, although there are known variations of these dates.

**Table A10**  
**Saints with Significant Vita/Literary Traditions and Few Relics**

Saint	No. of Relics	Martyr	Gender	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
John the Theologian	3	n	m	1		90	2	05/08
Thomas the Apostle	6	?	m	1	apostle	69	1	10/06
Paul the Apostle	2	y	m	1	apostle	49	4	06/29
Michael Archangel	0	n	?	0		31	2	09/06
Alexios Homo Dei	6	n	m	5		30	7	03/17
Peter the Apostle	1	y	m	1	apostle	29	1	06/29
Eusebios of Alexandria	0	n	m	?		28	0	?
Pachomios the Great	3	n	m	4	founder cenobitism	26	0	05/15
Gurianas, Samonas, Abibas	0	y	m	4		24	0	11/15
Onuphrios the Egyptian	5	n	m	5		20	0	12/02
Silvester of Rome	2	n	m	?		18	0	06/12
Thekla	7	y	f	4	apostle	18	0	01/02
Justina	1	y	f	4		18	0	09/24
Kyprian	5	y	m	3		18	0	10/02
Lazaros	1	y	m	?		17	0	?
Euphemia	Body	y	m	1		16	2	03/07
Kyros and John	8	y	m	4	anargyroi	16	0	09/16
John Klimakos	5	n	m	4		16	0	01/31
Mary the Egyptian	0	n	f	7		15	0	03/30
Matthew the Evangelist	6	y	m	?	evangelist	15	0	04/01
Andrew Salos	0	n	m	1		14	2	11/16
Andronikos	(3)	y	m	5		14	1	05/28
Makarios of Egypt	Body +6	n	m	6		14	0	multi
Klement of Rome	0	y	m	4		14	0	01/19
Niketas	0	m	m	?		12	0	11/25
Christopher	7	y	m	4	travelers	12	0	09/15
Mark the Evangelist	5	m	m	4	evangelist	11	1	05/09
Konon	2	m	m	1		11	1	04/25
Makarios Romanos	1	n	m	1		11	0	03/05
Mary	0	n	f	4		11	0	01/19
Bartholemew the Apostle	9	y	m	?	apostle	11	0	10/29
Laurence the Deacon	5	y	m	4		10	3	06/11
Martinianos	1	n	m	3		10	0	08/10
Theodota	0	y	f	?		10	0	02/13
Anna, Mother of Mary	7	n	f	4		10	0	12/22
				1		9	1	07/25

(Table A10 - Continued)

Saint	No. of Relics	Martyr	Gender	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
Epiphanius of Salamis	2	n	m	4		9	1	05/12
John of Damascus	3	n	m	8	writer	9	2	14/04
Maximos the Confessor	1	n	m	7	writer	9	2	09/20
Spyridon	Body +3	n	m	4	patron Corfu	9	36	12/12
Gregory the Illuminator	9	n	m	4	apostle Armenia	8	0	09/30
Sabas	Body +3	n	m	6	monk	8	0	12/05
Katharine of Alexandria	7	y	f	4		7	3	11/25
Ambrose of Milan	7	n	m	4	church father	6	1	12/07
Ephrem of Syria	6	n	m	4	writer	6	1	01/28
Kyril of Alexandria	1	n	m	5	"seal of fathers"	6	3	01/18
Kyril of Jerusalem	4	n	m	4		6	3	03/18
Ananias the Apostle	2	?	m	1	apostle	5	1	10/01
Pataplos of Egypt	3	n	m	?	thaumaturge	5	0	12/08
Paul the Theban	Body +1	n	m	4	first hermit	5	0	01/08
Timothy the Apostle	9	m	m	1	apostle	5	0	01/22
Titus	4	?	m	1	apostle	5	2	08/25
Daniel the Stylite	3	n	m	5		3	0	12/11
Matrona of Perge	7	n	f	6		3	0	11/09
Melania the Younger	3	n	f	5		3	0	12/31
Sergios	5	m	m	4		3	1	10/07
Paphnutius	2	n	m	4		2	0	09/25
Romanos the Melodist	1	n	m	6	writer	2	2	10/01
Synkletike	1	n	f	?		2	0	02/03
Makrina	7	n	f	4		1	0	07/19
Eugenia (TV)	3	y	tv	2		0	0	12/24
Gerasmios of Kephallonia	Body	n	m	16	patron Kephallonia	0	19	10/20
Mariamne	2	n	f	2	apostle	0	0	07/17
Mathias the Apostle	1	y	m	1	apostle	0	0	08/09
Nektarios Kephalas	19	n	m	20		0	0	11/09

Source: *Saints' Prosopographical Database*; Otto Meinardus, "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," *Oriens Christianus* 54 (1971): 130-78.

*Notes:*

Table A10 supplements the discussion of relics in Chapter II.

The table derives from data concerning number of Byzantine documents about saints as recorded in *Saints' Prosopographical Database*, but where fewer than ten relics are recorded by Meinardus.

**Table A11**  
**600-1500 AD Saints with Relics [arranged by century]**

Saint	No.of Relics	Martyr	Gender	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
John the Faster	4	n	m	6		1	0	09/02
Anastasius the Persian	10	y	m	7		9	2	01/22
George of Choziba	1	n	m	7		1	1	01/08
John the Almoner	28	n	m	7	patron hospitalers	9	0	11/12
John Klimakos	5	n	m	7		15	0	03/30
Maximos the Confessor	1	n	m	7	writer	9	2	09/20
Modestos of Jerusalem	44	n	m	7	protects flocks from disease	7	10	12/26
Sophronios of Jerusalem	2	n	m	7		2	0	03/11
Andrew of Crete	10	n	m	8	writer	5	0	07/04
Kosmas the Melodist	3	n	m	8	hymn	4	1	10/14
Germanos I	2	n	m	8	iconodule	2	0	05/12
John of Damascus	3	n	m	8	writer	9	2	14/04
Niketas the Confessor	15	n	m	8	iconodule	4	0	04/03
Philaretos the Merciful	2	n	m	8		3	0	12/01
Stephen of CP	12	m	m	8	iconodule	4	0	11/28
Theodore Graptos	1	n	m	8		3	0	12/27
Theophilos the Confessor	1	m	m	8	iconodule	2	0	10/10
Kyriil, Apostle to Slavs	9	n	m	9		0	0	07/05
Euthymius	2	y	m	9	iconodule	2	2	12/26
Ioannikios the Great	4	n	m	9		4	0	11/04
Joseph the Hymnographer	1	n	m	9	writer	5	1	04/03
Methodios of CP	1	n	m	9	writer	1	0	06/14
Methodios of the Slavs	1	n	m	9	apostle Slavs	0	0	07/07
Michael of Synnada	18	n	m	9	thaumaturge	2	0	05/23
Naum the Wonderworker	1	n	m	9	thaumaturge	1	3	12/23
Nicholas the Soldier	1	n	m	9		1	0	12/24
Nikephoros I	3	n	m	9	iconodule	6	1	06/02
Nikon	6	n	m	9		3	2	11/26
Metanoeite Paul the Confessor	2	n	m	9	iconodule			03/08
Peter of Argos	1	n	m	9		1	6	05/03
Peter the Athonite	2	n	m	9	thaumaturge	4	0	06/12
Photios	7	n	m	9		0	4	02/06



(Table A11 -- Continued)

Saint	No. of Relics	Mart	Gen	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
Platon	5	n	m	9	iconodule	3	0	04/04
Tarasios	2	n	m	9	iconodule	3	0	02/28
Theoktiste of Lesbos	4	n	f	9		5	3	11/09
Theodora the Empress	Body	n	f	9		9	4	02/11
Theodora of Thessalonica	Body +2	n	f	9		5	3	04/05
Theophano the Empress	2	n	f	9		3	1	12/16
Arsenius of Corfu	Body	n	m	10	thaumaturge	2	3	01/19
Athanasios of Athos	Body +5	n	m	10	founder Athos	9	0	07/05
Euthymius of Docheiariou	2	n	m	10	founder Docheiariou	0	0	11/03
Luke of Stiris	5	n	m	10		2	2	02/07
Paraskeve of Epibates	Body	n	f	10		2	3	
Paul of Pergamon	1	n	m	10		3	0	12/15
Theodore of Kythera	1	n	m	10		1	3	05/12
Joseph of Chios	2	n	m	11		0	0	05/20
Niketas of Chios	2	n	m	11		0	0	05/20
John of Chios	1	n	m	11		0	0	05/20
Neophytos of Docheiariou	1	n	m	11		0	0	11/03
Christodoulos of Patmos	3	n	m	12	founder Patmos	6	5	03/16
John Lampadistes	3	n	m	12	healer	1	0	10/04
Andrew the Hermit	2	n	m	13	thaumaturge	0	1	05/15
John III Vatatzes	1	n	m	13		4	1	11/04
John Koukouzelis	3	n	m	13		1	0	10/01
Konon of Kantario-tissa	4	nm	m	13	vs Latins	0	0	05/19
Neophytos the Recluse	8	n	m	13		2	3	01/24
Sabas of Serbia	1	n	m	13	patron Serbia	3	0	01/14
Theodora of Arta	1	n	f	13		1	6	03/11
Athanasios of Meteora	1	n	m	14	founder Meteora	2	3	04/20
Athanasios of CP	3	n	m	14		5	0	10/28
Gregory Palamas	8	n	m	14	hesychast father	3	3	11/14
Maximos Kausokalyvites	2	n	m	14		4	0	01/13

(Table A11 -- Continued)

Saint	No. of Relics	Martyr	Gender	Cent	Cultic Role of Saint	BHG	BAG	Feast
Phanourios	3	y	n	14	finder of lost things	1	13	08/27
Gennadius II	1	n	m	15	pat. of CP	0	0	11/17
Ioasaph of Meteora	1	n	m	15		0	0	04/20
Nektarios of Athos	1	n	m	15		2	0	12/05
Nikanor of Kallistratos	1	n	m	15		0	6	08/07
Philotheos the monk	1	n	m	15		1	0	10/21
Joseph of Crete	1	n	m	16		0	0	08/29
Niphon II	5	n	m	16		2	0	08/11
Philothei of Athens	2	nm	f	16		0	6	02/19
Makarios Notaros	5	n	m	18		0	4	04/17

Source: *Saints' Prosopographical Database*; Otto Meinardus. "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," *Oriens Christianus* 54 (1971): 130-78.

*Notes:*

Table A11 supplements the discussion of relics in Chapter II.

## **F      Secular Historiography and the Cult of Saints**

### Tables A12 and A13 Saints in Historiography

#### *Selection*

These tables indicate which saints appear in Byzantine secular histories (discussed in Chapter II). The sources most used to discuss the Byzantine cult of saints are, for obvious reasons, documents connected with the cult -- saints' lives, liturgical documents and so forth. But in assessing the scope of the cult in the larger Byzantine culture, some sense of its general prominence is needed. For this purpose, these tables examine the Byzantine tradition of historiography. A series of historians, as well as a parallel series of chronographers, covered the entire history of the Empire. "Historians" wrote, in the ancient Greek tradition, the history of their own period, or of the decades immediately preceding them. The quite distinct tradition of "chronographers" wrote world histories, often incorporating earlier writers verbatim, from the earliest times to their own eras. Historical narratives provide a corpus of texts where the primary concern is not religious, but wherein the importance of the cult of saints, as well as of the cults of individual saints, can be assessed.

The saints listed in the tables are those who appear in the authors selected. This is the only criterion for notation; for instance, holy men/women who were not listed in later *synaxaria* or given official cults are still listed here. Also included are historical figures who were later commemorated in Church calendars. Saints' names are noted even if the mention is in reference to a church, monastery, or other physical site such a city gate. These "historical" and "geographical" references to saints are marked as such in the table.

The authors and historians were selected according to availability and standard of modern editions. In order to keep the tables printable and within reasonable size, a limit of twenty sources was set. The names of saints were extracted and located using the editor-provided indices, but each index citation was checked in the text. The variability of these indices provides the major limitation on the security of the data in the tables. Where the edition available is in the modern *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* -- a re-edition of many Byzantine historical sources -- the top-notch indices of names and places are reliable. In some cases, a modern translation (notably Malalas) provides the most complete index and so this has been used. In a number of cases, I reviewed the entire text for the tables. But where available editions are from the older *Bonn Corpus*, there is some reason to suspect that indexing may not have been complete. In the list of sources following the tables, the reliability of each source is indicated.

#### *Data Axes*

The horizontal axis is made up of names of saints arranged alphabetically, the vertical by authors/works listed by century. The third column contains two numbers, the first the number of saints mentioned by the source exclusive of later sainted figures that the source discusses primarily as historical actors. The second (larger) number in parentheses gives a figure including the historical figures.

#### *Codes Used in Cells*

The references in each cell are to locations of the mention of the saint in the works cited. These are to the standard references in the edition used for data collection. This may be "book and chapter/paragraph," or "page number" depending on source. If a source gives two types of reference conventions, the most universal has been used.

**Codes**

**"?"** after the name of a saint indicates that it is open to question whether the figure was considered a saint (an issue with certain Orthodox emperors who were remembered in the liturgy as "pious," but had no other indication of sainted status).

**\*\*** in a cell indicates that the reference is to a physical site (e.g., a church, monastery, or gate) named after the saint in question.

**"(hist)"** after a reference indicates that the source discusses the saint primarily as a historical actor rather than as a saint.

**"multi"** in a cell indicates that the source has multiple references to the saint.

Other information may also be included in each data cell – for instance if a martyrdom or story about relics is presented.

Table A12: Saints in Historiography

Historian	Century	No of Saints	Classical Exempla	Theokotos	Agapetos	Athneros	Alexios Studite PatCP	Anastasia vtm	Andrew ap
Menander, History	6	0 (1)	many	no					
Agathias, The Histories	6	1 (2)	many - inc Alexander, Hercules, Zoroaster Plato	no					
John Malalas, Chronicle	7	46 (66)	a world hist, so many	78, 226, 383, 423, 490a*, 494*	479 (hist)				484 (relics)
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7	6 (8)	yes (not indexed)	no					
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9	25 (27)	many	B21 125, 45 7, 21 124	B50 98*	B9 82*		B29 276 (body +*)	B49 26.37
Theophanes, Chronographia	9		few	multi - 117					
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quattor	9	33 (38)	many, inc Heracles 3x, Homer, Alexander	6 91*, 28 44, 60 70, 73 77*, 90-25*					35 74*
Vita Euthymii	10	28 (34)	few	59 19 (f-day) + at least 11*					
John Kaminates, De Expugnacione Thess	10	7	very few	12 19*					39 84
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11	6 (12)	56+, inc 9 of Homer, 3 Hercules, 4 Plato	B1 16, 3 10-11, 3 14, 6 12			B6 20 (hist), 6(Theo) 17 (hist)		
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11	52 (56)	yes - 9 of Homer, Aristotle, Plutarch	H143, 163*, 164*			H368, 390, 401, 418, 429	H163	
Michael Attalates, History	11	13 (17)	many - inc Hercules 235 5	153 6 [+more]					
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12	27 (30)	45+, inc 38 of Homer & 6 Hercules	p70, 118, 159, 186, 510, 510					p434*
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12	3 (4)	few - Aesop	no					
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13	21 (25)	many	62, 163, 190, 406, 444, 451, 636					
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14	47	very many - inc Hercules 7x, Homer 17, Plato 22x	[vita] + multi - at least 10x					167.18*, 178 22*, 262.2*
John Kantakuzenos, History	14	24	y	at least 14					III.282.18
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15	18 (17)	few	47*, 135*, 26*, 36*, 39 (+more)					42-43*
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	16	27 (29)	few	76*, 162*, 125*, 215 [icon]				228 (+*)	
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16	6	n	58					

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Anna	Anthony abbot	Anthony Kaulleas PatCP	Ambrose of Milan	Athanasios PatAlex	Auxentios	Basil of Caesarea	Basil I emp.*
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7				347-8 (hist)			333-4 (Mercurios dream)	
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9								B22, 29, 30 (hist)
Theophanes, Chronographia	9						125*, 130*		
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quattor	9	74 39	11 38						multi (hist)
Vita Euthymii	10			multi (hist)		72 11, 79 36			
John Kaminates, De Expuqnatione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11							B1 21*	
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11	H107		H175, 180			H108	H236, 244, 275	multi
Michael Attalates, History	11				313 16			94 3, 101 13	
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12								
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13								
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14		44. 19*	[vita]		multi (hist)		784. 18* + 20x	
John Kantakuzenos, History	14		1.548 15-16						
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15								
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15				180			180	
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Basil II emp*	Chariton	Constantine I emp	Dalmatos	Daniel prophet OT	David king OT	Demetrios of Thess.	Dionedes martyr
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7			5, 79, 316-26, 361-2, 395, 400, 419 (hist)		16, 151-52, 154, 156, 8 (hist)	60-1, 143, 148, 160, 357, 426		481*, 492*
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9		B29 278*	multi [8]		B19 9	B45 4		
Theophanes, Chronographia	9		165*, 178*	97, 103*	130*		177		
Joseph Genesis, Regum Libri Quattor	9			25 52, 27 27, 37 31, 39 74					76 71*
Vita Euthymil	10	multi (hist)			9 13*			60 29	47 34*, 46 44* 58 30*
John Kaminiates, De Expugnatione Thess.	10							5 66, 10 52, 12 20*, 21 30	
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11	multi (hist)		B7 29					
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11	multi (hist)		H116, 175, 281*, 330, 418				H183, 339, 345, 406, 413	H120, 180
Michael Attaliates, History	11			217 19, 222 10				233 6	
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12	p93, 174, 335, 505 (hist)		204, 211*, 380, 466		501	91, 186, 317, 378, 503	93, 169, 380, 384*	
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13	373		345, 444, 479			68	300*, 306, 371	
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14	27.10 (hist)		[vita] 164.70, 469.18, 697.15,			184.23, 953.14, 264.14 338.14	[vita] 396.22, 611.19 (f-day),	
John Kantakuzenos, History	14			ii.53.12, 299.11, 537.23, 664.16,			ii.252.8	i.270.11*, ii.47.16, 66.11*	
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15			103* (Mel.)				110* (Mel.)	
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15			58 (hist)				172*	
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								



(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Dionysius Theol	Dionysios PatCP	Domnos	Elias prophet	Euphemia	Eutychios Pat	Euthymios	Euthymios PatCP
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7	251-2			143	377*, 490a*	486, 482, 1494-5, 496 (hist)		
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7					88 14			
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9			B29 241 (body +*)				B22 74*	
Theophanes, Chronographia	9							165*	
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quator	9				76 71				
Vita Euthymil	10								multi
John Kaminates, De Expugnatione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11								
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11	H59			H163-4*			H471?	multi
Michael Attaliates, History	11								
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12				430*				
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13						615		
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14	844.11, 1083.12, 1095.4, 1095.1				968.12			
John Kantakuzenos, History	14								
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15		49, 52 (hist) [=D of Sardis?]		84*, 143* (Mel.)				
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15								
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16		74, 76, 104 (hist)						

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Ezekiel	Forty Martyrs	Gabriel Archangel	George the Martyr	Gregory (unspecl)	Gregory of Nazianzos	Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory Palamas
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7			228	G of Cappodokia) 303 (mart)				
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9					89 72*			
Theophanes, Chronographia	9			55	150*				
Joseph Genesis, Regum Libri Quattor	9	56 44			50 1(?)				
Vita Euthymil	10								
John Kaminiates, De Expugnacione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11				86 185-87*				
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11				H300, 476	H438*			
Michael Attaliates, History	11				48 6, 71 20				
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12		83*, 176*, 483*		113*, 167, 182*, 336*, 352, 337-8*				
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13		332*, 352-3*		181, 442*, 499 (f- day)				
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14		480 21*		304.11 (icon)		multi- 20x	multi - 7x	multi (hist)
John Kantakuzenos, History	14				II.560.20 (icon), 562.14, III 96.10*				multi (hist)
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15				40 (+*), 82*				
Doukas, Historia Turco- Byzantina	16	211	82*		244* (Mangana)		180	180	
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Helena Empress	Ignatios PatCP	Irene emp 483*	Isaiiah prophet OT	Isidoros PatCP	Jeremias OT	John the Baptist	John the Theologian
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7	317, 319, 321 (hist)						236-7	262, 268-9, 368
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9			827 14,23 (hist)					
Theophanes, Chronographia	9			multi (hist)				99, 120 (relics)	152 (gift to)
Joseph Genesis, Regum Libri Quattor	9		6 1, 70 79, 74 90	yes? (hist)	13 1		46 85	5 71*, 56 49*	66 70*
Vita Euthymil	10		134 34 (hist)					29 14*	
John Kaminiates, De Expugnacione Thess.	10						22 64, 61 51		
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11								
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11		H60, 107, 110-1, 134, 137, 140, 162	H29, 44, 116				H163*, 245, 254, 271, 369	
Michael Attaliates, History	11							11 4	
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12	211	323*						91, 112*, 345*, 376*
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13								146, 236*
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14				513 22, 77 2 438 8 1056 19	Multi -10x (hist)		44 15*	883.4, 915 15, 1125 1, 1126 7,
John Kantakuzenos, History	14	II.584 17*, III.29 15 (f-day)			II.499 9	III 26.1, 29 3, 104 5, 105 2 (hist)		II.218 21, III.16 24	I.332 9
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15								
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15			58 (hist)	210		215, 223	112*, 225*	
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16							58*	

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	John Chrysostom	John Tzimiskes*	Jonah OT	Joseph PatCP	Justinian I emp*	Klement martyr	Kanon	Kosmas and Damian
Menander, History	6					multi (hist)			
Agathias, The Histories	6					multi (hist)			
John Malalas, Chronicle	7					multi(hist)		389°. 431°. 473°	423°
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7					multi (hist)			
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9								
Theophanes, Chronographia	9			100				98	77°
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quattor	9								28 39
Vita Euthymii	10	31 12					29 17, 105 9, 115 35 (relics)		29 12°, 32 36°, 96 29°, 147 14°
John Kaminiates, De Expugnacione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11					83 13 (hist)			B4 31-32°
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11		multiple (hist)			H48, 162, 219, 365	H164°		H440 14°
Michael Attalates, History	11		229 14 (hist)	187 1					10 19°
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12					281			86°, 319°, 325°
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13	252, 515							
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14	981.12, 216.18, 1012.11 1084.10			107 15, 125.20, 160.10, 161.13,			[vita - see opera intro]	353.7°
John Kantakuzenos, History	14	II.485.8					11.464.ii		I.134.10°, III.70.16°
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15								
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15	180				58 (hist)			210°, 214°
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Kyriakos PatCP	Kyri of Alexandria	Lawrence	Lazaros NT	Like the Evangelist	Mamas martyr	Mark the Evangelist	Mark Eugenikos
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7		27, 58, 188, 359, 365	473-4*		484 (relica)	382*, 405*	252	
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7	88 9 8 (hist)							
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9			B29 262 (body)		B36 18			
Theophanes, Chronographia	9	1, 4, 165					multi*		
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quattuor	9						72 49*		
Vita Euthymii	10				63 16*				
John Kaminlates, De Expugnations Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11								
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11				H181*	H59, 89 163*	H107*, 114, 131		
Michael Attalates, History	11								
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12					115?		191*	
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13		515						
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14		1089 16 (prob)		443.2	1116.6, 1113.4			
John Kantakuzenos, History	14						III. 107. 11*, 107. 21*, 269 17*		
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15								
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15		180						179, 180 (hist)
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								34, 76 (hist)

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Mary Magdalene	Matthew the Evangelist	Maximos conf	Mercurios	Methodios Patcp	Michael Archangel	Michael Synkelios	Mokios
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malaias, Chronicle	7				333-34		79, 403°, 405°, 420°, 427°		
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9								
Theophanes, Chronographia	9			33, 46, 50 (hist)					
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quattor	9					multi (hist)	80 87°, 85 55°	52 71	
Vita Euthymii	10						29 14°		16 1°, 87 5°, 75 3°, 139 1°
John Kaminiates, De Expugnatione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11								
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11	H181				H28, 69, 84, 86, 87, 106	H58°, 163°, 164°, 165°	H63	
Michael Attalates, History	11								
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12		494?	178, 293?			93°, 148°		
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12	VI: (277)							
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13						178°, 219°, 238°, 400°, 422°, 442°		400°, 590°
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14		792.13, 1113 5, 1128.12 1116	multi - 8x	[vita]		125.23°, 202.10	[vita]	
John Kantakuzenos, History	14								
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15								
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15						187°		82°
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Moses OT	Nicholas of Myra	Nikephoros Phocas emp*	Nikephoros PatCP	Pantaleimon	Paschasios	Paul ap	Peter ap
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7					311 (mart)		242, 252-2, 256-7, 258	242, 248, 252-6, 258, 373*, 375*
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9							836 19	827 85*, 831 38-42
Theophanes, Chronographia	9 <sup>34</sup>		164 (miracle)		multi (hist)			144, 174, 177	174, 165*
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quattuor	9			multi (hist)				978*, 70 83	59 58, 78 89
Vita Euthymii	10		59 7 unspec?			141 29*			
John Kaminlates, De Expugnatione Thess.	10							4 61	
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11	87 62, 7(ConstX) 23		multi (hist)					
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11								
Michael Attalates, History	11		82 8*	217 16, 223 4 (hist)		252 5, 251 19*		165 18	
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12		83*, 143*, 149*, 316, 319*					64, 375?, 482*, 494*	314*
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13			144, 130 (hist), 207				211, 229, 352-53, 416	68
Nikephoros Gregoras, Historias	14	1111.6, 1041.33, 1146.1			1298 12 1322 18 1299 13		80.12* (saint?)	275.6* + multi - 12x	508.14*
John Kantakuzenos, History	14							II.231, 308 23, 319.17, III.59.9.	II.464 10
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15		42-43*, 85*						
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15								122*
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Phokas martyr	Photios PatCP	Prokopius	Romanos	Sabas	Sergios (and Bacchus)	Stephen protom	Tarasios PatCP
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6							III 5 7*	
John Malalas, Chronicle	7			382*				417*	
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7						B5 7 1, B5 13-14		
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9					B22 74*		B29 236*	
Theophanes, Chronographia	9					145*, 165*		9*, 10), 132*	multi (hist)
Joseph Genesisios, Regum Libri Quattuor	9		71 84				59 34*		11 28, 17 5 (hist)
Vita Euthymii	10	105 15*	11 17-19 (hist)				27 17*	143 25 (f-day)	
John Kaminates, De Exponatione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11								
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11						H162*		H461*
Michael Attaliates, History	11								
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12	266*, 319*			321*				
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12			V:(227)					
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13			153 (f-day)	631*				
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14				420.13*			786 13*	
John Kantakuzenos, History	14				I 291.12*			III.14 5-11	
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15				101*, 105*, 110*, 129*, 149* (all)				
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15				215*, 217*, 228*			207*	
Anonymous 18th Cent., Chronicle	16	44*			46*, 48*, 52*				



(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Thekla	Theodora imp 9C	Theodora imp 11C*	Theodore Tiro	Theodora Stratiates	Theodora Krateros	Theodore graphos	Theodore of Studion
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7	405*					475*		
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9								
Theophanes, Chronographia	9								162, 165, 174, 177 (hist)
Joseph Genesios, Regum Libri Quattuor	9		multi (hist)					52, 72	
Vita Euthymii	10				19, 22*, 29, 21*, 25, 8*, 27, 21				
John Kaminlates, De Expugnatione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11			multi (hist)					
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11		multiple esp H53, 82, 97		H308, both invoked as martyrs	H308, 309	H89, 63, 75, 78	H61, 89	H434
Michael Attaliates, History	11			16, 5, 17, 23, 16, 8, 51, 2 (hist)					
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12	122-123*			146*, 251, 283*				
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13					76 (icon+*), 191			
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14							multi - 10x	1089, 16 (prob)
John Kantakuzenos, History	14								
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15				38* (both), 113* (Mel.)				
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15								
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								

(Table A12 -- Continued)

Historian	Century	Theodosios	Theodosios I emp*	Theophanes grafios	Theophanes of Sigr.	Theophano imp	Thomas ap	Tryphon	Zoe imp 11C*
Menander, History	6								
Agathias, The Histories	6								
John Malalas, Chronicle	7								
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7								
Constantine VII, De Admin. Imp	9	B22 74*	B25 25		B17 1, 21 1, 22 1, 22 78, 25 1			B29 269	
Theophanes, Chronographia	9	165*	103* (statue)				125*		
Joseph Genesis, Regum Libri Quattor	9			52 72	11 58, 17 65, 71 74				
Vita Euthymii	10					21 12, 37 27, 41 29, 45 14-19		11 27*, 82 22 (f-day)	
John Kaminates, De Expugnacione Thess.	10								
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11								B8 1837 (hist)
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11			H61, 62, 69, 26		H172, 180			multi (hist)
Michael Attaliates, History	11								10 6 (hist)
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12								185n, 186 (hist)
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12								
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13						515*		
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14					[vita]			
John Kantakuzenos, History	14								
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15								
Doukas, Historia Turco- Byzantina	15								
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16								

Table A13  
Saints in Historiography (Supplement)

Historian	Cent.	Additional Saints
Menander, History	6	
Agathias, The Histories	6	
John Malalas, Chronicle	7	Ananias of Antioch 252; Babylas of Antioch 303 (mart); Deborah OT 70 (hist); Domitios 327-8 (mart); Eudokia emp 353, 355-7, 365 (hist); Eudoxia emp 355-6, 365-368 (hist); Euphemios PatCP 400 (hist); Eusebios of Caesarea, 228; Gelasinos 314-15 (mart); Hermippos 311 (mart); Hermokrates 311 (mart); Hermolaos 311 (mart); Hesychios 311 (mart); Ignatios of Antioch 252, 278 (mart); James apos 258; John (unspec) 496*; Julian 452*, 420* (in Antioch); Kassianos 450*; Leontios 496*; Linus pope 256 (hist?); Marinos 452 (mart); Menas 310 (mart); Menas PatCP 479, 483-4, 486 (hist); Prokla 240 (hist); Pulcheria emp 353-4, 366-8 (hist); Samuel OT 90; Stratonikos 490*, 490a*; Sylvester pope 317 (hist); Symeon Stylites 369 (death/relics); Symeon wonderworker 443; Theodora mart 492*; Timothy apos 284 (relics)
Theophylakt Simocatta, History	7	Alexander Romanos B6.5.2*, B7.14.11*; Autonomos B9.9.9*, B*.13.3*; Glykeria B1.11.7, B6.1.3; Golinduch B5.12; John Nesteutes PatCP B1.1.2, 1.10.2, 1.11.14-20, 7.6.1 (hist)
Constantine VIII, De Admin. Imp	9	Anastasios B29.245 (body +*); Chrysogynos B22.73; Kyriakos B22.73*; Pankratios B29.235 (body); Zacharias pope B27.15
Theophanes, Chronographia	9	Agathon pope, 33; Anastasios PatCp multi/hist; Constantine II PatCP, multi/hist; Dios 130*; Eleutherios 158*, 160*; Floros 66*, 143*; George of Cyprus 117; George I PatCP 54, 58, 60; Germanos PatCP multi/hist; Gregory I pope 95, 100 (hist); Hormisdas 6*; Joseph of Thessalonica 153, 165, 174 (hist); Kallinke 77*; Kallinikos PatCP multi (hist); Kallistratos 67*, 77*, 130*; Kyrus PatCP multi (hist); Leo III* pope, multi/hist; Paul III PatCP 60, 62, 63 (hist); Paul IV PatCP 61, 138, 140 (hist); Pelagios 125*; Thomas PatCP 3,4,6 (hist); Theophylakt of Antioch* 111, 116; Theodore I PatCP 53, 59, 61 (hist); Theodore I* pope, 33; Stephen, neomartyr, 125, 131; Peter stylites* 130; Plato of Sakkoudion, multi/hist.
Joseph Genesisios, Regum Libri Quattor	9	Constantine Bounas* 88.39; Elias the Thesbites 76.71; Epiphanius conf, 59.21, 61.21; Euthymios of Sardis, 35.76; John Hexaboulos?; Stephen I PatCP; Cyril of Gortyn 33.38; Stephen I PatCP 80.1 (hist); Zacharias OT 46.86
Vita Euthymii	10	Abramios 32.26*; Agathangelos 104.9 (relics); Agathos mon* - multi; Arkadios 59.31; Athenogenes 44.7*; Constantine Bouna 88.39; Gregory Decapolites 59.26; Nicholas Mystikos* multi/hist; Paul of Paphlagonia 104.14; Peter conf 59.6, 147.16; Symeon conf 59.25, 60.30 (saint?)

(Table A13 - *Continued*)

Historian	Cent.	Additional Saints
John Kaminiates, De Expugnatione Thess.	10	David of Thessalonica 37.15
Michael Psellos, Chronographia	11	Solomon OT B3.14
John Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum	11	Zoe mar - H163; Aimilianos - H163; Akakios - H163; Anthony Stoudite PatCP H260, 310, 329; Elias (unspec) H352*; Euthymios mart H28; Eustathois PatCP 1025, H365, 368; Hesperos H163; John ab of Studium* H252; Jude apos H28; Lazaros conf h60, 61; Martinakios H191*; Olga of Russia H240; Severianos H160*
Michael Attaliates, History	11	Job OT 63.23, 187.1
Anna Komnena, Alexiad	12	Kallias 112*; Kosmas Hymnog. 501?; Theophylakt of Ochrida 262
John Kinnamos, Deeds	12	Demetrios of Sirmium V:(227)*; Irene/Xene emp I:(9-10)
Nicetas Choniates, Annals	13	Alexios 236-7*; Basilakios (anti-saint?) 448-50; Kyros 190*; Markian emp 206; Stephen Nemanja* 532, 608 (hist);
Nikephoros Gregoras, Histories	14	Abraham OT- 1114.13; Antonina 458.15 (ref); Arsenius PatCP multi-15x/hist, see 167.8, 262.1; Athanasios PatCP, multi/hist; John Klimakos 962.15; John of Damascus 976.20, 1062.9, 1071.6, 1072.6 1084.22 1136.18; [vita][his uncle] 429.7; Joseph PatCP 107.15, 125.20, 160.10, 161.13, 128.6, 167.11 (hist); Justin martyr 1086.21; Makrina 1018.4; Pachasios 80.12* (saint?); Philotheos PatCP multi - 12x (hist)
John Kantakuzenos, History	14	Barbara III.232.13; George Paleocastrita II.166.18*; John Vatatzes I.18.13, 83.11 (hist); Sabas jun II.209.22, 213.8
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon Minus	15	Jason and Sosipater 85*; John of Trullo 135* (Mel.) (saint?); Makarios Makres 45-46 (hist); Nicholas Kabasilas 37 (hist); Theodora Thess 37*; Theodosia 110* (Mel); Thomais 15C 21, 37-39.
Doukas, Historia Turco-Byzantina	15	Amos OT; Augustine 180; Isidoros of Chios 247*; Jerome 180; Maura 45*, 89-90*, 92*, 94-95*, 139n9*; Thomas Aquinas 210.
Anonymous 16th Cent., Chronicle	16	Niphon PatCP 100, 102, 118 (hist)

*Note:* Where saints appear in only one historian, rather than extending Table A12, they are listed separately here.

*Sources for Tables A12 and A13:*

- Agathias of Myrina. *The Histories*. Translated by Joseph D. Frendo. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 2A. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975.  
[Index reliability: CFHB edition - reliable.]
- Anna Komnena. *The Alexiad*. Edited and translated into French by B. Leib. 2 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937-1943. Translated into English by E.R.A. Sewter. New York: Penguin, 1969.  
[Index reliability: The standard Leib edition is devoid of indices. The Sewter translation, which was used, has a reasonably good index. The new German ed. and trans. by D. Reinsch was not accessible.]
- Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. *De Administrando Imperio*. Edited by Gyula Moravcsik and translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 1. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967.  
[Index reliability: CFHB edition - reliable.]
- Doukas. *Historia Turco-Byzantina*. Translated by Harry J. Magoulias as *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975.  
[Index reliability: text read for this table.]
- Ekthesis chronike syntomotera syntetheisa en haploteti lexeon*. Translated by Marios Philippides as *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans of Constantinople*. Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1990.  
[Index reliability: text read for this table.]
- George Sphrantzes. *Chronicon Minus*. Translated by Marios Philippides as *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*. Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.  
[This edition includes a short excerpt on the fall of Constantinople by Michael Melissenos. Mentions of saints by Melissenos have been included in the table with the indication (Mel).]  
[Index reliability: text read for this table.]
- John Kantakuzenos [Ioannes Cantacuzeni]. *Historiarum*. Edited by Ludovicus Schopenus [Ludwig Schopen]. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. 3vols. Bonn: Weber, 1831.  
[Index reliability: the old *Bonn Corpus* edition has a 51 page index, but may not be up to modern standards.]
- John Kinnamos. *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*. Translated by Charles M. Brand. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.  
[Index reliability: Brand's modern translation and indices were preferred over the 17-19th century editions.]
- John Kaminiates [Ioannes Caminiates]. *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*. Edited by Gertrude Böhlig. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 4, Series Berolinensis. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973.  
[Index reliability: CFHB edition - reliable.]

- John Malalas. *World Chronicle*. Translated as *The Chronicle of John Malalas* by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, Roger Scott, et al. *Byzantina Australiensia* 4. Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986.  
[Index reliability: modern scholarly translation with excellent indices.]
- John Skylitzes. *Synopsis Historiarum*. Edited by I. Thurn [Johannes Thurn]. *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 5, Series Berolinensis. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978.  
[Index reliability: CFHB edition - reliable.]
- Joseph Genesisios [Iosephi Genesisii]. *Regum Libri Quattuor*. Edited by A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn [Johannes Thurn]. *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, Vol. XIV, Series Berolinensis. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973.  
[Index reliability: CFHB edition - reliable.]
- Menander Protector. *Historia*. Edited and translated by R.C. Blockley as *The History of Menander the Guardsman*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985.  
[Index reliability: modern scholarly edition - reliable indices, but the text is fragmentary.]
- Michael Attaliates. *Historia*. Edited by Immanuel Bekker. *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 34. Bonn: 1853.  
[Index reliability: the old *Bonn Corpus* edition may not be up to modern standards.]
- Michael Psellos. *Chronographia*. Edited and translated into French by Émile Renauld. 2 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926-1928. Edited by Salvatore Impellizzeri and translated into Italian by Silvia Ronchey. 2 vols. Rome: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla. Arnaldo Mondadori, 1984. Translated by E.R.A. Sewter into English as *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*. Rev. ed. New York: Penguin, 1966.  
[Index reliability: the Impellizzeri edition claims a complete onomastic and toponymic index but in fact omits items (e.g., the monastery of Basil the Great). The older Renauld index was used, the Italian edition was checked, and references are to standard book/chapter divisions.]
- Nikephoras Gregoras. *Byzantina Historia*. Edited by Ludovicus Schopenus [Ludwig Schopen]. *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. 2 vols. Bonn: Weber, 1829-30.  
[Index reliability: the old *Bonn Corpus* edition has a 61 page index, but may not be up to modern standards.]
- Niketas Choniates [Nicetae Choniatae]. *Historia*. Edited by Jan-Louis Van Dieten. *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 11:1 and 11/1, Series Berolinensis. 2 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975. Translated by Harry J. Magoulias as *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984.  
[Index reliability: CFHB edition - reliable.]

Theophanes the Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English Translation of anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813)*. Translated by Harry Turtledove. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

[Index reliability: Turtledove's index is conscientious for the period he translates and for which Theophanes is the sole source.]

Theophylakt Simocatta. *Historia*. Translated by Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby as *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

[Index reliability: modern scholarly translation with excellent indices.]

*Vita Euthymii patriarchae CP*. Translated by Patricia Karlin-Hayter. *Bibliothèque de Byzantion* 3. Brussels: Éditions de *Byzantion*, 1970

[Despite its common title of *Vita*, this is a historical account of the reign of Leo VI rather than a saint's *Life*.]

[Index reliability: modern scholarly edition - reliable indices.]

## **G *Saints' Prosopographical Database - Coding***

### **1. Selection Criteria**

The purpose of the database is to compile information on "Byzantine saints." This has been taken to mean "persons regarded as saints in Byzantine culture." Accordingly, the following selection criteria are used for inclusion:

1. All saints, listed as individuals or as named members of groups, who have any document concerning them survive from Byzantine or post-Byzantine Greek sources. The main sources are the BHG and the SynCP.
2. Persons mentioned as saints in Byzantine historiographical writings. (This is more haphazard as I have not searched all such writings.)
3. Persons who have physical remains -- shrines, churches, icons -- which indicate some sort of cult.
4. Groups, labeled as such, have been included when commemorated as a group and listed as such in the BHG.

### **2. Software**

Data was entered and organized with the *Microsoft Access Version 2* database package. The *Microsoft Excel 97* spreadsheet package was used for statistical analysis and to make charts.



## 3. Database Fields

Field	Length	Type	Description
CENTURY	2	N	<b>Approximate century of the saint's lifetime.</b> If death date up to 6th year of following century is known, the saint is placed in previous century. Martyrs of Diocletian/Maximian's persecution are listed as 4th Century.
NAME	25	C	<b>Name of the saint.</b> If paired both names are given. If more than one companion "+" sign is indicated, with a number if known, and names, if known are given in COMPANIONS field. An asterisk * after the name indicates that there is some reason to doubt that person was recognized as a saint.
EPITHET	25	C	<b>Descriptive name of saint</b> This can be a commonly used name, or one used by modern writers.
COMPANIONS	50	C	<b>Names of companions</b> If listed as minor companions or too many for "NAME" field.
NUM_MALE	2	N	<b>Number of males</b> A significant number of saints are paired or in groups. This is an exact count of each named male saint from before 1453.
NUM_FEMALE	2	N	<b>Number of females</b> A significant number of saints are paired or in groups. This is an exact count of each named female saint from before 1453.
FEAST_DAY	25	C	<b>Feast day(s) of the saint(s)</b>
SYNTAXCP	25	C	<b>Column Ref. in SynaxCP</b> ed. Hippolyte Delehaye. AASS, <i>Propylaeum Novembris</i> (1902)
SYNH_950	1	L	<b>In Synaxarion MS H</b> <i>Hierosol. S.Crucis 40</i> . Synaxarion from September to August written and used in the capital, circa. 950-59. A more recently edited version of this text alone is in Juan Mateos, ed., <i>Le Typikon de la Grande Église: Ms. Saint-Croix No 40, Xe siècle</i> , <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> 165 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962), but the Delehaye text is used in the database.
SYNP_1000	1	L	<b>In Synaxarion MS P</b> <i>Patmos 266</i> . Synaxarion from September to August belonging to monastery of St. Sabas, composed at end of 9th or beginning of 10th cent..
SYNFa_1063	1	L	<b>In Synaxarion MS Fa</b> <i>Paris 1590</i> . Synaxarion from September to February, written in a monastery near Jerusalem in 1063. Other related mss are: F (1050, Sept. to Feb. plus some other days), Fb (12th cent., Sept. 2 to Feb.), Fc (12th cent., Oct. to Jan.), Fd (12th cent., Oct. to Jan.) - indicated if variant in SYN_INFO.
SYNS_1200	1	L	<b>In Synaxarion MS S</b> <i>Berolin. Phillipp. 1622</i> . The "Synaxarion of Sirmond," written in a convent in the capital in 12-13th cent.. This forms the basic manuscript for Delehaye's <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> edition. There are two variant mss.: Sa (12th cent., Sept. to Feb.) and Sb (1253, Dec. to Jan.) - indicated if variant in SYN_INFO.

(Database Fields - *Continued*)

Field	Length	Type	Description
SYNC_12C	1	L	<b>In Synaxarion MS C</b> <i>Messanensis 103</i> . Synaxarion of whole year (with some gaps), written in Sicily in 12th cent. Other related mss are: <b>Ca</b> (11th cent., Oct. 4 to Jan. 19), <b>Cb</b> (12-13th centuries, Sept. to Feb.), <b>Cc</b> (12th cent., Oct. to Jan.), <b>Cd</b> (12th cent., Sept 25 to Apr. 16), <b>Ce</b> (13th cent.), <b>Cf</b> (11-12th cent., Sept 29 to Jun 21), <b>Cg</b> (1172, Mar. to Aug.), <b>Ch</b> (12-13th cent., Sept. to Aug.) - indicated if variant in SYN_INFO.
MEN_BASII	1	L	<b>In Menologion of Basil II</b> Cod. Vat. gr 1613. An illustrated synaxarion, despite its title, written and illustrated for Basil II (d.1025). <b>B</b> (11th cent., Sept. to Feb), <b>Ba</b> (12th cent., Sept to Feb), <b>Bb</b> (see SynCP xxv), <b>Bc</b> (Mar. to Aug), <b>Bd<sup>1</sup></b> (12th cent., Sept. to Nov.), <b>Bd<sup>2</sup></b> (12th cent., Dec. to Feb.), <b>Be</b> (12th cent., Mar. to Aug), <b>Bf</b> (11-12th cent., Nov. 21 to Jun. 23), <b>T</b> (14th cent., Sept to Dec.).
SYN_INFO	25	C	<b>In other synaxaria</b> There are a number of other mss included in Delehaye's edition. If a saint is only in one of these, the ms is indicated here. These include mss denoted by Delehaye as <b>O</b> (13th cent., Sept. Oct. and Nov.), <b>Oa</b> (13th and 14th cent., Sept. to Feb.), <b>D</b> (12th cent., Mar. to Aug.), <b>Da</b> (1307, whole year), <b>Db</b> (12th cent., whole year), <b>Dc</b> (12th cent., Sept. to Jul.), <b>Dd</b> (12th cent., Sept. to Feb.), <b>K</b> (1249, Sept. and Oct.), <b>L</b> (14th cent., Sept. to Feb.), <b>G</b> (12th cent., Sept, Oct. and Fe.), <b>Q</b> (13th cent., Nov. and Dec.), <b>N</b> (1071 Mar. to Aug.), <b>R</b> (12th cent., whole year), <b>Ra</b> (12th cent., Mar. to Aug.), <b>Rb</b> (13th cent., Mar. to Aug.), <b>Rc</b> (13-14th cent., Mar. to Aug.), <b>M</b> (14th cent., Sept. to Feb.), <b>Ma</b> (14th cent., Sept. to Feb.), <b>Mb</b> (15th cent., Sept. to Feb), <b>Mc</b> (1301, Mar. to Aug.), <b>Md</b> (13th cent., Mar. to Aug.), <b>Me</b> (14th cent., Mar. to May), <b>Mf</b> (1520, May to Aug), <b>Mg</b> (14-15th centuries, Mar. to Aug.), <b>Mh</b> (15-16th centuries, Sept. to Feb.), <b>Mi</b> (13th cent., Sept. to Nov.), <b>Mk</b> (1295, Sept. to Mar.), <b>MI</b> (14th cent., Feb. to Aug.), <b>Mm</b> (15-16th cent., April), <b>Mv</b> (Menea Venetiis, 1592), <b>Mr</b> (Menea Romae, 1888-1902). Other notes on mss also made here.
MENGOTH_12	8	C	<b>In Menologion of Gothenburg</b> <i>Codex Gotoburgensis graecus 4</i> . This is a menologion of 32 women saints, once in the monastery of St. Gerasimos on Cephalonia, now in Gothenburg. Once dated as 12th cent., but it must be post 14th cent. from contents. The data given are XX-YYYY, where XX is the position of the life in the manuscript, and YYYY the corresponding BHG number (n.b. mostly 2nd edition of BHG).
DATES	25	C	<b>Known dates</b> of saint's life
OTHERTIME	50	C	<b>Other chronological indications</b> In many cases derived from name of emperor at time of persecution. Major dating indicators of persecutions listed below.

(Database Fields - *Continued*)

Field	Length	Type	Description
GENDERMFT	1	C	<b>Gender</b> Male, Female, Transvestite, or Both male and female for mixed groups or couples.
TYPE_CODE	3	C	<b>Type of saint</b> (see codes below)
AG_OS	1	C	<b>Hagios/a or Hosios/a</b> There are two distinct titles given to Greek saints, "hagios/a" and "hosios/a." This is an attempt to see if there are any significant correlations with other aspects of sanctity. Sources are mentions in Greek texts, including modern collections.
MARTYR	1	L	<b>Sanctity through Martyr status</b>
MARRIED	1	L	<b>Marital status</b> If saint was ever married this is indicated. Main source is MSC - anonymous marrieds excluded.
CHILDREN	2	C	<b>Number of Children</b> "A" indicates an "angelic" or abstinent marriage. Yes and No if facts about parenthood are known, but with no exact figures.
MONASTIC	1	L	<b>Monastic status</b> If saint lived a specialized religious life - as a monk, nun, anchorite, or hermit. Also if saint became a monastic at the point of death.
ABBOT_ESS	1	L	<b>Monastic position</b>
BISHOP_PAT	1	L	<b>Hierarchical status</b> (Bishop or Patriarch)
CLASS	3	C	<b>Social class</b> (see codes below)
MONFOUNDER	1	L	<b>Monastic founder</b>
LOC_CODE	25	C	<b>Location of saint's main activities or death</b> (see codes below)
BIRTHLOC	25	C	<b>Location of saint's birth</b> (see codes below)
ETHN_CODE	10	C	<b>Ethnicity of saint</b> (see codes below)
SOURCE	25	C	<b>Source of database information</b> (see codes below) BHG is default
VITABHG	25	C	<b>No's of documents, etc. in BHG</b> If the saint is only in the <i>Novum Auctarium</i> , "NA" precedes the ref. numbers.
NUM_IN_BHG	2	C	<b>Number of documents in BHG, 3rd edition</b> This is the number of separate items listed for each saint in BHG3, whether lives, synaxaria entries or other texts. If a saint is only listed in the <i>Novum Auctarium</i> the number there is given. No attempt has been made, however, to incorporate the corrections and additions in <i>Novum Auctarium</i> to the BHG3 data.
NUM_IN_BAG	2	N	<b>Number of documents in Petit, <i>BibAc</i></b>
METAPHRASE	50	N	<b>Metaphrastic version and location</b> (also gives Migne, PG and AASS locations if available)
HYMNS_NUM	2	N	<b>Number of hymns to saint</b> Based on Henrica Follieri, [Enrica Follieri]. <i>Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae</i> , 5 vols. Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966.

(Database Fields - *Continued*)

Field	Length	Type	Description
AUTH_VITAI	25	C	<b>Author of first life</b> (info. for 9-10th cent. saints from PatSP)
DATE_VITAI	25	C	<b>Date of first life</b> (ditto)
DATE_ANCMS	10	C	<b>Date of most ancient manuscript</b> (ditto)
NAME_ANCMS	25	C	<b>Name of most ancient manuscript</b> (ditto)
NUM_MS_VIT	2	N	<b>Number of manuscripts of saint's life/lives</b> A much narrower index of a saint's impact. This is based on the number of mss of saint's life that have survived. Source is BHG, or later editions where indicated [see Memo field]
LATERBYZ	50	C	<b>Later Byzantine authors</b> (see codes below) Not a complete listing - but meant to indicate early saints who had some continuing cult or repute.
CULTLOC	25	C	<b>Location of cult site</b>
RELATIONS	25	C	<b>Family Relationship of saint with other saints</b> Many saints are relations of other saints.
IMPCONNECT	25	C	<b>Connection of saint with imperial court</b> From being a member to saint curing members of imperial family.
SPECROLE	25	C	<b>Special function of the saint</b> If saint fulfills special cultic or celestial functions
DEDICATEDC	50	C	<b>Location of churches dedicated to saint</b> Where more than one is known the number of dedications is recorded. Where just one dedication is known, the century of its foundation is given. "*" indicates that the date is of first recorded mention. No distinction is made between churches and monasteries. The data is based largely on incidental references and, especially, Janin, <i>EglisesGC</i> , Janin, <i>EglisesCP</i> and Janin, <i>CP byz.</i>
RELICS	50	C	<b>Location and type of relics of saint</b>
RELICS_OM	3	N	<b>Number of relics</b> Based on Otto Meinardus, "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church," <i>Oriens Christianus</i> 54 (1971), 130-178
MEMO	500	M	<b>Extra information</b> On any of the above areas which need more explication

#### 4. Codes Used in Database

TYPE of Saint	
<b>Apo</b>	Apostle
<b>Asc</b>	Ascetic
<b>Ang</b>	Angel
<b>Con</b>	Confessor
<b>Int</b>	Intellectuals
<b>Mar</b>	Martyr
<b>Mat</b>	Matron
<b>Mon</b>	Monk or nun
<b>Nwt</b>	New Testament figure
<b>Trv</b>	Tranvestite
<b>Vir</b>	Virgin
<b>Vmr</b>	virgin martyr
<b>Won</b>	wonderworker

The following types of saint were coded as follows

**Asc** - includes **anchorites**, **hermits**, **penitents**, **stylites**

**Con** - includes a variety of saints not martyred, nor ascetics, inc. **bishops**, **patriarchs**, **fools**, **emperors**, **relatives of other saints**, (**Matrons** listed separately)

**Mar** - includes **martyrs** and **neomartyrs**. (**Virgin martyrs** listed separately)

**Nwt** - includes **NT figures** and **NT book authors** (eg. **Evangelists**)

<b>LOCATION</b>	
<b>Afr</b>	Africa
<b>Egy</b>	Egypt
<b>Sin</b>	Sinai
<b>Arab</b>	Arabia
<b>Pal</b>	Palestine
<b>Syr</b>	Syria
<b>Per</b>	Persia
<b>Mes</b>	Mesopotamia
<b>Arm</b>	Armenia
<b>Geo</b>	Georgia
<b>Ana</b>	Anatolia
<b>Con</b>	Constantinople
<b>Thr</b>	Thrace
<b>Ath</b>	Athos
<b>Gre</b>	Greece
<b>Aeg</b>	Aegean
<b>Cyp</b>	Cyprus
<b>Bal</b>	Balkans
<b>Rus</b>	Rus/Russia/Ukraine
<b>Sic</b>	Sicily
<b>Ita</b>	Italy
<b>Rom</b>	Rome
<b>Wes</b>	Other West

<b>CLASS</b>	
<b>IMP</b>	imperial, royal
<b>ARI</b>	aristocracy
<b>UMC</b>	upper middle class
<b>URB</b>	urban middle class
<b>RUR</b>	rural lower middle class
<b>PES</b>	peasant
<b>UNF</b>	unfree or slave

<b>ETHNICITY</b>	
<b>Ara</b>	Arab
<b>Arm</b>	Armenian
<b>Egy</b>	Egyptian
<b>Geo</b>	Georgian
<b>Gre</b>	Greek
<b>Ita</b>	Italian
<b>Lat</b>	Latin
<b>Rus</b>	Russian
<b>Sic</b>	Sicilian
<b>Ser</b>	Serbian
<b>Syr</b>	Syrian
<b>Wes</b>	Other Westerners

SOURCES	
<b>AD</b>	Dunbar, Agnes B.C., <i>A Dictionary of Saintly Women</i> (London: George Bell and Sons, 1904-05), 2 vols
<b>AKB</b>	Kazhdan, Alexandr P., and Henry Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," <i>DOP</i> (1991), 1-22
<b>AKW</b>	Kazhdan, Alexandr P., and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women and Iconoclasm," <i>BZ</i> 84/85 (1991/92), 391-408
<b>BAG</b>	PetitBib
<b>BHG</b>	BHG
<b>CL(1-4)</b>	Costa-Louillet, G. da, (1)"Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles" (1-7), <i>B</i> 24 (1954), 179-263; (2) "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles" (8-11), <i>B</i> 24 (1954), 453-511; (3) "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles" (12-18), <i>B</i> 25-27 (1955-57), 783-852; (4) "Saints de Grèce aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," <i>B</i> 31 (1961), 309-69
<b>JaninEgCP</b>	Janin, <i>EglisesCP</i>
<b>JaninGC</b>	Janin, <i>EglisesGC</i>
<b>Laiou</b>	Laiou, Angeliki E. "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," In <i>Charanis Studies</i> , ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 84-114 .
<b>LSM</b>	<i>Lives of the Spiritual Mothers: An Orthodox Materikon of Women Monastics and Ascetics</i> , translated and compiled from the Greek of The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church and other sources (Buena Vista CO: Holy Apostles Convent, 1991).
<b>Macrides</b>	Macrides, Ruth, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in Hackel, <i>Saint</i> , 67-87.
<b>Majeska</b>	Majeska, <i>Russian Travelers</i>
<b>MSC</b>	Agioreites Monachos Moyses, <i>Oi Έγγαμοι Άγιοι τής Έκκλησίας κατά τó μνηολόγιο</i> [The Married Saints of the Church According to the Menologion] (New Smyrna: Ekdosis "Akritas," 1988), trans. with additions by Melania Reed and Maria Simonsson, <i>Married Saints of the Church According to the Menaion</i> (Wildwood CA: St. Xenia Skete, 1991).
<b>NA</b>	BHGNA
<b>NGH</b>	Theocharides, Ioannis, and Dimitris Loules, "The Neomartyrs in Greek History (1453-1821)," <i>Έtudes Balkaniques</i> 3 (1989), 78-86.
<b>ODB</b>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
<b>PatSP</b>	Patlagean, Evelyn, "Sainteté et pouvoir," Hackel, <i>Saint</i> , 88-105
<b>PatTV</b>	Patlagean, "La femme déguisée."
<b>SynCP</b>	SynaxCP
<b>Walsh</b>	Efthalia Makris Walsh, "The Women Martyrs of Nikodemus Hagiorites' <i>Neon Martyrologion</i> ," <i>GOTR</i> 36:1 (1991), 71-91.

<b>BYZANTINE AUTHORS</b>	
<b>And.Crete</b>	Andrew of Crete
<b>Bas.Mag</b>	Basil the Great
<b>Cacro</b>	Constantine Acropolites
<b>Geor.Acr</b>	George Acropolites
<b>Gpal</b>	Gregory Palamas
<b>Greg.Naz</b>	Gregory of Nazianzos
<b>Greg.Nys</b>	Gregory of Nyssa
<b>Jchrys</b>	John Chrysostom
<b>Mich.Chon</b>	Michael Choniates
<b>Mich.Syn</b>	Michael Synkellos
<b>Mpsel</b>	Michael Psellos
<b>Neoph.Cyp</b>	Neophytos of Cyprus (or "the Recluse")
<b>Nic.Greg</b>	Nicephoros Gregoras
<b>Nic.Meth</b>	Nicholas of Methone
<b>Nic.Paph</b>	Nicetas Paphlagon
<b>Pal</b>	Palladios
<b>Phil.CP</b>	Philotheos of Constantinople
<b>Theo.Och</b>	Theophylact of Ochrida
<b>Theo.Stud</b>	Theodore of Studium
<b>Theod.Prod</b>	Theodore Prodromos



## 5. Sample Data Sheet (Blank)

ΠΑΓΙΟΣ **SAINT - Basic Data Form**

CENTURY: FEAST DAY:

NAME: SAMPLE

EPITHET:

OTHERS:

NUM MALE:

NUM FEM:

**Information in Calendars**

SYNTAXCP:

SYNH 950: SYNP 1000: SYNFA 1067: SYNS 1200: SYNC 12C: MEN BASII: 

MENGOTH 12:

SYN INFO:

**Basic Biographical Data**

DATES:

GENDER:

MARRIED: 

OTHER IND:

CHILDREN:

CLASS:

ETHNICITY:

**Hagiographical Data**

TYPE:

AG OS:

MARTYR: MONASTIC: ABBOT ESS: 

BISHOP PAT:

MONFOUNDER: 

ACT LOC:

BIRTH PLC:

CULT@:

**Source Data**

SOURCE:

VITABHG:

NUM BHG: 0

NUM BAG: 0

AUTH VITAI:

DATE VITAI:

NUM MS VIT: 0

DATE ANCMS:

NAME ANCMS:

METAPHRASE:

LATERBYZ:

**Cult Data**

RELATIONS:

IMPCONNECT:

SPECROLE:

HYMNS NUM: 0

DEDICATEDC:

RELICS:

R NUM: 0

MEMO:

## 6. Sample Data Sheet (Complete)

(Record 1163: Symeon Stylites of Mandra)

### ΑΓΙΟΣ SAINT - Basic Data Form

CENTURY: 5

FEAST DAY: 09/01

NAME: Symeon

EPITHET: Stylites of Mandra

OTHERS:

NUM MALE: 1 NUM FEM: 0

#### Information in Calendars

SYNTAXCP: 2-3

SYNH 950:

SYNP 1000:

SYNFA 1067:

SYNS 1200:

SYNC 12C:

MEN BASII:

MENGOTH 12:

SYN INFO:

#### Basic Biographical Data

DATES: 390-d.459

OTHER IND:

GENDER: M MARRIED:

CHILDREN:

CLASS: PES ETHNICITY:

#### Hagiographical Data

TYPE: Con

AG OS: 0

MARTYR:

MONASTIC:

ABBOT ESS:

BISHOP PAT:

MONFOUNDER:

ACT LOC: Svr

BIRTH PLC: Ana - Cilicia

CULT@:

#### Source Data

SOURCE: BHG MSC

VITABHG: 1678-1688

NUM BHG: 22

NUM BAG:

AUTH VITAI:

DATE VITAI:

NUM MS VIT:

DATE ANCMS:

NAME ANCMS:

METAPHRASE: BHG 1686

LATERBYZ: Y - various later ms. Theoph.Ker

#### Cult Data

RELATIONS: mother was St. Martha

IMPCONNECT:

SPECROLE:

HYMNS NUM: 44

DEDICATEDC: 5C ch in CP

RELICS:

R NUM: 13

MEMO:

**Works/Indices/Books/Articles Entered into Database**  
(with indication of use of contents)

- Anson, John. "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif." *Viator* 1 (1974): 1-32.  
Information and discussion of transvestite saints.
- Bousquet, R. "Néo-Martyres Orthodoxes," *Echos d'Orient* 10 (1907): 151-54.  
Listing and discussion of female neomartyrs.
- Bullough, Vern. "Tranvestitism in the Middle Ages." In *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern Bullough and James Brundage, 43-54. Buffalo NY: Prometheus, 1982.  
Information and discussion of transvestite saints.
- Cavarnos, Constantine. *St. Nikephoros of Chios*. Modern Orthodox Saints 4. Belmont MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1976.  
Brief biographies of saints treated in Nikephoros' works.
- Costa-Louillet, G. da. "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles" (1-7), *B* 24 (1954), 179-263.  
Information and bibliography on - Andrew Salos, Andrew in *Crisi*, Tarasios, Plato of Sakkoudion, John of the Cathars, Nikephoros of Constantinople, John Psichaita
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles" (8-11), *B* 24 (1954): 453-511  
Information and bibliography on - Methodios, Ignatios, George of Amastris, Basil the Younger.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles" (12-18), *B* 25-27 (1955-57): 783-852  
Information and bibliography on - Eudokimos, Hilarion, Nicholas the Studite, Joseph the Hymnographer, Theophano, Thomaïs of Lesbos, Luke the Stylite.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Saints de Grèce aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *B* 31 (1961), 309-69  
Information and bibliography on - Barbaros, Athanasios of Methone, Anna of Lefkas, Peter of Argos, Arsenios of Corfu, Luke the Younger, Martha of Monembasia, Nikon the Metanoëite.
- Delcourt, Marie. *Hermaphrodite: Myth and Ritual of the Bisexual Figure in Antiquity*. Translated by Jennifer Nicholson. London: Studio, 1961, French orig. 1956.  
Information and discussion of transvestite saints.

Delehaye, Hippolyte. *The Legends of the Saints*. Translated by V.M. Crawford. London: Longmans, Green, 1907.  
Information and discussion of transvestite saints.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Greek Neomartyrs." In *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*. *Subsidia hagiographica* 42, 246-55. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1966.  
Discussion of some neomartyrs.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1902.  
Major edition of the surviving manuscripts of the Synaxarion of Constantinople.  
This lists the saints for each day of the year, along with short biographical entries.

Follieri, Henrica [Enrica Follieri]. *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*. 5 vols. Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966.

Halkin, François. "Le Ménologe grec de Gothenbourg." *AnalBoll* 60 (1942): 216-20.  
List of contents of 14th century (or later) menologion of thirty-four women saints.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. 3d ed. 3 vols. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957.  
Bibliography of editions and unedited manuscripts of Greek saints. Arranged by Latin form of name, plus appendices. Fundamental resource and basis of the list of saints in the database.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.  
An update of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, with new editions, and corrections of the older work. New saints' names are added in the "Supplementum." This entirely replaces Halkin's *Auctarium* of 1969.

Kazhdan, Aleksandr P., and Henry Maguire. "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art." *DOP* 45 (1991): 1-22.  
Some artistic references to saints. Also has a partial list of estimates of dates of saints' lives.

Kazhdan, Alexandr P., and Alice-Mary Talbot. "Women and Iconoclasm." *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92): 391-408.

Kazhdan, Aleksandr P., Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1991.  
Dictionary/encyclopedia of Byzantine studies. Contains recent bibliographies and scholarly opinions on many Byzantine saints.

- Laiou, Angeliki E. "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire." In *Charanis Studies*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, 84-114. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980.  
Saints of later Palaiologan period, with demographic details and analysis.
- Macrides, Ruth. "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," In Hackel, *Saint*, 67-87.  
Saints of 13th century, with demographic details and analysis. Discussion of process of saint recognition.
- Meinardus, Otto. "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church." *Oriens Christianus* 54 (1971): 130-78
- Moyses, Agioreites Monachos. *Oí Έγγαμοί Άγιοι τής Έκκλησίας κατά τó μηνολόγιο* [The Married Saints of the Church According to the Menologion]. New Smyrna: Ekdotis "Akritas," 1988. Translated with additions by Melania Reed and Maria Simonsson. *Married Saints of the Church According to the Menaion* (Wildwood CA: St. Xenia Skete, 1991).  
List of married saints -- Greek, early Western, Slavic and so on -- based on ten years of research by an Athonite monk. Arranged by date of modern Greek calendar. If not mentioned here, saint can be assumed to be unmarried or status unknown. Text also used as one source to assess whether saint is "hagios/a" or "hosios/a." Both Greek and English versions, which are slightly different, were consulted.
- Patlagean, Evelyne. "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance." *Studi Medievali* ser. 3, 17 (1976): 597-625; reprint in Evelyne Patlagean. *Structures sociales, famille, chrétienté à Byzance IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, XI. London: Variorum, 1981, XI.  
List of transvestite saints, with discussion.
- Patlagean, Evelyn, "Sainteté et pouvoir." In Hackel, *Saint*, 88-105.  
Saints of 9th and 10th century.
- Petit, Louis, ed. *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1926.  
List of 19th and early 20th century Greek *akolouthias*. Gives much useful information on modern popularity of a saint, plus demographic indications. Also used to assign saints as "hosioi" or "hagioi."
- Salaville, Severien. "Pour un répertoire des néo-saints de l'église orientale." *B* 20 (1950): 223-237.  
Discussion of sources of names and feasts of neo-saints, with a calendar for January.

Theocharides, Ioannis, and Dimitris Loules. "The Neomartyrs in Greek History (1453-1821)." *Études Balkaniques* 3 (1989): 78-86.

List of neomartyrs with names, dates and occupation.

Walsh, Efthalia Makris. "The Women Martyrs of Nikodemus Hagiorites' *Neon Martyrologion*." *GOTR* 36:1 (1991): 71-91

Discussion of female neomartyrs, and much on Matrona of Chios.

## APPENDIX II: THE *LIFE* OF THOMAÏS OF LESBOS

### A **One *Life* or Two? The Relationship of the *Lives* of Mary and Thomaïs**

Angeliki Laiou's suggestion, in her introduction to the *Life of Mary the Younger*,<sup>1</sup> that the *Lives* of Thomaïs of Lesbos and Mary the Younger may be different literary versions of the same underlying story constitutes an important challenge. While this study uses cliometric analysis to criticize the common "stages of development in sanctity" theory adopted by a number of scholars, it does not attempt to undermine the theory by dismissing or conflating Mary and Thomaïs as critical figures. Instead, both act as independent witnesses to the problems that the concept of female sanctity faced in the middle Byzantine period. Professor Laiou questions the "stages" theory by putting into doubt the issue of whether there was more than one real example of a non-imperial married lay woman saint.<sup>2</sup> Her proposal would undercut this study by reducing the *Lives* on which it focuses to a single curiosity.

In response to Prof. Laiou, I undertook a close comparison of both *Lives*. This analysis, based on an examination of structure and language, showed that, although there are superficial resemblances between the stories, the two texts are quite distinct literary creations, neither showing any dependence on the other. If there was an underlying single source, I find no evidence for it.

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<sup>1</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, "Life of St. Mary the Younger," in *HWB*, 251-52.

<sup>2</sup> In making this suggestion, Laiou apparently discounts the married imperial women who become saints. This may be altogether justified – the mechanics of sainthood for a member of a royal family were quite distinct from those of saints such as Thomaïs, Cyril of Philea and so

Supposing there were dependence, which *Life* came first? From the texts we gather that Thomaīs died ca. 930 and Mary ca. 903, but Mary's *Life* is longer and more developed than Thomaīs', which might suggest that, if dependent, it was written later. Since both *Lives* are represented only in late manuscripts, there has been some uncertainty about the dating of the originals. Aleksandr Kazhdan, for instance, proposed a late eleventh-century date for the *Life* of Thomaīs.<sup>3</sup> If that were the case, then there could be no question of Mary's *Life* being based on Thomaīs'. If, however, Thomaīs' *Life* were early (tenth century), then Mary's *Life* could be an expansion and development of Thomaīs'. Laiou's preference is to reject any late dating for Thomaīs' *Life* and to argue for an eleventh-century date for Mary's *Life*.<sup>4</sup> I think Laiou is correct that the reference in the *Life* of Thomaīs to a currently reigning "Romanos porphyrogenetos" cannot easily be overlooked,<sup>5</sup> and I agree that this *Life* should be dated to the mid-tenth century. In sum, what we are looking for is evidence that the author of the *Life* of Mary based his account on the *Life* of Thomaīs.<sup>6</sup> If the reasoning here is correct, the dates of composition alone

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forth. Although several of the sainted nuns of the period were married at some stage, marriage does not seem to be an issue in their sainthood.

<sup>3</sup> Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Thomaīs of Lesbos," *ODB* 2076.

<sup>4</sup> Laiou, "*Life* of Mary," 251. Even if not as late as Laiou thinks, the *Life* of Mary the Younger is later than the mid-tenth century by any account.

<sup>5</sup> Laiou, "*Life* of Mary," 251. See also *Life* of Thomaīs, ch. 34. The only Emperor Romanos who would fit this description – which means that he was born a prince – would be Romanos II (959-963). Neither of the eleventh-century emperors called Romanos was born as a prince (Romanos III [1028-34] and Romanos IV [1067-1071]).

<sup>6</sup> Laiou, "*Life* of Mary," 252 n40, offers the suggestion that dependence might have run either way.



would allow the *Life* of St. Mary to have been based on the *Life* of St. Thomaïs. That this is a *possibility* does not mean that we must conflate the two saints in *actuality*.

Laiou's discussion is about the relationship between the *texts*, but with neither saint are the texts the only basis for presuming that we are dealing with distinct figures -- a vital distinction between these two saints and probably fictional saints such as Theoktiste of Lesbos and Irene of Chrysobalanton. Thomaïs' tomb and cult are evidenced both in Constantine Akropolites' later *encomium* and in the stories of the Russian pilgrims.<sup>7</sup> Mary's tomb and cult are evidenced by her church and cult in Bizye.<sup>8</sup> That there may or may not be some intertextual links between the two lives is much less an issue when we can be sure from other sources that we have two distinct saints. Since some sort of mimesis is apparent in much, if not all, of Byzantine literature, and particularly in hagiography, all that evidence of intertextual borrowings would show would be that the *Life* of Thomaïs was known more widely than current manuscripts indicate. In fact, if direct knowledge of the *Life* of Thomaïs by the author of the *Life* of Mary could be shown, we would have a very interesting basis on which to discuss the intentions of the later author.

Such a discussion, however, must be suspended. Technical analysis shows that the two lives are quite distinct (Table A2:1). I took as an "Indication of Possible Relationship," factors which might show the author of the *Life* of St. Mary developing

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<sup>7</sup> Constantine Akropolites, *Laudatio S. Thomaidis* (BHG 2457), in *AASS Nov IV*: 242-46; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 333-37.

<sup>8</sup> Cyril Mango, "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 11 (1968), 9-13.

aspects of Thomaïs' *Life*; and as "Contraindications" aspects of the lives where one might expect a later version to use or develop the earlier *Life*, but where this did not take place. A later version or rewriting of a saint's *Life*, such as the rewriting of the *Life* of Mary of Egypt as the story of Theoktiste,<sup>9</sup> may change details such as names and locations, but the textual affinity is established by considerations of structure and preserved details. We have no such demonstrable intertextual links when we examine the *Lives* of Mary and Thomaïs. The basic structure and areas of emphasis are different, but not in a way that suggests any pattern of rewriting or reconsideration of the topics. For instance, the family connections of Thomaïs that are discussed are of her parents, for Mary her brother and her sons. If the hagiographical point were to show that holy parents yield holy children, why would the writer of Mary's *Life* do away with the story of Thomaïs' parents? When we turn to the miracle stories also, we find not only difference in detail, but also a quite different manner of presentation and no correlation at all in subject matter.

Moving from structure to language, I compared the biblical and patristic citations in each text as located by me (in my translation of the *Life* of Thomaïs), and by Prof. Laiou (in her translation of the *Life* of Mary). Not only did the authors use absolutely distinct biblical, patristic and classical allusions and references, but they dealt with psalms in a divergent way. The *Life* of Thomaïs contains a tissue of psalm quotations and references; Mary's *Life* is scant in its use of them. There is no possibility of the later author (assuming Mary's *Life* was written later) sitting down with any version of the *Life*

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<sup>9</sup> Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes: 9, The Hunter or the Harlot," *BZ* 78 (1985), 49-50; cf. Angela Hero, "Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos," in *HWB*, 96-97.

of Thomaïs. Indeed the much heavier use of psalmody in the *Life* of Thomaïs suggests a monastic author,<sup>10</sup> while the *Life* of Mary with its more limited acquaintance with biblical texts, especially psalmody, suggests a lay author.<sup>11</sup>

The *Life* of Mary the Younger is a much more complex -- "novelistic" -- story than that in the *Life* of Thomaïs, and it addresses questions of becoming a saint and gender much more candidly. This does suggest some deliberate meditation on the issue of women saints, but not, I think, in direct consideration of the *Life* of Thomaïs. We do have here, it seems, two distinct witnesses to the phenomenon of married female saints.

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<sup>10</sup> Most Byzantine hagiographers for whom we have names were men and scholars have resisted suggestions that that some anonymous *Lives* were written by women. (See discussion in Chapter III.) There is a slight possibility that the author of Thomaïs' *Life* was a woman, since her cult was established in a women's convent, and there are references in the text to literate nuns.

<sup>11</sup> The concern in the *Life* of Mary with details of military office and campaigns involves a very male view of the world.

**Table A2.1**  
**Comparison of Lives of Thomaïs of Lesbos and Mary the Younger**

Life of Thomaïs	Life of Mary the Younger
<b>Indications of Possible Relationship</b>	
Shorter	Longer
Story of a married woman beaten by husband who achieves sanctity as a lay woman	Story of a married woman beaten by husband who achieves sanctity as a lay woman
Married but no children	Married, has children, explicitly "knows a man's bed"
Few dialogues	Novelistic
Addresses gender issues obliquely	Direct discussion of gender
<b>Contraindications</b>	
Long discussion of parents	Parents marginal
No children to discuss	Children central to story
Ethnic origins not discussed. prob. Greek	Armenian origin
Middle class	Minor nobility
Activities in Constantinople	Activities in country, then Vize
Miracles while alive	No miracles while alive
Miracles by contact with tomb and oil	Miracles by contact with body itself
Wanders city of CP at night	Enclosed even in Vize
No specific historical information	Specific detail of Bulgarian invasions
<b>Technical Comparison</b>	
<b>Vita Structure</b>	<b>Vita Structure:</b>
Prologue (1)	Prologue (1)
Praise of Thomaïs (2)	Brother's story (2)
Parents' story (3-5)	Praise of Mary (3)
Life (6-9)	Children (4-5) (6)
Miracles while alive (10-14)	Mary's deeds in Vize (5)
--each with a clear story	Story of Adultery Accusation (7-10)
Beating and death (15-16)	1st indications of sanctity (11)
Posthumous miracles (17-25)	Miracles and Clerical Doubts:
--each with a clear story	description of cult's onset (12)
Invocation (26)	Miracles (13-16)
	--piling up of miracles, many with no real context; none the same as Thomaïs'
	Removal of relics (17)
	--due to appearance in a dream - cf. Thomaïs
	Miraculous icon of Mary (18)
	Monkish/episcopal opposition to cult (19-20)
	Mary punishes detractors (21)
	More miracles (22)
	--again many with no context
	Story of Symeon's invasion (23-26)
	Meeting of Mary's sons (27)
	More miracles (28-29)
	--again short snippets
	Mary's sons' piety (30-31)
	Praise of Mary (32)
	Invocation (33)

(Table A2.1 -- Continued)

Life of Thomas	Life of Mary the Younger
<b>Classical/Patristic allusions:</b>	<b>Classical/Patristic Allusions:</b>
Hesiod WD 171	Plato Laws 933a?
Homer Od 14:495/Ill 2:56	Homer Il 6:507
Greg Naz Or 43, 64.3	Greg Naz. Letter 6 to Basil. Par. 8?
Leutsch 1:145	Akathistos hymn?
Leutsch 1:284, 2:123, 549	
Homer Il 1:403	
Plato Gorgias 507c?	
Greg Naz op cit	
Leutsch 1:252	
<b>Psalms Used:</b>	<b>Psalms Used:</b>
31(32):10	148:11-12
64(65):5	140(141):4
118(119):164	25(26):8
6:6	69(70):2
64(65):5	
34(35):19	
37(38):16	
115:2-3/ 78(79):10	
111(112):9/2 Core 9:9	
111(112):5	
25(26):12	
6:6	
118(119):164	
34(35): 9	
44(45):9	
83(84):10	
88(89):14	
114(116):3	
142(143):5	
<b>Biblical References:</b>	<b>Biblical References:</b>
Prov 10:7	Job 1:21
Mt 16:24	2 Ki [2 Sam] 16:17
Gal 6:14	Mt 18:10
Mt. 7:17-18	1 Tim 2:9
Mt. 11:29-30	Gen 3:16
Is 6:6-7	Eccl 7:8
Is 31:9	Gen 39:14-19
Eccl 3:3	Eph 5:23
Ex 14:15	Rom 12:13
Jer 38:26 (KJV 31:26)	Acts 9:15
Phil 4:4	I John 4:16
1 Cor 6:19	Mt 12:45
Heb 13:4/1 Cor 7:37	Gen 9:18-27
Prov 31:19	Mt 12:45
Mt 25:36	Lk 10:42
Mk 8:33	Job 31:32
Mt 5:11	
Rom 8:35	
4 Macc 8:13	
1 Cor 4:11	
1 Cor 2:14	
2 Tim 4:14	
1 Tim 1:20	

(Table A2.1 -- *Continued*)

Life of Thomaïs	Life of Mary the Younger
<b>Biblical References:</b>	<b>Biblical References:</b>
2 Cor 12:7-8	
1 Cor 10:24	
James 1:17	
Jn 5:5	
Jn 5:14	
Mt 9:13, 12.7/Hos 6:7	
Mt 25:35-40	
Mt. 19:29	
Mt 9:6	
Jer 15:8/Hos 1:10	
Prov 30:19	
<b>Contrasts with No Implications on the Relationship between the Texts</b>	
Thomaïs opposed to her marriage	Mary's position on her marriage not discussed
Married at 24 years old	Married at unspecified age
Gives away husband's wealth	Gives away own wealth
Involvement with convent	Not involved with monastics
No opposition to her cult	Explicit discussion of opposition to cult
Husband beats her	Husband and family beat her
Iconoclasm ignored. Icon of virgin discussed.	Iconoclasm and icons both mentioned

*Source: Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos; Life of Mary the Younger.*

Note: Lists of citations and references come from my translation of the *Life* of Thomaïs, and from Angeliki Laiou's translation of the *Life* of St. Mary the Younger.

## B The *Life* of St. Thomaïs of Lesbos

Thomaïs of Lesbos, whose *Life* is discussed in Chapter VI, is notable as a rare example of a middle-class married laywoman who was held to have achieved sanctity in daily life. Her story survives in two anonymously written *vitae*, one perhaps to be dated to the mid-tenth century, the second of unknown date. Both are preserved in fourteenth-century manuscript copies. The first of these, a more detailed account edited by Hippolyte Delehaye from a fourteenth-century manuscript, is translated here.<sup>12</sup> In addition to the two *vitae*, there exists an *enkomion* of Thomaïs written by the noted hagiographer Constantine Akropolites in the late thirteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Her *vita* is especially interesting for the light it sheds on life in Constantinople, where she spent most of her life; for its treatment of marriage; and for its presentation of what constitutes holiness for a Byzantine woman.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Florence, Bibl.Naz. 50 [Conventi soppr. B1.1214]

<sup>13</sup> Edition used for this translation, *Vita S. Thomaidis* (BHG 2454), *AASS* Nov IV:234-42. See also the modern Greek translation by A. Lete, "Θωμαΐς Λέσβου," in D.S. Tsames, *Μητρικόν* (Thessalonica: 1990-), Vol. 4, 324-365. Related texts include: *Vita S. Thomaidis* (BHG 2455), in *Hagiologie byzantine: textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français*, ed. François Halkin, *Subsidia hagiographica* 71 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986), 185-219, [with partial French translation]; and Constantine Akropolites, *Laudatio S. Thomaidis* (BHG 2457), *AASS* Nov IV: 242-46. Akropolites' text is based on the *vita* edited by Delehaye, but includes some additional information such as the residence of Thomaïs' parents in Chalcedon; cf. Alice-Mary Talbot, "Old Wine in New Bottles: The Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Paleologan Period," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 17-19.

<sup>14</sup> For additional discussion see: G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *B* 27 (1957): 836-39; Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "The List of Saints of the 1st-10th Centuries in a Chronological Order," (Unpublished typescript, available at Dumbarton Oaks Library); Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Thomaïs of Lesbos," in *ODB* 2076; Angeliki E. Laiou, "Η ιστορία ενός γάμου: ο βίος της άγιας Θωμαΐδος της Λεσβίας," in *Η Καθημερινή Ζωή Στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Ch. Maltezou (Athens: 1989), 237-71; Patlagean, "La femme déguisée"; Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography," 540; and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Byzantine Women, Saint's

There has been some dispute about the date of the *Life*.<sup>15</sup> Internal evidence (ch. 26) seems to indicate that it was originally written during the reign of Romanos II (959-963), the only "Romanos" who could be called "born in the purple," and another passage (ch. 25) might be read as implying that the composition took place twelve years after Thomaïs' death, at age thirty-eight (ch. 16), which would then have taken place sometime between 947-951. This conclusion would be too hasty; the passage might only refer to twelve years of the hagiographer's experience of Thomaïs' shrine. Fr. Delehaye concluded that all one could say was that Thomaïs lived during the first half of the tenth century. Aleksandr Kazhdan has challenged this dating;<sup>16</sup> he argues that the circumstances of war against a "φυλαρχία ἐθνῶν" ["leaders of foreign nations"] and "μιξοβάρβαροι" [the "semi-barbarous"] (ch. 26), as well as the terminology used, better fits the reign of Romanos IV (1068-71). Since he finds evidence that the Hodegon church, mentioned in ch. 12 as "now called the Hodegetria," was still called "τῶν Ὀδηγῶν" in the 1090s and later, and that Thomaïs, although her life was intimately connected with Constantinople, does not appear in the twelfth-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople,<sup>17</sup> Kazhdan concludes that the *vita* may have been written in the late

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Lives, and Social Welfare," in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*, ed. Emily Albu Hanawalt and Carter Lindberg (Kirksville MO: 1994), 110, 112-113.

<sup>15</sup> This discussion revises that in *HWB* at several points.

<sup>16</sup> Aleksandr P. Kazhdan, "Thomaïs of Lesbos," in *ODB* 2076; and, at greater length in *The List of Saints of the 1st-10th Centuries in a Chronological order* (Unpublished typescript, available at Dumbarton Oaks Library).

<sup>17</sup> The *Synaxarion* is a month by month roster of saints' feast days, along with some hagiographical information. In the edition of the *Synaxarion* by H. Delehaye (*SynaxCP*) the archetype, or base manuscript of the edition, dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Cf. René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud & Gay,



eleventh century, perhaps later, and that the address to Romanos II is either fake, or perhaps flattery of Romanos IV Diogenes, who was certainly not "born in the purple." The similarities of the *Life* of Thomaïs to that of the *Life* of Mary the Younger, which he sees as earlier, also give Kazhdan some pause.

Kazhdan's arguments are unpersuasive. Thomaïs does indeed appear in the SynaxCP, in a manuscript from Jerusalem dated to 1063, that is before Romanos IV came to the throne.<sup>18</sup> The military activity of Romanos II's reign, although he had little to do with it, centered on Nikephoros Phocas' dramatic recapture of Crete from Muslim rule. But Romanos IV's exertions were also directed at Muslims, this time the Turks in eastern Anatolia. Neither set of enemies fits the reading of "μιξοβάρβαροι" that Kazhdan proposes as the population of the Danubian region.<sup>19</sup> It seems that no secure conclusions can be drawn from either the terminology used or the circumstances mentioned in ch. 26. The use of an older name for the Hodegon church also proves little in a literary culture with continual penchant for antiquarian usage, and it is quite possible that the statement about the use of the name *Hodegetria* was a later marginal gloss. Finally, given the later unpopularity of Romanos IV as the loser at Mantzikert, it is difficult to see any reason why a flattering dedication would have been made in a text composed any later than

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1953), 72-83.

<sup>18</sup> This is a revision to my introduction to the translation in *HWB*, 294, which states that Thomaïs is absent from the SynaxCP. This is true for January 1, and for manuscripts used by Delehaye as the basis for his edition. Thomaïs does, however, appear on January 3 in the manuscript Delehaye calls "Fa" (*Paris 1590*) a *synaxarion* from September to February, written in a monastery near Jerusalem in 1063, cf. SynaxCP, 368.41.

<sup>19</sup> "Μιξοβάρβαροι" was commonly applied to Slavs, but could also be applied to Muslims as well; e.g. Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* Bk.11, ch.2, sect.7, l.19; Bk.15, ch. 5, sect 2, l.17

1071, or kept in later copies. Some support for a late dating of the life may come, however, from the mention of the "Ankurios" monastery in ch. 11.<sup>20</sup> Eleventh-century sources document a monastery of this name, but of uncertain age, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, but Constantine Akropolites in his later recension of the story places the monastery in Constantinople. The only religious house of this name known in the city was a *metochion* of Nea Mone of Chios established in the mid-eleventh century.

Officially, a "metochion" was a private lodge for visitors to Constantinople from a distant monastery, but some of them did function as small monasteries. The Nea Mone *metochion* might then be the institution mentioned in the text as the home of the eunuch who was cured. On the other hand, in the absence of any other evidence, we may be dealing with an entirely different monastery not mentioned in other sources, a suggestion of Angeliki Laiou, who notes that there was a family called Angourios in the ninth century and that there was a district of Constantinople with that name in the eleventh century.<sup>21</sup>

While, then, no certain dating can be given for the *Life*, there is no compelling reason to dismiss the earlier tenth-century date suggested by the text's reference to a Romanos "born in the purple."

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(used of Turks in both cases). Thanks to Alice-Mary Talbot for these and other references.

<sup>20</sup> See notes for ch. 11 in the text. The name "Ankurios" means "cucumber." It was given to at least two monastic houses in the Constantinople area, and probably derives from a family name which is attested in both the ninth century (cf. PG 102:937); and, as Ἀγγούρας and Ἀγκοῦρος, in the thirteenth century, which existed at the same time suggest that it might be some sort of nickname (see *PLP*.)

<sup>21</sup> Laiou, "Life of Mary," *HWB*, 252 n39; cf. PG 102:937.

My annotated translation of this text was recently published in a collection of ten Byzantine women saints' lives.<sup>22</sup> This translation is substantially reproduced in this appendix, but with the addition of the Greek text, presented in parallel with the English translation. A number of minor corrections to my published commentary have been made, along with some added notes pointing out specific elements related to the issue of gender.

The *Life* of St. Thomaīs is a significant text in any consideration of the life and activities open to a middle class woman in Constantinople in the Middle Byzantine period. The story of an unhappy marriage and its unfolding is clear and gripping, more so perhaps than the largely conventional good works Thomaīs performs. We also have a woman who controls her own actions and follows her own will, a model of female sanctity that was not later developed. A minor saint, yes, but one who presented an exceptional opportunity to look at the conventions, and contraventions, of Byzantine middle class life.

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<sup>22</sup> Paul Halsall, trans., "Life of St. Thomaīs of Lesbos," in *HWB*, 291-322.

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς ὁσίας καὶ  
θαυματουργοῦ Θωμαΐδος

1.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ δικαίων μνήμην μετ'  
ἐγκωμίων τὰ ἱερά φησι γίνεσθαι  
λόγια, πῶς οὐκ ἐγκωμιαστέον τὴν τὸ  
θῆλυ γένος κοσμήσασαν; ἐξαίρω τοῦ  
λόγου τὴν θεομήτορα τὴν τῶν  
Χερουβίμ ὑπερηρμένην ὡς κτισμάτων  
πάντων ἐπέκεινα· τοίνυν ὑμνητέον ὡς  
ἔφην τὴν πασῶν δικαίων δικαιοτέραν,  
ἧς ἡ παροῦσα πανήγυρις, τὴν  
θαυμαστὴν Θωμαΐδα, τὴν γένει καὶ  
βίῳ πᾶσι περίπυστον, τὴν πάσαις  
ἀρετῶν ιδέαις κεκοσμημένην καὶ  
φωτοειδὲς ἀπαστράπτουσαν, σεμνὴν

**The Life and Conduct of the Holy and  
Miracle-Working Thomaïs**

I. [Prologue]<sup>23</sup>

Since the holy scriptures say that  
the *memory of the righteous is to be  
praised*,<sup>24</sup> should we not praise one who  
is an adornment to the female sex? I  
exclude from <this> discussion the  
Mother of God, she who has been lifted  
above the cherubim, since she is beyond  
all created beings. We should praise,  
therefore, as I said, one who was more  
righteous than all the righteous women,  
the admirable Thomaïs, for whom <we  
keep> the present festival.<sup>25</sup> By her  
family<sup>26</sup> and life she was well-known to

<sup>23</sup> Chapter titles are not given in *HWB* version.

<sup>24</sup> Prov. 10:7.

<sup>25</sup> Thomaïs' feast day is indicated here as January 1. Hagiographical texts were often composed to be read aloud on the saint's feast day.

<sup>26</sup> The word is "γένος." The word can mean "family" or "lineage," but also "sex" or "gender." Here and later in the prologue it has been translated as "family," (as also in 240C, where γένει λαμπρῶ clearly means "brilliant lineage" of "family"), mainly because of the oddity of a Byzantine author writing of the "glory, renown, and brilliance" of the female sex. It is also usual for a hagiographer to praise the lineage of a saint. Other considerations, though, might lead to a translation of the word as "sex" or "gender." First, there is no textual evidence that either of

τὸ ἦθος, κοσμίαν τὸν τρόπον.  
 κοσμιωτέραν τὸν βίον. τὴν ἄσκησιν,  
 Θωμαΐδα τὴν τὸ γένος τοῖς τρόποις  
 μᾶλλον κοσμήσασαν ἢ κοσμηθεῖσαν  
 τῷ τοῦ γένους κύδει καὶ τῇ  
 περιφανείᾳ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι.

all, she who was adorned by all forms of  
 virtue and sparkled like a light. By her  
 holy habits, modest character, still more  
 modest lifestyle, as well as her  
 asceticism, Thomaïs adorned her family  
 by her ways, rather than being one who  
 was adorned by her family's glory,  
 renown, and brilliance.

2.

Ταύτην ἤνεγκε Λέσβος, νῆσος ἄλλη  
 μακάρων (1) σχεδόν, τὴν μακαρίαν  
 ἐκφύσασα καὶ ταύτην ἐνεγκαμένη τῷ  
 παρόντι βίῳ μέγα τι καλὸν ἐπαινετὸν  
 καὶ ἐράσμιον, ξυμπάσας Λεσβίδας  
 κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφερόντως  
 ὑπερελάσασαν· ἦν σωματικαὶ

II. [The saint's homeland]

It was Lesbos,<sup>27</sup> virtually another  
*island of the blessed*,<sup>28</sup> that was her  
 homeland, having given birth to the  
 blessed one and brought her forth into the  
 present life as a great good, praised and  
 beloved, a <woman> who exceedingly  
 surpassed all Lesbian women in her

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Thomaïs' families, her natal family or her husband's family, were "glorious, brilliant, or renowned." Second, the phrasing of the clauses translated with "family" parallels that of the earlier τὸ θῆλυ γένος κοσμήσασαν, where γένος is unambiguously "sex." Finally, the reference to the Theotokos, who could be praised for her gender, might be seen as creating a location in which a female saint could indeed be praised for being female.

<sup>27</sup> Lesbos is a large Aegean island close to the coast of northwestern Asia Minor.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 171 and Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* I:78. The author may also be referring to Lesbos as the birthplace of saints such as Theoktiste.

καθωραΐσαν χάριτες, ἦν ἀρεταὶ  
 περιεστοίχισαν ξύμπασαι, τὴν καὶ  
 φύσιν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῖς  
 ἀσωμάτοις ἐξισωθεΐσαν δυνάμεσι καὶ  
 ἀγγελικῶς βίωσασαν καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς  
 τοῦ σκότους πατήσασαν ναὶ μὴν καὶ  
 τὰς ἡδονὰς ὡς ἄλλον συρφετὸν  
 ἐκδιώξασαν καὶ σταυρὸν ἀραμένην  
 καταμαδὸν καὶ τῶν δεσποτικῶν καὶ  
 θείων ἰχνῶν κατόπιν βαδίσασαν καὶ  
 ὅλην ὄλου γεγонуΐαν Χριστοῦ, ὡς  
 ἐκεῖνον διὰ παντὸς ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι  
 κάκεινου τῷ κάλλει καθάπαξ  
 ἀλίσκεσθαι, ὡς ἑαυτὴν τῷ κόσμῳ  
 σταυρώσασαν ἢ μᾶλλον ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ

beauty and greatness. She was <a  
 woman> adorned with bodily graces,  
 whom all the virtues bedecked. The  
 nature of her body was equal to that of the  
 incorporeal powers.<sup>29</sup> She lived an  
 angelic<sup>30</sup> life, and trampled down the  
 powers of darkness,<sup>31</sup> indeed she drove  
 away pleasure like so much refuse. She  
 raised the cross upon her shoulders<sup>32</sup> and  
 walked in the divine steps of the Lord.  
 She was totally devoted to Christ; so as to  
 reflect him in all <ways> and be  
 completely overpowered by His beauty.  
 She *crucified herself to the world*,<sup>33</sup> or

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<sup>29</sup> I.e., Ἀσώματοι, the archangels.

<sup>30</sup> Since Thomaïs was married, and there is no specific claim in the *Life* that she abstained from marital intimacy, this is a surprising statement. "To live like the angels" is a common circumlocution for a monastic or abstinent life and the reference may be to her attempt to live an ascetic life, even though married, as if she were in a convent. We may also note that the *Life* mentions no children from her thirteen years of marriage. On the other hand in the next chapter her father is also described as having "maintained an angelic lifestyle," so the phrase may just refer to pious and God-pleasing behavior.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Col. 1:13.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Mt. 16:24.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Gal. 6:14.

γενομένην και ὅλω νοῖ σχολάζουσαν  
 τῷ πρώτῳ και φανοτάτῳ φωτὶ και φῶς  
 γίνεσθαι δεύτερον, τοῦ τοιούτου  
 φωτὸς δεχόμενον ἀπομόργματα, ρίζης  
 εὐγενοῦς εὐγενέστερον βλάστημα·  
 οἶον γάρ φησι τὸ δένδρον, τοιούτος  
 και ὁ καρπός.

3.

Ταύτην ὁ φύσας πατήρ, ἀνὴρ  
 θεαρέστως ζῶν και βίον ἔχων  
 ἀγγελικόν, Μιχαὴλ ὠνομάζετο, τὸν  
 τρόπον χρηστός, τὸν βίον σεμνός, τὸ  
 φρόνημα σταθερός και πρὸ καιροῦ  
 πολιός, τέλεια και βεβηκότα φρονῶν  
 ἐντελεῖ τῆς ἡλικίας τῷ καταστήματι·  
 ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὐδέν γαρ ἐστι τῶν  
 ἀπάντων λόγου και εὐφημίας ἐπάξιον,  
 οὐ φυσικόν, οὐκ ἀσκητόν, ὃ μὴ ἐκείνῳ  
 προσῆν· τὰς ἱερὰς πυξίδας

rather was outside of <the world>.

devoting her whole mind to the first and  
 brightest light, and so became a second  
 light, receiving reflections from such  
 light. She was the nobler offspring of a  
 noble root for, as is said, the fruit is of the  
 same quality as the tree.<sup>34</sup>

III. [Her most pious parents]

Her father, a man who lived in a  
 way pleasing to God and maintained an  
 angelic lifestyle, was named Michael.<sup>35</sup>  
 He was upright in character, holy in his  
 way of life, firm of purpose, prematurely  
 gray-haired, possessed of a perfect and  
 advanced understanding because of his  
 mature age. So that, to tell the truth, there  
 is no <virtue> at all worthy of words and  
 praise, neither innate nor attained by  
 practice, which did not accrue to him;

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Mt. 7:17-18.

<sup>35</sup> "Michael" was, of course, a fitting name for a man who lived "the life of angels."

ἀναπτύσσων πυκνῶς, ἐν αἷς  
ἀναγεγράφαι τὰ θεῖα θεσπίσματα,  
τάς ἐν τοῖς θείοις ναοῖς συνάξεις  
ἀνερευνῶν, ὀπηνίκα τὸ θεῖον  
δοξολογεῖται θερμῶς, τῇ λέξει  
προσέχων, τὸν νοῦν ἀνιχνεύων, τὸ  
φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ταπεινῶν, τὸ  
ἦθος κοσμῶν, τὸν βίον σεμνύνων,  
καλύπτων τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν εἰς  
Χριστὸν ἀκραιφνεστάτην πίστιν, καὶ  
τοῦτο πάντως ὡς συνετός, τεθρίπῳ  
χρῶμενος ἀγαθῷ, τῇ τετρακτύϊ λέγω  
τῶν ἀρετῶν, δι' ἧς θαμινώτερον ὠμίλει  
Θεῷ. Τούτῳ συνέζευκτο καὶ συνεργὸς  
τοῦ βίου Καλή, τὸ ἦθος καλλίστη,  
καλλίων δὲ ψυχὴν, σωφρονοῦσα  
μᾶλλον, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν  
ὁμοφρονοῦσα τάνδρῃ, τὴν πολιτείαν

frequently reading the holy books<sup>36</sup> in  
which the divine revelations have been  
recorded; searching out the assemblies<sup>37</sup>  
in the divine churches when the Divine is  
warmly praised; paying attention to his  
manner of speech; examining his mind;  
humbling the spirit of his flesh; adorning  
his character; dignifying his life;  
covering his head in the most pure faith  
of Christ. And he was an intelligent man  
as well, making use of a good four-horse  
chariot. I mean the quartet of the  
virtues,<sup>38</sup> as a result of which he very  
often spoke with God.

His wife and life companion was  
Kale,<sup>39</sup> who was most beautiful in  
character, and more beautiful in soul.

<sup>36</sup> Lit. "unfolding the tablets."

<sup>37</sup> Or "services."

<sup>38</sup> The four cardinal virtues of antiquity were courage/manliness (ἀνδρεία),  
righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), prudence/moderation (σωφροσύνη), and prudence/good sense  
(φρόνησις); cf. *ODB* 2178.

<sup>39</sup> Thomaïs' mother, whose name means "good" or "beautiful."



ἐπαινετή, τὴν γνώμην συνετή, καλὴ  
τὴν προαίρεσιν· τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τῇ  
γυναικὶ προσυπῆρξε κύριον ὄνομα καὶ  
τοιαύτην προσηγορίαν ἐκ καλλίστης  
εὗρατο προαιρέσεως, ὅτι καὶ  
κατάλληλος ὁ τρόπος ἀπεφάνθη τῇ  
κλήσει· κάντεῦθεν καὶ συνεργὸς  
ἐδόθη κατ' αὐτὸν ἡ Καλὴ τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
ἀνδρὶ καὶ ζεῦγος ἀπεφάνθη χρυσοῦν,  
ζεῦγος τρισεύδαιμον καὶ μακάριον,  
τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν εὐτόνωσ ἔλκον ζυγὸν  
καὶ φυλάττον τὰ θεῖα θεσπίσματα.  
Μακάριοι τοίνυν ἄμφω κατὰ τὸν  
προφήτην ἐκείνον, οὗ τὰ χεῖλη  
Σεραφικὸς ἄνθραξ ἐξέφανεν  
ὑπερκάθαρα, ὅτι ἐν Σιών ἐσχήκασι  
σπέρμα καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκίους.  
Ἄλλ' ὅπερ ἐλέγομεν οὕτω μὲν ἡ Καλὴ

<She was> quite temperate, and, to speak truly, was of one mind with her husband. She <was> praiseworthy in conduct, intelligent in her mind, and good in her disposition. This then ["Good"] was the woman's personal name<sup>40</sup> and it found such an appellation from her exceedingly good disposition, because her character was indeed revealed to be appropriate to her name. And so Kale was given <in marriage> to be a companion for the aforementioned man, and they were revealed to be a golden team, a team thrice happy and blessed, vigorously bearing the evangelical yoke<sup>41</sup> and observing the divine precepts. Thus both were blessed like that prophet [Isaiah], on

<sup>40</sup> "Κύριον ὄνομα," a relatively rare expression. There is a parallel in the *vita* of the ninth-century saint Theophanes the Confessor, where it is said that as a youth he was usually called by his father's name Isaac rather than by his given name (τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς θεοφανείας ἐπονυμῆματι); cf. *Vita s. Theophanis confessoris*, ed. V. Latyšev (St. Petersburg: 1918), 5.7. Up to the tenth century Byzantines generally only had a baptismal name, and no surname; cf. *ODB* 1435.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Mt. 11:29-30.

τὸν βίον ὁμοῦ καὶ θεάρεστος ἀνδρὶ  
 νομίμως ὁμοτρόπῳ συνέζευκτο· καὶ ἦν  
 ὄρᾶν ἄμφω φρονοῦντας θαμὰ τὰ τοῦ  
 βίου περιφρονοῦντας καλὰ,  
 ὁμοοοῦντας, συμπνέοντας· πλούτου  
 δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἦσαν ἔχοντες  
 ἱκανῶς, οὔτε πενία συνδουλούμενοι  
 τῇ μέσῃ τύχῃ προσελαυνόμενοι καὶ  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν τρανές ὡς οἶμαι  
 τεκμήριον.

4.

Τούτους ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ὁ ἀπαιδίας ἐλύπει  
 δεσμὸς, ὡς τοὺς τοῦ Κυρίου πάλαι  
 προπάτορας ἢ τῆς ἀτεκνίας πέδη

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Is. 6:6-7.

<sup>43</sup> Is. 31:9.

whose lips shone a seraphic and purging  
 coal,<sup>42</sup> because they had *seed in Sion and  
 household friends in Jerusalem*.<sup>43</sup> But, to  
 return to my subject, Kale, who was God-  
 pleasing in her lifestyle, was lawfully  
 united with a man of the same habits.  
 And one could often see both of <these>  
 wise <individuals> holding in contempt  
 the fine things of life, since they were of  
 one mind. They had enough wealth and  
 money that they were neither enslaved by  
 poverty, nor were they swollen by the  
 weight of money, but they proceeded  
 along in a middle path which is a clear  
 sign, I think, of their virtue.

IV. [The sterility of Michael and  
 Kale]

The fetter of sterility strongly  
 grieved this <couple>, as of old the

συνέσφιγγεν· ἐκλόνει τούτους πυκνῶς,  
 κατέσειε θαμινῶς, τὴν ψυχὴν  
 διεσπάραττε, διηνεκῶς τοῖς θείοις  
 ναοῖς προσεδρεύοντας, παννύχοις  
 ὑμνωδίαις προσμένοντας, νύκτωρ καὶ  
 μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑμνοῦντας τὸν Κύριον·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα  
 πρὸς ὁμοζυγίαν ἐτράπησαν· οὕμενον·  
 ἀλλ' ἐφέσει παιδὸς ἀγαθοῦ, τῆς  
 θαυμαστῆς φημὶ Θωμαΐδος, πρὸς ἣν ὁ  
 λόγος μᾶλλον ἐπείγεται· ἀλλὰ μικρὸν  
 ἀναμεινάτω, ὡς ἂν τὰ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας  
 ὅπως ἔχοι σαφῶς ἀπαγγείλειεν.  
 Ἔπασχον οἱ γεννάδαι τῷ πόθῳ  
 κάμνοντες τοῦ παιδός, ὡς πρώην οἱ  
 πρόγονοι τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότης Χριστοῦ·  
 οἶδατε πάντως, ὁ λόγος τίνας ἠνίξατο·  
 ἀθυμία συνείχοντο, θρηνώδη  
 συνέπλεκον ῥήματα, οὐκ ἔληγον

shackle of childlessness had bound the  
 forefathers of the Lord.<sup>44</sup> It agitated them  
 mightily, upset them deeply, and tore  
 apart their soul. They constantly went to  
 the divine churches, remaining all night  
 singing hymns, [235] indeed singing to  
 the Lord both night and day. For they had  
 not turned to marriage for the sake of  
 bodily pleasure, quite the contrary, but  
 out of desire for a good child; I speak of  
 the wondrous Thomaïs, towards whom  
 this account is hastening. But let it pause  
 a little, so as to tell its tale as clearly as  
 possible.

This good <couple> suffered  
 <then>, being troubled by their desire for  
 a child, as had the ancestors of my Lord  
 Christ. You surely know <who they are>;

<sup>44</sup> This could be a reference to Abraham and Sarah, Gen. 16, or to Joachim and Anna; see, for example, the *Protoevangelion of James* ch. 1-2, in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, Vol. 1 (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster Press, 1991), 426.

ἐκλιπαροῦντες Θεόν· γονυπετοῦντες,  
καθικετεύοντες, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν  
πενθοῦντες ἦσαν καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντες·  
οὐκ εἶχον ὄ,τι καὶ δράσειαν· ἐπεὶπερ  
οὐκ εἶχον τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν  
παρηγόρημα, τὰ τῆς Δαυϊτικῆς ᾠδῆς  
συχνάκις ἦσαν ἐπάδοντες· <<Πολλὰ  
αἱ μάστιγες τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, τὸν δὲ  
ἐλπίζοντα ἐπὶ Κύριον ἔλεος  
κυκλώσει.>> Ναὶ μέντοι καὶ  
περικύκλωσεν ἔλεος καὶ δεομένους  
οὐδ' ὅλως παρώσατο· <<Ἐπάκουσον  
ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐλπίς  
πάντων τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν  
ἐν θαλάσῃ μακράν.>> Ἐπέβλεψε  
τοῖνυν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὁ Κύριος καὶ τοῦ  
στεναγμοῦ τῶν πεπηδημένων  
ἐπήκουσε· καὶ τῆς ἀπαιδίας δεσμοὺς  
ὡς ἄλλους τινὰς κλοιοὺς σιδηροῦς  
ἐπικειμένους σφίσι καὶ

<my> account<sup>45</sup> has alluded to some of them. They were afflicted with despondency, and composed words of lamentation. They entreated God unceasingly; they kept falling down on their knees in supplication, and were mourning and of sad countenance all day long. They did not know what they could do. Since they had no consolation of their own, they used to sing frequently the song of David: "*Many are the scourges of the sinner, but him that hopes in the Lord, mercy shall compass about.*"<sup>46</sup> And indeed mercy did encompass them, nor did it wholly reject those who were entreating: "*Hearken to us, O God our savior; the hope of all the ends of the earth and of them that are on the sea far off.*"<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Or "Scripture."

<sup>46</sup> Ps. 31 (32):10.

<sup>47</sup> Ps. 64 (65):5.

περισφίγγοντας ἔλυσε καὶ ἤρε τὸ  
 ὄνειδος ἐξ αὐτῶν, τὸν τῆς ἀπαιδίας  
 φημι κλοιὸν τὸν βαρὺν αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπικείμενον· καὶ γίνεται τοῖς  
 εἰρημένοις ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας καρπὸς  
 ὡραῖος τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥθους  
 κατάστασιν· ὡραῖος ἦν εἰς ὄρασιν ὁ  
 καρπός, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὡραιότερος.  
 Ἄλλ' ὅσα μὲν καὶ οἶα τῆς ὀσίας  
 ἔπασχον οἱ γονεῖς στερούμενοι,  
 φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἤδη προδιεσάφησεν.

Thus the Lord looked down from  
 heaven and hearkened to the lamentation  
 of this couple which was bound<sup>48</sup> <in  
 sterility>. and he loosed the fetters of  
 childlessness which were like iron collars  
 laid upon them and binding them all  
 around, and removed from them their  
 disgrace. I mean the heavy collar of  
 childlessness that was laid upon on them.  
 And in accord with his promise<sup>49</sup> the  
 aforementioned <couple> obtained a fruit  
 beautiful in appearance and in character.  
 The fruit was beautiful to see, but even  
 more beautiful in soul. But my previous  
 account has already explained how much  
 and in what ways the parents of the  
 blessed <Thomaïs> suffered in being  
 deprived <of a child>.

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<sup>48</sup> lege πεπεδημένων for πεπηδημένων.

<sup>49</sup> Or possibly "as a result of their vow," although there is no mention of any vow made by Michael and Kale.

5.

Ὡς γοῦν τῶν παρακαλούντων Θεὸς  
πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐκδυσωπούμενος  
ἤκουσε καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν πάλιν  
ιάσατο, τοῦτο μὲν δοκιμάζων τὴν  
καρτερίαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκκακοῖεν τοῖς  
πειρασμοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἀπαγορεύοιεν, εἰ  
ἀνατιθέασι τὸ πᾶν τῷ Θεῷ καθάπερ  
δῆτα καὶ πεποιήκασιν, ἀμέλει καὶ  
τοῖς θείοις ναοῖς συχνάκις τῆς ἡμέρας  
σχολάζοντες ἐπτάκις ἤνουν τὸν  
Κύριον· καὶ ταῖς τῶν θείων γραφῶν  
ἀναγνώσεσι προσεμμένοντες  
προσευχῇ τε παννύχῳ καὶ νηστείᾳ  
προσκέιμενοι τέκνον δοθῆναι τούτοις  
ἐξελιπάρουν τὸν Κύριον· τὰς τῶν  
δικαίων ἐζήλουν λιτὰς Ἰωακείμ καὶ  
Ἄννης, τῶν προγόνων τῆς θεομήτορος·  
ἔπαιον συχνάκις τὰ στέρνα, τὰ δέμνια  
τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔλουον· ἀλλὰ <<τί

V. [Prayers and lamentations]

As so often when God is entreated  
greatly, He gave ear to those who call <on  
Him>, and healed <them> at the right  
season,<sup>50</sup> testing their endurance by this,  
<to see> whether they would be  
fainthearted in the face of temptations,  
whether they would forsake <Him>, <to  
see> if they would dedicate everything to  
God, even as surely they had been doing.  
And, indeed, frequenting the divine  
churches, they *praised the Lord seven  
times a day*.<sup>51</sup> And continually reading  
the divine scriptures, and devoting  
themselves to all-night prayer and fasting,  
they entreated the Lord that a child be  
given to them. They emulated the  
supplications of the righteous Anna and  
Joachim, the parents of the mother of

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. Eccl. 3:3.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Ps. 118(119):164.

βοάτε πρὸς με;>> παρὰ Κυρίου  
 ἐπήκουον· ἀλαλήτοις καὶ γὰρ  
 στεναγμοῖς ἐβόων πρὸς Κῶριον·  
 <<Ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ  
 ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐλπίς πάντων τῶν περάτων  
 τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάσσει μακρὰν·  
 γενοῦ τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτὸς ἀρωγός·  
 φάνθι ξυνέριθος τῷ βουλήματι· δὸς  
 καρπὸν κοιλίας τοῖς σοῖς οἰκέταις  
 ἐξαιτουμένοις σε· μὴ ἀπόση κενοὺς  
 οἰκτρούς σοι λάτρας  
 προσπίπτοντας.>> Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα  
 πρὸς Κύριον φάσκοντες οὐκ ἐνέλιπον·  
 <<Μὴ ἐπιχαρεῖσαν ἡμῖν οἱ  
 ἀντίπαλοι· μὴ εἴπωσιν ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ  
 Θεὸς αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ  
 οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ πάντα ὅσα  
 ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν.>>. Τί γοῦν πρὸς  
 ταῦτα ὁ τῶν θαυμάτων Θεὸς

God: they frequently beat their breasts,  
 and bathed their beds with tears.<sup>52</sup> And  
 from the Lord they heard "*Why criest thou  
 to me?*"<sup>53</sup> for indeed they were crying to  
 the Lord with cries of woe and  
 lamentations. "*Hearken to us, O God our  
 savior; the hope of all the ends of the  
 earth and of them that are on the sea far  
 off.*"<sup>54</sup> Be the defender of those that call  
 on you. Reveal Thyself as helpmate to  
 our intention. Grant a fruit of the womb  
 to Thy servants who petition Thee. Do  
 not drive away empty-handed Thy  
 pitiable servants who prostrate  
 themselves before Thee." They  
 continually uttered these and similar  
 words to the Lord, "Let not our  
 adversaries rejoice against us."<sup>55</sup> Let them

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ps. 6:6.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Ex. 14:15.

<sup>54</sup> Ps. 64(65):5. This quotation, and indeed the whole chapter, repeats elements from ch. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Ps. 34(35):19, Ps. 37(38):16.

διαπράττεται: τὴν τούτων δέησιν οὐ παρέβλεψε, τοὺς στεναγμοὺς οὐ παρεΐδεν· ἀλλ' ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νυκτῶν τῇ θαυμασίᾳ Καλῇ γυναικί, τῇ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὄντως καλῇ, κατ' ὄναρ ὀπτάνεται ἢ πανάμωμος παρθένος ἢ ἀειπάρθενος καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ <<πρὸς ταῦτα.>> φησί, <<μὴ στύγναζε, γύναι, μηδὲ δυσχέραινε τῆς ἀτεκνίας χάριν τῆς σῆς· οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τέκνον θῆλυ τέξεις, πᾶσαν ἀθυμίαν ἀποδιώκειν μέλλον ἐκ σοῦ πορρωτάτῳ, γύναι Καλή.>> Ταῦτα σχεδὸν ὕπαρ ἠκηκόει παρὰ τῆς θεομήτορος· καὶ διυπνισθεῖσα τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ τοιαῦτα που διαλέγεται· <<Θεῖος ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηγέρθη καὶ εἶδον· καὶ ὁ ὕπνος μου ἡδὺς ἐγένετο.>> Καὶ τὰ ὀραθέντα διηγῆσατο ζύμπαντα.

not say 'where is their God? But our God has done in heaven and in earth whatsoever he has pleased.'<sup>56</sup> What then did the God of wonders bring about in this situation? He did not overlook their entreaty, nor disregard their lamentations. But one night, the all-immaculate and ever-virginal Virgin was seen in a dream by the wondrous woman Kale, truly good<sup>57</sup> in character and manner, and said these very words: "Do not be of sad countenance about these things, O woman, and do not be upset on account of your childlessness. In a short while you shall bear a female child, who will chase as far as possible from you all despondency, O good woman."<sup>58</sup> While nearly awake, she heard these things from the Mother of God, and waking from her

<sup>56</sup> Ps. 115:2-3: cf. also Ps. 78(79):10.

<sup>57</sup> Another pun on Καλή, her name, which means "good."

<sup>58</sup> Or "O woman Kale."



Ἄμελει καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ  
 συλλαβοῦσα τέκνον γεννᾶ κατὰ τὴν  
 ὑπόσχεσιν τῆς ἀειπαρθένου κόρης καὶ  
 θεομήτορος· τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα Θωμαΐς·  
 τέκνον ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας ἀποτεχθέν, τὴν  
 μὲν φύσιν θῆλυ, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν καὶ  
 τὴν ἄσκησιν πολλῶ τῶν ἀρρένων  
 ἀρρενικώτερον.

sleep she said words of this sort to her  
 husband, "*While I was asleep a divine  
 dream came:*<sup>59</sup> *therefore I awaked and  
 beheld and my sleep was sweet to me.*"<sup>60</sup>

And she narrated all the things that she  
 had seen. Indeed shortly thereafter,  
 having conceived, she brought forth a  
 child in fulfillment of the promise of the  
 ever-virgin maid and Mother of God.  
 The name "Thomaïs" <was given> to her,  
 a child who was born in accord with a  
 promise, who by nature was female, but  
 by virtue and ascetic discipline much  
 more male than men.

6.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν οἱ ὀσίας  
 γεννήτορες Λεσβόθεν ἀπάραντες τοῖς  
 Βοσπορείοις ἐνώκησαν μέρεσι

VI. [Thomaïs' Childhood]

After these events then the parents  
 of the blessed <Thomaïs> departed from  
 Lesbos and settled in the area of the

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<sup>59</sup> Homer, *Od.* 14:495, *Il.* 2:56.

<sup>60</sup> Jer. 38:26 [LXX] [= Jer. 31:26 in Vulgate, KJV, and Hebrew versions].

κάκεϊσε διήγον ἐφ' ἱκανόν, νηστεία  
καὶ παννύχῳ δεήσει προσκείμενοι, τῷ  
Κυρίῳ χαίροντες κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον,  
ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστοῦντες, θεαρέστως  
διάγοντες. Ἡὔξανε γοῦν ἐκεῖνο καὶ  
ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐκρατύνετο, θεοσεβεία  
προσκείμενον καὶ πάσαις ἀγαθῶν  
ιδέαις κοσμούμενον· καὶ τὸ  
κρυπτόμενον κάλλος τῷ φαινομένῳ  
καὶ ἔξωθεν ὑπεδείκνυε καὶ ταῖς  
σωματικαῖς ιδιότησι τὰς ψυχικὰς  
ἐνέφαινε χάριτας, ταῖς γνωρίμοις τὰς  
ἀφανεῖς, ταῖς ἐκτός τὰς ἐντός· καὶ ἦν  
ιδεῖν ἀρμονίαν ἀρίστην σωματικὴν,  
τὴν πνευματικὴν καλλονὴν  
ὑπεμφαίνουσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγεννῶς  
παρὰ τῶν γεννητόρων ἐτρέφετο, ἀλλ'  
ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ νουθεσίᾳ  
πολλῇ· τραφεῖσα δ' οὕτω καὶ

Bosporus<sup>61</sup> where they lived there for a  
long time. They devoted themselves to  
fasting and all-night prayer, *rejoicing in  
the Lord*<sup>62</sup> in accordance with <the  
teaching of> the apostle, giving thanks in  
all things, and living their lives in a way  
pleasing to God.

As <Thomaïs> grew up, she  
continued to be strengthened in the  
virtues, devoted to the worship of God,  
and adorned by all forms of goodness.  
She disclosed her hidden beauty by its  
external manifestation and revealed the  
grace of her soul by her bodily features;  
<revealing her> invisible <virtues> by the  
visible, her internal <virtues> by her  
external <beauty>. One could see in her  
a perfect bodily harmony, which

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<sup>61</sup> The strait leading from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara. The much later evidence of Constantine Akropolites' *Laudatio*, ch.3 (*AASS*, Nov IV: 242F), specifies the city of Chalcedon.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Phil. 4:4.

παιδευθεῖσα καλῶς καὶ πρὸς ἡλικίαν  
 πεφθακυῖα τὴν περὶ τὰ εἴκοσι καὶ  
 τέσσαρα ἔτη παρὰ τῶν αὐτῆς  
 γεννητόρων ἀνδρὶ συζευθῆναι  
 κατηναγκάζετο, κἄν παρθενεύειν  
 ἤθελε μᾶλλον καὶ σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς  
 ἀγνοεῖν καὶ σαρκικὰς ὀρέξεις  
 καταπατεῖν, ὡς τὸν ἑαυτῆς ναὸν  
 καθαρὸν καὶ ἀρρύπαρον τῷ καθαρῷ  
 Θεῷ παραστήσειεν· ἀλλ' ἔδει ταύτην  
 καὶ παρθενίαν τηρῆσαι καὶ γάμον  
 τιμῆσαι, τὰ πᾶσιν ἐπαινετὰ καὶ  
 σεβάσμια. Πειθαρχεῖ τοῖς τοκεῦσι,  
 πρὸς γάμον ἐκκλίνει, στεφάνῳ κλίνει

suggested her spiritual beauty of her  
 soul.<sup>63</sup> She was not raised in an ignoble  
 manner by her parents, but with  
 discipline, understanding, and frequent  
 admonition.

After <Thomaïs> was thus reared  
 and trained and reached the age of about  
 twenty four years old, she was forced by  
 her parents to take a husband even though  
 she preferred to remain a virgin;<sup>64</sup> she  
 wished to remain ignorant of bodily  
 pleasure and to trample on fleshly desires  
 so as to present herself as a pure and

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<sup>63</sup> As Kazhdan, *ODB* 2076, points out, this *Life* takes pains to emphasize Thomaïs' physical as well as spiritual beauty. This stress on the saint's youthful physical beauty reflects an established *topos* in the acts of both female and male martyrs and ascetics; cf., for example, ch. 7 in the *Life* of Synkletike (PG 28:1489; translated by Elizabeth A. Castelli, in *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush, [Minneapolis: 1990], 268). The idea that physical form is a mirror of the soul is first found in hagiography in ch. 67 of the *Life* of Anthony the Great; cf. PG 26:940 and Eng. translation by Robert T. Meyer, *St. Athanasius. The Life of Saint Anthony* (Westminster, Maryland; 1950), 77.

<sup>64</sup> It would be unusual for a woman to remain unmarried until this age, and so perhaps Thomaïs had successfully resisted marriage when she was younger. A Byzantine girl reached maturity at about twelve years old and normally married soon after; see Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31:1 (1981): 16. Objection to marriage until parental pressure made it unavoidable was a frequent *topos* of hagiography: cf. Lynda Garland, "The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," *B* 58 (1988), 367.

τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀνδρὶ νομίμῳ  
 συζεύγνυται· ὁ δέ, Στέφανος τὴν  
 κλῆσιν, οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν, οὐ δίδοται  
 συνεργὸς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ μαχητῆς,  
 οὐ συνέριθος ἀλλὰ μάλα πολέμιος·  
 ἔδει γὰρ παραπεπηγέναι τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν  
 κακίαν καὶ ἀγχιθυρεῖν πρὸς ταύτην  
 κατὰ τὸν φάμενον. Ἄλλ' ὦ γενναίου  
 νοός, ὦ φρενὸς σταθηρᾶς, ὦ γνώμης  
 ἐπαινετῆς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ πάλιν εἶχετο  
 βιοτῆς· οὐκ ἔληγε διὰ παντὸς  
 εὐχαριστοῦσα Θεῷ, σχολάζουσα τοῖς  
 θείοις ναοῖς, τοὺς πένητας  
 περιέπουσα, τὸν πλοῦτον κενοῦσα, τὰ  
 ἑαυτῆς ἀποδιδούσα Θεῷ·

undefiled temple to the pure God.<sup>65</sup> But  
 she had both to *guard her virginity and to*  
*respect marriage*,<sup>66</sup> since these things are  
 appreciated and revered by all.

<And so> she obeyed her parents.

Agreeing to marriage, she bowed her  
 head to the <marriage> crown<sup>67</sup> and took  
 a lawful husband. But he, who was  
 Stephen<sup>68</sup> by name, but not by <his> life-  
 style, did not devote himself to her as  
 companion but as an opponent, not as a  
 helpmate but rather as an enemy. For, as  
 the saying goes, "it was necessary *for evil*  
*to be fixed next to virtue* and <for her> to  
*live side by side*" with it somehow.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Cf. I Cor. 6:19.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Heb. 13:4 and I Cor 7:37.

<sup>67</sup> The most distinctive rite of the Byzantine marriage ceremony was the "crowning" of the couple; see "Marriage Crowns," *ODB* 1306.

<sup>68</sup> There is a pun here. The Greek name "Stephen" (Στέφανος) means "crown" or "garland."

<sup>69</sup> Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funerary oration in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi* (=Orat. 43): 64.3, in *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée*, ed. Fernand Boulenger (Paris: Picard, 1908), 58-230, "ὅτι παραπεπήγασι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς αἰ κακία." Cf. PG 36:581B. See also ch. 15 below and fn. 128, below.

<<Ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησι, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτῆς μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος;>> καὶ αὐθις· <<Χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ οἰκτεῖρων καὶ κυχρῶν;>> ταῦτα τῆς Δαυΐτικῆς ᾠδῆς ὑπέψαλλε συνεχέστερον· τὸν νοῦν γὰρ ὅλον ταῖς τῶν θείων γραφῶν προσήρειδεν ἀναγνώσει· καὶ ταῦτα ψάλλειν οὐκ ἔληγεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πράττειν οὐκ ἔκαμνεν· ὅλον τὸν πῆχυν ἀτράκτω προσήρειδεν· ὅσα τε περὶ τὸν ἴστον καὶ ὅσα ποικίλην ἔχει τὴν ὕφανσιν, καλῶς ἐτεχνούργει καὶ τεχνηέντως ἐξύφαινε· αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῆς ἐποίησαν ὕφασμα καὶ γαστέρες πενήτων εἰς κόρον κατέφαγον· χεῖρες ἀπόρων χάριν μογοῦσαι, χεῖρες χιτωνίσκους τοῖς γυμνητεύουσιν ἐξυφαίνουσαι· πόδες πρὸς τοὺς θεῖους ναοὺς

But what a noble mind she had, what a staunch spirit, what praiseworthy judgment again of her way of life! She did not cease to give thanks continually to God, to spend her free time in the divine churches, to take care of the poor, to pour out her wealth, and to give back her own <property> to God. She used to sing constantly these <verses> of the odes of David, "*He has scattered abroad, he has given to the poor; his righteousness endures [236] for evermore,*"<sup>70</sup> and again "*The good man is he that pities and lends.*"<sup>71</sup> For she fixed her whole mind on readings from the divine scriptures, and did not cease to chant these psalms, indeed she did not weary in putting into practice these <injunctions>. She put her

<sup>70</sup> Ps. 111 (112):9; cf. also 2 Cor. 9:9.

<sup>71</sup> Ps. 111 (112):5.

προθύμως βαδίζοντες καὶ τῆ παννύχῳ  
 στάσει προσμένοντες· πόδες ἐστῶτες  
 ἀεὶ εὐθύτητι· ὧ πόδες θαμινὰ πρὸς  
 δόσιν κινούμενοι, πόδες ἐν παραδείσῳ  
 βαδίζειν ἀεὶ προαιρούμενοι· πόδες τῷ  
 ὄντι μακάριοι.

whole hand to the spindle.<sup>72</sup> She worked skillfully and artfully to weave on the loom fabrics of various colors. Her hands made cloth and the bellies of the poor consumed it.

Her hands labored for the sake of the poor, and wove tunics for the naked.<sup>73</sup> Her feet walked eagerly to the divine churches and kept vigil there all the night, her *feet stood always in an even place*.<sup>74</sup> O feet which frequently moved towards <acts of> generosity, and always preferred to walk in paradise, O truly blessed feet!

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. Prov. 31:19. Laiou, "The Role of Women," 243, notes that "Within the household, the model occupation for a woman was spinning, weaving, and making cloth. This was seen as the primary and only totally accepted economic function of women. Indeed it is probably the most common *topos* applied to females, in contexts other than moral ones."

<sup>73</sup> These two sentences suggest that Thomaïs not only made clothes for the needy, but may have also sold some of the cloth which she wove and distributed the profits to the poor.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Ps. 25 (26):12.

7.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεσβόθεν ἀπάραντες οἱ τῆς  
 ὀσίας γεννήτορες κάκειθεν  
 μετανάσται γεγονότες τοῖς  
 Βοσπορείοις ᾤκησαν μέρεσιν, ἔδει δὲ  
 ἄρα τὸν ἀρχῆθεν τούτους συζεύξαντα  
 θανάτῳ διαιρῆσαι πάλιν τρόποις οἷς  
 οἶδεν αὐτὸς ὁ πάντα τὸ συμφέρον  
 οἰκονομῶν, πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν λῆξιν ὁ  
 τῆς μακαρίας γεννήτωρ ἀποδημεῖ·  
 καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἀποκείρεται μὲν τὴν  
 τρίχα, συναποκείρεται δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 βιωτικὴν· τὸν μοναχικὸν ἀσπάζεται  
 βίον, φοιτᾷ πρὸς σεμνεῖον, πνιγρᾷ  
 τινὶ κέλλῃ ἐναποκλείεται· ταῖς  
 ἀρεταῖς προστίθησιν ἀρετάς,  
 προσομιλεῖν ἀπάρχεται τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν  
 κλίνην καθ' ἑκάστην λούει τοῖς  
 δάκρυσιν, ἀγρύπνῳ πρόσκειται

VII. [Death of Thomaïs' Parents]

After departing from Lesbos  
 <then>, the parents of the blessed  
 <Thomaïs> moved from there and took  
 up residence on the shores of the  
 Bosphorus. But since it was indeed  
 necessary that <God>, Who arranges  
 everything for the best, Who originally  
 yoked them together in marriage, should  
 separate them again by death in ways  
 known only to Himself, the father of the  
 blessed <Thomaïs> passed on to his  
 blessed end.

Her mother then had her hair cut  
 off<sup>75</sup> and cut off along with it the  
 distractions of daily life. She embraced  
 the monastic life and entered a convent,<sup>76</sup>  
 <there> to be enclosed in a stifling cell.  
 She added virtues to her virtues; she

<sup>75</sup> I.e., she received the monastic tonsure.

<sup>76</sup> Presumably the Convent of τὰ Μικρὰ Ρωμαίου, since we learn from ch. 22 that Kale became mother superior of this convent. See fn. 147, below, for more information.





καινότερον συνεζευγμένους· γυνή τις  
 ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡρρενωμένη πρὸς ἀρετὴν  
 σπεύδει καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν  
 ὑπερελάσαι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς  
 σπουδάσμασιν· οὕτω τὸ νικᾶν γονεῖς  
 ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς σπουδάσμασιν  
 ἡγωνισμένους οὐκ ἀγεννές· πρὸς  
 οὐρανὸν αἰεὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνουσα,  
 γονυπετοῦσα, δακρύουσα,  
 προσομιλοῦσα Θεῷ καὶ τὸν θεῖον  
 διηλεκῶς ἀνάπτουσα ἔρωτα καὶ τὰ τῷ  
 Θεῷ ἀρέσκοντα δρῶσα,  
 γυμνητεύοντας ἐνδιδύσκουσα,  
 πεπτωκότας ἀνιστῶσα καὶ  
 διεγείρουσα, οὕτω πάντα κάλων  
 ἐκίνει, πάντα τρόπον ἐζήτει, πᾶσαν  
 ἐπενόει ἐπίνοιαν, δι' ὧν τὰ δεσποτικὰ  
 πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀγάγοι θεσπίσματα,  
 κἄν καὶ κωλύμην εἶχε τὸν Στέφανον,

virtue. or did she neglect the zealous and  
 God-pleasing life, or have a lazy  
 disposition? By no means! She  
 continued to hold more readily to her  
 aforementioned virtues.<sup>81</sup> And one could  
 see in this situation an unusual married  
 couple; for the wife was manly and  
 masculine in virtue, and strove to surpass  
 her own nature [i.e.. sex] by works of zeal  
 <done> for virtue's sake. (For it is not  
 ignoble thus to outstrip<sup>82</sup> parents who  
 have struggled with works of zeal on  
 behalf of virtue.) <Thomaïs was> always  
 stretching her hands up to heaven,  
 kneeling, weeping, conversing with God,  
 and kindling the divine love without  
 interruption. And in doing the things  
 pleasing to God -- clothing the naked,<sup>83</sup>  
 raising up and encouraging those who had

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<sup>81</sup> Or "she clung <to these virtues> even more readily than her aforementioned <parents>."

<sup>82</sup> Lit. "to defeat."

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Mt. 25:36.

ὄν ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἄνωθεν ταύτη  
 συνέζευξεν· ἀντέκειτο γὰρ καθάπαξ  
 τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς τῆς Θωμαΐδος  
 θελήμασιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔσπευδε  
 κενῶσαι τὸν πλοῦτον τοῖς πένησιν, ὁ  
 δὲ ἀντικειμένως ἐφρόνει καθά τις  
 Σατᾶν· ποσάκις ἤκουε παρ' αὐτῆς  
 <<ὑπάγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ· οὐ  
 φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων>>, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ὃ καὶ τῷ  
 Πέτρῳ τῷ κορυφαίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων,  
 τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἠγνοηκότι  
 μυστήριον, προσεπεφώνησεν ὁ Σωτήρ,  
 ὀπίσω τούτου βαδίζειν αὐτὸν  
 διδάσκων σαφέστατα· ἔπαιε συχνῶς  
 τὴν γενναίαν, διεχλεύαζεν,  
 ἐμυκτήριζεν· ἀλλ' ἦν ἀμετάτρεπτος  
 ὥσπερ τις πύργος σιδήρεος μηδ' ὅλως  
 κατασειόμενος μήτε μὴν  
 σπαραττόμενος, τὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου

fallen — in this way she used every  
 effort,<sup>84</sup> she sought out every method, she  
 devised every purpose through which she  
 might bring to fruition the teachings of  
 the Lord, even though she might be  
 hindered by Stephen, to whom she was  
 married, as our account has related above.  
 For he opposed completely the wondrous  
 intentions of Thomaïs, and while she was  
 hastening to give away her wealth to the  
 poor, he was opposing her like a Satan.  
 How many times he heard from her. "*Get  
 behind me, Satan: for thou savourest not  
 the things that be of God, but the things  
 that be of men,*"<sup>85</sup> the words which the  
 Savior addressed to Peter, the chief of the  
 Apostles (who did not <yet> know the  
 mystery of the salvific passion),  
 instructing him most clearly to walk  
 behind him.

<sup>84</sup> Lit. "let out every reef"; cf. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* I:145.

<sup>85</sup> Mk. 8:33.

κατὰ νοῦν λογιζομένη συχνότερον  
 ῥήματα· <<Μακάριοι ἐστέ, ὅταν ὑμᾶς  
 ὀνειδίσωσι καὶ διώξωσι καὶ εἴπωσι  
 πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥήμα καθ' ὑμῶν  
 ψευδόμενοι>>. Τίς ἄρα χωρίσειε  
 ταύτην τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ; οὐ  
 πῦρ, οὐ ξίφος, οὐ κίνδυνος, οὐ ῥήματα  
 φλήναφα Στεφάνου φρονοῦντες τὰ  
 φλήναφα.

8.

Ἄλλά μοι τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀνατείνετε καὶ  
 τῷ τῆς ὀσιομάρτυρος θεῖω βίω  
 προσέχετε· οὐδε γὰρ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν  
 μαρτύρων χωρίσαι ταύτην ὁ λόγος

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<sup>86</sup> Mt. 5:11.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Rom. 8:35.

<And> he [Stephen] used to strike  
 frequently the noble <Thomaïs>,  
 mocking greatly and sneering <at her>.  
 But she remained steadfast, like an iron  
 tower which is not at all shaken even  
 when being savagely attacked, meditating  
 constantly on the words of the Gospel,  
*"Blessed are ye, when <men> shall revile  
 you and persecute you and say all  
 manner of evil against you falsely."*<sup>86</sup>  
 Who then could separate her from the  
 love of Christ? Not fire, not sword, not  
 peril,<sup>87</sup> nor the foolish chatter of the  
 foolish-minded Stephen.

VIII. [Thomaïs as a rival to the martyrs]

But lift up your ears to me and  
 turn your mind to the divine life of the  
 blessed martyr. For our account has no  
 intention of separating her from the

θέλει, τὴν πληγὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας  
 λαβοῦσαν, τὴν μαστιχθεῖσαν ἀφόρητα  
 διὰ τὰ δεσποτικὰ καὶ θεῖα  
 θεσπίσματα, οὐ παρὰ τυράννου  
 καθυβρισθεῖσαν, οὐ καταπέλταις  
 κολασθεῖσαν δεινῶς, οὐκ ἐξ  
 ἄλλοφύλων μαστιχθεῖσαν δεινῶς (ἡ  
 γὰρ ἂν ἦν οὕτως φορητόν), ἀλλὰ  
 παρὰ τοῦ ῥηθέντος συζύγου  
 τυραννικῶς ἐγκειμένου καὶ θεαρέστως  
 ζῆν ὅλαις χερσὶ ταύτην ἀπείργοντος·  
 ὡς γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προσήδρευε ναῶ καὶ  
 σπουδὴν οὐ μικρὰν εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν  
 μεγίστην εἶχε καθ' ἐκάστην τοῦτο  
 ποιεῖν, ἀπιούση ταύτη πρὸς θεῖον  
 τέμενος γυμνήτης πένης συνέκυρσε  
 μεγίστην πενίαν περιπειρόμενος· ἀλλ'  
 ὄρα μοι, τί διαπράττεται· τὸ οἰκεῖον  
 ἀπαμφιέννυται ἄμφιον, γυμνητεύει  
 διὰ Χριστὸν, ἀμέλει καὶ πάσχει διὰ

company of martyrs, since she <also>  
 received many beatings. <and> was  
 scourged unbearably for the sake of the  
 divine revelations of our Lord. She was  
 not wantonly outraged by a tyrant, nor  
 punished terribly by catapults,<sup>88</sup> nor  
 scourged horribly by foreigners (for truly  
 such would thus be bearable), but by her  
 aforementioned husband who tyrannically  
 oppressed her and violently<sup>89</sup> prevented  
 her from living in a God-pleasing  
 manner. She used to visit the divine  
 churches <constantly> and exerted not a  
 little but the greatest effort to do this each  
 <day>. <Once>, as she was going to a  
 holy church she encountered a poor and  
 naked man who was pierced with the  
 greatest poverty. But look at what she did  
 about it. She stripped off her own

<sup>88</sup> Cf. 4 Macc. 8:13.

<sup>89</sup> Lit. "with all hands."

Χριστόν· καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Στεφάνου  
δέχεται τὰς πληγὰς, ἵνα τοῦ  
δεσποτικοῦ στεφάνου τύχη παρὰ  
Χριστοῦ. Ἐγνωστο τοῦτο τάνδρι καὶ  
πληγὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας ἢ θαυμαστὴ  
Θωμαῖς ὑπομένει· μαστίζει ταύτην  
άνηρ μὴ ποθῶν τὸν Χριστόν ἀλλὰ τὸν  
κόσμον φιλῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ  
στοιχῶν, παντάπασιν ἀνέραστος ὢν  
τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ συνόλωσ εἰπεῖν μὴ  
δεχόμενος τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς  
ψυχικός τις ἄνθρωπος, ἢ μάλλον  
εἰπεῖν κοσμικός ἀνήρ ἀλόγοις  
παρόμοιος κτήνεσι· βδελύττεται  
ταύτην ὁ βδελυρὸς καὶ μὴ δρῶσαν  
κακίαν κακίστην λογίζεται·  
ἀποστρέφεται ταύτην ἀποστροφῆς  
ἄξιος ὢν· ἡ δὲ καὶ πάσχουσα ὅμως  
πολλὴν εἶχεν ἔννοιαν μὴ

garments, and went naked for the sake of  
Christ,<sup>90</sup> indeed she suffered for the sake  
of Christ. And <as a result> she was  
beaten by Stephen so that she might  
obtain from Christ the lordly crown,<sup>91</sup>  
<for> this <act of charity> was made  
known to her husband, and  
<consequently> the wondrous Thomaïs  
endured many blows. She was flogged by  
that wretched husband of hers, a man of  
wicked thoughts, a man who did not  
desire Christ but loved the world and held  
to the things of the world, a man who was  
altogether unloving of the Good, and, in  
short, did not receive the things of the  
Spirit<sup>92</sup> as a spiritual person, but he was  
rather a worldly man similar to senseless  
beasts. The abominable man loathed her

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<sup>90</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 4:11.

<sup>91</sup> This is another pun on the name Stephen. Thomaïs receives beatings from her husband Stephen, and receives a "lordly crown" (δεσποτικοῦ στεφάνου) of martyrdom from Christ.

<sup>92</sup> 1 Cor. 2:14.

ἀναπεπτωκέναι μήτε μὴν ἐνδοῦναι  
καὶ καταρραθυμῆσαι τῆς ἐπαινετῆς  
ἐργασίας, τῆς χρηστῆς προαιρέσεως,  
ἀλλ' εὐχαρίστως ἔφερε τὰς πληγὰς ὡς  
μάρτυς χαίρουσα τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῶν  
αὐτῶν μειζόνως ἀντείχετο· ἔπληττε  
τὸν ἄνδρα παιομένη διὰ Χριστόν·  
ἔβαλλε βαλλομένη διὰ τοὺς πένητας·  
ἤγαλλεν, ἔχαιρεν << Ἀγαλλιᾶσεται ἡ  
ψυχὴ μου χαίρουσα ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ,  
ἐνέδυσσε γὰρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ  
χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης >> τὰς γὰρ παρὰ  
τοῦ ῥηθέντος Στεφάνου πληγὰς ὡς  
ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου περιημπίσχετο.

and considered her most wicked even  
though she did no evil. He who was  
worthy of aversion rejected her, while  
she, although suffering, had much  
concern not to lose heart nor indeed to  
give up and neglect her praiseworthy  
works, her good intentions, but she bore  
the blows with good grace, like a martyr  
rejoicing in Christ, and clung to them to  
an <even> greater degree.<sup>93</sup> She struck  
her husband <spiritually> when she was  
struck for the sake of Christ. When she  
was hit for the sake of the poor, she hit  
<him>.<sup>94</sup> She exulted and she rejoiced,  
"*My soul rejoicing shall exult in the  
Lord*<sup>95</sup> for he has clothed me in the

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<sup>93</sup> An anonymous reviewer of this translation commented that married women were not the only saintly personages to endure beatings patiently; similar behavior can be observed in the "holy fools," such as the nun who feigned madness in the *Lausiac History* of Palladios (*The Lausiac History of Palladius*, ed. Cuthbert Butler, Vol I. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898-1904], 98-100; and *Palladius: The Lausiac History*, trans. Robert T. Meyer, [Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965], ch. 34, 96-98).

<sup>94</sup> Perhaps an allusion here to the New Testament injunction to "turn the other cheek" (Mt. 5:39); i.e. she struck a blow for Christ when she did not retaliate.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Ps. 34(35):9.

garment of salvation and the tunic of gladness." For [237] she clothed herself all over with the blows from the aforesaid Stephen as with a garment of salvation.

9.

Ὅρμᾶ τι πάντως ὁ λόγος  
νεανιεύσασθαι, τὸν μὲν σύννευον  
ταύτης τῷ βδελυρῷ χαλκεῖ, τὴν  
μακαρίαν δὲ τῷ μακαρίῳ Παύλῳ τῷ  
θεοκήρυκι παραβάλλων· ἔστιν ἄρα  
καὶ ἰσαπόστολος· καὶ ἦν ὁρᾶν τὴν  
πάλην κἀνταῦθα τοῖς προρρηθεῖσιν  
ἰσοπαλῆ· οὐκ ἔσχεν ὄλως ἀνάπαυλαν  
τοῦ τὸν Παῦλον παίειν ὁ τηλικούτος  
τὴν κακίαν χαλκεύς, ἀλλ' οὐδ'  
ἐκεῖνος ἔληγε κηρύττων πάλιν τὸ  
εὐαγγέλιον· ὑπὲρ τούτου πολλάκις  
καὶ τὸν Κύριον καθικέτευσε, κἄν καὶ

IX. [Stephen and Thomaïs compared  
with the coppersmith and the apostle  
Paul]

Our account is completely eager to take a bold step, comparing her husband to the odious coppersmith,<sup>96</sup> and the blessed <Thomaïs> to the blessed Paul, the divine herald; for she is indeed equal to the apostles,<sup>97</sup> and one could indeed see that her struggle here <was> a struggle equal to that of the aforementioned <Paul and the coppersmith Alexander>. For the most wicked coppersmith did not stop beating

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<sup>96</sup> Alexander, an opponent of Paul, of whom virtually nothing is known; cf. 2 Tim: 4:14, 1 Tim 1:20.

<sup>97</sup> "Isapostolos" is a title given to a number of saints, male and female, such as Thekla (cf. *ODB*:2003-4), who emulate the apostles in some way. See Lampe, *Lexikon*, s.v.

τὸ κατὰ σκοπὸν αὐτῷ οὐ τετέλεσται·  
 ναὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ Στέφανος οὐκ ἐπαύσατο  
 τὴν καλὴν συνεργόν, τὴν ἀγαθὴν  
 ἐργάτιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ταῖς ἀφορήτοις  
 παίειν πληγαῖς, ἀλλ' ἔσπευδεν  
 ἀνάρρουν φέρεσθαι ταύτην,  
 σφοδρότεραις ταῖς ῥύμαις φερομένην  
 πρὸς τὰγαθόν· ἤσχαλλεν  
 ἀναχαιτιζομένη θαμινῶς τοῦ καλοῦ  
 (καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ) τῆς γνώμης οὕτως  
 εὐ ἔχουσα, ἑαυτὴν ἀντιθεῖσα Θεῷ,  
 κόσμου ῥηγνύουσα καὶ ὄλην ὄλω  
 προσκολλῶσα Θεῷ· ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 ἐξελιπάρει κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν Κύριον  
 ῥυσθῆναι τοῦ πειραστοῦ, ἀλλὰ  
 προθυμότερον τοῦ θεαρέστου βίου καὶ  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶχετο, καθά τις ξυρὸς εἰς  
 ἀκόνην τὸν εἰρημένον ἄνδρα  
 διακειμένη, πληγὰς οὐ λόγῳ ῥητὰς  
 οὐκ ἔργῳ φορητὰς δεχομένη· ἀλλ'  
 ἔστεργε ταύτας διὰ Χριστὸν ἢ τὸν

Paul, but neither did he <Paul> stop  
 preaching the gospel. And he entreated  
 the Lord earnestly on his <Alexander's>  
 behalf, even if his goal for him was not  
 accomplished. Indeed Stephen, too, did  
 not stop striking with unbearable blows  
 his good helpmate, the noble worker of  
 virtue, rather he strove to push her  
 upstream, while she was being carried  
 towards the good by stronger currents.  
 She was distressed to be restrained  
 frequently from her good <work> (and  
 why not?). Since she had such good  
 purpose, she devoted herself to God,  
 broke away from the world, and attached  
 her entire self to God. But she did not  
 entreat the Lord, as did Paul,<sup>98</sup> to be  
 saved from her tormentor, rather she  
 applied herself even more readily to the  
 God-pleasing and virtuous life, lying like

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<sup>98</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 12:7-8.



Χριστὸν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχουσα· ὡς  
μαργάρους ἐκοσμεῖτο ταῖς ὠτειλαῖς,  
ὡς λίθοις πολυτιμήτοις τοῖς  
τραύμασιν, ὡς χρυσοῖς τοῖς  
ῥαβδισμοῖς ἐποικίλλετο· κἀντεῦθεν  
καὶ παρέστη βασίλισσά τις ὥσπερ  
περιβεβλημένη πεποικιλμένη  
κατέναντι τοῦ παντάνακτος· ὡς  
ἐνωτίοις πολυτελέσι ταῖς ὕβρεσιν  
ἐκεκόσμητο· ἐνωραΐζετο τοῖς  
κολαφισμοῖς, τοῖς ἐμπαιγμοῖς  
ἐνηδύνητο. Ἄλλ' εἶχε μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα  
περὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν Θωμαΐδα καὶ  
οὕτω παρὰ τοῦ συνεύνου ταύτης  
ἀπείργετο τῆς τῶν θεῶν σηκῶν  
προσεδρείας καὶ φιλοπτωχείας  
ἀνεχαιτίζετο· παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ τρόπου  
κωλύμην εἶχε τὸν ὃν ὁ λόγος φθάσας  
παρείκασε τῷ χαλκεῖ· καὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ  
ὑπέψαλλε τὴν ὁδὴν λέγουσα

a razor to the whetstone<sup>99</sup> of her aforesaid  
husband, receiving blows which can  
neither be expressed in words nor were  
bearable in reality. Rather she bore them  
for the sake of Christ, having Christ  
before her eyes. She adorned herself with  
wounds as with pearls, with hurts as with  
most precious stones, she was  
embellished by thrashings as with golden  
<coins>, and henceforth presented herself  
as a *queen clothed and arrayed in divers  
colors*<sup>100</sup> before the Ruler of all. She was  
adorned by insults as with expensive  
earrings, her beauty was enhanced by the  
beatings. <and> she was cheered by the  
mockeries.

This then was the situation of the  
wondrous Thomaïs; thus she was  
prevented by her husband from

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<sup>99</sup> Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus*, 1:284, 2:123, 549. The saying refers to people who achieve what they want.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Ps 44(45):9.

<<ἐξελεξάμην παραρριπτεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεῖν με ἐν σκηνώμασιν ἀμαρτωλῶν.>> ὅτι ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθεια ταύτης προεπορεύετο καὶ τῶν πενήτων ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ὑμνωδίας ἀνείχετο· ναὶ μέντοι καὶ πάσχουσα τῆς προθυμίας οὐκ ἐνεδίδου, ἀλλ' ἐπηύξανε τὴν προαίρεσιν· καὶ ἦν ὁρᾶν πάλην ἐνταῦθα καινὴν· ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔληγεν ἀνασειράζων τὴν μακαρίαν τῆς μακαριστῆς καὶ συνήθους αὐτῇ προαιρέσεώς τε καὶ πράξεως· αὕτη μᾶλλον ἐπηύξανε τὴν φιλόπτωχον αὐτῆς γνώμην τε καὶ διάθεσιν ἀνδριζομένη πρὸς τὰ κρείττω καὶ βελτιώτερα. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος τῆς μακαριστῆς Θωμαΐδος θαυμάτων διήγησιν τὸν λόγον

attendance at the divine churches and was restrained in her charity to the poor. She had as an obstacle to all virtuous behavior the one whom our story earlier compared to the coppersmith, and <so> she sang the ode of David, saying "*I would rather be abject in the house of my God than dwell in the tents of sinners,*"<sup>101</sup> because *mercy and truth went before*<sup>102</sup> her and she continued to take care of the poor and to engage in hymnody to God. And indeed, <though> suffering, she did not relax her zeal, rather she enlarged her purpose. And one could see a new struggle over this. He [Stephen] did not cease restraining the blessed <woman> from her blessed and customary purpose and activity, while she, on the other hand, increased her charitable purpose and disposition, showing manly courage for

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<sup>101</sup> Ps. 83(84):10.

<sup>102</sup> Ps. 88(89):14.

μεταβιβάζωμεν καὶ τὰ ταύτης  
θαυμάσια διηγητέον ὡς δύναμις.

the superior and better <course>.

But let us move our tale on to the narration of the miracles of the most blessed Thomaïs, and <I will try> to recount her wonders to the best of my ability.

10. Ἄρχῃ τῶν θαυμάτων.

X. [Miracles]

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ προσεδρεύειν τοῖς θείοις  
σηκοῖς ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἀνεδίδαξε  
κἀκεῖσε πάντως τὰς προσεδρείας  
θαμινὰς ἐποιεῖτο, ἔνθα καὶ πάννυχος  
ὑμνωδία πρὸς Θεὸν ἐτελεῖτο. τῷ ἐν  
βλαχέρναις θειοτάτῳ προσεφοίτα ναῶ·  
διηνεκῶς περιήει νύκτωρ τὴν ὅλην  
ὁδὸν ᾧδὰς ἱκετηρίους πρὸς Θεὸν  
ἀναπέμπουσα καὶ τὴν πάναγνον

Beginning of the miracles. My narrative has shown us that <Thomaïs> constantly visited the divine churches, and most frequently attended <services at churches> where all-night hymnody to God was being performed. She used to go regularly to the most divine church at Blachernai,<sup>103</sup> and would walk the whole way at night sending forth hymns of

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<sup>103</sup> Blachernai, near the northern tip of the Theodosian Walls, was the site of a major Constantinopolitan shrine of the Virgin built by the Empress Pulcheria ca. 450. A circular chapel, called the "Soros," was built by Emperor Leo I (457-474) next to the Church to hold the robe of the Virgin Mary, which was brought from Palestine in 473. The church was burned down in 1070; it was rebuilt by 1077 by either Romanos IV Diogenes (1067-71) or Michael VII (1071-87) and then destroyed again in 1434. Next to it was a bathhouse (*louma*) where a spring flowed, which still flows in the modern church on the site. See *ODB* 293; Janin, *EglisesCP*, 161-71, and the end map entitled "Byzance Constantinople," ref. D2; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 333-337.

τούτου μητέρα καθικετεύουσα, πρὸς  
 τὴν πάντιμον καὶ τὴν παναγίαν σορὸν  
 παραπίπτουσα, καὶ ταύτην μετὰ  
 δακρύων ἐκλιπαροῦσα καὶ χάριν  
 αἰτοῦσα παγκόσμιον παρασκευάσαι  
 τὸν ταύτης υἱόν, ὀψιαίτερον  
 διατιθεῖναι καὶ βραδῦναι πρὸς  
 κάκωσιν καὶ σαββατισμὸν ἐπιθεῖναι  
 τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τῷ κόσμῳ  
 κακώσεως· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς  
 ἠντιβόλει οὔτε μὴν ἐξελιπάρει τὸν  
 Κύριον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ  
 τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας τε καὶ  
 ἀπολυτρώσεως· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτῆς  
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον  
 ἔσπευδε· ναὶ μέντοι καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῖς  
 τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπεδείκνυεν· ὡς γὰρ κατὰ

supplication to God and entreating his all-  
 pure mother.<sup>104</sup> Then she would prostrate  
 herself before Her all-honored and all-  
 holy shrine,<sup>105</sup> entreating Her with tears  
 and begging grace for the whole world.  
 <that is>, to intercede with Her Son to  
 postpone and delay His punishment and  
 to grant a respite from the wickedness  
 <that afflicts> the world because of  
 <our> sins. For she did not petition and  
 entreat the Lord on her own behalf, but  
 for the salvation and redemption of the  
 community and the world. In the words  
 of the Apostle she strove *not for herself*  
*but for another*,<sup>106</sup> and indeed she carried  
 out this saying by her very deeds.

<sup>104</sup> This might allude to the weekly procession from Blachernai to Chalkoprateia (cf. fn. 107, below, and Laiou, "Ἡ ἱστορία ἑνὸς γάμου," 242), but Thomaïs is described as going in the opposite direction, i.e., towards Blachernai.

<sup>105</sup> "Σορὸν." The Soros, the chapel of the Virgin's robe, was covered in silver and considered a "reliquary of architectural dimensions." Lay people were not allowed inside the Soros, but could pray, it seems, in the main church; cf. *ODB* 1929. A specific icon type, the Virgin Hagiosoritissa, was associated with this shrine, cf. *ODB* 2171.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 10:24.

τὸν τόπον ἐπέστησαν τὰ πάνσεπτα τῆς  
 πανάγνου καὶ θεομήτορος  
 εἰκονίσματα. τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὅς οὕτως  
 ἐγχωρίως εἰώθει Ζεῦγμα καλεῖσθαι,  
 αἰφνης τις ἀνέθορεν ἄνθρωπος  
 ὀχλούμενος ὑπὸ δαίμονος· ὅς πρὸ τῶν  
 ποδῶν τῆς μακαρίας  
 προκυλινδούμενος οὕτω τρανῶς  
 ἀνεβόα, τῆς ἀρετῆς δεικνύων τὴν  
 δύναμιν, ἣν κεκρυμμένην εἶχεν ἐπι  
 πολὺ· <<"Ἐως πότε κρύπτεις σεαυτήν,  
 ὦ δούλη Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα  
 σαφῶς ἀνακηρύττειν ἐθέλεις ;  
 μεγαλυνθήτω τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ  
 σοῦ. Θαυμάστωσον ἐπ' ἐμέ, Θωμαῖς,  
 τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ· κηρυχθήτω  
 μετάνοια διὰ σοῦ καὶ ἄφεσις τῶν  
 ἐμῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξ ὑπογύου, δι' ἧ  
 καὶ παραχωρήσει Θεοῦ κολάζομαι

For when <in the course of the  
 procession?> the most sacred images of  
 the all-pure mother of God arrived at that  
 place which is usually called Zeugma<sup>107</sup>  
 by the locals, a man tormented by a  
 demon suddenly sprang out <and> rolled  
 forward before the feet of the blessed  
 <Thomaïs>, calling out loudly, and  
 revealing the power of the virtue which  
 she had kept hidden for a long time:  
 "How long will you hide yourself, O  
 servant of God, and be unwilling to  
 proclaim these works clearly? Let God's  
 name be magnified through you. Reveal  
 to me as wondrous, Thomaïs, the mercy  
 of God. Let my repentance be proclaimed  
 through you and immediate forgiveness  
 for my sins, because of which I am now

<sup>107</sup> This passage apparently refers to the procession – the πανήγυρις – which, from the time of the Patriarch Timotheos (511-18), took place each Friday from Blachernai to the Church of the Chalkoprateia, near Hagia Sophia, at the other end of the city; cf. Janin, *EglisesCP*, 169-170. The Zeugma was an area, roughly halfway between Blachernai and the Chalkoprateia, just north of the present-day Süleymaniye Mosque; cf. Janin, *CP byz.*, 441-442, and Janin, *EglisesCP*, map "Byzance Constantinople," ref. F5.

τήμερον· καὶ δέομαι τῶν σῶν  
 προκυλινδούμενος ἀγίων ποδῶν,  
 φανέρωσον σεαυτήν· δεῖξον ὅτι  
 θαυμάσια μεγάλα τερατουργεῖ διὰ  
 σοῦ ὁ τῶν θαυμασίων Θεός· ὁ ἰσχυρὸς  
 ἐπ' ἐμοὶ διὰ τῆς σῆς θραυσθήτω  
 χειρός· ὁ ὑπεναντίος συντριβήτω τῷ  
 πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως· περιέσχον με  
 ὠδῖνες θανάτου, κίνδυνοι ἄδου  
 εὔροσάν με· ἕως πότε τὴν Βριάρεω  
 χεῖρα κατ' ἐμοῦ κινήσειε τὸ  
 δαιμόνιον;>> Ταῦτα διὰ τῆς Θωμαΐδος  
 ἐπεβοᾶτο πρὸς Κύριον· τῆς γοῦν ἀγίας  
 ἐπικαμφθείσης πρὸς ἔλεον καὶ τὰς  
 χεῖρας ἐκπετασάσης πρὸς Θεόν, ἀφ'  
 οὗ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον καταπέμπεται,  
 εἶθ' οὕτως ἐλαίου τῆς ὑπεράγνου τοῦ  
 Λόγου μητρὸς τὰς χεῖρας  
 ἀναλειψάσης καὶ τὸν ῥηθέντα

punished by God's will. And I beg  
 <you>, while rolling at your holy feet,  
 make your self manifest. Show that the  
 God of wonders works great wonders  
 through you. Let the <demon> who  
 overpowers me be crushed by your hand.  
 Let the Adversary [the Devil] be crushed  
 by the might of your power. *The pangs of  
 death encompassed me; the dangers of  
 hell found me.*<sup>108</sup> How long might the  
 demon move the hand of Briareos<sup>109</sup>  
 against me?" These things he called out  
 to the Lord through Thomaïs. The saint  
 was then inclined to mercy and spread out  
 her arms to God, from whom *every  
 perfect gift*<sup>110</sup> is sent down. And after she  
 rubbed her hands with oil from the utterly  
 pure mother of the Word and anointed the

<sup>108</sup> Ps. 114(116):3.

<sup>109</sup> A huge monster with one hundred hands, also known as Aigaion; cf. Homer, *Il.* 1:403.

<sup>110</sup> James 1:17.

χρισιάσης, ἦν ὁρᾶν εὐθὺς τὸν  
 δαιμονῶντα τελείως ἰαθέντα καὶ τὸν  
 Θεὸν μεγαλύνοντα τὸν θαυμάσια  
 μεγάλα τερατουργοῦντα, τὸν νεκροὺς  
 ζωοῦντα, τὸν δαίμονας ἐξελαύνοντα,  
 ὡς καὶ τοὺς παρατυχόντας ἰδόντας  
 τὴν ταχίστην θεραπείαν τοῦ  
 δαιμονῶντος ἐκείνου ἀνδρὸς τῷ Θεῷ  
 τὸν ὕμνον τρανῶς ἀναπέμπειν, ὅτι καὶ  
 τεθαυμάσθωται πάντως ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τούτου  
 κηρύττεται τε καὶ μεγαλύνεται διὰ  
 τῶν ὁσίων δούλων αὐτοῦ, τὰ αὐτὰ  
 τερατουργούντων, θαύματα, δαίμονας  
 ἐκδιωκόντων, πᾶσαν μαλακίαν  
 ἰωμένων καὶ κυδαζόντων τὸν Κύριον.

#### 11. Θαῦμα Β΄.

Προσθετέον τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἕτερον τῆς  
 μακαρίας θαυμασιώτερον  
 θαυματουργήμα. Ἐνδον τις τὴν  
 οἴκησιν εἶχε τοῦ οὕτως ἐπιλεγομένου  
 τοῦ Ἀγκουρίου σεμνεῖου· τομίας δὲ

aforementioned <demoniac>. one could  
 see immediately the demoniac being  
 completely cured and magnifying God,  
 who works great wonders, makes the  
 dead live, and drives out demons. And as  
 a result those who happened to be  
 present, <and> saw the swift cure of that  
 demon-possessed man, sent up clearly a  
 hymn to God, because He has been made  
 wholly wondrous in His saints and His  
 name is both proclaimed and magnified  
 through his blessed servants, who work  
 the same miracles, banish demons, heal  
 every sickness, and glorify the Lord.

XI. [The cure of a sick man afflicted  
 with paralysis and a disease of the throat]

Miracle 2. I should add to my  
 narrative [238] another more wondrous  
 miracle of the blessed <Thomaïs>. A  
 certain man once lived in the monastery

ἦν· Κωνσταντῖνος τούτω ὄνομα·  
 τοῦτον χρόνοις ἱκανοῖς τὰ τῆς  
 παραλύσεως δεσμὰ συνέσφιγγεν, ἔν'  
 οὕτως εἶπω, καὶ ἔθλιβεν ὡς τὸν  
 τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτῶ παραλύοντα  
 ἔτεσιν· ἐσύστερον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς  
 κυνάγχης ἐπισυνέβη δεινότατον  
 νόσημα καὶ ἦγγε τοῦτον ἐφ' ἱκανόν·  
 καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐθεᾶτο τὸν  
 κίνδυνον· μιᾶ γοῦν τῶν νυκτῶν  
 ὑπνώττοντος τούτου, πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἐπιστάς τις τοιαῦτα δημηγορῶν ἦν  
 καὶ ὑποθήκας, αἷς χρή τῶν νοσημάτων  
 ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρέσθαι ταχεῖαν,  
 συνετίθει τε καὶ συνέπλεκεν, οὕτωςι  
 φάσκων· <<Εἰ θέλεις τάχιον

named after Ankourios.<sup>111</sup> He was a  
 eunuch, <and> his name was Constantine.  
 For many years the fetters of paralysis  
 bound him, so to speak, and made him  
 suffer like the man <in the Gospels> who  
 was paralyzed for thirty eight years.<sup>112</sup>  
 Later the most dreadful disease of  
 quinsy<sup>113</sup> afflicted him and for a long  
 time constricted <his throat>, so that he  
 kept seeing the danger <of death> before  
 his eyes. One night, while he was  
 sleeping, someone appeared and spoke to  
 him. He added and interjected advice  
 how he should find quick deliverance  
 from his illnesses, saying thus: "If you  
 wish to be freed quickly from your

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<sup>111</sup> The location of this Ankourios (the word means "cucumber") monastery is unclear. On the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus was a monastery τοῦ Ἀγγουρίου, whose origin is unknown, but which is mentioned in eleventh- and twelfth-century sources; cf. Janin, *Eglises GC*, 27-28. Within Constantinople there was also a *metochion* (a lodge in the city for a distant monastery) τοῦ Ἀγγουρίου, built by Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-55) for the Chian monastery of Nea Mone; cf. Janin, *EglisesCP*, 9. In his encomium of Thomaïs, Constantine Akropolites described the monastery τοῦ Ἀγγουρίου as "one of the monasteries of the City," (*Laudatio*, ch.7, *AASS*, Nov IV: 244B.) See the discussion in the introductory remarks.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Jn. 5:5.

<sup>113</sup> Lit. "dog-quinsy," an inflammation of the throat caused by infected tonsils.



ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ παρόντος σοι  
κινδύνου, μηδέν τι μελλήσας εἰς τὴν  
μακαρίαν Θωμαΐδα (προσθεῖς οὕτω  
καὶ τοῦνομα) στεῖλον ταχὺ καὶ τὸ τῶν  
ἀγίων αὐτῆς χειρῶν ἀπόλουμα λαβὼν  
χρῖσον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τοῦ σώματος,  
ὃ τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπειλεῖ σοι, καὶ  
ταχεῖαν ἐκεῖθεν εὐρήσεις τὴν  
ἴασιν.>> Ταῦτα ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐκεῖνος  
καὶ θεῖος διηγήσατο ὄνειρος· πείθεται  
τοῦτο ὁ ἀσθενῶν καὶ ἀνανήψας τοῦ  
ὑπνου τὰ τοῦ ὄνειρου σύμπαντα  
διαπράττεται· καὶ στέλλει πρὸς τὴν  
ἀγίαν καὶ χρίεται τῷ τῶν χειρῶν  
αὐτῆς ἀπολούματι τὴν ξύμπασαν τοῦ  
σώματος ὀλομέλειαν· καὶ παραχρῆμα  
τοῦ πάθους ἰάται καὶ πανταχοῦ τοῦ  
θαύματος τούτου κήρυξ γίνεται  
διαπρύσιος· δοξάζει τὸν πάντων Θεόν,  
μεγαλύνει τὸν τοὺς ἀγίους αὐτοῦ

present danger, send quickly without any  
delay to the blessed Thomaïs," (in this  
way he added her name), "and, taking the  
water with which she has washed<sup>114</sup> her  
holy hands, anoint that part of your body  
which threatens you with <mortal>  
danger and you will thereby obtain a swift  
cure." Such were the <instructions> of  
that wondrous and divine dream. The  
sick man was persuaded and awaking  
from his sleep, he carried out all the  
<instructions> from his dream. He sent  
to the holy woman, and anointed the  
whole of his body with the washwater  
from her hands, and he was cured  
immediately of his suffering. He <then>  
loudly proclaimed this miracle  
everywhere, praising the God of all,  
<and> magnifying the One Who

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<sup>114</sup> For the meaning of ἀπόλουμα, see Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v.; and *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Erich Trapp, Wolfram Horandner et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen akademie der wissenschaften, 1994-). s.v.

μεγαλύναντα.

12. Θαῦμα γ'.

Ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς εἰρημένοις  
 προσαφηγήσομαι καινοπρεπέστερον  
 καὶ θειότερον, διεγείρον πρὸς ὕμνον  
 Θεοῦ ζύμπασαν ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν·  
 Ἐγένετό ποτε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ταύτη  
 σχολαζούση τοῖς θείοις σηκοῖς καὶ  
 ταῖς παννύχοις ὕμνωδίαῖς χαιρούση  
 προσιέναι καὶ τῷ θεῷ Ὁδηγῶν (τῇ  
 νῦν καλουμένη Ὁδηγητρία) σηκῷ·  
 ἔνθα καὶ περὶ πού μίαν τῶν  
 πανσέπτων εἰκόνων τῆς θεομήτορος  
 ἴστατο καὶ τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς  
 ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος  
 προσεδρευούση τῷ εἰρημένῳ θεῷ  
 σηκῷ ἀφ' οὗ πρωϊαίτερον πρόεισιν ἢ

magnifies His saints.

XII. [A women attacked by a demon]

Miracle 3. And still I shall add to  
 the previous <miracle tales> this even  
 more unusual and more divine <story> ,  
 <which> prompts every ear and mind to a  
 hymn in praise of God .

<Thomaïs>, who was accustomed  
 to frequent the divine churches and  
 rejoice in the all-night hymnody, went  
 once to the holy church of the Hodegoi  
 (which is now called the Hodegetria).<sup>115</sup>  
 And here she stood near one of the all-  
 holy icons of the Mother of God and  
 made her customary prayers. And while  
 she was visiting, as was her custom, the

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<sup>115</sup> The monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν (lit. "of the guides") was located near Hagia Sophia. Built by the Empress Pulcheria in the fifth century, it was later famous as the location of the Hodegetria icon; see *ODB* 939; Janin, *EglisesCP*, 199-207; and Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 363-66; and fn. 116, below. Kazhdan (*ODB* 2076 and *List of Saints*) argues that the name Hodegetria, which seems to have come into use in the eleventh or twelfth century, indicates a later date of composition for the *vita*; the parenthetical phrase could, however, be a marginal gloss that was later incorporated into the text.

πάνσεπτος τῆς παναλώμου κόρης  
 εἰκῶν κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἑβδομάδος  
 ἡμέραν παρὰ πάντων κυδαζομένη καὶ  
 προσκυνουμένη κατὰ τὸ σῦνηθες,  
 γυναιὸν τι παρὰ τινος δαιμονίου  
 καιρὸν ἱκανὸν ἐπηρεαζόμενον  
 ἐκπηδῆσαν καταπίπτει τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς  
 ἁγίας ἱσταμένης καὶ σχολαζούσης τῇ  
 προσευχῇ καὶ τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτὴν  
 ἀναφθέγγεται· << Ἐλέησόν με τὴν  
 δούλην τὴν σὴν, ὦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλη,  
 καὶ μὴ ἐάσης ἐς τοσοῦτόν με τὸ  
 δαιμόνιον σινιάζειν καὶ περιάγειν με  
 τῆδε κάκεῖσε καθάπερ ἀνδράποδον·  
 ἱκανὸς ὁ καιρὸς τῆς θλίψεως· οὐδέποθ'  
 ἡμέρα γενήσεται σῴτειρα, ἀλλ' ἡ νύξ  
 τῆς δυσθυμίας πῆσει με; καὶ  
 κλονήσιν ἐθέλει μοι καὶ εἰς τὸ  
 μετέπειτα τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ ὁ  
 βοηθήσων οὐδεὶς ;>> Ταῦτα καὶ

aforementioned holy church, from which  
 the all-holy icon of the completely  
 immaculate Virgin is carried in  
 procession every Tuesday very early in  
 the morning,<sup>116</sup> revered and venerated by  
 all according to custom, a certain woman,  
 who had been afflicted for a long time by  
 a demon, leapt out and fell down at the  
 feet of the holy woman, who was  
 standing and devoting herself to prayer,  
 and called out words like this to her:  
 "Have mercy on me your servant, O  
 servant of God, and let not this demon  
 maltreat me to such an extent and lead me  
 around here and there like a war-captive.  
 My affliction has lasted long enough, will  
 the day of salvation never come, but the  
 night of despair will crush me? And will  
 the demon continue to harass me in the

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<sup>116</sup> On the Virgin "Hodegetria" icon, reputed to have been painted by St. Luke, see *ODB* 2172. The icon, which was honored at the site from the mid-fifth century, was used in a variety of processions and ceremonies at different periods. See Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 364.

τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἔληγε τὸ ῥηθὲν γύναιον  
 κλαυθυρίζον ἀφόρητα. δακρύον  
 ὑπέρμετρα· λίαν γὰρ φίλοικτον χρῆμα  
 γυνή· καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς κλαυθοῖς καὶ  
 ὀδυρμοῖς ἐπικαμφθεῖσα ταχὺ πρὸς  
 ἔλεον διανίσταται καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἀγίῳ  
 χρίει τὸ γύναιον· καὶ παρευθὺς τὸ  
 δαιμόνιον δραπετεύει καὶ ἄφαντον  
 γίνεται· καὶ θάμβους μεστὸν ὄραται  
 σύμπαν τὸ παρατυχὸν πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἀθρόα θεραπείᾳ τοῦ εἰρημένου  
 γυναιίου· τῆς γὰρ ἀγίας ἐφήψατο καὶ  
 ταύτην ἐξελιπάρει, ὥστε τοῦ ταύτην  
 ἐπηρεάζοντος ῥυσθῆναι δαίμονος, ὃ  
 δῆτα καὶ γέγονεν.

### 13. Θαῦμα δ΄.

Ἐπειγέσθω τοίνυν ὁ λόγος  
 σφοδροτέρᾳ τῇ ῥύμῃ καὶ ἐπὶ θάτερα  
 τῆς θαυμαστῆς Θωμαΐδος  
 τερατουργήματα. Γῶναιον τι ἀσέμνως

future, and <is there> no-one to help?"

The aforementioned woman did not cease  
 to utter this sort <of lament>, wailing  
 inconsolably and crying beyond all  
 measure. The woman was indeed an  
 object of great pity. And <Thomaïs> was  
 quickly inclined to mercy by the wailing  
 and lamenting of the woman, and <so>  
 she anointed the woman with holy oil.  
 And immediately the demon fled and  
 disappeared, and all the crowd that  
 happened to be present was seen to be full  
 of amazement at the sudden cure of the  
 aforementioned woman, for she reached  
 out to the holy woman and entreated her  
 that she be delivered from the tormenting  
 demon, which indeed had happened.

### XIII. [Healing of an unchaste woman from an issue of blood]

Miracle 4. Let my story hasten  
 then, with all possible zeal, to other

βιοῦν καὶ ἀκολασταῖνον καθ' ἕκαστα,  
 τοῦτο δῆτα καὶ αἰμορραγοῦν ἦν ἕξ ἔτη  
 καὶ πλεῖον καὶ ταύτη τῇ νόσῳ δεινῶς  
 ἐμαστιζετο· ἀλλ' ἡ ἅγια γνοῦσα  
 θεόθεν ταύτης τὸ νόσημα τοιάδε πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν ἀφηγεῖτο· <<Εἰ θέλεις, γύναι,  
 τῆς κατεχούσης σε ταύτης νόσου  
 ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἔκκοψον τὸ ἐν ταῖς  
 θείαις καὶ μεγάλαις ἑορταῖς  
 συνουσιάζειν ἀνδράσι καὶ ἄθεσμα  
 πράττειν κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες· τὸ τῷ  
 βορβόρῳ τῶν παθῶν ἐγκαλινδεῖσθαι  
 δίωξον πορρωτάτω.>> Τούτων γοῦν  
 ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ γυναιίου  
 ὑποσχεθέντος καὶ τὴν αἰσχροπραγίαν  
 βδελυξαμένου, τῷ συνήθει ἐλαίῳ ἡ  
 ἅγια τὴν γυναῖκα χρίσασα  
 τεθεράπευκε· καὶ τὴν τληπαθῆ τοῦ  
 χαλεποῦ πάθους ἀπήλλαξεν ὁ τῆς  
 ἁγίας λόγος καὶ ἡ παραίνεσις· καὶ  
 ὑγιῆς γέγονεν ἡ πολλὰ ἔτη νοσοῦσα

miraculous deeds of the wondrous  
 Thomaïs.

A woman who lived wantonly and  
 licentiously in every way<sup>117</sup> suffered from  
 hemorrhaging for more than six years and  
 was terribly afflicted by this sickness.  
 But the holy woman, realizing that the  
 woman's illness <came> from God, spoke  
 to her as follows. "If you, woman, desire  
 to be released from this illness which  
 afflicts you, abandon all intercourse with  
 men during the divine and great feasts,  
 and <abandon also> the prohibited  
 activities you habitually perform. Cast  
 away as far as possible your wallowing in  
 the mud of passions." When the woman  
 then agreed to abstain from these  
 activities and rejected with loathing her  
 filthy acts, the holy <Thomaïs> healed the  
 woman, anointing her with the usual oil.

<sup>117</sup> She was evidently a prostitute, as the introductory sentence of ch. 14 indicates.

καὶ μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνειν ὑπέσχετο·  
 ἠκηκόει καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τῆς ἀγίας τὸ  
 ἀληθῶς <ἴδε ὑγιῆς γέγονας, μηκέτι  
 ἀμάρτανε.>> Τὸ γὰρ τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις  
 χρᾶσθαι καὶ μίγνυσθαι πάθεισιν  
 ἄτοπον ἐλογίζετο.

So the words and counsel of the saint  
 released the long-suffering woman from  
 her serious affliction. And after being  
 been sick for so many years, she became  
 healthy and promised to sin no longer.  
 For indeed she had heard from the saint  
 that which was truly <said by Christ>:  
*"Behold, thou art made well! sin no  
 more."*<sup>118</sup> For she realized that it was  
 indecent to engage in sexual pleasure and  
 intercourse.

#### 14. Θαῦμα ε΄.

Συνέπραττε ταῦτά καὶ τις ἑτέρα γυνὴ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἐχομένη πολιτείας ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 διαγωγῆς, ταῖς ἑταιρίσι φρονούσα  
 σύντροχα καὶ αὐτή, ναὶ μέντοι καὶ  
 διαπράττουσα τὰ χεῖρω τε καὶ  
 ψυχοβλαβῆ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς πλείστα  
 κατασωτεύουσα καὶ τὰ πλείω παρὰ  
 καιρὸν ἀναλοῦσα καὶ πᾶν εἶ τι

#### XIV. [Healing of a prostitute from breast cancer]

Miracle 5. Another woman who  
 followed a like career and way of life did  
 the same things; and she was of the same  
 mind as courtesans, indeed she performed  
 both the worst and soul-destroying  
 <actions>, squandering her livelihood for

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<sup>118</sup> Jn. 5:14.

βδελυρόν καὶ ἄκοσμον διαπράττουσα  
καὶ τῷ βορβόρῳ τῶν παθῶν  
ἐγκαλινδουμένη καὶ πορνικῶς  
βακχεύουσα τε καὶ κασσωρεύουσα·  
αὕτη τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ προτέρου  
γυναίου τοῖς ὡσὶν ἔχουσα ἔναυλον  
τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς ἁγίας προσπίπτει καὶ  
θερμοτέροις χράται τοῖς δάκρυσιν·  
προστρέχει τῇ εἰρημένῃ δούλῃ  
Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος ὑποδεικνύει· τὸ δὲ  
καρκῖνος ἦν περὶ τὸν μαστόν, καὶ  
δεινῶς ἠνωχλεῖτο καὶ ἥσχαλλε· ναι  
μέντοι καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διαθέσεως  
ἐποίει τὸ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως καὶ  
θερμοῖς ἠτεῖτο δακρύοις τὸν ἔλεον·  
καὶ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῆς Θωμαΐδος  
ἀκούει· <<Εἰ θέλεις ὑγιῆς γενέσθαι,  
τῆς παραλόγου καὶ βορβορώδους  
ἀπόστηθι μίξεως, τὸ ταύτης ἔκκοψον  
πάθος καὶ συζεύχθητι νομίμῳ ἀνδρὶ,  
καὶ τεύξη ταχείας τῆς θεραπείας.>>

the most part and spending large sums  
<of money> inappropriately. And  
performing every abominable and  
unseemly <act>, she rolled about in the  
slime of passions, engaging in frenzied  
fornication and illicit sex.<sup>119</sup>

This woman, having fresh in her  
ears the cure of the first woman, fell  
down before the feet of the saint and shed  
warm tears. She rushed towards the  
aforementioned servant of Christ, and  
showed her affliction. For she had a  
cancer in her breast, which terribly  
troubled and distressed her. At any rate,  
she made a confession with all her soul  
and begged for mercy with warm tears.  
She then heard from Thomaïs <words>  
such as these, "If you wish to regain your  
health, avoid abnormal and filthy  
fornication. Cut out your passion for this

<sup>119</sup> Lege κασσωρεύουσα for κασσωρεύσα.

Ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν  
 ὑπέσχετο· καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ δέους  
 ἐπαγγειλαμένη ποιῆσαι, τοῦ κατὰ  
 σκοπὸν ταύτης ἐπέτυχε. Ταῦτα καὶ  
 τοιαῦτα τερατουργήματα ζῶσα καὶ  
 βίῳ τούτῳ διάγουσα ἢ θεία τῷ ὄντι  
 διήνυσε Θωμαῖς, τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν  
 ταύτης ἀποδημίαν πρὸς Κύριον οἶα,  
 ὡς θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἐξαισία.

15.

Ἄλλὰ μικρὸν ὁ λόγος ἀναμεινάτω καὶ  
 τὰ περὶ τοῦ συζύγου ταύτης  
 διηγείσθω κατὰ λεπτόν. Ἐκάθητο  
 τοίνυν ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ ὡσπερ τις  
 βιαστικός τύραννος ἐπισυνάγων τὸ  
 μεσόφρυον, δηλονότι τὸ ἐπισκύνιον,  
 ὑπόδρα τε βλέπων τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ  
 καθειμένας ἔχων αὐτοῦ τὰς ὀφρῦς

and take a lawful husband, and you will  
 quickly obtain a cure." She promised the  
 saint to do these things, and vowing with  
 great reverence to do them, she attained  
 her goal.

These and similar miracles the  
 truly divine Thomaïs accomplished  
 during the course of her life, while those  
 <that follow occurred> after her departure  
 to Christ, as marvelous and extraordinary  
 deeds. [239]

XV. [Abuse of Thomaïs by her  
 husband]

But let our account pause a little  
 and recount in detail her husband's  
 treatment of her.

At that time, her husband was  
 lying in wait, just like a violent tyrant  
 with beetled brows,<sup>120</sup> grimly regarding

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<sup>120</sup> Lit. "drawing together the space between his eyebrows."



ἀγριωπὸν ἐνεδείκνυε βλέμμα καὶ  
 βλοσυρὰν τὴν τοῦ προσώπου  
 κατάστασιν· ἤσχαλλε παιομένη  
 δεινῶς, ἔφερεν αἰκίζομένη ἀνηλεῶς·  
 τὰς κολάσεις ὑπέμενε γενναίῳ  
 φρονήματι, τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτείας  
 ἐχομένη διηνεκῶς· ἀνεχαιτίζετο παρὰ  
 τοῦ εἰρημένου ἀνδρός· ταῖς  
 προσευχαῖς ἐσχόλαζε θαμινῶς, τῷ  
 θεαρέστῳ βίῳ προσέμενε· ἐν πᾶσι  
 τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιήμασι κατὰ τὸ  
 εἰωθὸς ἐμελέτα διηνεκῶς, εἰ καὶ τὸ  
 ἄλγημα τῆς μακαρίας ἀνεκαινίζετο,  
 πονηρῶς ἐγκειμένου καὶ ὅλως τὴν  
 εἰρημένην τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν  
 ἀπείργοντος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ χαλῶ  
 παροικοῦσα τάχα ὑποσκάζειν παρ'  
 ἐκείνου τὸν βίον ἀνεδιδάσκετο, ἀλλ'  
 ὀρθῶ ποδὶ βηματίζειν οὐκ ἔληγε· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐναντία τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ τὰ  
 δρώμενα ἐνομίζετο καὶ δαπανηρὰ

the blessed [Thomaïs] fiercely, and, with  
 furrowed brows he displayed a wild-  
 looking glance and the coarse nature of  
 his face. She suffered terrible beatings,  
 she bore unmerciful torments, she  
 endured the chastisements by virtue of  
 her noble thoughts, maintaining  
 continually a conduct in accordance with  
 God. <Although> she was restrained by  
 the aforesaid husband, she continued to  
 devote herself constantly to prayers,  
 <and> she continued to abide in the God-  
 pleasing life. She *meditated* constantly  
 on *all the works* of God,<sup>121</sup> as was her  
 wont, even though the blessed woman's  
 pain was renewed, since she was  
 wickedly attacked <by her husband>,  
 who prevented her from doing such  
 <works of mercy>. Even though she  
 lived with a lame man and was taught by

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<sup>121</sup> Cf. Ps. 142(143):5.

ἐλογίζετο· καὶ ὡς ἀσώτως βιοῦσα  
κατεγινώσκετο καὶ ὡς τὸν βίον  
ἀναλοῦσα διελοιδореῖτο καὶ  
ἀνυβρίζετο· τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἔλεος ἦν  
κατὰ τὰ θεῖα ἱερὰ θεσπίσματα  
ἐκπληρούμενον ἔλεον, περὶ οὗ καὶ ὁ  
θεὸς αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν· <<"Ἐλεον θέλω  
καὶ οὐ θυσίαν· ἐὰν θυμίαμά μοι  
προφέρετε, βδέλυγμά μοι ἐστὶ.>>  
Μάταιον τὸ τοιοῦτον λελόγισται  
ἀλλὰ καὶ κακὸς ὁ μὴ δρῶν τὴν  
κακίαν παρὰ κακοῖς νομίζεται καὶ  
λογίζεται καὶ ὁ σώφρων ἠλίθος παρ'  
ἀκολάστοις ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνδρείος παρὰ  
τοῖς δειλοῖς ὡς θρασὺς τις κακίζεται  
καὶ ἀσωτία ὑποτοπάζεται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς  
πένητας δόσις· καὶ γὰρ  
παραπεπήγασιν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς αἱ

him to limp.<sup>122</sup> she never ceased to walk  
in a straight path.<sup>123</sup> For her husband  
viewed her actions in a contrary fashion  
and reckoned them extravagant, and he  
condemned her for living in a prodigal  
fashion and he criticized and scorned her  
for squandering their livelihood. But it  
was rather charity carrying out mercy in  
accordance with the divine and holy  
scriptures, about which indeed God  
himself said: "*I will have mercy and not  
sacrifice.*"<sup>124</sup> *if you bring incense before  
me, it is an abomination to me.*"<sup>125</sup>

He considered such <charitable  
work> to be in vain, but the person who  
does not do evil is viewed as evil by evil  
people; the prudent<sup>126</sup> person <is viewed>

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Plutarch, "The Education of Children," 6, in Plutarch *Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, Vol. 1 (London: Heinemann, 1927), 16.

<sup>123</sup> Lit. "with a straight foot."

<sup>124</sup> Mt. 9:13, 12:17, cf. Hos. 6:6.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Is. 1:13.

<sup>126</sup> Or "chaste."

κακίαι καὶ εἰσὶ πως ταύταις  
 ἀγχίθυροι· τοῦ γὰρ εἰρημένου ἀνδρὸς  
 ἀγροικία συζῶντος καὶ τῆ ναυτιλία  
 προστετηκότος κάκειθεν τὰ πρὸς  
 τροφήν ποριζομένου καὶ τῆς μέσης  
 τύχης ἐπαπολαύοντος, τοιοῦτόν τι  
 συνέβαινε· ἠνίκα παλινοστῶν ἦν  
 πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατοικίαν, τὴν τῶν  
 προσόντων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων  
 ἀνάλωσιν ἐρεῦνα καὶ ἐλογίζετο  
 λογοπραγῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ὀπόσα τοῦ  
 σφετέρου βίου ἀναλοῦσα <ἦν>  
 κωλύειν οὐκ ἔληγε ταύτην τῆς  
 πολλάκις ἐκφρασθείσης μοι πράξεως·  
 ἦν γὰρ ὄραν ὀσημέραι ταύτην  
 ἀφθόνως ἐπιχορηγοῦσαν τοῖς πένησι  
 δωρεάς, γυμνητεύοντας  
 ἐνδιδύσκουσαν, ῥακενδυτοῦντας  
 λαμπρειμονοῦντας δεικνύουσαν,  
 ὀρφανοῖς τὰ σῖτα προσνέμουσαν, τοῖς

as foolish by the licentious;<sup>127</sup> the brave  
 person is reviled by the craven as over-  
 bold; and charity to the poor is  
 suspiciously viewed as prodigality. For  
*evil deeds are affixed to virtues and are  
 very close to them.*<sup>128</sup> For while her  
 aforementioned husband lived in a  
 rustic<sup>129</sup> manner and earned their daily  
 bread by going to sea, and enjoyed a  
 modest standard of living, the following  
 occurred: whenever he returned home, he  
 made inquiry about the expenditure of his  
 assets, and calculating on a daily basis he  
 reckoned up how much of their livelihood  
 she was spending. And he constantly  
 tried to prevent her from <carrying> out  
 the <charitable> activity which I have  
 frequently described <above>. For one  
 could see her each day abundantly

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 507c.

<sup>128</sup> Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 36:581B; cf. fn. 69 above.

<sup>129</sup> I.e. "boorish."

ἀπόροις πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων  
 πόρους παρέχουσαν, ἀβροτέρας τὰς  
 δόσεις ποιούσαν, γυμνητεύειν διὰ  
 Χριστὸν ἐθέλουσαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ  
 γεῶδες τοῦτο καὶ πῆλινον ἐνδιδύσκειν  
 ἐφόγκιον, πάντα ποιούσαν καὶ  
 πράττουσαν πρὸς θεραπείαν Χριστοῦ.  
 Ἄλλὰ ταύτην οὕτω διακειμένην  
 παίειν ἀπηνῶς ὁ παράνομος σύζυγος  
 οὐκ ἐπαύετο, δαπανηρὰν ὀνομάζων  
 τὴν διὰ Χριστὸν γενομένην  
 καματηρὰν· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγα ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτοῦ ἔκαμνεν, ἀμφιεννύσα τοῦτον  
 διὰ τῶν πενήτων ῥακενδυτοῦντα καὶ  
 γυμνητεύοντα, ἄστεγον ὄντα,  
 πεινῶντα, διψῶντα καὶ  
 νοσηλευόμενον· πανταχῆ τῆς ἀγορᾶς  
 περιῆει τὰ σκοτεινὰ ψηλαφῶσα,  
 ἐρεβοδιφῶσα, ποῦ ποτε ἄρα ἐφεύροι  
 κοιταζόμενον πένητα, μᾶλλον δ'  
 αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς ἂν

supplying gifts to the poor: clothing the  
 naked and giving those in rags splendid  
 clothes; distributing food to orphans; and  
 furnishing the necessities of life to the  
 destitute. Making her gifts more  
 splendid, she wanted to go naked for  
 Christ's sake rather than to clothe this  
 burdensome appendage of earth and  
 clay;<sup>130</sup> <she wanted instead> to perform  
 and act everything for the service of  
 Christ. But her lawless husband did not  
 stop his cruel beating of this woman who  
 was so disposed, calling extravagant this  
 woman who labored hard for the sake of  
 Christ. For indeed she exerted a great  
 effort on His [Christ's] behalf: through  
 her work for the poor she clothed Him  
 when he was clad in rags and going  
 naked; when He was homeless, hungry,  
 thirsty and in need of medical

<sup>130</sup> I.e. her body; cf. Lampe, *Lexikon*, s.v. ἐφόγκιον.

αὐτὸν δανείσῃ τὸ ὄφλημα.

attention.<sup>131</sup> She used to go all-round the marketplace, searching the shadows, groping around in the darkness, in case she might find on occasion a poor man (or better to call him "Christ") sleeping outside, that she might lend him the money <to pay his debts>.

16.

Τοῦτο δὲ πάντως κατὰ τὸν ἀψευδῆ τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον ἑκατονταπλάσιον ἐλάμβανεν ἔνταυθοῖ, ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ μυριοπλάσιον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν τὸ μέγιστόν τε καὶ τελεώτατον, πρὸς ἣν ἔσπευδεν ὅλῳ τῷ πόθῳ, πρὸς ἣν ἀνέτεινεν ὅλον τὸν νοῦν, ἣν ἐπεπόθει καὶ τάχιστα ἐσπούδαζε ταύτην καταλαβεῖν, δι' ἣν ἐμαστίζετο, πληγὰς οὐ φορητὰς ὑπεδέχετο καὶ ὠτειλὰς περιέφερον

XVI. [Thomaïs dies]

Here <in this world> she was repaid this <debt> a hundred fold, according to the true word of the Lord,<sup>132</sup> and in the world to come <she will receive> a ten thousand-fold <reward>, and in addition the kingdom of Heaven, the greatest and most perfect <reward>, towards which she was hastening with all fervor, towards which she lifted up her whole mind, which she yearned after and strove with all haste to attain, for the sake

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<sup>131</sup> Cf. Mt. 25:35-40.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Mt. 19:29.

ἔθηκε τὸν κολαστὴν εἰς αὐτήν,  
 <<τύπτε>> φάσκουσα <<μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 φθαρησόμενον σῶμα καὶ εἰς γῆν, ἐξ ἧς  
 συνέστη, πάλιν ἀναλῦσαι μέλλον.>>  
 "Ἄμα δὲ καὶ προφητικοῖς ἐχρᾶτο τοῖς  
 ῥήμασι, τὸν αὐτῆς προσημαίνουσι  
 θάνατον· ὅσον οὐπω γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς  
 Κύριον ἔμελλεν ἐκδημεῖν ἢ θαυμαστῇ  
 Θωμαΐς, ἢ τὸν αὐτῆς βίον τοῖς  
 θεαρέστοις ἔργοις κοσμήσασα, ἢ  
 λόγοις εὐαγγελικοῖς στηρίζασα  
 ἑαυτήν, ἢ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς  
 χαρίσμασι τὸν ἐντὸς καλλύναςα  
 ἄνθρωπον, ἢ τὸν Χριστὸν πολλακίς  
 εὐφράναςα, ἢ τὴν θεωρίαν τῇ πράξει  
 πανσόφως συγκεράσασα τε καὶ  
 μίξασα, ἢ τοῦ παρόντος βίου  
 καταφρονήσασα, ἢ κόσμον  
 προκρίναςα τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸν δὲ ῥευτὸν  
 τουτονὶ κόσμον μισήσασα, ἢ τὸν

of which she had been beaten, endured  
 unbearable blows and carried wounds.

She used to provoke her  
 tormentor, saying "Strike <this> body  
 which will soon perish and return again<sup>133</sup>  
 to the earth from which it came." And at  
 the same time she expressed prophetic  
 words which foretold her death, for the  
 wondrous Thomaïs was already all but at  
 the point of departing to the Lord. She  
 had adorned her life by God-pleasing  
 works; she had found her support in the  
 words of the gospel; she had adorned her  
 inner person with spiritual graces; she had  
 delighted in the Lord frequently; she had  
 very wisely blended and mixed  
 contemplation with activity; she had  
 scorned the present life, she had preferred  
 the ornament of virtues and despised the  
 flux of this world<sup>134</sup> here; she had been

<sup>133</sup> Lit. "be corrupted and dissolve again into."

<sup>134</sup> There is a pun here on the two meanings of κόσμος, "ornament," and "world."

ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα κοσμοφρονοῦντα  
 βδελυξαμένη τῷ δὲ Χριστῷ  
 νυμφευθεῖσα ὡς νύμφη καλλίστη  
 καλλιπάρθενος κόσμον ἠγησαμένη  
 μᾶλλον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἢ τῶν ἐκ σηρικῶν  
 ἀμφίων τὸν μάταιον. Οὕτω τοίνυν τῆς  
 ἀγίας ἐφ' ἱκανὸν καιρὸν ἀνιαροῖς ὅτι  
 πολλοῖς συζησάσης, καὶ γὰρ  
 τρισκαιδέκατον ἤδη χρόνον τὰς  
 σφοδρὰς ἐκείνας αἰκίας, τὰς  
 ὀδυνηρὰς ἀτειλάς, τὰς ἀμέτρους  
 ἔστεγε σμῶδιγγας, τὰς πληγὰς, τὸ  
 μακάριον ἀπειλήφει τέλος καὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν ἀγήρω καὶ ἀτελεύτητον μετέστη  
 ζωὴν, τὸν σύμπαντα χρόνον τῆς  
 παρουσίας ζωῆς τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ  
 διανύσασα, πρώτην ἄγοντος τότε τοῦ  
 Ἰαννουαρίου μηνός, ἠνίκα πρὸς

loathed by her worldly husband but she  
 was given in marriage to Christ as a most  
 beautiful bride and fair virgin who  
 preferred the adornment of virtues to the  
 vanity of silken clothes.

Thus after the saint had endured<sup>135</sup>  
 her many afflictions for a considerable  
 time (for she had already borne for  
 thirteen years that violent abuse, painful  
 wounds, <those> immoderate bruises,  
 <and> blows), she received her blessed  
 end and was transported to the ageless  
 life without end, having lived in all thirty-  
 eight years of the present life, <it being>  
 the first of January, when she departed to  
 the Lord.

While still living she had  
 commanded those she lived with<sup>136</sup> not to

<sup>135</sup> Lit. "lived together with."

<sup>136</sup> The text is vague on many points of Thomaïs' life. The identity of "those she lived with" (in the masculine plural) is unclear. No other family than her parents, by this time dead, or her husband are mentioned in the *Life*. Probably it is a generic reference to members of her household. There are, however, textual indications that Thomaïs had some sort of relationship with the nuns of the convent – Τὰ Μικρὰ Ρωμαίου – where her mother had entered and become

Κύριον ἐξεδήμησε· ζῶσα δὲ ἔτι  
 παρεγγυᾶται τοῖς συνοῦσιν αὐτῇ μὴ  
 θελήσαι θεῖναι ταύτην ἐντὸς τοῦ  
 θείου σηκοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔξωθεν περὶ τὰ  
 προαύλια, ἄχρις ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ  
 πανοικτίρμων Θεὸς ἐβελήσῃ  
 τερατουργῆσαι διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριτος  
 καὶ δεῖξαι, ποῦ ἄρα χρεῶν κείσθαι  
 αὐτήν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνη  
 προεθέσπιζε λέγουσα, ἑαυτήν  
 ταπεινοῦσα, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἄκουσιν  
 ὑπογραμμὸν καὶ τύπον  
 ταπεινοφροσύνης ὑποδεικνύουσα· καὶ  
 ἦν ὁρᾶν προφητικὴν τινα χάριν καὶ  
 ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐνθεωρουμένας  
 ἄμφω καὶ νοουμένας τοῖς τῆς  
 μακαρίας τοιοῖσδε ῥήμασιν· ἔφασκε  
 γὰρ οὕτως· <<Ἐπὶ ἀν ἐκ τοῦ  
 παρόντος σκήνου ἐξέλθῃ τὸ πνεῦμα

place her inside the holy church,<sup>137</sup> but  
 outside in the forecourts until the all-  
 compassionate God might desire to work  
 miracles through his grace and to show  
 where she should be laid. She foretold  
 these <events> while speaking, humbling  
 herself or rather displaying to her  
 listeners<sup>138</sup> an example and model of  
 humility. And one could see a certain  
 prophetic gift and humility both observed  
 and understood in these words of the  
 blessed one. For she spoke as follows:  
 "When my spirit departs from its present  
 dwelling, I command all of you not to  
 desire to bury this earthly body inside the  
 divine church, but in the forecourt," as  
 has <already> been said "until divine  
 providence should work miracles about

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abbess and where Thomaïs was buried. This relationship is not explicitly discussed in the text, but ch. 22 below implies some familiarity between Thomaïs and these nuns.

<sup>137</sup> I.e., the church of the convent of Τὰ Μικρὰ Ρωμαίου. This was the convent where Thomaïs' mother Kale was superior; cf. ch. 22 and fn. 147 below.

<sup>138</sup> *Lege ἀκούουσιν* for ἄκουσιν.



μου, παρεγγυῶμαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μὴ  
 θελήσαι καταθεῖναι τὸ γεῶδες τοῦτο  
 σωμάτιον τοῦ θείου ναοῦ ἔνδοθεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς προαυλίοις, ὡς εἴρηται,  
 ἄχρις ἂν ἡ θεία πρόνοια περὶ ἐμὲ  
 τερατουργήσῃ θαυμάσια.>> Τοῦτο δὲ  
 καὶ γέγονε· καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραι  
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἤδη διεληλύθασι μετὰ  
 τὴν ταύτης ἐκδημίαν πρὸς Κύριον, καὶ  
 θαυματοποιῖαι πλεῖσται γέγονασιν, τοῦ  
 θείου ταύτης λειψάνου τὰς ἰάσεις  
 παρεχομένου τοῖς προσιοῦσι τούτῳ  
 ῥαδίως καὶ θαύματα τελούντος  
 ἐξαίσια· καὶ ἃ μὲν ζῶσα τετέλεκεν ὁ  
 λόγος φθάσας ἤδη προεῖρηκε, τὰ δὲ  
 μετὰ θάνατον ταύτης ὅποια, ὡς καινὰ  
 καὶ θαύματος ἄξια.

17. Θαῦμα ζ'.

Ἄνθρωπος τις ἐκ τῆς τῶν Νικομηδέων  
 χώρας ὀρμώμενος καὶ ὑπὸ δαιμονίου  
 σφοδροῦ ἐλαυνόμενος τῇ τῆς ἁγίας

me."

And this is what happened: by the  
 time forty days had passed after her  
 departure to the Lord, many miracles had  
 occurred, since her holy remains provided  
 cures readily to those coming to them,  
 and wrought extraordinary wonders. Our  
 account has already spoken of those  
 miracles she accomplished while alive,  
 and <I will now describe> those after her  
 death as new and wondrous.

XVII. [Cure of a demoniac from  
 Nikomedia]

Miracle 6. A certain man, who  
 was originally from the land of the

σορῶ προστρέχει μετὰ δεήσεων  
 κάκεισε παραμένει χρόνον βραχὺν  
 καὶ παρακλήσεις πεποηκώς, ὡς τοῦ  
 ἐνοχλοῦντος αὐτῷ δαιμονίου  
 ἀπαλλαγείη ταχέως τὴν ἴασιν εὔρατο·  
 αἱ γοῦν τῷ σεμνείῳ προσμένουσαι  
 γυναῖκες σεμναὶ τὸν μοναχικὸν  
 μετιοῦσαι βίον τὸ παράδοξον ἰδοῦσαι  
 τοῦ θαύματος καὶ τοῦ ῥήματος  
 ἀναμνηθεῖσαι τῆς μακαρίας καὶ τὴν  
 πρόρρησιν ταύτης θαυμάσασαι μετὰ  
 τῆς προσηκούσης τιμῆς τῷ θείῳ σηκῶ  
 τὸ τῆς ἁγίας λείψανον ἐμβιβάζουσι  
 καὶ τέλος διδόασιν τῷ ταύτης  
 παραγγέλματι.

18. <Θαῦμα ζ΄> .

Οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τις γυνὴ  
 σεμνὸν μετιοῦσα βίον καὶ ὄλην

Nikomedians,<sup>139</sup> was being attacked by a  
 violent demon, [240] and ran to the coffin  
 of the saint with supplications <for aid>.  
 After remaining there a short time <only>  
 and making entreaties to be freed from  
 the demon that tormented him, he quickly  
 obtained a cure. When the holy nuns who  
 resided at the convent saw the wondrous  
 miracle and recalled the words of the  
 blessed <Thomaïs>,<sup>140</sup> they marveled at  
 her foresight and placed the remains of  
 the saint in the divine church with  
 befitting honor, thus carrying out her  
 instructions.<sup>141</sup>

XVIII. [Cure of a nun who was possessed  
by a demon]

Miracle 7. Not long after

<sup>139</sup> Nikomedia was a city of Bithynia, in northwestern Asia Minor.

<sup>140</sup> I.e., that they wait to bury her in the church until such a time as God gave indications of her sanctity through posthumous miracles.

<sup>141</sup> Her relics were still in the church of Τὰ Μικρὰ Ρωμᾶίου in the Palaiologan period, when they were venerated by Russian pilgrims; cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 321-25.

ἑαυτὴν Θεῷ ἀναθεῖσα καὶ θεαρέστοις  
 ἔργοις σχολάζουσα καὶ τὴν μοναδικὴν  
 ἐκλεξαμένη διαγωγὴν τὴν μᾶλλον καὶ  
 Θεὸν καθηδύνουσαν, ὡς ἡσύχως  
 βιοῦσαν καὶ Θεῷ προσλαλοῦσαν καὶ  
 τοῖς ἐκείνου θεσπίσμασι  
 προσεμμένουσαν, παρὰ δαιμονίου  
 δεινῶς ἠνωχλεῖτο τοῦ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ  
 γένει βασκαίνοντος καὶ ὄμμα τούτῳ  
 ἀρχῆθεν ἐπιβεβληκότος ἐπίφθονον  
 ἄνωθεν τε καὶ ῥηθείση γυναικὶ  
 παρεισφρῆσαν ταύτην θανατῶσαι  
 κακῶς ἐπεβούλευεν, ὡς τὴν ἡμῶν  
 προμήτορα θανάτῳ πρότερον  
 καθυπέβαλεν· αὕτη τοίνυν τῷ τῆς  
 ἀγίας τάφῳ θερμότεροις προσιοῦσα  
 τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔκλαιεν, ἠντιβόλει καὶ  
 διὰ ταύτης ἐξελιπάρει τὸν Κύριον  
 ῥυσθῆναι τοῦ θλίβοντος· τοῦ γὰρ  
 δαιμονίου ταύτην σπαράττοντος,  
 ἠνιάτο καὶ ἥσχαλλεν οἰκτρὰς τε ἠφίει

<occurred the miraculous cure of> a  
 woman, who led a pious life, dedicating  
 herself completely to God, and spending  
 her time in God-pleasing works. She had  
 chosen the monastic way of life, which  
 gives special pleasure to God, as <a way  
 of> living quietly, conversing with God,  
 and abiding by His teachings. She began  
 to be terribly tormented by the demon  
 who envies our race,<sup>142</sup> and who cast an  
 evil eye on it from the beginning and has  
 inflicted harm on us from <the time of  
 our> forefathers. He had insinuated  
 himself into the aforementioned woman  
 and was wickedly contriving to kill her,  
 just as he previously subjected our  
 foremother [i.e., Eve] to death. She  
 therefore went to the tomb of the saint  
 and wept with warmest tears. She made  
 supplication and earnestly entreated the

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<sup>142</sup> "Γένει" here probably means the "human race" or "kind." It would be an interesting comment on the authorship of the *Life* if it meant "sex," one of the meanings of the word in ch. 1.

φωνὰς ἐπικαμπτούσας πρὸς ἔλεον·  
 <<Ἐλέησόν με, δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ  
 τοῦ παρόντος ἀπάλλαξον δαίμονος.>>  
 Καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς τῷ τάφῳ  
 προσαράττουσα τὸν συνήθη ἔλεον  
 εὔρατο καὶ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἐπηρείας  
 ἀπηλλάγη καὶ διοχλήσεως.

Lord that through her [Thomaïs] she be  
 delivered from the tormentor, for she was  
 being torn apart by the demon and was  
 grievously distressed, emitting piteous  
 cries which moved one to compassion,  
 <saying> "Have mercy on me, servant of  
 God, and set me free from the present  
 demon." And dashing her head against  
 the tomb, she found the customary mercy  
 and was set free from the abuse and  
 torment of the demon.

19. Θαῦμα <ἡ >.

Προστίθησι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁ λόγος  
 καὶ ἕτερον θαυματουργήμα τῶν πρώην  
 οὐδὲν ἦττον εἰ μὴ καὶ μεῖζον τῷ  
 μεγέθει τε καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι. Ἄνθρωπος  
 ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ὄρμητο,  
 τὴν κλησιν Εὐτυχιανός, ἔγγιστα πού  
 τοῦ τῆς Ὁξείας θείου ναοῦ κατοικῶν,  
 ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶται πάντως ὁ τῶν οὐρανίων  
 ταξιάρχης δυνάμεων πλούτῳ κομῶν  
 καὶ ἀξιωματῶν ὄγκῳ βρισθῶν καὶ

XIX [Healing of a man with palsy]

Miracle 8. Our account adds still  
 another miracle to those already reported,  
 one by no means inferior to the previous  
 ones, in fact even greater in its magnitude  
 and worth.

<There was> a man from this  
 great city [i.e. Constantinople] by the  
 name of Eutychianos. He lived  
 somewhere near the divine Church of the

σεμνυόμενος, γένει λαμπρῷ  
 κυδαινόμενος, περίπυστος ἅπασι  
 γνωριζόμενος· οὗτος οὖν γόησι τισι  
 καὶ ἐπαιδοῖς ἀνδράσι κατεγοήτευτο  
 δαιμόνων συνεργία καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ  
 χεῖρω πάντως ῥοπῇ καὶ οὕτω πάρετος  
 γέγονεν· ἤσχαλλε τοίνυν διὰ ταῦτα  
 καὶ ἐποτνιάτο καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα βίον  
 τοῖς Ἀσκληπιάδαις κατηνάλου, τῆς  
 σωματικῆς ὑγείας τυχεῖν  
 ἰμειρόμενος· κὰν ταύτης τεμένει  
 προστρέχει καὶ ὄλον ἑαυτὸν  
 ἐπιρρίπτει τῇ θαυμαστῇ Θωμαΐδι καὶ  
 τοιάσδε φωνὰς ἠφίει καὶ ἔλεγεν·  
 <<Ἐπίσης τοῖς λοιποῖς  
 ἐπικαλουμένοις σε καὶ ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὰ  
 ἐλέη σου ἔκχεε, ἔνδειξον τὴν θερμὴν  
 σου βοήθειαν, λύτρωσαί με τῆς  
 σφοδροτάτης ταύτης ἀνάγκης, ἦν ὁ

Oxeia, in which is highly honored the  
 commander of the heavenly hosts.<sup>143</sup> He  
 [Eutychianos] prided himself on his  
 wealth, was laden with and exulted in a  
 mass of titles, gloried in a brilliant  
 lineage, and was widely known to all.  
 This man then was bewitched by some  
 sorcerers and wizards with the  
 assistance<sup>144</sup> of demons and by sinking to  
 the worst behavior he thus became  
 palsied. Therefore he was distressed and  
 lamented loudly and spent his entire  
 livelihood on physicians, since he  
 yearned to have bodily health. Then he  
 ran to her shrine and threw his entire self  
 on <the tomb> of the wondrous Thomaïs  
 and uttered cries such as this, saying,  
 "Pour forth your mercy equally on me and  
 on the others who call upon you, show

<sup>143</sup> The Church of St. Michael the Archangel was situated near the church of St. Loukilianos in the Oxeia district, on the slope between the bazaar and the Golden Horn; cf. Janin, *EglisesCP*, 343-44 and map "Byzance Constantinople," ref. F5., and Janin, *CP byz*, 400-1.

<sup>144</sup> *Lege* συνεργία for συνεργία.

τάλας περίκειμαι· δείξον τὴν πολλήν  
σου συμπάθειαν εἰς ἐμέ τὸν ἀνάξιον  
δοῦλον σου τὸν μετὰ πολλῆς  
καταφυγόντα σοι πίστεως.>> Καὶ  
οὕτως αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ  
θρηνοῦντος ἀπαραμύθητα, ἡ μακαρία  
τὴν ἴασιν ἐβράβευσε, τῆς νόσου  
ῥυσαμένη τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν πάρετον· καὶ  
ὡσπερ τὴν κλίνην ἦρε πρὶν ὁ  
παράλυτος τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης νόσου  
τὴν λύσιν εὐρών, οὕτω καὶ διὰ ταύτης  
ὁ ῥηθεις ἰάθη καὶ ἤλλετο· καὶ ὁ  
πρώην βαδίσαι ὅλως μὴ δυνάμενος  
ταχὺ ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον μεταβαίνειν  
ᾠρᾶτο καὶ εὐδρόμως κινούμενος.

20. Θαῦμα θ΄.

Ἄλλὰ μεταβήτω λοιπὸν ὁ λόγος καὶ

forth your fervent succor, deliver me from  
this most excessive bodily suffering with  
which I am wretchedly afflicted. Show  
your great compassion to me your  
unworthy servant, who has sought refuge  
with you with much faith." And, after he  
made this prayer and his inconsolable  
lament, the blessed <Thomaïs> awarded  
him a cure, delivering the palsied man  
from his disease. And just as the  
paralytic of old, finding release from his  
lengthy affliction *took up his bed*,<sup>145</sup> so  
also through her the aforementioned man  
was cured and leaped about, and he who  
previously was completely unable to walk  
was seen to pass swiftly from place to  
place with rapid movement.

XX. [The cure of an epileptic]

Miracle 9. But now let our

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<sup>145</sup> Mt. 9:6.

εἰς ἕτερον θεϊότερον τερατούργημα  
καὶ δεικνύετω τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια  
καὶ μεγαλυνέτω τὴν τούτου δόξαν, ὡς  
χρή. Ἄνθρωπος τις ἐπιληψίας πάθει  
συνείχετο καὶ ὁ ποῦς σὺν τῇ χειρὶ  
ἄπρακτος ἦν· καὶ τὸ πάθος ἢ φύσις  
εἶχεν ἀνίατον· ἡ δὲ φήμη πανταχῆ  
διοῦσα ταχυτάτῳ πτερῷ καὶ εἰς τὰ  
τοῦ ῥηθέντος ὄτα διὰ τάχους  
πεφοίτηκε καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀγίας  
οἶκον εἶλκε τὸν ἄνδρα μὴδὲ βραχὺ τι  
μελλήσαντα· καὶ τῆς ἰάσεως τετευχῶς  
ἐπαλινόσκει πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἄνοσος,  
ὑγιής καὶ τοῦ προλεχθέντος πάθους  
ἐλεύθερος, τὸν Θεὸν μεγαλύνων καὶ  
τῇ ἀγίᾳ ὡς λαμπρὰς τὰς χάριτας  
ἀνομολογῶν.

21. Θαῦμα ι'.

Ἄλλος δὲ τις ἀνὴρ τὴν ἀλιευτικὴν  
μετιῶν πρὸς ἄγραν ἐπιβεβλήκει κατὰ  
τὸ ἔθος τὰ δίκτυα καὶ ἀπόλλυσι  
ταῦτα ἀπὸ τρικυμίας καὶ ζάλης

account pass on to another still more  
divine miracle; let it demonstrate the  
wonders of God and magnify His glory as  
is fitting. There was a man who was  
afflicted with epilepsy. His foot along  
with his hand was useless, and there was  
no natural cure for the malady. But the  
report <of the saint's miracles>, which  
spread very quickly in every direction,  
soon reached the ears of the above-  
mentioned man and drew him, without a  
moment's hesitation, to the saint's  
dwelling place. Once he had been cured,  
he returned to his home healthy, without  
sickness, free from the above-mentioned  
illness, exalting God and acknowledging  
the glorious grace of the saint.

XXI. [Thomaïs assists a fisherman]

Miracle 10. Another man, who  
was a fisherman, had cast his nets as was  
his wont, but lost them when they were

χαλεπῆς διασκορπισθέντα· καὶ ἡ  
 ζημία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διπλῆ, οὐ τῆς τῶν  
 ἰχθύων μόνον ἄγρας ἀποτυχόντι ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὀργάνων ὡς  
 εἴρηται τελείαν πεπονθότι ἀπώλειαν·  
 τί οὖν; δέεται καὶ οὗτος τῆς  
 μακαρίας, δάκρυσι καὶ ὄδυρμοῖς τὰ  
 τῆς ἱκετηρίας συνανακίρνησι· καὶ οὐ  
 διήμαρτε τῆς ἐντεύξεως· ἐπιστάσα  
 γὰρ ἡ μακαρία τῷ ἀλιεῖ τὸν τόπον  
 δηλοποιεῖ, καθ' ὃν ἦσαν τὰ δίκτυα  
 κείμενα ἰχθύων πλείστων καὶ  
 μεγάλων ἀνάμεστα· Ἔβδομον δὲ  
 ἐγχωρίως ὁ τόπος ὠνόμαστο· οὐ δὴ  
 καὶ γεγονώς, ὡς κεχρημάτιστο παρὰ  
 τῆς ὀσίας, ἐντυγχάνει τοῖς δικτύοις  
 πολλῆς καὶ δαψιλοῦς πεπληρωμένοις  
 τῆς ἄγρας· καὶ μεθ' ὅτι πλείστης τῆς  
 ἡδονῆς καὶ εὐθυμίας ἐπάνεισιν. Ἄλλ'  
 ἐχέσθω καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ὁ λόγος.

scattered by a huge wave and violent  
 storm. The man's loss was twofold, since  
 he not only missed out on the haul of fish  
 but also lost completely the tools of his  
 trade, as one says. What then <could he  
 do>? He begged help from the blessed  
 <Thomaïs>, mixing his supplications  
 with tears and wailing. Nor did he fail to  
 obtain his request. For the blessed one  
 appeared to the fisherman and revealed  
 where the nets were lying full of many  
 enormous fish. The place was called  
 locally Hebdomon.<sup>146</sup> When he went to  
 the place, he found the nets filled with a  
 very plentiful catch as had been predicted  
 by the blessed <Thomaïs>. And he  
 returned <home> with much pleasure and  
 good cheer. But let my account continue  
 with subsequent <miracles>.

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<sup>146</sup> Hebdomon was a suburb of Constantinople, south of the city on the Sea of Marmara;  
 cf. *ODB* 1077.



22. Θαῦμα [ια΄].

Μονή τις ἐν τῇ μεγαλοπόλει τῆδε  
καθίδρυται. ἐν ἣ τιμᾶται τὸ τῆς  
παναμώμου κόρης καὶ θεομήτορος  
ὄνομα καὶ διαφερόντως κυδαίνεται  
(ἐπικέκληται δὲ τὰ Μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου  
παρὰ τοῖς ἐγκωμιάζουσιν) ἔγγιστά  
που τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ  
Μωκίου διακειμένη, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ τῆς  
ἀγίας ἐνσεσορίασται λείψανον· ἧς  
τὴν ἡγουμενεΐαν ἢ κατὰ σάρκα μήτηρ  
τῆς μακαρίας καὶ θαυμαστῆς  
Θωμαΐδος ἐνεχειρίσθη. Συνέβη γοῦν  
ποτε βιβλίον ἀπολέσαι τὰς ἐκεῖ  
μοναζούσας· οὐ μὴ εὕρισκομένου, ἐν

XXII. [Miraculous recovery of a lost  
book]

Miracle 11. <There was> a  
monastery established in this great city  
[i.e., Constantinople], in which was  
honored and especially glorified the name  
of the all-blameless maiden and Mother  
of God (it was called <the Convent of>  
*Ta Mikra Romaiou*<sup>147</sup> by those who  
praised it). It was located very near the  
Church of the wonder-working  
Mokios.<sup>148</sup> The remains of the saint were  
entombed there, and the earthly mother  
[i.e. Kale] of the blessed and wondrous

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<sup>147</sup> Convent of τὰ Μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου; The *Life* of Thomaïs is one of the principal sources of information on this convent. Its exact location is unknown, but since it was near St. Mokios it must have been in the southwestern part of the city; cf. Janin, *EglisesCP*, 197. By coincidence, at an earlier period Elisabeth the Thaumaturge lived in the same convent, which was then dedicated to St. George and called Mikrolophos, or "Little Hill"; see notes in the *Life* of St. Elisabeth, in *HWB*, 120. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Russian pilgrims report visiting a "Monastery of the Holy Mother of God" and kissing St. Thomaïs. Her relics were confused by them with those of the sixth-century St. Thomaïs of Alexandria. Prayer at the tomb was held to "cool carnal passion"; cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 323-25.

<sup>148</sup> St. Mokios was martyred under Diocletian. His church was traditionally said to have been built by Constantine on top of a temple to Zeus. It was rebuilt by either Pulcheria and Marcian or by Justinian I, and restored in the ninth century by Basil I. It was located somewhere between the walls of Constantine and the Theodosian Walls, perhaps west of the Cistern of St. Mokios. See Janin, *EglisesCP*, 367-71 and map "Byzance Constantinople," ref. C6.

πάση ἀθυμία διετέλουν αὐται  
 τυγχάνουσαι· ἤσχαλλον, ἠνιῶντο  
 δεινῶς· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔα ταύτας ἢ  
 συμπαθεστάτη καὶ φίλοικτος Θωμαῖς  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀθυμία κατέχεσθαι, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπιστᾶσα νύκτωρ εἶρηκε πρὸς αὐτάς·  
 <<Ζῆν με γινώσκετε ἀληθῶς, ἀδελφαί,  
 εἰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τέθνηκα· ἡ δὲ  
 βίβλος ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν κατάκειται τάφον  
 συντηρουμένη μοι.>> Αὐτίκα γοῦν  
 προσέρχονται τῇ σεβασμῖα σορῶ,  
 εὐρίσκουσιν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κείμενον τὸ  
 βιβλίον κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀγίας ὑφήγησιν  
 καὶ ὄλαι χαρμονῆς καὶ θάμβους  
 πλήρεις ἐγένοντο καὶ πρὸς  
 εὐχαριστιαν καὶ αἶνον ἐκινουῦντο,  
 Θεοῦ τοῦ θαυμαστά ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις  
 αὐτοῦ τερατουργοῦντος ἐκάστοτε· ὧν  
 ἓν καὶ τὸ νυνὶ ῥηθησόμενον καὶ τοῖς  
 προδεδιγημένοις προστεθησόμενον.

Thomaïs had been appointed the mother  
 superior. It happened that on one  
 occasion the nuns there lost a book.  
 When it could not be found, the nuns  
 were quite despondent, [241] and were  
 terribly distressed and upset. The most  
 compassionate and merciful Thomaïs,  
 however, did not allow these women to  
 remain long in despondency, but  
 appearing <one> night she said to them:  
 "Know, sisters, that I am truly alive, even  
 if I have died as far as you are concerned.  
 The book is lying on my tomb where it is  
 being kept safely by me." Straightaway  
 they went to the holy tomb and found the  
 book lying safely just as the saint had  
 described. They were all were filled with  
 delight and astonishment, and were  
 moved to thanksgiving and praise of God,  
 who at all times works wondrous  
 miracles through his saints. One of them  
 is the miracle which I will recount now,

23. Θαῦμα ιβ'.

Γυνή τις ἔγγιστα πού τοῦ καλουμένου  
Βοῦς ποιουμένου τήν οἴκησιν χαλεπῶ  
τινι νοσήματι κατετρύχετο καί τὰ  
ἐντόσθια ἤλγει καί ὀξύτάταις ὀδύναις  
ἐβάλλετο· αὕτη τοίνυν ἀπογνοῦσα  
πάσης ἄλλης ἐλπίδος τῇ τῆς ἁγίας  
πρόσεισι τιμίᾳ σορῶ· καί μετὰ  
θερμοτάτης τῆς πίστεως τήν παρ'  
αὐτῆς αἰτησαμένη βοήθειαν καί  
νύκτωρ καί μεθ' ἡμέραν  
ἐγκαρτερήσασα καί δάκρυα συχνά  
καταχέασα, ταχύτατα λαμβάνει τήν  
θεραπείαν καί τοῦ πιέζοντος πάθους  
παντελῶς ἀπαλλάττεται· ἀλλά  
τοσαύτης ἀπολελαυκός τὸ γύναιον  
χάριτος, οὐδ' αὐτὸ πρὸς τήν  
εὐεργεσίαν ὤφθη ἀχάριστον οὐδὲ

adding it to the earlier <miracle tales>.

XXIII. [A woman cured of abdominal pain has an arch erected over the saint's tomb]

Miracle 12. A woman, who made her home very near the so-called Forum of the Ox,<sup>149</sup> was worn down by a severe affliction; she had abdominal distress and was assailed by very sharp pains. Despairing of all other hope, she went to the revered coffin of the saint, and with the most fervent faith pleaded for her assistance. After <the woman> persevered both night and day and shed many tears, she received a cure very quickly and was completely released from the illness that oppressed her. But having received such a favor, the woman was

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<sup>149</sup> Forum Bovis. An old Roman forum on the Mese, the main street of Constantinople; it took its name from an enormous bronze sculpture of an ox-head. It is now the site of Aksaray Square. See Janin, *CP byz*, 69-71 and *EglisesCP*, map "Byzance Constantinople," ref. E7.

ψυχρὸν καὶ ἀγνώμον ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν  
 προαίρεσιν ἀλλὰ τῇ τὰ μέγιστα  
 χαρισσαμένη καὶ εὐκταϊότατα μικρὰν  
 τινα καὶ τῇ δυνάμει σύμμετρον  
 ἀποδιδούσα τὴν ἀμοιβήν, ἀψίδα τινὰ  
 ἐφύπερθεν τοῦ τάφου τῆς ἁγίας  
 ἀνήγειρε σὺν πόθῳ πολλῷ, εἰκόνων  
 ἁγίων ἱστορίαις ταύτην  
 κατακοσμήσασα· ἥτις καὶ μέχρι τοῦ  
 νῦν περισώζεται εἰς μέγιστον ἐκείνης  
 μνημόσυνον· ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τίς ἂν καὶ  
 παρελθεῖν δύναιτο τοῦτο  
 ἀξιοθαύμαστον ὄν μάλα καὶ  
 χαριέστατον; οὐκ οὐδ' ἡμεῖς  
 παρέλθωμεν ἀδιήγητον.

seen <to be> neither ungrateful for this  
 good deed, nor cold-hearted and  
 thoughtless, so to speak, <in her>  
 conduct.<sup>150</sup> Rather she repaid <the  
 favor> with a small token, appropriate to  
 her means, to the <holy woman> who  
 granted her a very great and much desired  
 favor. With much love she had an arch<sup>151</sup>  
 erected over the tomb of the saint,  
 adorning it with pictures of holy images.  
 And it survives until the present day as a  
 great memorial of this <saint>. And who  
 there could pass by this <memorial>  
 which is most wondrous and pleasing?  
 Therefore we should not then pass over  
 this <memorial> without telling its story.

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<sup>150</sup> Or "character."

<sup>151</sup> Possibly some sort of ciborium or baldachin; cf. Alice-Mary Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: the Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1983), 56.21, where the same word ἀψίς is used for a baldachin over a saint's tomb. Alternatively, following a suggestion of Henry Maguire, this may be an *arcosolium* set into a wall rather than a free-standing structure.

24. θαῦμα γ'.

Ἄνθρωπος τις τὸν μοναδικὸν καὶ ἄζυγον  
βίον παιδόμενος ἀνηρημένος καὶ τῆς  
θεοφιλοῦς ἐργασίας ὀλοτρόπως  
ἀντιποιοῦμενος, ᾧ Συμεὼν μὲν ἡ  
κλήσις, πατρίς δὲ ἡ περιφανεστάτη  
αὕτη τῶν πόλεων, προσευχάδιον τι  
ἐσχηκῶς εὐτεχνον καὶ πολύτιμον (ἐκ  
γὰρ κοσμίας ὕλης διείργαστο)  
ἀπώλεσε τοῦτο τοιοῦτοτρόπως· καὶ  
γὰρ ὑπὸ τινος αὐτῷ προσφιλοῦς  
συνέβη τοῦτο ζητηθῆναι· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν  
περίεργον ὑπολογισάμενος ἀπλῆ καὶ  
φιλικῆ προαιρέσει δίδωσιν ἐτοίμως τῷ  
φίλῳ τὸ πρὸς χρείαν ἐξαιτηθέν·  
ἐκεῖνος δὲ λαβὼν τοῦτο καὶ οἴκαδε  
ἀπαγαγὼν ἠθέλησεν ὑποκρύψαι  
συνεργίᾳ σατανικῆ· ὁ τοίνυν

XXIV. [The recovery of a lost prayer-  
stool]

Miracle 13. <There was> a man  
who from childhood had chosen the  
monastic and celibate way of life and  
exerted himself completely in godly  
work. His name was Symeon and his  
hometown was the most famous of cities  
[i.e. Constantinople]. He possessed a  
highly valuable and skillfully made  
prayer-stool<sup>152</sup> (for it was made of  
precious materials) which he lost it in this  
way. It came about that a friend of his  
asked to borrow this <prayer-stool>. On  
account of his simple and friendly  
character, he did not suspect anything  
unusual and readily gave his friend what

<sup>152</sup> Or "prayer-book." The meaning of "προσευχάδιον" as "prayer stool" (it is rendered as "prie-Dieu" by da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," 839) is assured by the context in which the word is used in the *typikon* of Kecharitomene; cf. Paul Gautier, ed. "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitoménè," *REB* 43 (1985), 79. l.1083; cf. also Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. It should be noted, however, that Constantine Akropolites interpreted the word as "prayer-book" (προσευχῆς βιβλίον) in ch. 18 of his *Laudatio* (AASS Nov. IV: 246C,) as does A. Lete in her modern Greek translation of the text in Tsames, *Μηττερικόν* 4:361.

εἰρημένος θεοφιλῆς ἀνὴρ εἰς λήθην  
 μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ δεδομένου ἐλθὼν καὶ  
 ᾧ τοῦτο δέδοτο, οὐ μικρῶς ἠθύμει καὶ  
 ἤσχαλλεν· ἡ γοῦν ἀγία τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
 κατ' ὄναρ ἐμφανισθεῖσα τοιαῦτα  
 φησὶν· <<Οἶδας, τίτι δέδωκας ὅπερ  
 ἐκέκτησο προσευχάδιον; ἀλλ' εἰ  
 ἐπιλέησαι, ἀναμνήσθητι>> καὶ ἅμα  
 δὴ αὐτὴ τὸν λαβόντα παρεδήλου καὶ  
 ἀνεμίμησεν αὐτολεξεῖ οὕτως  
 εἰποῦσα ὅτι· <<Παρὰ τοῦ φιλουμένου  
 σοι Ἰωάννου κατέχεται τὸ  
 ζητούμενον>>. Ο δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς καὶ  
 ζητήσας, ταχέως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπέλαβε  
 καὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ μεγάλας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν  
 προμηθείας ὡμολόγει τὰς χάριτας.

he had asked to borrow. But <the  
 friend>, having acquired it and taken it  
 home, wanted to conceal it with the help  
 of the devil. Thus the aforesaid God-  
 loving man later forgot what he had given  
 and to whom he had given it, and was not  
 a little despondent and upset. The saint  
 then appeared in a dream to the aforesaid  
 man and spoke as follows: "Do you know  
 to whom you gave the prayer-stool which  
 you used to have? But, if you have  
 forgotten, be reminded <of it now>!"  
 And at the same time she revealed <the  
 identity of> the man who had taken it and  
 jogged his memory, speaking these very  
 words: "Your friend John has the object  
 you are seeking." And after being  
 reminded and seeking out <the prayer-  
 stool>, he quickly regained his property  
 and he promised great gifts to the saint  
 because of her concern for him.

25. Θαῦμα ιδ΄.

Ἄναγκαῖον ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς  
ἐπιμνησθῆναι τῶν συνεύνου ταύτης  
παθῶν καὶ μὴ σιγῆσαι ταῦτα μήτε  
παραδραμεῖν ἀλλὰ τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ  
σαφηνίσαι τε καὶ ἐρμηνεῦσαι ὡς οἶόν  
τε, ὁποῖαν τε εἴσπραξιν εὐρατο τοῦ  
κακίστου καὶ φαυλοτάτου βίου αὐτοῦ·  
καὶ γὰρ προσκέκρουκέ τινα δαίμονι  
τὴν ἰσχὺν χαλεπῶ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
σφοδρῶς ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἠλαύνετο·  
καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀγίας καταλαμβάνει  
τάφον θρηνῶν ἀπαράκλητα· καὶ  
πολλὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐκεῖσε τοῦτον  
σπαράξαντος καὶ μὴ θελήσαντος  
ἐκεῖθεν ἐξεληλυθέναι, τῇ δεήσει  
ταύτης τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέτυχεν. Ἄλλ'  
ὥσπερ ἀμήχανον ψάμμον θαλάσσης  
ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ ἴχνη νηὸς  
ποντοπορούσης, οὕτως καὶ τῶν τῆς  
ἀγίας θαυμάτων διήγησιν θέσθαι

XXV. [Her husband is freed from a  
demon]

Miracle 14. I should also mention  
the sufferings of her [Thomaïs'] husband,  
and not be silent about them nor pass  
over them, but should in the present  
account make plain and describe as much  
as possible the kind of compensation he  
had to pay for his most wicked and base  
life. For he ran up against a demon of  
terrible might and was forcefully driven  
by it this way and that. And so, wailing  
inconsolably, he came to the tomb of the  
saint. And although the demon attacked  
him terribly there and was unwilling to be  
driven out of that place, by prayer to this  
<saint> he attained salvation <from the  
demon>.

Just <as it is impossible> to  
reckon the amount of sand of the sea<sup>153</sup> or

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<sup>153</sup> Cf., e.g., Jer. 15:8, Hos. 1:10.

λεπτομερῆ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀνύχων τὸν  
 λέοντα κάκ τοῦ κρασπέδου  
 καταλαμβάνει τις ὅλον τὸ ὕφασμα,  
 οὕτως κάκ τῶν μερικῶν αὐτῆς  
 θαυμάτων τὸ πᾶν καταλάβοι τις·  
 μέχρι γὰρ καὶ δύο καὶ δέκα χρόνων  
 οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τὰς ἰάσεις ἐπιτελεῖν  
 εἰς τοὺς μετὰ πίστεως προσιόντας  
 αὐτῇ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ μέχρι καὶ σήμερον τοῖς θερμῶς  
 ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὴν οὐ παύεται τὰς  
 ἰάσεις ἀφθόνοις ἐπιχορηγεῖν.

26.

Ἄλλ' ὦ ὀσίων συμμετοχε, δικαίων  
 ἰσοστάσιε, ἀγγέλων ἐνόμιλε, μὴ  
 παύση καθικετεύουσα τὸν  
 πανοικτίρμονα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον

the tracks of a ship passing through the  
 sea.<sup>154</sup> so <it is impossible> to set down a  
 detailed narration of the miracles of the  
 saint. But just as one gets a notion of the  
 lion from its claws, and of the whole  
 garment from its edges,<sup>155</sup> so one might  
 understand the whole from a partial  
 <narration> of her miracles. For over a  
 period of twelve years she has not  
 stopped performing cures for those who  
 approach her with faith night and day. In  
 fact up to this day she does not cease to  
 supply cures in abundance cures to those  
 who call on her fervently for aid.

XXVI. [Invocation of the saint]

But, O partner of the blessed ones,  
 equal of the righteous, associate of the  
 angels, do not cease by your fervent  
 supplications to entreat earnestly the all-

<sup>154</sup> Prov. 30:19. (In the Septuagint these verses follow Prov. 24:22.)

<sup>155</sup> Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus*, I: 252.



Κῶριον ταῖς σαῖς θερμαῖς ἱκεσίαις,  
 περιφρουρεῖν τὸν τῆς πορφύρας  
 κλάδον, τὸν εὐθαλέστατον Ῥωμανόν,  
 τὸν ἐν φιλοχρίστοις φιλοχριστότατον  
 ἄνακτα, τὸν πάσαις καλῶν ἰδέαις  
 περιαστράπτοντα· δίδου δὲ τούτῳ καὶ  
 πᾶσαν φιλαρχίαν ἐθνῶν  
 κατατροποῦσθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τούτων  
 πανσπερμίαν τὴν μιξοβάρβαρον· καὶ  
 χάριν βραβεύοις τούτῳ τὴν νικητήριον  
 ὡς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκριβεστάτῳ  
 γνώμονι τε καὶ φύλακι, ὡς τῆς  
 ἀληθείας κανόνι, ὡς τοῖς πᾶσι τὰ

merciful Lord, who loves mankind, to  
 protect the scion of the purple, the most  
 flourishing Romanos,<sup>156</sup> the most Christ-  
 loving ruler among the lovers of Christ,  
 who glistens with all forms of goodness.  
 Grant to him <the power of> putting to  
 flight all the leaders of foreign nations  
 and all their semi-barbarous seed.<sup>157</sup>  
 And <may you award> to him the victory  
 prize, as to a most precise discerner and  
 guardian of righteousness, as to a guide-  
 rule of truth, and as to one who provides  
 and awards all good things to all. And do

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<sup>156</sup> This concluding paragraph, couched in the form of a prayer for the reigning emperor, is an unusual feature of this *Life*. It is somewhat reminiscent of the so-called "imperial menologion," in which each *vita* concludes with a prayer in verse from for the emperor; cf. François Halkin and A.-J. [Andre-Jean] Festugière, eds., *Dix textes inédits tirés du ménologe impérial de Koutloumous* (Geneva: P. Cramer, 1984), 18, 30, 42, etc., and François Halkin, ed. *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore*, Subsidia hagiographica 69 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1985), 37, 58, 72, etc. These *menologia* have been traditionally assigned to the reign of Michael IV (1034-1041); for the most recent discussions of their date see, Nancy Patterson Ševèenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' Menologion," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 51 (1993), 43-64, esp. 44 and 58.

<sup>157</sup> Lege φυλαρχίαν for φιλαρχίαν. The term *phylarchos* (lit. "tribal leader") was normally (but not exclusively) applied to Muslim rulers; cf. DuCange, *Glossarium*, s.v., and *ODB* 1672. It is therefore plausible that the author is referring to the (successful) campaign of Nikephoros Phokas against the Arabs of Crete that took place in 961, during the reign of Romanos II. The term *mixobarbaros* ("semi-barbarous") could be applied to Slavs or Muslims; cf., e.g., *Anna Comnène. Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, Vol 3. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1945), 14.11 and 205.11.

πάντα χρηστὰ ἐπιχορηγοῦντί τε καὶ  
 βραβεύοντι· καὶ μὴ ἐλλίπτης αὐτὸν  
 ἀγαθύνουσα, πάντα τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν  
 βραβεύουσα· συμπαρομάρτει δ' αὐτῷ  
 νοητῶς καὶ συνέριθος γίνου ταῖς σαῖς  
 ἱκεσίαις καὶ φύλαξ ἄγρυπνος· ἀλλ'  
 ἄγε καὶ πάντα τὸν σοὶ προσιόντα  
 σκέπε καὶ φρούρει, διδοῦσα τούτοις  
 ἐνιαυτὸν δεκτὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον, ὅτι  
 καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ καλλίστῃ  
 τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἐδέξω  
 καὶ πρὸς Κύριον ἀπεδήμησας· αὕτη  
 δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν καλανδῶν πρωτίστη,  
 καθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι  
 Βασίλειος πρὸς Κύριον ἀπεδήμησε·  
 μεθ' οὗ πρεσβεύοις ἀεὶ καὶ  
 συμπαρείης τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἡγεμόνι τῷ  
 κρατίστῳ καὶ φιλευσεβεῖ  
 αὐτοκράτορι· μέμνησο δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν  
 τῶν σῶν ἀθλίων οἰκετῶν μικρὸν

not cease to honor him, you who award  
 all things <that lead> towards salvation.  
 Stand by his side assiduously and be his  
 helpmate and a vigilant guardian through  
 your supplications. Come, shelter and  
 watch over everyone who approaches  
 you, giving to them an acceptable and  
 pleasant year, because on this the first and  
 most beautiful of days you received the  
 end of your life, and journeyed toward the  
 Lord. This <day> is the first of the  
 calends,<sup>158</sup> on which Basil, great among  
 the high priests,<sup>159</sup> journeyed to the Lord.  
 Together with him [Basil] may you  
 always intercede for and stand beside our  
 leader, the most powerful and pious  
 emperor. Remember also me, your  
 miserable [242] servant, who has grown a  
 little weary in singing your praise and in

<sup>158</sup> Thomaïs' feast day was January 1. The calends are the first days of Roman months.

<sup>159</sup> The feast day of St. Basil of Caesarea, the fourth-century theologian, is also January 1.

κεκοπιακότων εἰς τὴν σὴν ὑμνωδίαν  
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν θαυμάτων ἀφήγησιν.  
ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. ᾧ  
πρέπει δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ  
καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ εἰς  
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

the recital<sup>160</sup> of your miracles, in Christ  
Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory  
together with the Father and the Son and  
the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and  
ever. Amen.

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<sup>160</sup> Lege ἀφήγησιν for ἀρήγησιν, a typographical error.

### APPENDIX III: SUGGESTIONS ON ἅγιος AND ὁσίος

In Greek ἅγιος (*hagios*) and ὁσίος (*hosios*) are both used as titles for saints where Latin simply has *sanctus*. The implications of this usage have not been satisfactorily evaluated in scholarly literature. Although the peculiarity is well known, scholars with a broad familiarity with saints' lives have found it difficult to reach conclusions as to the significance of the terms. Some authors propose that *hosios* simply refers to the practice of asceticism:

The word *hosios* does not have an exact equivalent in French... It designates saints, martyrs or not, who have practiced asceticism. One can not translate it "ascete" because that word is applied especially to some saints, nor "confessor" (*homologetes*), which has a technical sense.<sup>1</sup>

When scholars' concern focuses on individual saints, this is perhaps a sufficient explanation, but a survey of the Byzantine cult of saints in its entirety suggests that there is more at stake. *Hagios* and *hosios* function as *titles* of saints in a quite distinct way. *Makarios* ("blessed,") for instance, is often used about saints in their *Lives*, but it functions as descriptive term, not as a title analogous to the modern Catholic distinction between *beati* (the beatified) and *sancti* (canonized or recognized saints).<sup>2</sup> Other terms might be used for purposes of reference or elegant variation, but none as titles.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Juan Mateos, ed. *La Typicon de La Grande Église, Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X<sup>e</sup> siècle, Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962), xxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Makarios* is not used as a title, for instance, for any of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople's September saints [Appendix I, Table A4: Titulature of Saints of September in *Synaxaria*.]

<sup>3</sup> Hagiographers often searched for a word to describe their subject. In the *Life* of St. Thomaïs this word is commonly *makarios*, (see Appendix II), as it is in the *Life of St. Nikon the Metanoite*, ed. and trans. Denis F. Sullivan (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984). In the *Life of St. Nicholas of Sion*, ed. and trans. Ihor Ševčenko and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984), the most used phrase is *ho doulos tou Theou* ("the

A problem in the reassessment of the significance of *hagios/hosios* is the fluidity of the data. Scholars can cite many saints about whom both terms were used in no discernable pattern. If the terms were generally interchangeable, they would not tell us a great deal about the cult of saints. I argue, however, that most saints were usually known by one term or the other, and that cliometric and textual analysis supports such a position.

The *Saints' Hagiographical Database* consists of 1608 saints who have Greek documents which refer to them. Given lacunae in data, I do not have title data on all saints. For 582 saints a source of some sort, sometimes only the BHG title of a *vita*, gives to the saint a title of *hagios* or *hosios*. I acknowledge that the various lists of orthodox saints, as well as text collations such as the SynaxCP, were not compiled with this issue in mind, and sometimes reflect editors' shortcuts.<sup>4</sup> However, the *Database* collected data on *hagios/hosios* from a variety of sources, and without this topic as a focus.<sup>5</sup> Thus, if a saint is recorded with just one title, that reflects several sources' use of that single title. Limitations on data, however, make the discussion here suggestive rather than conclusive.

Analysis of several saint's *Lives* provides additional support for the generally consistent use of titles about a particular saint (Table A3.1), as does examination of consistency of usage about well-known saints in liturgical literature (Table A4). If, in hagiographical literature, one "title" tended to be used about a particular saint

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servant of God.") Other *Lives* use circumlocutions such as "the divine man," "the great man." None of these terms seems to have had any technical meaning.

<sup>4</sup> The textual tradition is of the *synaxaria* is complex, and hence Delehaye's edition [SynaxCP] simplifies things considerably. The BHG was not meant to select types of saints, but simply to identify texts about them. Email correspondence with Ugo Zanetti S.J. was very helpful in establishing the issues here.

Table A3.1  
Use of "Αγιος and "Οσιος in selected sources

SAINT	Synax CP Usage	Usage in Life
Thomaïs of Lesbos	<i>Hagia</i> ms Fa	<p><i>Hosia</i> is used in the title. For the rest, it is used five times, twice about her parents, twice about Thomaïs, but never next to her name except in the title]</p> <p><i>Hagi*</i> is used about her, meaning "saint" in a general sense, see, for instance ch. 14, 20, 25 where she is referred to as the <i>hagia</i>.</p> <p><i>Makar*</i> with 20 uses is the commonest term used about the saint</p>
Luke of Steiris	<i>Hosios</i>	<p><i>Hosios</i> is in the title of the life, and is the name of his dedicated church, indicating that this is how he was usually known.</p> <p><i>Hagios</i> is used about him, meaning "saint" in a general sense, see, for instance ch. 77, where he is referred to as the <i>hagios</i>.</p> <p>Akolouthias in Petit, <i>BibAc</i>, have <i>hosios</i> in incipits.</p>
Nikon the Metanoëite	<i>Hosios</i> ms MV	<p><i>Hagios</i> in title of Barberini ms [in Sullivan trans.]</p> <p><i>Hosios</i>. In title of Kout. Ms [from BHG]</p>
Theophanes	<i>Hosios</i>	<p>Const V. Porph. <i>De Admin. Imp</i> 17:1 <i>tou makariou Theophanes</i> 22:78 <i>ho en hagiois Theophanes</i> 25:1 <i>tou hosiou Theophanes tes Sigrianes</i></p>

Source: BHG: SynaxCP; Petit, *BibAc*; Appendix II; *Vita* of Luke of Steiris, ed. and trans. Carolyn L. Connor and W. Robert Connor, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1994); *Vita* of Nikon, ed. and trans. Denis F. Sullivan, *The Life of St. Nikon* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987); *Vita* of Mary the Younger, *AASS Novembris IV:692-705*, trans. Angeliki E. Laiou, *HWB*, 239-89.

consistently, the case is pretty strong that *hagios* and *hosios* are not, for the most part, interchangeable as titles. Although it is clear that *hagios* could be used about any saint, to mean "saint" in its most general sense, the data suggest that saints were popularly known by either one term or the other.<sup>6</sup> If there were also an aspect of status to these titles, such a conclusion would be significant in understanding the middle Byzantine cult of saints.

While there is no exact correlation between a particular category of saint and particular title, *hagios* was much more common, in terms of both absolute numbers of saints and usage for the saints with major cults. With one exception,<sup>7</sup> all saints of the first three centuries are called *hagios*. This changes with fourth-century saints (including those of the Diocletian/Maximian/Licinius persecutions): then there are 125 saints with the title *hagia/os*, of whom 98 were martyrs, and sixteen with the title *hosia/os* (two were martyrs).<sup>8</sup> These figures suggest that *hagios* was related to martyrdom in some way (which after all was the primary way to become a saint until the triumph of the Church),<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> I.e. there is the necessary element of randomness in the data on the 582 saints for whom there are titles.

<sup>6</sup> Of the 582 saints with titles in the *Saints' Hagiographical Database*, only seventeen are referred to by both *hagios* and *hosios*. Although additional data would expand this category, this also suggests that the majority of saints were known by one term or the other. The terms were interchangeable for some saints, but not for most. No one would refer, for instance, to "Hosios George."

<sup>7</sup> Konon (feast day Nov 4). In this case, however, the use of *hosios* comes from a modern Greek source.

<sup>8</sup> Aristion of Alexandria (feast day Sep 3) in the SynaxCP is called "*hosios kai hieromartyr*"; Cyril of Gortyn (feast days, Sep 5, Jun 14), in the SynaxCP, 17, is called "*hosios patros humon kai hieromartyr*."

<sup>9</sup> The general sense of *hagios* in Greek is that of "holy" or "sacred." Its possible Sanskrit cognate is "yajati" - [LSJ qv.] which means "sacrifice." This sort of etymological consideration cannot be pushed very far for *hagios*, since its use in the New Testament [e.g. 1 Cor. 6.1] determined later Christian usage.

and that *hosios* seems to have originated in the fourth-century as a term for non-martyred holy people.<sup>10</sup>

The early *hosioi* include Ephrem the Syrian, Paul the Simple, Anthony of Egypt and Paisios the Wonderworker. All of these were monks, hinting at a connection between *hosios* and monasticism. Nevertheless, non-monastic saints such as Martha (the mother of Symeon Stylites) and Ambrose of Milan were also called *hosia/os*.

There were fourth-century *hagioi* who were not martyrs. It is worth considering the salient facts about many of them:<sup>11</sup>

Alexander - a bishop of Constantinople  
 Athanasios of Alexandria - a major Church father  
 Constantine - the emperor who legalized Christianity  
 Donatos [BHG 2111] - a bishop [*perhaps a martyr?*]  
 Epiphanius - major bishop on Cyprus  
 Helena - mother of Constantine and finder of the True Cross  
 Nektarios - a patriarch of Constantinople  
 Nicholas of Myra - a bishop and later a major cult figure  
 Pachomios - a major monastic founder  
 Philogonios [BHG 1532] - unclear as to why he would be *hagios*  
 Plakilla - an empress  
 Silvester - a bishop of Rome  
 Theodosios - an emperor  
 The "Holy Family of Cappadokia" circle around Gregory of Nazianzos.<sup>12</sup>

Although *hosia/os* tended to be applied to non-martyr saints, or to monastic saints, *hagios* was not restricted to martyrs. It is noteworthy, though, that the non-martyrs who are

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<sup>10</sup> The etymology suggests living in accord with or witnessing to Divine law, which does accord with its later usage. [LSJ qv].

<sup>11</sup> Other fourth-century non-martyr *hagioi* in the *Saint's Bibliographical Database* include: Euboule [mother of the important cult figure and martyr Panteleemon], Monica [mother of Augustine, who falls into my fifth century list and is himself a non martyr "hagios"], Markella. These titles, however, come from a modern Greek compilation.

<sup>12</sup> Basil and Emelia, Gorgonia, Gregory of Nazianzos the elder, and Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa, Makrina, and Meletios of Antioch. It is not clear that most of these figures would have been counted as saints without the series of *enkomia* written about them by Gregory or Basil.



commonly called *hagios* include some of the most widely-reputed saints -- major church fathers, founders of Constantinople, and, in the case of Nicholas, a major cult figure.

Shifting our attention to ninth- and tenth-century saints, we find a number of changes. First the ratio of *hagioi* and *hosioi* are reversed. There are 35 *hosioi*, none of whom are martyrs, and only 23 *hagioi*. Four of the *hagioi* are martyrs, although other saints of many types also have this title (writers, members of the imperial family, senior churchmen, and wonderworkers.) The vast majority of *hosioi* are monastic saints, but non-monastics such as Mary the Younger and Thomaïs of Lesbos also take the title.<sup>13</sup> Some cases are simply perplexing. Nikon of Sparta (the Metanoëite) is *hosios* in the *Synaxarion*,<sup>14</sup> but the author of his *Life* has him as *Hagios kai thaumaturgos Nikon* in one manuscript version and *hosios* in another.<sup>15</sup> Finally, his image at the Church of Hosios Loukas at Steiris marks him as *hagios*.

When we consider the non-martyr *hagioi* of the ninth to fifteenth centuries as a group, a very curious phenomenon emerges. Apart from those who were "near-martyrs," the majority are "imperial" figures: members of the imperial family, or patriarchs and bishops. On the other hand the ninth-century and later *hosioi* are never patriarchs, rarely bishops, and mostly of classes lower than royal/imperial status.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> For Thomaïs, see Appendix II. Her mention in a minor synaxarion manuscript has her as *hagia*; Constantine Akropolites, *Laudatio S. Thomaidis* (Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Θωμαΐδα) (BHG 2457), in *AASS* Nov IV: 242-46, also address her as "hagia."

<sup>14</sup> SynxCP, MS mv.

<sup>15</sup> *Life* of Nikon, ed. and trans. Denis F. Sullivan, *The Life of St. Nikon* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987), 26.

<sup>16</sup> There are some exceptions. For instance, Theodora of Arta, a queen who became a saint, was called *hosia*.

The data available permit some tentative conclusions on this subject:

- *Hosios* and *hagios* are not synonyms in Greek, but have distinct domains of meaning.
- *Hagios* is the primary word for "saint," but was applied most readily to describe martyrs.<sup>17</sup> Although etymology is not very useful here, there is some sense in which *hagios* refers to a state of being.
- *Hosios* is a later and less common title. It seems to relate to a certain notion of performativity or pious living.<sup>18</sup> The *hosios* presents a good example of Christian living, mostly but not necessarily in life in a monastery.
- For the most part saints with the largest cults tended to be *hagioi*, although individual saints who acquired large cults may have retained the usage *hosios*.<sup>19</sup>
- The title *hagios* may have been applicable to non-martyr saints as a way to pay them extra honor. This may explain its use with imperial figures, high ecclesiastics, and some fathers.

A striking trait of Byzantine sanctity is that few post-600 AD holy people achieved sainthood. One reason might be that in a period of few martyrdoms, newer saints could not attain the prestige of the *hagioi* of the past.<sup>20</sup> Although it would be inaccurate to

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<sup>17</sup> Post-Byzantine usage supports this point; neo-martyrs are always called *hagios*, while monastic saints usually are not.

<sup>18</sup> Of all the *hosioi*, a handful are martyrs - Konon BHG 2077-79, Ariston, Kyril BHG 467b, Niphon BHG 1371z-1372d, Eusebia/Xena BHG 633-34m, all pre 5th cent, and Matrona of Chios in 14th. I have not been able to determine why these martyrs are not called *hagioi*, but their numbers are so small compared to the *hagioi* martyrs in general, that we have a case of genuine "exceptions to the rule."

<sup>19</sup> Compare the use of the customary title "The Venerable Bede" by modern anglophone Catholics for St. Bede of Jarrow.

<sup>20</sup> In Western Europe by contrast, with its Latin *sancti*, a linguistic equality between saints was immediately established between older martyr saints and new "pious-living" saints. Cf.

argue that *hagios* amounted to a higher title than *hosios* in any official way, when one looks at the "great saints" they are usually martyrs and called *hagios*. The distinct impression is that *hagios* goes with martyrdom, and nothing else quite matched the prestige of martyrs. When one looks at non-martyr saints who had large cults, they also tend to be called *hagios*.<sup>21</sup> Byzantine era saints were able to become the subject of small local cults, or an occasional regional cult, but never able to reach the level of acclaim and importance of the early Christian martyrs who were the focus of art, legend, and literature. In trying to understand why this was the case, the privileging of *hagioi* over *hosioi* may have some significance.

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Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "Narratives of Saint's Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to Mid-fourteenth Century," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 37-39, on the ninth-century *Life* of Patriarch Tarasios, which stated that martyrs could only be admired from afar by later Christians, although they could still "vie" with ascetics.

<sup>21</sup> Or both *hosios* and *hagios*, or "our father among the *hagioi*."

[ABSTRACT]

Paul Halsall

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Women's Bodies, Men's Souls: Sanctity and Gender in Byzantium

Dissertation directed by Maryanne Kowaleski, Ph.D.

This study applies quantitative and prosopographical techniques to sainthood as an aspect of Byzantine cultural and religious history in an effort to rethink the shape of sanctity. It focuses on why so few women became saints in Byzantium in comparison to their numbers in Western Europe and in the early Christian period, and why, in later centuries, Byzantium produced virtually no new female saints.

In early chapters, a statistical analysis of previously collected but under-analyzed data on Byzantine saints leads to a new typology of the cult of saints. Rather than laying stress on the type of new saint in each century, as earlier scholarship had done, data about the ongoing public cult of saints (surviving documents, church dedications, seals, relic lists, iconography) are quantified and measured. The conclusion is that the world of Byzantine saints was dominated throughout by a small group of male leading figures and that these figures -- all very early or legendary saints -- established the parameters of sanctity.

Later chapters rely on a study of the *Lives* of saints of the ninth to eleventh centuries -- the last period in which significant numbers of women achieved sainthood in Byzantium -- in order to probe the writers' conceptions of gender and sanctity for both male and female saints. Even in the *Lives* of earlier female saints, there was a tendency to

remove any sexual attributes and to assimilate holy women to the model of holy men. By the eleventh century, the criteria for female sanctity embodied contradictions which were ultimately irreconcilable: an impasse was reached between the hagiographers' explicit defense of women's holiness and the implicit preconceptions of women's roles that the *Lives* reveal.

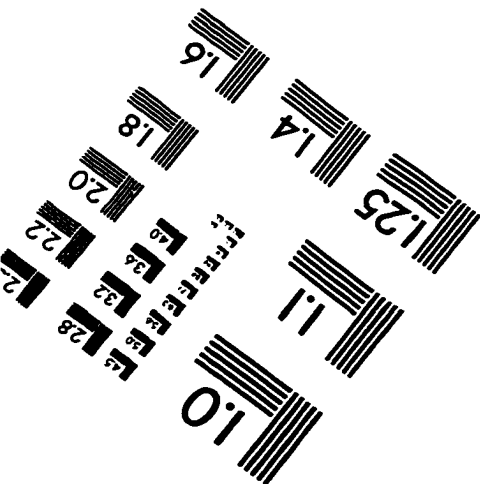
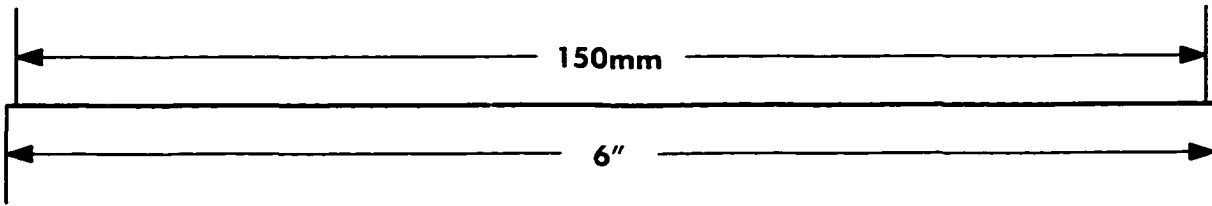
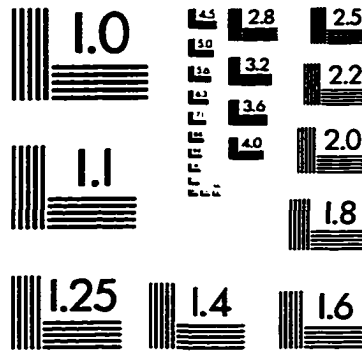
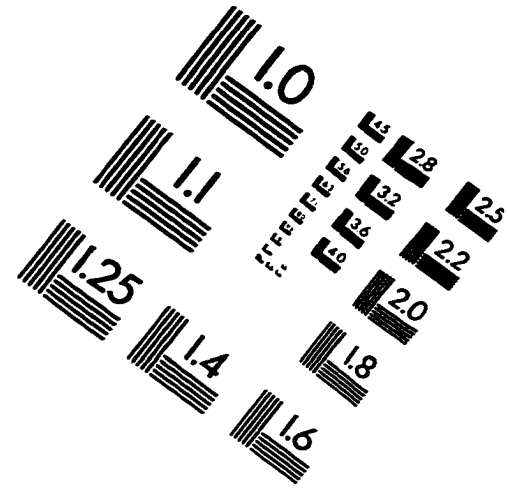
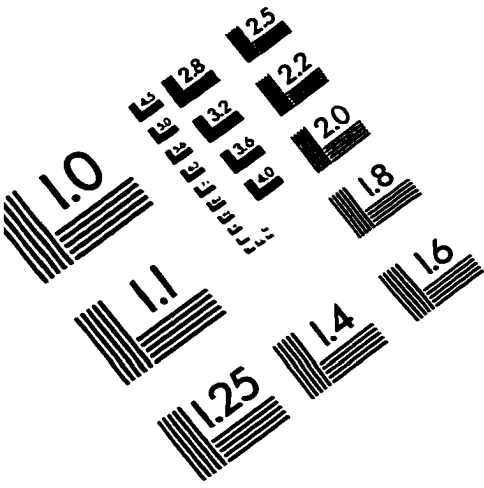
Special attention is paid to hagiographical discourse about the small group of married women saints. Purposeful arguments that women could manifest holiness in marriage, an institution of growing religious significance after the ninth century, were undermined by writers who were unable to escape the androgynous model of female sanctity. When the saints' proponents laud even married women with accolades such as "a man's soul in a woman's body," an acute level of cultural contradiction is apparent.

## VITA

Paul Halsall, son of Brian Slater and Jean Halsall, was born on November 26, 1960, in Stretford, Lancashire, England. After attending Littleborough High School and Ardrossan Academy, he entered the University of Edinburgh in 1978. In 1982, he received the Masters of Arts degree with honours in History.

In 1984, he attended Birkbeck College of the University of London and received the Masters of Arts degree in Classical Civilisation in 1986. He then entered Fordham University in 1987. While working for his doctoral degree in history, first under the mentorship of Dr. John Meyendorff (†1992) and then under Dr. Maryanne Kowaleski, he taught as an adjunct lecturer at a number of New York area colleges. In August 1999, he will take up a position as assistant professor of history at the University of North Florida.

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