

Péter Tamás Bara

**'WE ARE HONOURING THE ENDURANCE OF RIGHTEOUS CHAMPIONS'
OBSERVATIONS ON EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE'S ADMONITORY AND
HAGIOGRAPHIC ORATIONS RELATED TO THE CITY OF THESSALONIKE**

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with the specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2013

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Péter Tamás Bara**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with the specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 14 May 2013

Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. Inventories, journals, lexica

BHG: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca

BS: Byzantonoslavica

CFHB: Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae

DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers

JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

JRS: The Journal of Roman Studies

Lampe: *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. ed. Geoffrey W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.

LSJ: *Greek-English Lexicon*. ed. Henry George Liddle, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. With a Revised Supplement. Oxford: OUP, 1996.

LXX: Old Testament passage according to the numbering of the *Septuaginta* version.

ODB: Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium

PG: Patrologia Graeca

REB: Revue des études byzantines

SC: Sources Chrétiennes

2. Primary sources

akol. Kal.: Akolouthia of the Kalytenoi Martyrs

c. Th.: The Capture of Thessalonike

enk. Dem.: Enkomion of Demetrios

enk. Kal.: Enkomion of the so-called Kalytenoi Martyrs

Fl.: John Oxeites on his *Flight*

Lent.: Eustathios' Lenten homilies

men. B.: *Menologion of Basil II*

mon. Ch.: Michael Choniates' *Monody* to Eustathios of Thessalonike

mon. M.: Euthymios Malakes' *Monody* to Eustathios of Thessalonike

Od.: *Odyssey*

Op.: *Opuscula* of Eustathios

Styl.: Oration to a Thessalonian Stylite

syn. C.: *Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople*

Rh.: Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *The history of the monks in Syria.*

v. Phil.: The Life of Philotheos of Opsikion

v. Phot.: Life of Photios of Thessaly

Vm.: On the Improvement of Monastic Life

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INTRODUCTION

1. AIMS OF THE THESIS

This thesis scrutinises Eustathios of Thessalonike's two hagiographic and one admonitory oration. Eustathios' hagiographic oeuvre is small and little-known. As far as I can tell, this includes five pieces: the *Enkomion of Demetrios*, the *Enkomion of the so-called Kalytenoi martyrs (enk. Kal.)*, the *Life of Philotheos of Opsikion (v. Phil.)*, and the *Oration to the three Hebrews* (BHG 488).¹ Symeon Paschalidis argued that the *Life of Photios of Thessaly* (BHG 1545) also part of Eustathios' hagiographic works.² The *Oration to a Thessalonian stylite (Styl.)* is an admonitory oration addressed to a holy man in Thessalonike. Constraints of time did not allow me to analyse all six pieces, so finally I made a selection excluding the *enk. Dem.* which praises a relatively well-researched saint, Demetrios, the patron saint of Thessalonike; the *Life of Photios of Thessaly* recently discussed by Symeon Paschalidis; and the *Oration to the three Hebrews*, whose significant part got lost.³ This way ultimately the 'raw material' of my thesis comprises three orations of Eustathios: the *v. Phil.* and *enk. Kal.* which praise already deceased saints, and the *Styl.* which was directed to a would-be saint, contemporary to Eustathios.

Chapter I of the thesis aims at reconstructing the historical and social circumstances triggering the composition of the three hagiographic orations. The chapter can only outline

¹ Symeon A Paschalidis, 'The hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in *The Ashgate research companion to Byzantine hagiography*, Vol. 1. Periods and places, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (London: Ashgate, 2011), 157; *Lent.* p. 19*.

² Paschalidis, 'The hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', 157; Paschalidis, Symeon A. 'Τὸ ἀνώνυμο Ἐγκώμιο στὸν ὄσιο Φώτιο τὸ Θεσσαλὸ (BHG 1545). Ἕνα ἀκόμη ἔργο τοῦ Εὐσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης;', *Byzantina* 28 (2008), 529–547; Eustathios mentioned the martyr Nikephoros (BHG 1331–1334) in his *Fourth Lenten homily*, *Lent.* p. 70*.

³ In this oration Eustathios tried to understand how the three brothers were not burnt in the fiery furnace, cf. *Dan 3*.

basic elements of the social interaction between Eustathios the bishop and his flock as mirrored in the three hagiographic orations.⁴ The reason for this is the ‘vicious circle’ of the source material with respect to Thessalonike in the latter half of the twelfth century. Eustathios’ writings are the main source for the history of the city, who did not aim at accurately describing historical actors and the history of his age,⁵ and we cannot expect Eustathios to describe Thessalonian society,⁶ though he sent implicit hints to his audience. Consequently I had to calibrate the scope of my research around two questions: how Eustathios’ position and function as archbishop of Thessalonike did influence, or inspire his hagiographic works, and how he may have employed hagiography to influence matters in Thessalonike.

In 2006, on the occasion of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies Stephanos Efthymiadis pointed to the fact that ‘much remains to be done in terms of the working methods and techniques of hagiographers’.⁷ Therefore I have dedicated *Chapter II* to Eustathios’ hagiographic technique. The orations under scrutiny provide an opportunity to analyse the metropolitan bishop’s literary endeavour from a comparative aspect juxtaposing earlier synaxarion-entries dedicated to the same saints. First, in the *enk. Kal.* Eustathios discussed his method, his sources and collection of material in quite some detail. Second, the *v. Phil.* offers the chance of juxtaposing Eustathios’ *life* with the entry surviving in the *Menologion of Basil II (men. B.)*. The *Appendices* contain tables regarding the content,

⁴ A good model-study for this is provided by Maxwell, Jaclyn L. *Christianization and communication in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

⁵ Karin Metzler, *Eustathios von Thessalonike und das Mönchtum. Untersuchungen und Kommentar zur Schrift ‘De emendanda vita monachica’* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 4–5; Paolo Odorico, *Thessalonique: chroniques d’une ville prise* (Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2005), 25.

⁶ On this problem see: Paul Magdalino, ‘Eustathios and Thessalonica’, in *Philellen: Studies in honour of Robert Browning*, ed. Costas N. Constantinides, Nikolaos M. Panagiotakes, Elizabeth Jeffreys and Athanasios D. Angelou (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini, 1996), 235.

⁷ Stephanos Efthymiadis, ‘New developments in hagiography: the rediscovery of Byzantine hagiography’, in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, London, 2006. vol. I. Plenary Papers, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 164.

structure of the sources on which this thesis is based, which I included as guides to the reader.

2. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE: A RHETOR AND BISHOP

In this section my aim is to give an overview of Eustathios' biography laying the ground for the three hagiographic pieces under examination. After a short look at Eustathios' years in Constantinople, I shall discuss selected events from his episcopal period. Reconstructing Eustathios' life proves to be challenging for scholarship. Eustathios' biography can be retraced based on his own writings, but he rarely made explicit allusions to contemporary events, or his personal situation. Additionally Eustathios' writings are not carefully edited and even less systematically furnished with commentaries. Thus the prerequisites of a substantial biography are not yet present and now there is consensus in research over the stages of Eustathios' life rather than over the precise description of these stages.⁸

2.1. From the mud of humdrum work to the 'sophistic' office: Constantinople

Eustathios was born presumably in Constantinople between 1106 and 1115,⁹ or around 1115.¹⁰ Nothing is known about his parents, but it is likely that he was the nephew or pupil of Nicholas Kataphloron, later one of the top-teachers (διδάσκαλοι) of the capital. Eustathios was educated in Constantinople. He received his initial education at the school attached to the Monastery of St Euthymios. One of his friends from early childhood may have been Euthymios Malakes (ca. 1115–before 1204). Eustathios mentions his teachers, but without name. Finally he was taught by a man who headed the 'sophists', that is by the master of rhetoricians (μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων), who at the time according to all likelihood was Nicholas Kataphloron.¹¹

⁸ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 3–5.

⁹ Peter Wirth. *Eustathiana* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1980), 1–3.

¹⁰ Alexander Kazhdan and Simon Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 116.

¹¹ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 5–7; Kazhdan–Franklin, *Studies*, 115–119; Wirth, *Eustathiana*, 1–5, 5–7.

Eustathios' career started from the the very bottom of bureaucracy, until eventually he was appointed metropolitan bishop of Thessalonike, the second city of the empire. Under the patriarchate of Luke Chrysoberges (1157–1169/70) Eustathios started his career as a patriarchal scribe (ὕπογραφεύς). It seems that he maintained a good relationship with Michael, the head of the scribes, who later became patriarch as Michael III (1170–1178). When Michael moved from the chancery to judiciary, Eustathios followed him and became clerk in the patriarchal court recording the judge's decisions.¹² During this period Eustathios was given a church office: he became a deacon. He was working in the department of petitions in the patriarchate. In his later memorandum (ὕπομνηστικόν) to Michael III Eustathios pointed to the fact that he had the position of the guardian of the sacred treasures (κειμελία ἱερά). A seal testifies that Eustathios was also employed for a while at the patriarchal treasury (σακέλλιον). Therefore under Luke Chrysoberges Eustathios held a series of posts in the patriarchal administration.¹³

In the second half of the 1160s Eustathios' former mentor and protector, Michael, was appointed 'consul of the philosophers', thus he became one of the few heading the higher education of the capital. From this post he helped Eustathios to get a better-paid position. Eustathios was eventually offered the 'sophistic' (σοφιστική) job, which was the post of the master of rhetoricians. Eustathios got this title between 1166 and 1170 bearing it until 1174.¹⁴ The *maistor* had to be a deacon and member of the group of five patriarchal teachers, but unlike his colleagues, he was an imperial appointee. The task of the master of rhetoricians was to deliver encomiastic orations in honour of the emperor on Christmas Day, on the feast of Epiphany, and on Easter Sunday. The *maistor* also addressed the

¹² Quoted by Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 119, ἐχρῆν ὑποδρηστεῦσαι τῷ γράμματι καὶ τὸν τῆς σῆς [that is that of Michael] εὐθιτάτης κρίσεως ἐγγαράξαι κώδικι γνῶμονα.

¹³ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 7–8; Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 119–121.

¹⁴ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 7; Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 121–123.

patriarch with an *enkomion* on Lazarus Saturday.¹⁵ Eustathios was an active teacher in Constantinople who had distinguished and grateful pupils such as Gregory Antiochos (ca. 1125–1196), who pursued his career in the civil administration, and Michael Choniates (ca. 1140–1220), later archbishop of Athens. Euthymios Malakes called Eustathios' house a true abode of the Muses, a Second Academy, a Stoa, where talented young men were instructed in grammar, others in rhetoric.¹⁶

In the early 1170s Eustathios' ecclesiastical career took a downward turn, because he lost his job as a deacon. Sometime after 1173 he wrote a petition to Michael Hagiotheodorites, *logothetes tou dromou* complaining about impending poverty, illness, and his lack of paid work. Eustathios' complaint might have had some echo, because on 6 December 1174 he gave an oration to Manuel I on St Nicholas' day in his capacity as a candidate for the episcopal see of Myra in Lykia. Finally Eustathios was transferred to Thessalonike immediately after his appointment to Myra.

2.2. Pastor and guardian of the people: Thessalonike

The scholarly opinion concerning the date of Eustathios appointment is not unanimous. According to Alexander Kazhdan the appointment happened in 1175, nonetheless Eustathios only occupied his see in 1179.¹⁷ Paul Magdalino suggested that Eustathios was elected and stayed in Constantinople in 1176–1178. Afterwards he resided in Thessalonike in the years 1178–1179 before returning to the capital and staying there until 1180.¹⁸ Andrew Stone reconstructed the events similarly to Magdalino's view with slight differences,¹⁹ whereas Peter Wirth gave up to precisely fix Eustathios' whereabouts during

¹⁵ ODB, s. v. 'maistor ton rhetoron', 1269.

¹⁶ Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 133.

¹⁷ Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 123–132.

¹⁸ Magdalino, 'Eustathios and Thessalonica', 227.

¹⁹ Andrew F. Stone, 'Eustathian *panegyric* as a historical source', *JÖB* 51 (2001): 255–258.

the first years of his episcopate.²⁰ The contradictory results of previous research by all means indicate that Eustathios was firmly rooted in the capital and later, as archbishop remained in continuous contact with Constantinople.

Eustathios' episcopal period is as poorly documented as the earlier phase of his biography. The main source for his episcopate (and in general of events in Thessalonike during the second half of the twelfth century) is Eustathios' sermons, treatises, and correspondence.

During the early years of his episcopate, Eustathios had to deal with the Lependrenos affair. We do not know much about this issue, besides Eustathios' hints to it calling it a riot and talking about the agitation of the populace. At last, in 1178, John Dukas, the *megas hetaireiarches* was sent by Manuel I to investigate the affair who settled it with the help of imperial troops.²¹

Eustathios' relationship with his flock cannot be called smooth, especially if one considers that at some point or points he had to flee from his see.²² Eustathios' contemporaries had different opinions about his episcopate which are mirrored in the secondary literature, too. His critics in Thessalonike said that Eustathios was senile and could not deliver orations properly.²³ They circulated a caricature of him which reached the capital, according to which Eustathios was a *μνησίκακος ἀνὴρ*, a man who bore malice towards the inhabitants of the city.²⁴ Michael Angold along these lines portrays Eustathios as a 'singularly unpleasant and sarcastic old man'.²⁵ He quotes one of Eustathios' orations²⁶ in which the archbishop remembering his school master's habit of beating him slapped one

²⁰ Wirth, *Eustathiana*, 35–38.

²¹ Magdalino, 'Eustathios and Thessalonica', 231; Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 134–135.

²² The date and nature of Eustathios' flights from Thessalonike is a contentious issue. The different views are well summarized and evaluated by Sonja Schönauer, 'Flucht vor den Gläubigen? Abenteuerliches aus dem Leben des Eustathios von Thessalonike,' in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. Lars Hoffmann and Anuscha Monchizadeh (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 705–717.

²³ Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 134.

²⁴ *Op.* p. 98, l. 62–64.

²⁵ Michael Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 184.

²⁶ *Op.* p. 68, l. 49–59.

of his priests across the face and afterwards asked why he had not turned his other cheek, too, according to the words of the Gospel. Eustathios while addressing the Thessalonians replying to them to the charge of *μνησικακία* admitted that

We display charity towards those who are our friends indeed (surely not towards those who are just accidentally present) preferring to honour them more good-heartedly, turning to them with our undisguised face, not wrapping in clouds our shining eyes, not being supercilious, nor assuming a grave countenance, what we do towards meddling citizens.²⁷

Euthymios Malakes, Eustathios' friend from childhood delivered a funeral oration on the deceased bishop of Thessalonike. In this *Monody* he put forward the virtues of Eustathios as bishop. One has to be cautious to take Malakes' statements at face value, nevertheless it canvasses a different picture about Eustathios. As Malakes put forward, Eustathios had composed his orations and treatises in order to improve the morals of his flock, to reveal vices. Eustathios attacked evil and those who committed it, in particular greedy people damaging churches and towns.²⁸ Michael Choniates, former pupil of Eustathios in his funeral oration portrayed Eustathios as guardian of Thessalonike against the authorities.²⁹ The reaction of Eustathios' flock seems to have been negative to the bishop's objectives. What were the roots of this antagonism between Eustathios and the Thessalonians? Paul Magdalino argues that Eustathios is the paradigm of a victim of two opposing economic patterns: that of the capital and that of a provincial city.³⁰ Eustathios came from the former and became an ecclesiastical leader in the latter. Constantinople displayed a centralised, bureaucratic, absentee, rentier economic model, whereas Thessalonike was a provincial

²⁷ *Op.* p. 106 l. 22–27, ἦν [ἀγάπην] τοῖς ἀληθέσι φίλοις (οὐ γὰρ δήπου καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν) ἐμφανίζομεν προάγοντες εὐηθέστερον, ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ αὐτοῖς ἐμβλέποντες, οὐ νεφελοῦντες φῶς ὄψεως, οὐ τοξοποιῦντας ὄφρῦς, οὐ σεμνοπροσωποῦντες, ἃ δὴ τοῖς περιέργοις πολίταις φαντάζομεν.

²⁸ *mon. M.* 79–80, see Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 140.

²⁹ He made the city of Thessalonike speak in the oration: 'I shall be completely exposed to the text collectors. I shall be completely eaten up by them, delivered as an easy and innocent victim to those man-eating beasts. For my great shepherd will no longer stay awake for me' *Mon. Ch.* 300, Πάντως φορολόγοις ἐκκείσομαι πάντως δασμολόγοις βρωθήσομαι ὡς ἐτοίμη καὶ ἀγαθὴ θήρα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωποφάγοις τούτοις θηρσὶν ἔκδοτος. Οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐπαγρυπνήσει μοι ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας ἐμὸς ποιμὴν, Paul Magdalino's translation, in Magdalino, 'Eustathios and Thessalonica', 238.

³⁰ Magdalino, 'Eustathios and Thessalonica', 230–238, esp. 237.

centre with landowners. The great houses of the capital lived off the incomes of distant and geographically scattered estates, while some Thessalonians were motivated to engage directly in production and gaining greater surplus. Eustathios—as Magdalino explains—arrived from the secure and structured ‘niche’ of the capital where monasteries and merchants had been subject to close examination from the side of the imperial and patriarchal bureaucracy. In Thessalonike Eustathios was personally responsible for establishing those standards to which he had been accustomed while being employed at Hagia Sophia—separated socially and geographically from the primary sources of its revenues and from the provincial milieu attached to them. Paul Magdalino after having browsed Eustathios’ literary output in his episcopal period, came to the conclusion that the learned bishop was addressing his Thessalonian audience focusing on three recurrent topics: greed and hypocrisy in their social relations, lack of obedience towards the clergy in general and especially towards himself, and personal hostility to him.³¹ The chastising messages repeatedly sent forth did not change the attitude and behaviour of Eustathios’ audience, as the metropolitan’s indefatigable efforts in broadcasting them again and again suggests. Eustathios’ criticism may have provoked resentment, which led to an escalating conflict with the citizens. The opposition stirred by Eustathios’ orations came from different circles. One of Eustathios’ main opponents were certain Thessalonian abbots and monastic communities, who the bishop did not define more closely in his related writings.

³¹ Magdalino, ‘Eustathios and Thessalonica’, 228–238.

2.3. ‘They keep away their hands from good deeds as from a stain’: the monks of Thessalonike

Provincial monasteries are par excellence examples of landowners who took part in provisioning Constantinople and made painstaking efforts to maximise their profit.³² Eustathios in the *Vm.* dedicated longish chapters to the description of the vices of the monks painting their avarice in dark colours.

Thus when their brotherly assembly happens, the abbot starts to speak. And the discourse is not concerned with problems of the Scripture, nor with the solution of sacred riddles, or with explanations provided by the holy Fathers, [...] but completely troublesome words. The abbot is philosophizing from which kind of grape good vine is made, which kind of land is fertile to yield as much harvest as possible, from which source more tax [can be levied] for the brothers, and which serving-brother cannot calculate being simple by nature.³³

Eustathios resented several points in the behaviour of the Thessalonian monks towards himself.³⁴ He complained that the monks did not respect his episcopal authority, Eustathios’ supremacy was challenged.³⁵ Some of the monks denied the gestures of subordination, or performed it with anger and hypocrisy.³⁶ Eustathios portrayed the abbots as slandering their bishop, being his enemies.³⁷ One of the tokens of their enmity of which Eustathios inculpated them is that they struck his name from the diptychs not praying for the metropolitan during their services.³⁸

³² Magdalino, ‘Eustathios and Thessalonica’, 237; Paul Magdalino, ‘The grain supply of Constantinople’, in *Constantinople and its hinterland: papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, eds. Cyril A. Mango, Gilbert Dagron, and Geoffrey Greatrex (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Variorum, 1995), 37–44.

³³ *Vm.* 178.11–15; 28–31, ὅτε τοίνυν ὁμίγηυρις ἀδελφικὴ γένηται, τότε δὴ ὁ ἡγούμενος γίνεται τοῦ λαλεῖν· καὶ ἡ λαλιὰ οὐ προβλήματα γραφικά, οὐ λύσεις ἱερῶν αἰνιγμάτων, οὐ διηγήματα πατέρων ἀγίων[...], ἀλλὰ λόγοι παντοῖοι τυρβαστικοί, ...φιλοσοφεῖ γοῦν, ποία μὲν ἄμπελος οἶνον ἀγαθὸν δίδωσιν, ποία δὲ γῆ ἐνάρετός ἐστι εἰς πολλαπλάσιον καρποδοτεῖν, πόθεν δὲ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡ πλείων φορολογία καὶ τίς μὲν τῶν διακονητῶν ἀπλοῦς τὴν δρᾶκα πέφυκεν εἶναι.

³⁴ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 15–16.

³⁵ *Vm.* 8; 136.17–18; 155.6–7.

³⁶ *Vm.* 138.7–10; 188.14.

³⁷ *Vm.* 188.10–35; 188.14, 21–24.

³⁸ *Vm.* 16.95.

The central theme of Eustathios' charges against the Thessalonian monks was that they were fighting for independence not willing to accept the authority of the church. This in practice meant that certain abbots did not accept Eustathios' overseeing position over their monasteries. Some abbots when the time arrived to consecrate monks to priesthood in their monastery, visited bishops of other dioceses asking them to perform the consecration. 'These [abbots] deny the appointing authority [χειροτονία] of their bishop', complained Eustathios.³⁹ He felt that those abbots opposing his will in Thessalonike undermined his episcopal position in the wider church.

According to Eustathios' account this problem was not limited to Thessalonike.

This emulous desire which destructed entirely the things here, or started from here and diffused as far as the very gulf of Aigina and Eleusis and the furtherbeyond gulf around the promontory of Maleia, moreover further to the Ionian gulf this way westwards, or it accidentally spread thence to here.⁴⁰

The regions given by Eustathios are quite vague: the territory near Athens, the southernmost promontory of the Peloponnese, and the region of the Adriatic Sea further south. Michael Choniates (ca. 1140–1220), archbishop of Athens and a close friend of Eustathios of Thessalonike maintained a correspondence with the latter, nonetheless no trace of this kind of riot has survived in their letters. Karin Metzler obtains the impression that Eustathios connected distinct, only simultaneous phenomena from the point of disobedience of subordinates.⁴¹ Nevertheless Eustathios' assertion seems to testify to that the Thessalonian was not a unique problem at that time with respect to the relationship between a bishop and the monks under his authority.⁴² When did the antagonism between Eustathios and the monks of his diocese reach its peak? Following Karin Metzler's

³⁹ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 16; cf. Vm.8; 185.9.

⁴⁰ Vm. 167.18–19, οὗτος ὁ ζήλος ὁ εἰσεξώλεσε τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν, εἴτε ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος καὶ διαδοθεὶς ἕως καὶ εἰς Μυρτῶν αὐτὸν κόλπον καὶ τὸν ἐπέκεινα Μαλειακὸν καὶ τὸν ἔτι πορρωτέρω Ἴόνιον καὶ οὕτω τὰ ἐσπέρια περιζώσας ἢ τυχὸν ἐκεῖθεν διαβάς ἐπὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

⁴¹ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 543.

⁴² Further on this question, see Angold, *Church and society*, 348 sqq; Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 49–52.

reconstruction, which I shall expand in more detail in *Chapter 1*, it can be dated to the period between 1180 and 1185.

2.4. 1185: the Norman siege of Thessalonike

The Norman siege of Thessalonike in 1185 is probably the most famous phase of Eustathios' episcopate prompting many repercussions in Eustathios' later writings. In 1185, William II of Sicily (r. 1185–1189) besieged and captured Thessalonike. The city 'was subjected to the usual ravages of war,'⁴³ as Eustathios described the situation. The Norman army left in November,⁴⁴ and Eustathios recorded the events in his *Capture of Thessalonike* some months after the Norman occupation.⁴⁵ His eyewitness account has an apologetic character.⁴⁶ As Paolo Odorico puts forward, this stems on the one hand from Eustathios' troublesome relationship with his flock, and on the other from the changes in political power at the end of the year 1185.⁴⁷ Eustathios was closely associated with the regime of Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–1180) and his Latinophile policy. The period after the death of Manuel, probably as a backlash against his Latinophilia, saw a kind of alienation from the West. As Paul Magdalino presents the sequence of the events,⁴⁸ in 1182 the Pisan and Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople were decimated in a massacre. Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183–1185) sought alliances rather with the Ayyubid dynasty, than with the princes of the Outremer. The reigning *basileus* in the time of the composition of the *c. Th.*, Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) did not attempt realignment after Andronikos' death. Alexander Kazhdan emphasised that during the Norman occupation Eustathios was in

⁴³ *c. Th.* 88, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἔπασχεν ὅσα φιλεῖ δρᾶν ἄγριος πόλεμος.

⁴⁴ John Melville Jones, ed., *The Capture of Thessaloniki* (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1988), 163.

⁴⁵ Probably in February 1186, see: Jones, *Capture of Thessaloniki*, 163.

⁴⁶ Angold, *Church and society*, 181.

⁴⁷ Odorico, *Thessalonique*, 24–34.

⁴⁸ Paul Magdalino, 'The Komnenoi (1118–1204)', in *Cambridge history of the Byzantine empire*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 648.

constant contact with the Latins. The bishop' stance was neutral, not flattering the Normans, nor fearful of communicating with them. This entailed that Eustathios enjoyed the support of count Baldwin, the Norman governor of Thessalonike,⁴⁹ and functioned as an interlocutor between the Normans and the citizens.⁵⁰ During these negotiations Eustathios accepted gifts, such as precious metals, liturgical objects, and books from Baldwin.⁵¹ Both Eustathios' Latinophile attitude and personal connections with the occupying forces entailed that he may have had to defend himself from accusations of collaboration with the Normans. Therefore—as Catherine Holmes argues—it is plausible to see his narrative as one charged with religious rhetoric in order to cast pious and orthodox Christians, above all himself, as the victims of plunder and despoliation perpetrated by impious Latins.⁵²

⁴⁹ Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 137.

⁵⁰ Michael Angold, *Church and society*, 182.

⁵¹ *c. Th.* B 482–483, T 115.

⁵² Holmes, Catherine, 'Shared world': Religious identities—A question of evidence,' in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean world after 1150*, ed. Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes, and Eugenia Russel (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 39–40.

3. HOW TO APPROACH HAGIOGRAPHY? METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

After presenting the biographical background to the *Styl.*, *v. Phil.*, and *enk. Kal.*, but before starting to describe these three orations as my source material, let me define how my thesis intends to approach these texts. Stephanos Efthymiadis put forward that ‘unlike theology and historiography, hagiography represents a fluid, flexible and ever-changing format’.⁵³ This is a bulk of literature with its subgenres which in its variegated form and content puts difficult questions to scholars. Hyppolite Delehaye and the Bollandists applied a ‘saint-centred’ method aiming at reconstructing the saints as historical figures. Their critical approach sought to decipher all possible details concerning the saint, which in many cases entailed contempt as despise towards the examined material, which did not satisfy their expectations.⁵⁴ Ihor Ševčenko supported this critical approach, but with an interest in ‘the Byzantium of flesh and blood, the real world of poor people, of smells’.⁵⁵ Historians working in the field of ecclesiastical⁵⁶ and urban history;⁵⁷ social historians investigating the role of saints in society;⁵⁸ scholars in gender studies⁵⁹ are all attracted by hagiographical writings. From the 1980s hagiography as literature incited the interest of

⁵³ Stephanos Efthymiadis, ‘New developments’, 167.

⁵⁴ See Delehaye, Hyppolite. *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique*. Brussels: Soc. des Bollandistes, 1934; *id.* *L’Ancienne hagiographie byzantine: les sources, les premiers modèles, la formation des genres*. Brussels: Soc. des Bollandistes, 1991; Aigran, René. *L’Hagiographie. Ses sources, Ses méthodes, Son histoire*. Brussels: Soc. des Bollandistes, 2000.

⁵⁵ Ihor Ševčenko, *Observations on the study of Byzantine hagiography in the last half-century or two looks back and one look forward* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, 1995), 11.

⁵⁶ Morris, Rosemary. *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Rapp, Claudia. *Holy bishops in Late Antiquity. The nature of Christian leadership in an age of transition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

⁵⁷ Saradi, Hélène. *The Byzantine city in the sixth century: literary images and historical reality*. Athens: Distributed by the Society of Messenian Archaeological Studies, 2006.

⁵⁸ Brown, Peter. ‘The rise and function of the holy man in Late Antiquity’, *JRS* 61 (1971): 80–101; Laiou, Angeliki E. ‘Saints and society in the late Byzantine empire’. In *Essays in honor of Peter Charanis: Offered by His Students on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. John W. Barker, 84–114. Tempe (Ariz.): Arizona State University, 1979. Galatariotou, Catia. *The making of a saint. The life, times and sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse*. Cambridge: CUP, 1991.

⁵⁹ Gaşpar, Cristian. ‘The spirit of fornication, whom the children of the Hellenes used to call Eros: problematizations of male homoeroticism in Late Antique monastic milieus’. *New Europe College Yearbook*, no. 2002-2003 (2005): 239-279.

Alexander Kazhdan,⁶⁰ and several other scholars followed his example.⁶¹ As this short look at the historiography of hagiography demonstrates, academic scrutiny applied and is applying different methods to understand and interpret hagiographic texts. On the one hand each hagiographic text has to be investigated on its own as a literary product, while on the other the enquiry has to ponder the historical, social, and religious context of creation and use of the text.⁶²

Therefore I aim at applying an interdisciplinary approach paying attention to philological, literary, and historical features in order to understand in what way the *Styl.*, *v. Phil.*, and *enk. Kal.* were written in the milieu of Thessalonike. Due to the nature of the source material described before, I approach these three hagiographic orations mainly from the aspect of Eustathios, their author. Pursuing such an author-based approach one always has to be aware of the fact that there are likely to be several other view-points besides the one, present in the text.⁶³

⁶⁰ He pushed hagiographical texts to the front in his survey of Byzantine literature: Kazhdan, Alexander, Lee Francis Sherry, and Christina Angelide. *A history of Byzantine literature. 650-850*. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, 1999.

⁶¹ Odorico, Paolo and Agapitos, Panagiotis, eds. *Les vies des saints à Byzance: genre littéraire ou biographie historique?* Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, 2004; Rydén, Lennart: 'Literariness in byzantine saints' lives'. In *Les vies des saints à Byzance: genre littéraire ou biographie historique?* ed. Paolo Odorico and Panagiotis Agapitos, 49-59. Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, 2004; Efthymiadis, Stephanos. 'The Byzantine hagiographer and his audience in the ninth and tenth centuries'. In *Metaphrasis: redactions and audiences in middle Byzantine hagiography*, ed. Christian Høgel. Oslo: The Research Council of Norway, 1996; Mullett, Margaret: 'Constructing identities in twelfth-century Byzantium.' In *Byzantium matures. Choices, sensitivities, and modes of Expression (Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries)*, ed. Christina Angelidi, 129-144. Athens: Ethniko Idryma Erevnon, 2004.

⁶² Efthymiadis, 'New developments', 157-165; and as the collected essays in this volume display: Efthymiadis, Stephanos. *Hagiography in Byzantium: literature, social history and cult*. London: Ashgate, 2011.

⁶³ See Paul Magdalino's critique on Kazhdan's volume, Paul Magdalino, Review of the *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries* by Alexander Kazhdan and Simon Franklin, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 63 No. 3. (1985): 433.

4. SURVEY OF SOURCES

Finally in this section I introduce the main sources of my thesis following a chronological order. I define the genre into which the particular work falls, the textual tradition of the piece, the hypothetical place and date of composition, and the supposed place and date of delivery.

4.1. *Oration to a Stylite in Thessalonike*

In the *Oration to a Stylite in Thessalonike* (*Styl.*) Eustathios addressed a stylite, ‘who was eager beyond all measure to display himself by the column on the eastern seaside of Thessalonike’.⁶⁴ Eustathios delivered his admonitory oration to the stylite which according to the *lemma* was not successful.⁶⁵ It seems plausible to assign this oration to the ‘mirror-literature’. The mirror for princes as a genre is divided into two branches: impersonal and gnomic, and personal and rather discursive.⁶⁶ A look at the structure of the oration and at the way how Eustathios addressed the stylite might suggest that the *Styl.* was influenced by the second type of mirror. Eustathios first (c. 1–16) enumerated the features of the column, which enable the ascetic living atop the column to become divine (c. 17–80).⁶⁷ Eustathios presented the virtues a stylite ought to possess one after the other. The bishop addressed the stylite in the second person singular, giving a personal tone to the oration.⁶⁸ The assumption that Eustathios consciously chose to address the stylite in a form resembling a

⁶⁴ *Styl. lemma*, εἰς τὸν ὑπερλίαν σπουδάζοντα διὰ στύλου ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη ἀναφανῆναι περὶ πού τὸ ἔξωον παραθαλάσσιον.

⁶⁵ ‘If only he had been to understand clearly what had been said’, *Styl. lemma*, εἴθε δὲ ἦν ἐκείνω καὶ αἰσθέσθαι σαφῶς τῶν λεγομένων.

⁶⁶ ODB s.v. ‘Mirror of Princes’, 1379–1380; Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (München: Beck, 1978), 157–165.

⁶⁷ See the structure of the *Styl.* in the *Appendix*.

⁶⁸ F. i.: ‘You have to form yourself, ο men in the high, to the column’. *Styl.* 38, δεῖ σε, ὦ ὑψηλε ἄνθρωπε, τυποῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν [i.e. τὸν στύλον]; One day you might hear from some of the more fervent people from us: ‘My friend, come down to us, you are already not an earthly person, but high in the air and heavenly’. *Styl.* 79, καὶ πού καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν θερμότερων ἀκούειν· ἔταίρε, προσκαταβήθι· οὐκέτι γῆς ἄνθρωπος εἶ, αἰθέριος δὲ καὶ οὐράνιος.

mirror is bolstered by the fact the he put emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–1180) as a model for the stylite in c. 78.

The ocean of our life has its beasts, the barbaric nations, the enemies of God. Pray much more from you place, so that the great fisherman, the godly inspired emperor of the *oikoumene*, who hunts and acts for God, strike directly against such people [...] And he [i.e. Manuel I] hawked down swiftly like heavy drowsiness upon the sleepy, appearing for them like a nightmare, and made them sleep forever. I am talking about the recent victory near the city which was once praised, and to which the famous Claudius gave his name.⁶⁹

Manuel I Komnenos put to flight the Seljuq forces near Klaudiopolis in 1179.⁷⁰ This is the paradigm for the ascetic how to fight against the barbarians by means of prayer. The stylite and the emperor strive for the same end, but with different means.

The same hint at the battle of Klaudiopolis is the basis for the date of this oration which Eustathios might have delivered a short time after—Eustathios talks about ‘the recent [ἔναγχος] victory’—the city was relieved by the emperor. According to all likelihood the delivery of the oration happened in Thessalonike, February–March 1179.⁷¹

4.2. *The Life of Philotheos of Opsikion*

The *Life of Philotheos of Opsikion* (*v. Phil.*) is a *vita* expounding the example of a saintly priest. The *v. Phil.* has survived, with a good number of smaller works which Eustathios produced during his episcopal period, in one single manuscript. This is manuscript A. III. 20, nowadays held in the University Library of Basle.⁷² The manuscript contains twenty-five works by the archbishop, of which the *v. Phil.* is the twenty-third. The disposition of these

⁶⁹ *Styl.* 79, ἔχει γὰρ ὁ κατὰ βίον ὠκεανὸς θῆρες, τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ θεοῦ. Πολλῶ δὲ πλέον ἐνθαῦτα πλήθυνε τὰς εὐχὰς, ἵνα ὁ μέγας ἀλιεύς, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔνθεος βασιλεὺς, ὁ [...] καὶ θεῶ ἀγρεύων καὶ προσάγων [...] εὐθυβολῆ κατὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων [...] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιδραμῶν ταχὺ, ὥσει καὶ βαρὺ ἐνύπνιον εἰς ἀπονυσταζόντας, κακὸν αὐτοῖς ὄναρ ἐπέστη, καὶ κατέκλινεν εἰς ὕπνον ἀνέγερτον. τὰ ἔναγχος λέγω τρόπαια, τὰ περὶ τὴν πάλαι ὕμνουμένην πόλιν, ἣν ὁ τῆς ἰστωρίας Κλαύδιος ἑαυτῷ ἐπωνόμασεν.

⁷⁰ Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 99.

⁷¹ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 456.

⁷² Sonja Schönauer, ‘Zum Eustathios-Codex Basileensis A. III. 20’, *JÖB* 50 (2000): 231–246.

pieces does not follow a chronological order. The *editio princeps* of this manuscript was a diplomatic edition by Gottlieb Tafel in 1832 with the title: *Eustathii Metropolitanæ Thessalonicensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*. This is the only edition of the *v. Phil.*,⁷³ followed by a reprint in the *Patrologia Graeca* series.⁷⁴

The *lemma* introducing the *v. Phil.* provides some information about the circumstances in which the oration was written and performed. The *lemma* testifies that the oration was delivered on a certain occasion (λόγος ἐπελευστικός) from the person (ἐκ προσώπου) of a monk, Philotheos. Who could have been this Philotheos? On which occasion did Eustathios deliver the *v. Phil.*? Was it delivered from a monastic *persona*? According to the reconstruction that I shall propose in *Chapter I*, the *v. Phil.* could have been composed between 1180 and 1185. I assume that the *vita* probably aimed at a monastic audience in Thessalonike.

4.3. Enkomion of the so-called Kalytenoi martyrs

The *Enkomion of the So-Called Kalytenoi Martyrs* (*enk. Kal.*) is a laudatory oration which Eustathios composed with the intention of praising three martyr-brothers: Alpheios, Zosimos, Alexander, and Mark, their fellow-martyr.⁷⁵ According to Eustathios' oration they suffered martyrdom under the rule of Diocletian (r. 244–311) in Klaudiopolis.⁷⁶ These saints were of Pisidian origin, venerated with great zeal in the city of Thessalonike.⁷⁷ As Eustathios pointed out, a small church was dedicated to their cult located near the metropolitan's palace.⁷⁸

⁷³ *Eustathii Metropolitanæ Thessalonicensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*, Ed. Gottlieb L. Frieder Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), 141–152.

⁷⁴ PG 136, 141–161.

⁷⁵ *enk. Kal. lemma*, 3.

⁷⁶ *enk. Kal.* 36.

⁷⁷ *enk. Kal.* 3.

⁷⁸ *enk. Kal.* 3.

The *enk. Kal.* came down to posterity in the same manuscript, as the *Styl.* and the *v. Phil.*, the *Basileensis* A. III. 20. Again, the only edition we have is Gottlieb Tafel's diplomatic edition.⁷⁹

Besides the *enkomion*, Eustathios of Thessalonike dedicated an *akolouthia* (*akol. Kal.*) to the same martyrs. This *akolouthia* survived together with the *enk. Kal.* following it in the manuscript and in Gottlieb Tafel's edition of the *enkomion*.⁸⁰ According to the testimony of the *lemma* and the main text of the *akol. Kal.*, Eustathios wrote the *enk. Kal.* and the *akol. Kal.* after 1185, the Norman siege, when the earlier version of the *akolouthia* got lost.

⁷⁹ *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessanocensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*, Ed. Gottlieb L. Frieder Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), 30–35.

⁸⁰ Schönauer, 'Zum Eustathios-Codex', 239; *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessanocensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*, Ed. Gottlieb L. Frieder Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), 36.

CHAPTER 1

EUSTATHIOS' HAGIOGRAPHIC AND ADMONITORY PIECES AND THE CITY OF THESSALONIKE

Eustathios wrote his hagiographic works while being the metropolitan bishop of Thessalonike. He was not a unique example of a bishop undertaking literary endeavours linked to their see during the Komnenian period. John Mauropous (ca. 1000–ca. 1070), the bishop of Euchaïta in Pontos, when introducing the new feast of Basil of Kaisareia, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom, wrote a number of *enkomia*, epigrams, and hymns to promote the cult of the saints. Mauropous also composed a *vita* in honour of Dositheos the Younger (BHG 565), founder of the monastery of the Holy Trinity in his diocese. Mauropous created complete texts for the feasts including a *life*, canons, and epigrams.⁸¹ Theophylact, archbishop of Ochrid (d. 1126) is supposedly the author of the *Life of Clement of Ochrid* (BHG 355), while the *Enkomion to the fifteen martyrs of Tiberiupolis* (BHG 1199) is uncontestedly attributed to him. Michael Choniates (1138–1222), a pupil of Eustathios and later metropolitan of Athens, wrote an account of St Leonides, archbishop of Athens (BHG 984), and of St Martinianos (BHG 1180).⁸²

This chapter investigates how the *Styl.*, the *v. Phil.*, and the *enk. Kal.* tie into the social and historical circumstances of Thessalonike. Two questions stand as starting points of inquiry. First, how Eustathios' position and function as an archbishop of Thessalonike influenced, or inspired his hagiographic works. Second, how Eustathios may have attempted to use hagiography to influence matters in Thessalonike.

⁸¹ Panagiotis A. Agapitos, 'Teachers, pupils, and imperial power in eleventh-century Byzantium', in *Pedagogy and power: rhetorics of classical learning*, ed. Yun Lee Too and Niall Livingstone (New York: CUP, 1998), 174–180.

⁸² Paschalidis, 'Hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', 153, 154, 158.

1. ORATION TO A STYLITE IN THESSALONIKE

1.1. Eustathios: the disciplinarian of the Thessalonian church

As I stated before, Eustathios addressed an oration to a stylite after 1179, the battle of Klaudiopolis.⁸³ According to the *lemma* of the oration, and Eustathios' statements in the text an overambitious⁸⁴ stylite 'appeared somewhere on the Eastern seaside of Thessalonike', who sought display.⁸⁵ From his column the stylite could easily survey the sea (θάλασσα περί σε αὐτή), which washed against the Thessalonian coastline.⁸⁶ Local people apparently provisioned the stylite, and in c. 68 and 69 Eustathios discouraged him to pile up food in his habitat atop the column, which the bishop described as 'having a large empty space, surrounded by a fence'.⁸⁷ Additionally Eustathios noticed that the stylite was wearing a corslet (θώραξ) and other fetters (σίδηρος).⁸⁸ So the stylite had a small dwelling atop his column⁸⁹ and he was wearing chains, as Eustathios described him.

The ascetic on top of his column might not have been an extraordinary spectacle at the end of the 1170s. As Paul Magdalino presents, 'Constantinople and other Byzantine cities were teeming with holy men of all imaginable kinds'.⁹⁰ Niketas Choniates recorded that under the revolt of Branas (1187) Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185–1195)

gathered together those of the monks who go barefoot and couch on the ground and brought down those who live on pillars [ὅσοι κίοσι τῆς γῆς

⁸³ *Styl.* 78, cf. Magdalino, *Manuel*, 483.

⁸⁴ See Magdalino, *Manuel*, 483.

⁸⁵ *Styl. lemma*, ὑπερλίαν σπουδάζοντα διὰ στύλου ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη ἀναφανῆναι περί που τὸ ἐῶν παραθαλάσσιον.

⁸⁶ 'You see, o ascetic, how *this sea around you* helps coteplation'. *Styl.* 70, ὁρᾶς γὰρ, ὦ ἀσκητά, ὅπως καὶ θάλασσα περί σε αὐτή, τὴν θεωρίαν ἐπαύξουσα.

⁸⁷ *Styl.* 68, βαθὺ κένωμα ἔχειν, διειργόμενον περιφράγμασιν.

⁸⁸ 'And I know that you can be fully armoured, with which you whip round yourself tightly, with corslet and other irons, which are upon you'. *Styl.* 33, καὶ οἶδα μὲν, ὡς προβαλέσθαι πάντως ἂν ἔχοις, ὃν ἐγκρατῶς περιβέβλησαι, θώρακα, καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν σίδηρον, ὃς περικείται σε.

⁸⁹ See in c. 55 and 56 compared to the *dendritai*, ascetics living on trees, who do not have a roof above their head.

⁹⁰ Magdalino, Paul, 'The Byzantine holy man in the twelfth century', in *The Byzantine saint*, ed. Sergei Hackel (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 54.

ὑπερήρθησαν], suspended above the earth; [...] he prayed through them to God to bring an end to the civil war.⁹¹

Eustathios in his treatise *On hypocrisy* complained that,

a few great stylites [στυλίται] are recorded among the saints of old, sky-climbers who reached heaven by using pillars for ladders. But this generation sprouts the stylite kind like trees in a forest, and these are not trees of life or trees of knowledge, but very mean little trees indeed.⁹²

Though the number of stylites seems to have been quite substantial, those who gained the reputation of sanctity were few, only nine throughout the Komnenian period (1081–1204). Eight of them flourished in the East: Samuel Bar Cyriacus; two anonymous stylites in Nikion, in the desert of Skete, and in Betlehem; John and Gabriel at the Sabas lavrai; a Georgian stylite in Jordan; St Niketas of Perejaslawl; and John the Sinaite.⁹³ The only one found in the Greek mainland is Lazaros of Mount Galesios.⁹⁴

In the light of these contemporary voices delivering an oration to an anonymous stylite using a rather theoretical genre, a mirror, evokes the question of whether Eustathios actually invented an hypothetical stylite, or whether the protagonist of the oration was a real person. Given the fact that Eustathios provided details about the column, its location, about the habitat atop the column, and concerning the appearance of the stylite, it seems probable that Eustathios' stylite was not a fictitious person.

The *lemma* summarises the stylite's behaviour as that of 'one who was exceedingly keen on being on display by means of his column'.⁹⁵ This eagerness did not meet Eustathios'

⁹¹ Niketas Choniates, *History*, transl. Magoulias p. 210, van Dieten p. 383, ἀμέλει καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν τοὺς γυμνόποδας καὶ χαμαιεύνας τῶν μοναχῶν ἠθροικῶς καὶ ὅσοι κίοσι τῆς γῆς ὑπερήρθησαν καθελῶν ἐδέϊτο δι' αὐτῶν τοῦ διασκεδασθῆναι τὸν ἐφ'esτῶτα ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ μὴ μεταβῆναι.

⁹² trans. Magdalino, 'Holy man', 60; *Op.* p. 97 l. 74–80 ἔτι σεσημείωνται παρὰ τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν ἀγίοις ὀλίγοι μεγάλοι στυλίται, οἱ οὐρανοβάμονες, οἱ ὅσα καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων, τῶν στύλων, προσέσχον τῷ οὐρανῷ. ἡ δὲ νῦν γενεὰ οἶα καὶ δένδρα συχνὰ ἐν ξυλόχῳ πολλαχοῦ γῆς το στυλιτικὸν φύλον ἀναδίδωσιν, οὐ ζωῆς δὲν αὐτὸ ξύλον, οὐδὲ γνώσεως ξύλον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τι βραχὺ ξύλον αὐτόχρημα.

⁹³ Ignace Peña, Pascal Castellana, Romuald Fernandez, *Les Stylites Syriens*, Publications du 'Studium Biblicum Franciscanum' Collection minor 16 (Milan: Franciscan Printing Press, 1975), 83.

⁹⁴ ODB s. v. 'Lazaros of Mount Galesios', 1198.

⁹⁵ *Styl. lemma*, τὸν ὑπερλίαν σπουδάζοντα διὰ στύλου [...] ἀναφανῆναι.

taste not finding the stylite's religiosity acceptable.⁹⁶ The final conclusion, summarising the message of the oration, portrays an ascetic who distanced himself from other people:

One day you might hear from some of the more fervent people among us: 'My friend, come down to us, you are no longer an earthly person, but high in the air and heavenly', or to be more precise, if you wish, 'the man of God'. If you live worthy of ascent, other people are nothing to you. But those are below; you are worthy of the heavenly parts because you set as your goal to be close to God by ascending together with the orders around God.⁹⁷

These are stinging words to a holy man in the name of the community. Eustathios addressed the anonymous stylite in his pastoral capacity being the 'disciplining voice' as a leader of the Thessalonian religious community.⁹⁸

1.2. The stylite as a teacher in the city of Thessalonike

What should an ideal stylite have done? Eustathios in the first sixteen chapters of the oration, defined the column using different religious images, such as ladder, mountain, tower, secure city. These are traditional means to express the way in which God can be approached, or through which his majesty or presence is to be indicated. Afterwards (c. 17–70 *passim*) Eustathios demonstrated how the column might have sanctified the stylite, lifting the ascetic to an angel-like conduct.⁹⁹ Volker Menze argues that the pillar of a stylite *per se* conveyed the message of angelic life. This symbolic use of the column was one of the means by which the new phenomenon of stylitism was included in the ecclesiastical framework from the sixth century onwards. The abstraction from the actual person of the

⁹⁶ In line with the *pepaideumenoι* of his age, who were grudging against any type of holy men, see Magdalino, 'Holy man', 54–59.

⁹⁷ *Styl.* 79, καὶ που καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν θερμότερων ἀκούειν· ἑταῖρε, προσκαταβήθι· οὐκέτι γῆς ἄνθρωπος εἶ, αἰθέριος δὲ καὶ οὐράνιος, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἀληθέστερον, θεοῦ, εἴπερ ἐθέλεις, ἄνθρωπος. οὐδέν τι πρὸς σε οἱ λοιποί, ἐάν ἀξίως πολιτεύῃ τῆς ἀναβάσεως. ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν κάτω, σὺ δὲ τῆς ἄνω μοίρας ἐπάξιος, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς περὶ θεὸν συνανιῶν τάγμασιν ἐγγίζεις προσέθου θεῶ.

⁹⁸ On the duties of a bishop towards his flock see, Benjamin Moulet, *Évêques, pouvoir et société à Byzance, VIIIe-XIe siècle: territoires, communautés et individus dans la société provinciale byzantine* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011), 364.

⁹⁹ F. i. 'The column lifts him [i.e. the stylite] up and raises him to dignity'. *Styl.* 65, ὁ στύλος ἀναφέρει τοῦτον ὑψοῦ καὶ ἐξάγει πρὸς τιμιότητα.

stylite towards the column went so far that a chapel was dedicated to Symeon the Elder (ca. 386–459), the first stylite, which enclosed a real, almost four-meters high pillar, probably without ever hosting an ascetic.¹⁰⁰ Eustathios seems to have been aware of this tradition, and in the *Styl.* he offered an ideal for a stylite based on the column including traditional elements concerning stylitism. Nevertheless Eustathios' starting point in writing the oration was that he was not satisfied with the behaviour of the stylite, thus he put major emphasis on certain elements.

Eustathios started to encourage the stylite to step out from his seclusion basing his arguments on the comparison of stylitism with other types of asceticism.

The confinement for the stylite has something common with a cave. Because the cave hides the ascetic inside, and he has virtue without witnesses. Such a man picked the 'hide while living', but hiding yourself overshadows the light shining thence from that lifestyle. The stylite should be superior to the cavern ascetic, because he conveys to many people what is highly helpful. By having many witnesses of his life, I believe, the stylite can not conceal the errors of his blameless life.¹⁰¹

The stylite should have performed deeds, 'for how shall he be useful for life, if, while retiring from below, and not indicating from above the way of living'?'¹⁰²

One of the traditional features of stylitism was that the ascetic counselled people arriving to him for advice. Symeon the Elder spent the night and the morning until three PM in prayer. His entire afternoon was dedicated to handing down proper and just sentences as a judge and to preaching to those present.¹⁰³ Eustathios pushed this activity to extremes saying that

¹⁰⁰ Menze, Volker. 'The transformation of a saintly paradigm: Simeon the Elder and the legacy of stylitism'. In: *Continuity and change: religious identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammad*, ed. A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2013.

¹⁰¹ *Styl.* 52, σπηλαίω δὲ κοινὸν μὲν ἢ κάθειρξις πρὸς γε τὸν στυλίτην· ὅτι δὲ κρύπτει μὲν τὸν ἐντὸς ἀσκητὴν τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ ἀμάρτυρον ἐκεῖνος ἔχει τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ ἐπικρίνει μὲν ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸ λάθε βίου, τὸ δὲ λανθάνειν ἐπισκιάζει τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκεῖθεν βίου· εἴη ἂν ὁ στυλίτης τοῦ τοιοῦτου βέλτερος, οἷς καὶ εἰς πλείους διαβιβάζει τὸ πολυωφέλες, καὶ μάρτυρας δὲ τοῦ βίου ἔχων πολλοὺς, οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταλείη τὸ τῆς ἀνεξελέγκτου παιδείας πλάνημα.

¹⁰² *Styl.* 51, τί γὰρ καὶ χρήσιμος ἔσται τῷ βίῳ, κάθωθέν τε ἀπαγαγὼν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ μηδὲ ἄνωθεν ὑπεμφαίνων τὸ ζῆν;

¹⁰³ See Theodore of Cyrrhus' *Rh.* 26.11; Menze, 'Transformation of a saintly paradigm'.

this is *the* scope of the retirement of the stylite: '[The stylite] retires from the worldly crowd being alone in order to teach without disturbances even audibly'.¹⁰⁴ The metropolitan bishop exhorted the stylite to have a disciple and to hand down this way of life: 'Become another Elias somehow, o stylite, and find a disciple¹⁰⁵ and send him to start his contest, to reach the heaven'.¹⁰⁶ In another passage Eustathios recapitulated his statement:

I would not think that the one standing on the column has to keep silence, but men with this longing have to be superior, because he must be a teacher [while standing] on the column. Otherwise one must consider the column as a teacher's tribune, or as a dais, standing on which the stylite utters nice orations. So he shall thunder the divine [commandments] sending his teaching to the listeners down here. It will be said that the stylite is addressing them from the column of the cloud,¹⁰⁷ of this disappearance visible above the ground.¹⁰⁸

This passage characterises the ideal stylite as a rhetorician and divine teacher. The third sentence of the passage in its structure and wording shows parallels with the passage in which Theodoret of Cyrrihus described Symeon the Elder as a teacher.

Rh. 26.5

After the seventh hour (three PM) he delivers the divine teaching to those, who are present. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην πρῶτον μὲν τὴν θεϊαν διδασκαλίαν τοῖς παροῦσι προσφέρει.

Styl. 51

So he shall thunder the divine from above instructing the listeners with his teaching down here. βροντήσει μὲν οὖν ὑπόθεν τὰ θεῖα, καὶ καταπέμψει τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῖς κάτωθεν ἀκούουσιν.

Eustathios' sentence contains the same words, or words of similar meaning. He used βροντήσει ('he shall thunder') instead of προσφέρει ('delivers'). This is a word, which in the

¹⁰⁴ *Styl.* 51, καὶ οὗτος δὲ τῆς περὶ γῆν τύρβης ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγαγὼν ἰδιάζει διὰ τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἄσκυλτον, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐξάκουστον.

¹⁰⁵ Elias the prophet had his disciple Elizeus, cf. 2 Kg 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Styl.* 65, γενοῦ Ἡλιοῦ τρόπον τινα, ὦ στυλίτα, καὶ ἀναλαμβανόμενός ποτε ἄφες μαθητὴν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὸν αὐτὸν ἐλάσας δρόμον, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γενόμενος.

¹⁰⁷ In Dt 31.15–16, God talked to Moses from a column of cloud.

¹⁰⁸ *Styl.* 51, σιγᾶν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στύλου οὐκ ἂν ἀξιῶσαιμι, ἀλλ' ὑπερκεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρας, ὅτι καὶ διδασκαλικὸν εἶναι χρῆ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στύλου. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀνακτέον τὸν στύλον εἰς τύπον διδασκάλου τινὸς ὀκρίβαντος, εἴτ' οὖν ἀναβάθμου, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστηκὼς ὁ στυλίτης λόγους ἀγαθοὺς ἐρεύξεται [cf. Mt 13.35; Ps 18 (19).2]. βροντήσει μὲν οὖν ὑπόθεν τὰ θεῖα, καὶ καταπέμψει τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῖς κάτωθεν ἀκούουσιν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης τῆς ὀρωμένης ταύτης μετεώρου ἀποκρύψεως, λέγηται λαλεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς.

Homeric epics associated with Zeus who 'thundered and sent his lightening at the same time',¹⁰⁹ expressing the divine power of the reigning deity. This addition might have stood here to indicate the all-pervasive power of the words of the stylite, which the audience would have deemed as coming from God.¹¹⁰ The parallel in the the *Rh.* and *Styl.* might indicate, that Eustathios might have in mind the example of Symeon the Elder as presented by Theodoret of Cyrrhus when portraying an ideal stylite.

On the other hand the stylite should have been an orator. Eustathios compared the column to a tribune (ὀκρίβας), or a dais (ἀναβαθμός) destined for a teacher, where he has to utter nice orations (λόγους ἀγαθοὺς ἐρεῦζεται). ὀκρίβας is a word referring to the classical theatre in Athens meaning the 'platform or tribune in the Odeum, on which the actors appeared at the Proagon'.¹¹¹ In another passage of the oration Eustathios portrayed the stylite as an athlete: 'You also have to understand that you are an athlete for a short period of time, if one has a look at you; and the field of athletes is in front of you: you have to be active there and to act [θεατρίζεσθαι], to fit your task'.¹¹² Therefore Eustathios suggested the stylite that as a teacher he has to give a *performance* in order to be successful. This performance has to be 'good' (λόγος ἀγαθός) in aesthetic terms.¹¹³ Paul Magdalino emphasises that,

There can be no doubt that rhetoric was the dominant element in Byzantine intellectual culture, and never more so than in the twelfth century. [...] Rhetoric was ideally suited to the pattern of intellectual supply and demand in Byzantine society of the twelfth century. [...] The entire machinery of government, [...] churches and private houses, and even impromptu

¹⁰⁹ *Od.* 14.305, Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηϊ κεραυνόν.

¹¹⁰ This is why Eustathios wrote about God's utterances coming from a cloud.

¹¹¹ LSJ s. v. 'ὀκρίβας', 1212.

¹¹² *Styl.* 45, συννοούμενος καί, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ θεωρίαν ἀθλητῆς εἶ, καὶ σκάμμα σοι πρόκειται ἀθλητικόν· ἔνθα χρῆ ἐνεργὸν εἶναι σε, καὶ ὡς ἐντρεχῆ θεατρίζεσθαι.

¹¹³ Cf. in a comparative form, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Letter to Pompeius Geminus*, 1.10.8, p. 57, κρατίστου τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ συνετάξατο λόγον ἐρωτικὸν εἰς τὴν <αὐτὴν> ὑπόθεσιν· καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι τούτου προελθὼν ἐπαύσατο καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις τὴν διάγνωσιν, πότερός ἐστι κρείττων λόγος [which is the *better oration* of the two].

gatherings, all provided a context for what was known as a ‘theatre’: the *performance* of a text to an audience.¹¹⁴

The metropolitan bishop even gave a lesson in rhetoric to the anonymous stylite in c. 70–78 giving him examples how to compose a ‘spiritual oration’ using similes from the sea.

You see, o ascetic, how this sea around you brings you to contemplation. For it is not there only for amusement and the marvel of the sight, but also to teach virtue, so that you may be able to derive spritual benefit from it. You can observe it in a rather holy manner, and consider it philosophically. I do not mean whether it flows with air equally, or embraces the earth around [...]. But all what pertains to the moral character, and from which the virtue-meditating soul becomes more righteous.¹¹⁵

Contemporaries of the stylite definitely expected from preachers to make oratorical display while giving a sermon. Michael Choniates (ca. 1138–1204), the archbishop of Athens was accused of not wanting to display his rhetorical prowess in his sermons.¹¹⁶ This kind of ‘spiritual oration’ which Eustathios encouraged from ‘his’ stylite has in common with a sermon its purpose of edification,¹¹⁷ but the place of delivery and the lack of Scriptural basis makes a difference. Eustathios aimed at endorsing the stylite into the framework of his diocese on the one hand retaining traditional features of stylitism (such as the sanctifying aspect of the column), but on the one hand being a reformer-bishop adorning ‘his’ stylite with rhetorical skills.

¹¹⁴ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 335–336; On the so-called *theatron* Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (München: Beck, 1978), vol. I. 70, 210–211; Margaret Mullett, ‘Aristocracy and Patronage in the literary circles of Comnenian Constantinople,’ in *The Byzantine aristocracy, IX to XIII centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford, England: B.A.R., 1984), 174–177.

¹¹⁵ Styl. 70, ὁρᾶς γὰρ, ὧ ἀσκητᾶ, ὅπως θάλασσα περί σε αὕτη τὴν θεωρίαν ἐπαύξουσα. οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ θαῦμα ἔκκειται ὄψεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἀρετῆς διδασκαλίον, ὡς δύνασθαι κέρδος ἐμπορεύεσθαι σε ψυχικὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἔχεις γὰρ καταθεωρεῖν σεμνότερον, καὶ φιλοσόφως αὐτὴν ἐπισκέπτεσθαι. οὐ λέγω εἴπερ τῷ ἀέρι κέχυται ἰσόμοιρος, οὐδὲ εἴπερ τῇ γῆ συνεσφαίρωται [...] ἀλλ’ ὅσα πρὸς ἦθος διαβαίνει, καὶ ἀφ’ ὧν ψυχὴ καταρτίζεται, φιλοσοφοῦσα τὴν ἀρετὴν.

¹¹⁶ See Michael Choniates’ controversy with those who flaunted their oratorical skills, Emmanuel C. Bourbouhakis, ‘Rhetoric and performance’ in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2012), 179.

¹¹⁷ ODB, s. v. ‘Sermon’, 1180.

The location of the column was equally important according to Eustathios. The stylite chose a place which was ‘not somewhere at the back of beyond. It is located publicly near such a city to which apart from citizens, and those whom splendid local birth illuminates, also people of various origins arrive’.¹¹⁸ Eustathios underlined that the column was in a public place, near the city, not on a deserted place, or within a boundaries of a monastery.¹¹⁹ The stylite lived being attached to an urban milieu, that of Thessalonike, whence he got his provisions, and people frequented him.

What kind of a stylite might have been acceptable for Eustathios, the archbishop of Thessalonike? I conclude that Eustathios on the one hand wanted to have a stylite in Thessalonike who fitted the tradition being sanctified by his column. On the other hand, nothing was more important for Eustathios in a holy man than his activity. Thus, as I assume, based on the example of Symeon the Elder in the *Rh.* he canvassed an ideal of a stylite who was concerned in particular with instructing his audience. According to the custom of the age, Eustathios’ stylite should have had excellent command of rhetorical skills. At last the ascetic of the *Styl.* might have flourished as an efficient member of the community of Thessalonike.

¹¹⁸ *Styl.* 66, [ὁ στῦλος] γὰρ οὐ τέθειται που παράβυστος. [...] Πόλει δὲ τοιαύτη ἀμφοδὸν παραπέπηγεν, εἰς ἣν δίχα γε τῶν γνησίων, καὶ οἷς τὸ αὐθιγενὲς ἀγαθὸν ἐλλάμπει, καὶ οἱ πανταχόθεν παραβάλλουσιν ἄνθρωποι.

¹¹⁹ As did the eleventh-century stylite Lazaros of Mount Galesios, see: ODB s. v. ‘Lazaros of Mount Galesios’, 1198; *The life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion: An eleventh-century pillar saint*, trans. Richard P. H. Greenfield. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), 35–49.

2. THE LIFE OF PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION

This section intends to scrutinise the *v. Phil.* according to the research questions put forward at the beginning of the chapter. First, how Eustathios' position and function as an archbishop of Thessalonike did inspire this oration and second, how did Eustathios use the genre of hagiography to influence matters in his bishopric.

There is no direct hint at the city of Thessalonike in the *v. Phil.* If the reader nevertheless intends to situate the oration in the *milieu* of Thessalonike, other signs have to be considered present in the *vita*. The first which strikes the reader of the *life* is that Philotheos does not seem to have been one of the well-known saints. The only sources for his activities are a menologion-entry of 15 September in the *Menologion of Basil II (men. B.)*,¹²⁰ and Eustathios' *v. Phil.* Why may Eustathios as an archbishop have thought such a saint important for a Thessalonian audience?

2.1. An *ethopoia*, or a commission?

The *lemma* says the following about the *v. Phil.*: 'An occasional oration of the same [Eustathios] on the life of saint Philotheos of Opsikion, from the person of Philotheos the monk, a praiseworthy man, who invited [Eustathios] to write this oration'.¹²¹

The oration was delivered from the person (ἐκ προσώπου) of a certain monk, Philotheos. Was Philotheos a fictional person? What is the relationship between Eustathios and this Philotheos? Is this a kind of *ethopoia*? Eustathios as former master of rhetoricians was aware of this way of expressing one's own point of view. '*Ethopoia* is when we select existing people and we put orations into their mouth, so that those orations may be seem

¹²⁰ PG 117.50.CD; *Il Menologio di Basilio II*. 2 vols. Torino: Bocca, 1907.

¹²¹ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐπελευστικὸς βίου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Φιλόθεον τὸν Ὀψικιανόν, ἐκ προσώπου Φιλοθέου τοῦ μοναχοῦ, ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου λόγου, τοῦ καὶ προκαλεσαμένου εἰς ταύτην τὴν γραφήν.

more convincing, than if we ourselves would have delivered those'.¹²² Eustathios wrote himself such a work portraying in one of his letters a certain Constantinopolitan clergyman: 'What Homokeson would have said, when in the following day of the death of his great benefactor, the most holy patriarch Michael [III] of Anchialos, he had lost his job and his provisions'.¹²³ In his *Commentary on the Iliad* Eustathios pointed out: 'Some strive to demonstrate that this poetic work is called *Ilias*, as if [had been written] from [ὡς οἶον ἀπὸ] a suffering *prosopon*,¹²⁴ of course that of the Trojan people'.¹²⁵ Despite the definition of Alexander the rhetorician talking about 'extisting people', and other medieval definitions of the *ethopoia*,¹²⁶ the possibility that Eustathios assumed the *persona* of a monk, whose name was even identical with his life's protagonist, cannot be excluded. Nevertheless the wording of the *lemma* helps in the solution. In the case of an *ēthopoia* the writer indicated that he is talking from a point of view of another person by *a.* putting the name of the person, or literary character into the typical formula 'what words had said etc. ποίους ἂν εἶπε λόγους κτλ.', or *b.* using the formula 'as if from [the person of...]. ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ [προσώπου]'.¹²⁷ When Nikephoros Xanthopoulos (1256–1335) sent a letter from the person of a monk, a certain Ignatios, he wrote 'as if from the most holy monk, kyr Ignatios. ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου δῆθεν μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Ἰγνατίου'.¹²⁸ On the contrary the wording of the *v. Phil.*'s *lemma* lacks the 'ὡς ἀπὸ' formula and reads: 'ἐκ προσώπου Φιλοθέου τοῦ μοναχοῦ'. Additionally the *lemma*

¹²² Alexander Rhetor, *De figuris*, III. ed. Spengel, p. 21.24, ἠθοποιία δέ ἐστίν, ὅταν ὑπάρχοντα πρόσωπα τιθέντες λόγους τινὰς αὐτοῖς περιτιθῶμεν πρὸς τὸ πιστοτέρους αὐτοὺς δόξαι εἶναι ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ ἐλέγομεν αὐτούς.

¹²³ *Op.* p. 328 l. 62, ποίους ἂν εἶπε λόγους Ὀμωκῆσων, ὅτε τῆ ἐπαύριον μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πολλὰ εὐεργετήσαντος αὐτὸν ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου κυρίου Μιχαήλ, τοῦ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου, λουόμενος ἀφῆρέθη ἐξ ἀποστολῆς κτλ.

¹²⁴ On the 'suffering *prosopon*', see Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, §1131, p. 496.

¹²⁵ van der Valk, III. p. 97, τινες ἐπαγωνίζονται δεῖξαι, ὅτι ὡς οἶον ἀπὸ προσώπου παθόντος, τοῦ τῶν Ἰλιέων δηλαδὴ λαοῦ, ἢ ποιήσας αὕτη ὠνόμασται Ἰλιάς. Another example for the ὡς ἀπὸ formula is Eustathios oration to Manuel in the name of Constantinople: Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Θεσσαλονίκης, ὅτε ἐν διακόνοις ἦν καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν ῥητόρων, δέησις εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κύρ Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνηνὸν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε αὐτὴν ἀύχμος ἐπιέζεν, *Lent.* p. 11*.

¹²⁶ See Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, §820, p. 366.

¹²⁷ Concerning epistolography see a good number of examples for the 'ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ' formula in Alexander Riehle, 'Funktionen der Byzantinischen Epistolographie. Studien zu den Briefen und Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Chumnos (ca. 1260–1327)' (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, 2011), 265, fn. 1012.

¹²⁸ *Letter 1*, Browning p. 147.

defines that this Philotheos ‘invited [Eustathios] to write this oration’. Therefore Eustathios did not perform the *v. Phil.* using an *ethopoia*.

What is the reason why Eustathios took on the task of performing an oration commissioned by a monk? The first may have been that this Philotheos, a probably not highly educated,¹²⁹ but religious monk asked Eustathios, the former master of rhetoricians to write the oration. The second may be that Eustathios wanted to avoid using his own authority while giving this oration. The combination of the two also can be argued and it is likely, i. e. Eustathios was asked by this Philotheos and then he seized the opportunity of using the authority of a laudable monk (ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου λόγου). Why Eustathios, the metropolitan bishop of Thessalonike, might have been in a need to bolster his arguments with an authority of a monk?

2.2. Eustathios’ redaction of the *v. Phil.*

The *v. Phil.* is a *life* of a holy priest. Philotheos in his youth was involved in trade, distributed his surplus amongst the poor, and made spiritual development as an exemplary ascetic. Later he decided to dedicate himself not to a hermitic lifestyle, but rather to use his talents in an urban community. Philotheos got married, begot children, and became an accomplished and educated priest. He performed miracles, and after his death, became a myrrh-exuding saint.

As I shall demonstrate in *Chapter 2*, Eustathios’ version about the life and deeds of Philotheos of Opsikion contains differences compared to the *vita* in the *men. B.* Alexander Kazhdan stated that Eustathios wrote ‘a vigorous polemic against the traditional monastic ideal. In this respect the *v. Phil.* corresponds to Eustathios’ pamphlet, *On the Improvement of*

¹²⁹ The illiteracy and lack of education of twelfth-century monks are well-attested in the sources, Magdalino, ‘Holy man’, 56; ODB, s. v. ‘monasticism’, 1392–1394, esp. 1393.

Monastic Life’ (*Vm.*).¹³⁰ Kazhdan collected the main points with which Eustathios inculcated the Thessalonian monks.¹³¹ Complementing Kazhdan’s list with other passages from the *Vm.* it is possible to find all the responding chapters to part of the differences between Eustathios’ *v. Phil.* and the version in the *men. B.*¹³² In the following paragraphs I single out these differences, so that it may be evident for the reader that Eustathios’ Philotheos is not simply a holy priest, but a model put in contrast with the Thessalonian monks.

Philotheos’ eagerness was one of the characteristics of his saint, which Eustathios wanted to emphasise. Therefore he portrayed the former’s countrymen as virtuous calling his hometown ‘Ant’ (4). Eustathios’ Philotheos had mines, involved himself in trade (4), but on the other hand cultivated the soil himself (16). Philotheos helped other people with all his means (10). He became a ‘river of charity’ to such extent that when he died and was carried to his shrine, he was risen to life just to reach his tomb on his own feet (20). Eustathios depicted the Thessalonian monks quite the opposite. They keep away their hands from good deeds as from a stain (οὔτε καλῶν ἔργων ἐπιβολή, ὡς ἀπέχουσιν τὰς χεῖρας ὡσεὶ καὶ τινος μιᾶσματος), they are definitely sluggish (οἱ ἀεργοὶ μοναχοὶ) and even the small things they accomplish are bad (μικρὸν τι ποιοῦσι κακόν).¹³³ The monks are interested in agriculture and involved in trade (τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἀπώναντο),¹³⁴ but just to make profit (πόθεν δὲ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἢ πλείων φορολογία),¹³⁵ and they even rob the poor living in their neighbourhood (πέννητα ἀπολαβόντες).¹³⁶ While Philotheos in the *v. Phil.* was walking on his feet as an established saint of the community after his death, the

¹³⁰ ODB, s. v. ‘Philotheos of Opsikion’, 1663.

¹³¹ Alexander–Franklin, *Studies*, 150.

¹³² On the various differences between the *v. Phil.* and the redaction of the *men. B.* see *Chapter 2*.

¹³³ *Vm.* 154.9–10, 19–20.

¹³⁴ *Vm.* 60.2.

¹³⁵ *Vm.* 178.30.

¹³⁶ *Vm.* 123.1.

Thessalonian abbots were not satisfied travelling on an ass, but used precious steeds (οὐδὲ ἡμίονος ἐθέλουσι χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ δι' ἵππων εὐγενῶν κατορχεῖσθαι πραγματεύονται).¹³⁷

The archbishop of Thessalonike portrayed Philotheos as an educated person. Education was significant for Theophilos' mother,¹³⁸ for the young Philotheos who spent his time on assiduous reading of the Scriptures,¹³⁹ and for Philotheos the priest who prepared his sermons.¹⁴⁰ Therefore the learned Philotheos is a mirror for Thessalonian monks who 'hate intellectual debate', and if a literate person arrives to their circles 'they expel him stoning him with their railings'.¹⁴¹ While Eustathios portrayed Philotheos as a priest who prepares his sermons by assiduous reading, the Thessalonian monks do not even talk about religious topics during their meetings.¹⁴²

Eustathios characterised Philotheos, whose religiosity was not an external show-off.¹⁴³ The metropolitan bishop argued for the active life in an urban community as opposed to the lifestyle of hermits and monks. While monks left aside the crowd and the contest of life (τὴν τύρβην λιπόντες καὶ τὸν κατὰ βίον ἀγῶνα),¹⁴⁴ Philotheos 'thought that life in this world is a theatre and spectators give applause to each living people one by one. The judge and umpire of the contest is the great God'.¹⁴⁵ Philotheos did not choose a secluded lifestyle which avoids 'to mingle in the crowd, the life in a community, [to have a] companion, as

¹³⁷ *Vm.* 168.7.

¹³⁸ *v. Phil.* 7.

¹³⁹ *v. Phil.* 8.

¹⁴⁰ *v. Phil.* 14.

¹⁴¹ *Vm.* 126, μισολόγον τὸ τοιοῦτον φῶλον ἐστίν [...] ὅτε δὲ καὶ τις γραμμάτων τρόφιμος πρὸς τῷ καὶ αὐτοῦς λιμένι γένηται, αὐτίκα πανθυμαδὸν ὀκριδῶνται λοιδορίαῖς ἀντὶ λίθων βάλλοντες.

¹⁴² *Vm.* 178.11–12, ὅτε τοίνυν ὁμήγουρις ἀδελφικὴ γένηται, τότε δὴ ὁ ἡγούμενος γίνεται τοῦ λαλεῖν· καὶ ἡ λαλιὰ οὐ προβλήματα γραφικά, οὐ λύσεις ἱερῶν αἰνιγμάτων, οὐ διηγήματα πατέρων ἁγίων.

¹⁴³ *v. Phil.* 10.

¹⁴⁴ *Vm.* 1.1.

¹⁴⁵ *v. Phil.* 10, συνελογίσατο γὰρ θέατρον εἶναι τι καὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς βίον, θεαταῖς μὲν συγκροτούμενον τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν βιούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀγωναθέτη δὲ βραβευτῆ τῶν ἄθλων πρυτανευόμενον τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ.

things which might not lead to God'.¹⁴⁶ It is interesting to notice that on the other hand Philotheos observed the monastic principal of *stabilitas loci* with respect to his church.¹⁴⁷

Eustathios emphasised the requirements of canon law when his protagonist chose priesthood and was anointed.¹⁴⁸ The metropolitan bishop accurately described Philotheos' initiation to priesthood: calling witnesses, inquiry, anointment, performance of services and duties. The procedure was sealed by the statement: 'They observed the commands of the most righteous canon law'.¹⁴⁹ This is a reply to Eustathios' main charge against the monks of Thessalonike, who did not accept his personal authority, which is the embodiment of the commands of canon law.¹⁵⁰ Throughout the *Vm.* the word κανών occurs in a number of passages.¹⁵¹ The word referred to the tradition and those requirements which made a monk holy: the monks of full right (τοῦ μεγάλου σχήματος) are 'angelic through to the demand and affirmation of canon law, and through mystical attainment'.¹⁵²

What Eustathios might have borrowed from the *men. B.* are equally important to his additions.¹⁵³ One of the most significant borrowings from the *men. B.* is Philotheos' priesthood. Eustathios presented it with lofty words: Philotheos 'desired to take wings to reach the height of priesthood'.¹⁵⁴ Eustathios added to the version of *men. B.* that Philotheos married a pious woman, begot children, and they were seeking virtue together.¹⁵⁵ This is in sharp contrast with the monks of Thessalonike who had base intercourse with women (μύλλοντες).¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁶ *v. Phil.* 10, τὴν σύγχυσιν, τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ σύμβιον, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενον προσάγειν θεῶ.

¹⁴⁷ *v. Phil.* 15; cf. *Vm.* 147.5 about monks spending their time in the streets of Thessalonike.

¹⁴⁸ *v. Phil.* 14.

¹⁴⁹ *v. Phil.* 14, κανόνος γὰρ εὐθυτάτου ἐκεῖνοι ἐκπλήρουν παράγγελμα.

¹⁵⁰ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 328.

¹⁵¹ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 328.

¹⁵² *Vm.* 7.3, ἀγγελικοὶ κατὰ τὴν κανονικὴν καὶ ἀπαίτησιν καὶ κατάθεσιν καὶ μυστικὴν τελείωσιν.

¹⁵³ See Section 1 of the *Appendix*.

¹⁵⁴ *v. Phil.* 13, γίνεται πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῷ εἰς ἱεροσύνης ὕψος ἀναπτῆναι.

¹⁵⁵ *v. Phil.* 12.

¹⁵⁶ *Vm.* 147.9.

The fact that Eustathios portrayed a holy priest is his clear antimonastic reaction and the demonstration that the metropolitan defended the position of clergy against monks who ‘think that, if there were no bishops, they would be in all respect on their own in the world, and the church would not be under the supervision of anybody else, than in its entirety under black-wearing men’ [i.e. monks].¹⁵⁷

2.3. Eustathios’ controversy with the Thessalonian monks

When might the *v. Phil.* have been delivered? At which point of the controversy Eustathios might have put in action his hagiographic ‘arrows’?

Eustathios did not state explicitly what happened between him and the Thessalonian monks besides some scattered hints in the *Vm.* It is sure that the metropolitan bishop felt himself threatened.

Thessalonike rears such brave monks who bravely oppose the canons and laws. They despise their archbishop and no one raises a word against them. How can we stay mute as if panic-struck and not having hands and mouth? And immediately they arouse the fury of their soul—if it ever was asleep—as a ‘terrible soldier and commander’ equipped with abundance of complete armour, which they know how to obtain with their evil tricks: they set themselves into the arrays of a holy war. And as many abbot, and monk of great rank¹⁵⁸ are amongst them, they lie in ambush against those without guilt; whose first step needs to be awaited while putting in front the other monks. Once they have been detected lying underneath in an ambush, they leap out themselves too, stand in the first line, order the ranks and send forth the army of the monks of small rank to accomplish through them as much as they can, even if not all they want because of circumstances from God, the aid of the holy emperor.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ *Vm.* 187.4–6, λογίζονται, εἰ μὴ ἀρχιερεῖς τινες ἦσαν, αὐτοὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλοις ὑποκεῖσθαι τισὶν ὅτι μὴ τοῖς δι’ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος μελαμφορίζ.

¹⁵⁸ μεγαλοσχήμων, The word σχῆμα originally in a monastic context denoted the clothing, or habit of a monk in Late Antique Egypt. Besides this, it referred to monastic life and monastic order in general. In order to distinguish between monks being on a different, so to say, level of their spiritual development, what meant at the same time their position in a monastic community, from Late Antiquity adjectives were added to the word σχῆμα. Monks of lesser rank were labelled as being of ‘a small rank’ (μικρὸν σχῆμα), while the outstanding and established monks were called as that of ‘an angelic, or great rank’ (ἀγγελικὸν, μέγα σχῆμα), Lampe s. v. σχῆμα, 1359.

¹⁵⁹ *Vm.* 167.2-16, ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη οὕτως ἀνδρείους ἐκτρέφει μοναχούς, οἱ καὶ κατὰ κανόνων καὶ νόμων ἀνδρίζονται καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα περιφρονοῦσιν καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ λόγον ἀνταίρει πρὸς αὐτούς, τί δὴ ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐνεοὶ καθήμεθα ὡς οἶα καὶ ἐκπεπληγότες καὶ μηδὲ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι διοικούμενοι; καὶ αὐτίκα τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς

It is clear from this passage that Eustathios did not intend to remain speechless and therefore the machinations of the monks might have directed against him. According to the reconstruction of Karin Metzler the conflict between Eustathios and the Thessalonian monks led to a judicial trial against the bishop.¹⁶⁰ In c. 188 of the *Vm.* Eustathios addresses one of the opposing abbots:

O saintly monk, if the bishop who was prosecuted [διωκόμενος] and who was a defendant [φεύγων] bears malice [μνησικακεῖ], you, who prosecuted him [αὐτὸν διώκων] without reason and hawked at him as ‘great and dark fear’,¹⁶¹ how should you be called? One who bears good will towards him [μνησικάλος]?¹⁶²

As Karin Metzler points out, Eustathios’ wording (διωκόμενος, φεύγων) clearly indicates that the anonymous Thessalonian abbot summoned him to court.¹⁶³ Karin Metzler supposes that the trial took place in Constantinople drawing a parallel with the case of John Oxiteis. He, after his patriarchate in Antioch (ca. 1089–1100), returned to Constantinople and lived in the Hodegon Monastery.¹⁶⁴ But after a controversy with Oxiteis, the monks brought the case to the ‘imperial and synodical tribunal’.¹⁶⁵ Oxiteis had to leave the city and finally moved to the island of Oxeia. It is likely that the trial took place in Constantinople, because Eustathios in a later phase of his life, in the early 1190s after a controversy, the circumstances and nature of which are heavily contested in the secondary literature,¹⁶⁶ took

θυμούμενον, εἴ που καὶ ἔκοιμάτο, ἀφυπνίσαντες καὶ ὅσα δεινὸν ὀπλίτην ἢ στρατηγὸν καταφράξαντες χορηγία παντευχίας, ὁποῖαν αὐτοὶ μεθοδεύειν κακομηχάνως οἶδασιν, ἀποκαθίστανται εἰς ἱεροῦ τινος πολέμου στρατίαν· καὶ ὅσον μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλόσχημον καὶ ἡγουμενικόν, ἔλλοχῶσιν κατὰ τῶν οὐδὲν μὲν αἰτίων, προσδοκωμένων δὲ ἀντιβήσασθαι εἰς ἐμφανὲς προστησάμενοι τοὺς λοιπούς. εἰ δέ που καὶ φοραθῶσι λόχου δίκην ὑποκαθήμενοι, ἐκπηδῶσι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ καταστάντες εἰς μέτωπον καὶ τὴν τάξιν κοσμήσαντες ἐπαφιάσι τὴν μικροσχήμονα φάλαγγα καὶ ἀνύουσι δι’ αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰ θελητὰ σφίσι διὰ τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγίου ἐπικουρίαν, ὅσα γοῦν δύνανται.

¹⁶⁰ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 18.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Gen 15.12.

¹⁶² *Vm.* 188.1–3, ὦ ἅγιε μοναχέ, εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος διωκόμενος καὶ φεύγων μνησικακεῖ, σὺ ὁ ἀναίτιως αὐτὸν διώκων καὶ φόβος μέγας καὶ σκοτεινὸς ἐπιπίπτων αὐτῷ, τί ποτε καὶ ὀνομασθήσῃ; μνησικάλος.

¹⁶³ LSJ, s. v. διώκω, 440.

¹⁶⁴ ODB, s. v. ‘John IV (V) Oxiteis’, 1049.

¹⁶⁵ *Fl.* p. 148.31, ἐπὶ βήματος βασιλικοῦ καὶ συνοδικοῦ.

¹⁶⁶ Wirth, *Eustathiana*, 40; about the historiography of the controversy: Schönauer, Sonja. ‘Flucht vor den Gläubigen? Abenteuerliches aus dem Leben des Eustathios von Thessalonike’. In *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und*

flight to Constantinople and applied to the emperor. Additionally Karin Metzler did not use to bolster her argumentation with the fact that judicial matters regarding the relationship of an archbishop with his flock were under the jurisdiction of the patriarchal court.¹⁶⁷ From the text of the *Vm.* though it is cannot be argued that the trial took place in the capital. It is probable that Eustathios wrote the *Vm.* in Constantinople, because he spoke about islands, which ‘the waves of this Sea of Marmara [αὕτη ἡ Προποντίς] wash against’.¹⁶⁸ The *Vm.* contains passages which show that the work was written in a judicial context in which Eustathios had to defend himself. The bishop addressed the emperor: ‘ἀκούοις δέ μου τῆς ἀληθείας, ὦ ἀγιώτατε ἰσαπόστολε βασιλεῦ’.¹⁶⁹ Karin Metzler translated the verb ἀκούοις as an imperative.¹⁷⁰ Another option is to render the optative as an *optativus cupitivus*: ‘I wish if you heard the truth from me, o most holy emperor, equal with the apostles’. This could mean that the emperor did not pay satisfying attention to Eustathios’ situation. Karin Metzler noticed that addressing the emperor as ‘equal with the apostles’ (ἰσαπόστολε) may have implied that Eustathios wanted to have the *basileus* as an arbiter in sacred affairs in his controversy with the Thessalonian monks.¹⁷¹ Who was the emperor of the day, whom Eustathios spoke to? Metzler, in agreement with earlier scholarship, dated the *Vm.* to the period after 1180, the death of Manuel I, but before the Norman siege of Thessalonike in 1185, which is not mentioned in the work.¹⁷² Thus Eustathios could have addressed either Alexios II Komnenos (r. 1180–1183) or Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183–1185). Unfortunately it is not possible to pinpoint the emperor in question.¹⁷³

Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur, ed. Lars Hoffmann and Anuscha Monchizadeh, 705–717. Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005.

¹⁶⁷ Angold, *Church and society*, 63.

¹⁶⁸ *Vm.* 84.19, νῆσοι, ὅσας ἡ Προποντίς αὕτη κλύζει.

¹⁶⁹ *Vm.* 115.4.

¹⁷⁰ *Vm.* 115., p. 127.

¹⁷¹ Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 17, fn. 112.

¹⁷² Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 22–23.

¹⁷³ Schönauer, ‘Flucht’, 712; Angold, *Church and society*, 348, fn. 10; Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 17.

Modern scholarship emphasises that Eustathios' position after 1180, the death of Manuel I, became unstable.¹⁷⁴ Magdalino noticed that the bishop in his homilies became more severe towards his flock.¹⁷⁵ Unlike during the first years of his incumbency, the central theme of the orations are the greed and hypocrisy of his flock, which are, according to Eustathios, tokens of disorder in a Christian society. Eustathios was trying to force his flock to accept his episcopal authority, which, as he saw it, showed the way out of this disorder.¹⁷⁶ Eustathios was in need of the help of the emperor. From the passage cited above it is clear that the initiatives of the opposing Thessalonian abbots could not be curbed by their bishop alone: 'the monks of great rank order the ranks and send forth the army of the monks of small rank to accomplish through them as much as they can, even if not all they want because of circumstances from God, the aid of the holy emperor'.¹⁷⁷ No evidence has survived that Eustathios got any official aid to solve the controversy, as had happened some years earlier in the case of the Lependrinios affair.

At which point of the controversies could Eustathios write the *v. Phil.*? There is no way to pinpoint it with certainty. It can be argued that the *v. Phil.* could have been delivered before the trial as mild means of persuasion with a monastic commissioner. The other possibility is that the result of the trial may not have been too favourable for Eustathios, and after his return to Thessalonike he used the possible authority of a monk to strengthen his garnished authority in front of a Thessalonian (monastic) audience. These are but speculations based on the scanty evidence. What one can securely do is to locate the *v. Phil.* into the context of the Thessalonian monastic controversy, which can be dated, as the *Vm.* itself, between 1180 and 1185. It is plausible to link the composition and delivery of this

¹⁷⁴ Schönauer, 'Flucht', 712.

¹⁷⁵ Magdalino, 'Thessalonica', 231.

¹⁷⁶ See f. i. *Vm.* 180 about monks precipitating themselves to fall into evil without the guidance of their bishop.

¹⁷⁷ *Vm.* 167.12–14.

occasional oration (λόγος ἐπελευστικός) to the feast-day of Philotheos of Opsikion, 15 September.¹⁷⁸

3. ENKOMION OF THE SO-CALLED KALYTENOI MARTYRS

3.1. Eustathios: the protector of the church in Thessalonike during and after the Norman siege of the city?

Eustathios dedicated an *enkomion* and an *akolouthia* to the story and persecution of three martyr brothers, Alexander, Alpheios, Zosimos, and their fellow-martyr Marc. In the following paragraphs I attempt to answer the first research question, namely how Eustathios' episcopal function and position influenced his hagiographic pieces, with respect to the *enk. Kal.* and *akol. Kal.*

Despite Eustathios' biased view due to the circumstances presented in the *Introduction*, the *c. Th.*—as the only thorough account of the events—might give a basis for my reconstruction, according to which Eustathios put to parchment these texts in Thessalonike after the Norman sack of the city in 1185, being in the position of an archbishop responsible for the churches and their services.

Eustathios of Thessalonike suffered the Norman siege of Thessalonike because his position as metropolitan required his presence in the city. As Michael Angold presents, the bishop's earlier plan was to flee the city when he heard about the approaching Norman troops, but finally he stayed, because both David Komnenos, the Byzantine governor of Thessalonike, and the clergy of the city asked him to remain. Nevertheless David Komnenos escaped from the siege letting himself down by a rope from the walls of the citadel, so Eustathios suffered the pillage on his own with the people of Thessalonike.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ ODB, s. v. 'Philotheos of Opsikion', 1663.

¹⁷⁹ Angold, *Church and society*, 180–182.

When considering Eustathios' activities during the Norman siege and afterwards, it is useful to have in mind the general functions of a bishop.¹⁸⁰ By and large a bishop fulfilled three functions in his diocese: ordination of clergy and consecration of buildings, jurisdiction, and teaching of both clergy and laity. Teaching comprised more than instruction of clergy and laity, and defence of the Church's doctrines; it included also the organisation of liturgical services. It was the bishop's duty to maintain the church-building itself and to provide the necessary liturgical clothes and objects, so that the rituals could be performed.¹⁸¹

With respect to the damage that church buildings suffered Eustathios mentioned that 'shrines were desecrated, to the same extent places open to all [i.e. churches] were not hold in honour.'¹⁸² The Latin soldiers deliberately showed disrespect towards the buildings and ceremonies of the Eastern Church. Michael Angold singles out that Eustathios was concerned particularly about the Thessalonian church and the clergy.¹⁸³ Even if this statement is based on Eustathios' apologetic narrative, it is clear from the text that Eustathios tried to negotiate cautiously with count Baldwin when the Latins made a 'mockery of our [i.e. the Byzantine] holy religion'¹⁸⁴ disturbing the liturgy with 'stupid and discordant cries'.¹⁸⁵ The archbishop was not able to accomplish anything to restrict the excesses of the Latins in religious matters,¹⁸⁶ but Baldwin showed benevolence. 'He presented silver and gold to the tomb of saints, sufficient to replace what had been removed. And he presented us with valuable service holders to be carried in our sacred processions. He also presented us [...] with various sacred vessels, of which we distributed a

¹⁸⁰ Assuming that Eustathios followed these objectives.

¹⁸¹ Moulet, *Évêques*, 349–356.

¹⁸² *c. Th.* B 869.9, T 2, καὶ ἱερά τὰ πάντα κατηκισμένα εἰς ὅσον οὐδὲ τόποι τολμητοὶ πᾶσιν..κατησχυμένοι.

¹⁸³ Michael Angold, *Church and society*, 182.

¹⁸⁴ transl. Jones, J. M., *c. Th.* B 482 18–19, T 114, τῇ ἀγίᾳ θρησκείᾳ ἐμπαροινήσωσι.

¹⁸⁵ transl. Jones, J. M., *c. Th.* B 482 22–23, T 115, ὑπερφωνεῖν ἐθέλοντες βοαῖς κορυζώσαις καὶ ἀπηχέσι.

¹⁸⁶ *c. Th.* B 482 28, T 115.

certain part to adorn a number of the holy churches'.¹⁸⁷ It is plausible that Eustathios included these passages to clear himself from the accusations of the Thessalonians of being bribed by the occupying Latins. On the other hand these passages show his intention to display himself as a bishop taking care of the properties of his diocese and testify to a partial restoration of church property during the Norman presence.

In the calamity also books disappeared from the churches taken as spoils by the invading troops. Eustathios described in his memoirs that, probably as a recompensation, Baldwin 'lavished a gift of books upon us, not those which had been stolen, and not of great use, but such as it pleased him to give'.¹⁸⁸ The fact that liturgical books were stolen or lost might have baulked the Thessalonian clergy of performing church rituals properly. The books had to be remade or recovered when life returned to normal after the Normans left the city in November 1185.

Eustathios as a learned metropolitan, 'one of the most distinguished of all Byzantine writers',¹⁸⁹ did not refuse his episcopal task to provide the needed texts for the services, even writing those himself. The *lemma* of the *akol. Kal.* clearly indicates this saying, 'The same Eustathios of Thessalonike's *akolouthia* for vespers and matins to the same Kalytenoi saints,¹⁹⁰ when the *akolouthia* of the most blessed Choumnos got lost [and] could not be found after the capture [of the city]'.¹⁹¹ It is likely that the 'most blessed Choumnos' is identical with the former archbishop of Thessalonike, Michael Choumnos (d. ca. 1133), who

¹⁸⁷ transl. Jones, J. M., *c. Th.* B 482 32–33, 36, 2–3, T 115, καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου τάφῳ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐχορήγησε, τὸν ἀρκούντα εἰς ἀναπόησιν τοῦ ἐλλείψαντος. καὶ πηγμάτα δὲ κηρῶν ἀργύρεα μεταφορητὰ ἐν ἱεραῖς εἰσόδοις λόγου ἄξια ἐχαρίσατο. [...] ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱερά ἐπιπλα, ἐξ ὧν ἐπικοσμήματός τι πολλαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν διεμοιρασάμεθα.

¹⁸⁸ transl. Jones, J. M., *c. Th.* B 482 35–35, T 115, καὶ βίβλους δὲ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀφηρημένας καὶ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι εὐχρήστους, ἀλλ' οὖν ὅσας εὐηρεστήθη ἐφιλοτιμήσατο δοῦναι.

¹⁸⁹ Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 115; Hans Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1959), 634–636.

¹⁹⁰ The *lemma* speaks about 'the same' martyrs, because in the manuscript—and in Tafel's edition, too—the *akolouthia* follows the *enkomion* of the Kalytenoi martyrs, Sonja Schönauer, 'Zum Eustathios-Codex', 239.

¹⁹¹ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς Καλυτηνοὺς ἁγίους ἀκολουθία ἑσπερινή καὶ ὀρθινή, ὅτε ἡ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Χούμνου παραπεσοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν οὐχ εὐρίσκετο [sic!].

had begun his career as a *nomophylax* and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia.¹⁹² Eustathios not only filled the gap of the missing text, but enriched the liturgy with an *enkomion* dedicated to the same martyrs, as he mentions in the *akolouthia*: ‘We are honouring, o Lord, the endurance of the three righteous champions, whose manly firmness fear did not weaken while fighting for Your sake, combining their commemoration with praises (*enkomia*)’.¹⁹³

Eustathios did not pay attention to the cult of the Kalytenoi martyrs by accident. In the *enk. Kal.* he gave a thorough description how he had prepared the *enkomion*. One of the reasons for composing the oration was that ‘a church, elegant and praiseworthy, was erected for their cult and the house of the metropolitan surrounds it.’¹⁹⁴ Raymond Janin situated the church in the courtyard of the palace of the metropolitan.¹⁹⁵ Therefore it is likely that Eustathios saw the church dedicated to the Kalytenoi martyrs basically every day which probably encouraged him to substitute his own pieces for the lost *akolouthia*.

It is clear from the passages discussed above that the *enkomion* and the *akolouthia* of the Kalytenoi martyrs are connected to Eustathios’ activity as archbishop of Thessalonike which he pursued after 1185, the Norman siege of the city. Eustathios definitely was not a heroic bishop passing even martyrdom for the citizens of Thessalonike, paying attention rather to himself and his clergy in the beleaguered city.¹⁹⁶ He inserted passages into the *c. Th.* which suggest that even in the difficult days of the siege Eustathios attempted to negotiate with count Baldwin to ensure that church services be performed and to protect Thessalonike’s ecclesiastical buildings and institutions. It is reasonable to evaluate the *enk.*

¹⁹² ODB, s. v. ‘Choumnos’, 433., in detail: see Verpeaux, Jean. ‘Notes prosopographiques sur la famille Choumnos’. *BS* 20 (1959), 252–266.

¹⁹³ *akol. Kal.* 4, τὴν καρτερίαν, δέσποτα, τῶν ἀθλησάντων ὑπὲρ σοῦ τριῶν δικαίων γεραίρομεν, μνημόνευμα ἐγκωμίοις ἐνώσαντες, ὧν τὴν ἀνδρικήν στερρότητα οὐ φόβος ἐμάλαξεν.

¹⁹⁴ *enk. Kal.* 3, ναός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγήγερται ἀστεῖος καὶ οὐκ ἀνάξιος λόγου, καὶ ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως οἶκος αὐτὸν ἀμφέπει.

¹⁹⁵ Raymond Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris: Institut Français d’Études Byzantines, 1975), 350.

¹⁹⁶ ‘His main concern was for his own well-being and for his clergy’, as Michael Angold singles out. Moreover his *Capture of Thessalonike* is an apologetic writing explaining his activity during the Norman siege, addressing a Thessalonian audience who do not seem to have felt themselves especially in debt to their metropolitan bishop’, Michael Angold, *Church and society*, 182.

Kal. and the *akol. Kal.* as an activity of a metropolitan bishop to restore church services into their due course after the Norman occupation of Thessalonike.

3.2. The message of the *enk. Kal.*

Compared to *v. Phil.* and *Styl.*, *enk. Kal.* and *akol. Kal.* did not convey a particular message closely linked to Thessalonike besides the fact that Eustathios praised local martyrs. The *enk. Kal.* is rather a traditional *martyrion* which is rendered into a more systematized form, as Eustathios expressed his intention: ‘to transmit an excellent narrative about them to the audience’.¹⁹⁷ Thus answering the second research question of this chapter, Eustathios as archbishop used the *akol. Kal.* and *enk. Kal.* for the religious edification and entertainment of his flock.

¹⁹⁷ *enk. Kal.* 1, παραδίδεται διὰ τῶν τοιούτων σπουδαία διήγησις τοῖς ἀκροᾶσθαι.

CHAPTER 2

EUSTATHIOS' HAGIOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUE

In this chapter I analyse some aspects of Eustathios' hagiographic technique. First, I deal with the *enk. Kal.* focusing on the *prooimion* in which Eustathios described his hagiographical method in detail, second I compare Eustathios' *enk. Kal.* with an account about the Kalytenoi saints in the *Synaxarion of the church of Constantinople (syn. C.)*. Third I juxtapose Eustathios' *v. Phil.* and Philotheos of Opsikion's short portray in the *men. B.*

1. THE ENK. KAL.: A NEW NARRATIVE WRITTEN τεταγμένως

In the *prooimion* of the *enk. Kal.* Eustathios described his method in composing the oration.

An account [ἱστορία] brought [the men of God] to our ears, however not in a well-arranged manner [οὐκ εὐσύντακτον]. And because it was necessary to become familiar with such saints in an arranged order [τεταγμένως]: where were they born and from whom, and which kind of struggle they undertook for God—they are the brothers Alexander, Alpheios, and Zosimos, martyrs, who are called the Kalytenoi—, we were careful to learn about them from the evidence concerning them, yet not from people, I mean: how could this be possible? From a narrative in a book [ἐκ βιβλιακῆς δὲ συγγραφῆς]! And when I first explored about them and could not comprehend how these saints not from Europe¹⁹⁸ became objects of zealous veneration in Thessalonike—for a church, elegant and praiseworthy, was erected for their cult and the house of the metropolitan surrounds it—I inferred that some immigrants from Asia [Minor], for whom such saints were countrymen, once settled in this marvellous city and established here the honourable names of the champions as an image of intercession, so that in this way they would not seem as migrants from an Eastern homeland and foreigners, but to have dwelled in this very city from old times and to have taken pride in the very same martyr-lords of God. I arranged this from the probable evidence by myself in this way and I praised those men, through whom translation of relics and

¹⁹⁸ Eustathios had in mind the concept of three continents: Europe, Lybia (Africa), and Asia. The borders between these continents were not unanimously defined during the Middle Ages, ODB s. v. 'Europe', 750. Eustathios asserted that the Kalytenoi martyrs were of Pisidian origin (*enk. Kal.* 2, 5), in Asia Minor.

sanctification of our affairs was affected. Then I witnessed holy sheets [τὰ ἱερὰ πτυχία],¹⁹⁹ on which the names and conduct of these saints are inscribed. On one of them I have found a drawing [σκιαγραφία]²⁰⁰ not prone to error, but faint and scarcely visible. When I had a look on a second one I got a somewhat clearer idea. When I took a look to a third one, my examination was broadened and afterwards I collected this spiritual seed from there and [...], low and behold I shall come to sow, to speak on the evangelic manner.²⁰¹

As I explained earlier, Eustathios had to write a new *akolouthia* praising the Kalytenoi martyrs due to the loss of the previous liturgical text, which he complemented with an *enkomion*. While exalting saints, Eustathios was restricted with respect to genre: versed hymn, epigram,²⁰² or *enkomion* in prose; he chose the form of an *enkomion*. Eustathios did not mention in the *enk. Kal.* that the ultimate reason for the composition was that the *akolouthia* of the same martyrs had been lost. He simply emphasised his antiquarian interest and aesthetic reasons: ‘this is also the peculiarity of a character who is fond of learning and likes

¹⁹⁹ ἱερὸν πτυχίον seems to be a *hapax legomenon* of Eustathios of Thessalonike. According to all likelihood he refers to folios of a (manuscript) book. Hesychios, the sixth century lexicographer used the word as a synonym of σελίς [folio, page of a book]: σελίς· πτυχίον, καταβατόν, that is: ‘A page: πτυχίον, a page of a book’ (Hesychios, *Lexicon* σ. 387.1). Eustathios of Thessalonike writes commenting on the meaning of the verb πτύσσω [to fold, or double up] in his *Commentary on the Iliad* (Vol. 3. p. 451. l. 8.): ὅθεν καὶ πτύχες ὀστρέων καὶ πτύγμα πέπλου καὶ πτυχίον ἐπὶ βίβλου καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ‘Whence stems the fold of an oyster, a fold of a *peplos*, and a sheet in a book’.

²⁰⁰ In his surviving works Eustathios used σκιαγραφία in the sense of line-drawing, sketch, cf. ‘A line drawing is less accomplished than a painting’, *Commentary on the Odyssey*, I. p.389 l. 34 ἡ σκιαγραφία ζωγραφίας ἀτελεστέρα. See further I. p. 168 l. 36; I. p. 398 l. 32.

²⁰¹ *enk. Kal.* 2–4, ἡ δὲ ἱστορία διεβίβασε μὲν [τ. ε. οὗς [τοὺς θεοῦ ἀνθρώπους] εἰς ἀκοήν, πλὴν οὐκ εὐσύντακτον. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τεταγμένως ἐκμαθεῖν τοὺς τοιοῦτους, ὅθεν τε γεγόνασιν καὶ ἐκ τίνων, καὶ οἷον τὸ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀγώνισμα (εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλφειὸς καὶ Ζώσιμος ἀδελφοί, μάρτυρες, οἱ ἐπιλεγόμενοι Καλυτηνοί), ἐμεριμνήσαμεν ἐπιγνῶναι τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων λέγω· πῶς γὰρ ἄν; ἐκ βιβλιακῆς δὲ συγγραφῆς. Καὶ τέως πρῶτα ζητήσας ἐγὼ καὶ μηδέποτε μαθῶν, ὁποῖω τρόπῳ ἅγιοι οὗτοι οὐκ Εὐρωπαῖοι ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ διὰ σπουδῆς πολλῆς ἐγένοντο (ναὸς τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγήγερται ἀστείος καὶ οὐκ ἀνάξιος λόγου, καὶ ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως οἶκος αὐτὸν ἀμφέπει) ἐστοχασάμην μετοίκους τινὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἷς οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἅγιοι ἔγχωροι ἦσαν, καταρτίσαι ποτὲ εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν ταύτην πόλιν, καὶ ἐνιδρῦσαι ταύτην τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τίμιον ὄνομα εἰς ἐξεικόνισμα παρακλήσεως, ὡς ἂν οὕτω δοκοῖεν μὴ μετανάσταί τῆς ἀνατολικῆς εἶναι πατρίδος καὶ ἐπήλυδες, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ πάσαι οἰκεῖν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς θεομάρτυρας δεσπότας ἀρχεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων κατέστησα ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐμακάρισα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους, δι’ ὧν μετακομιδὴ τις καὶ αὕτη ἐσεμνύνατο ἀγιαστικῆ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς· εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν πτυχίων γενόμενος, οἷς ἀνάγραπτα ἐντετύπεται τὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἁγίων τούτων καὶ ὀνόματα καὶ πολιτεύματα, καθ’ ἕνα μὲν αὐτῶν σκιαγραφίαν εὗρον οὐκ εὐδιάπτωτον, ἀλλὰ ἰσχνὴν πάντῃ καὶ ἀμυδράν· ἐτέρῳ δὲ δευτέρῳ τὴν θέαν ἐπιβαλὼν ἔμαθόν τι εὐδιακριτώτερον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τρίτον τι τεθεώρηκα, ἐπλατύνατό μοι τὰ τῆς διακρίσεως, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σπόρον τοῦτον τνευματικὸν ἐκείθεν ἐρανισάμενος, καὶ [...], ἔρχομαι ἰδοῦ σπεύρων [cf. Mt 13.3], εὐαγγελικῶς εἰπεῖν, τοῦ σπεῖραι τὸν σπόρον ἐμοῦ, ὡς ὁ ἐπουράνιος γεωργὸς εἰς τέχνην ταύτην συνεβίβασε λόγους ἐνθεῖς μοι σπερματικούς.

²⁰² See John Mauropous (ca. 1000–ca. 1070), who dedicated hymns and epigrams to the new saints whom he introduced as objects of veneration in Euchaita, his bishopric, Symeon A. Paschalidis, ‘The hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,’ in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, Vol. 1. Periods and Places, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (London: Ashgate, 2011), 153.

the beautiful, on the one hand to explore miraculous things, on the other to transmit an excellent narrative about them to the selected audience'.²⁰³ To give an excellent epideictic oration ('excellent narrative') is the basic aim of the Aristotelian category in which the *enkomiastion* falls as a genre; the oratorical display itself is the main aim of the *genus demonstrativum*.²⁰⁴ Eustathios put forward that while looking for and deciphering the *materia*,²⁰⁵ 'an account [ἱστορία] brought [the men of God] to our ears [εἰς ἀκοήν]'. I suppose that this might refer to local oral tradition. This however seemed haphazard for Eustathios (οὐκ εὐσύντακτον). The bishop further defined what he meant by order (εὐσύντακτον < τάξις): 'It was necessary to become familiar with such [saints] in an arranged order [τεταγμένως], where were they born and from whom, and which kind of struggle they undertook for God'.²⁰⁶ The items what Eustathios mentioned starting with birth and parents are the traditional starting points of an *enkomiastion*, therefore his aim was to compose an oration corresponding to the requirements of a *praise*.²⁰⁷

What did constitute Eustathios' raw material? The local cult of the Kalytenoi martyrs provided part of the source material. On the one hand it might have been an oral tradition, on the other the Kalytenoi were venerated in a church, possibly near the palace (οἶκος) of the metropolitan, where also relics might have been found ('I praised those men, through whom translation of relics and sanctification of our affairs was affected'). The metropolitan bishop mentioned a bookish written (ἐκ βιβλιακῆς δὲ συγγραφῆς). This he defined further: 'I

²⁰³ *enk. Kal.* 1, καὶ ἔστι καὶ τοῦτο φιλομαθοῦς ἤθους καὶ ἀγαπῶντος τὸ καλόν, τὸ μὲν, οἷς ἀνερευνᾶται τὰ θαυμεστέα, τὸ δὲ, ὅτι παραδίδεται διὰ τῶν τοιούτων σπουδαία διήγησις τοῖς προαιρουμένοις ἀκροᾶσθαι.

²⁰⁴ Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, 119.

²⁰⁵ The first phase for a rhetorician when writing an oration is to find the oration's topic and to collect the raw material. This is called ὕλη, or *materia*. The rhetorician afterwards has to decide in which rhetorical category suits the best his raw material (which Aristotelian category and which genre). The next phase is the procedure of receptive understanding of the *materia*, the *intellectio*. This gives the basis for the εὗρεσις, or *inventio*, which is the mental process through which the rhetorician 'discovers' the ideas in the *materia*. The orator shall use these ideas during the further process of composition, which are *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *pronunciatio*. Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, 26, 102, 112, 119.

²⁰⁶ *enk. Kal.* 3, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τεταγμένως ἐκμαθεῖν τοὺς τοιούτους, ὅθεν τε γεγόνασι καὶ ἐκ τίνων, καὶ οἶον τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀγώνισμα.

²⁰⁷ Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, 107, Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos: griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 56–59.

witnessed holy sheets [τὰ ἱερὰ πτυχία], on which the names and conduct of these saints are inscribed'. Additionally, Eustathios witnessed three line-drawings (σκιαγραφία) on these sheets. Even though the first was faded, the second, and the third gave substantial information about the saints. Eustathios first hearing the oral tradition, and seeing the church and the relics, surmised (ἔστοχασάμην) that immigrants from Asia Minor²⁰⁸ brought with themselves the cult of the Kalytenoi martyrs to Thessalonike. He consulted the 'holy sheets' after this (εἶτα) and wrote the oration.

What Eustathios might have referred to as 'holy sheets'? Concerning the Kalytenoi martyrs besides Eustathios' *enk. Kal.*, only one source survived: a synaxarion entry in the *Synaxarion of the church of Constantinople (syn. C.)*.²⁰⁹ The first versions of this collection are dated to the tenth century, while recensions survived from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²¹⁰ The fact that the *syn. C.* and the *enk. Kal.* displayed the same martyrs gives the basis to compare the two texts.

When comparing the *syn. C.* with Eustathios' *enk. Kal.* in order to gain information on the bishop's hagiographic technique as a whole, the results must be viewed with caution. Eustathios prepared the oration in three phases: first inquiry (τέως πρῶτα ζητήσας ἐγώ), which resulted in Eustathios' hypothesis on the Pisidian origin of the cult of the Kalytenoi; consulting the 'holy sheets'; and the evaluation of the three drawings on the martyrs, which Eustathios had found useful. The comparison could yield any information only on the second phase of the composition.

²⁰⁸ Eustathios emphasised in the *prooimion* that the Kalytenoi originated in the village called Kalytos, or Kalyte, which is not in the neighbourhood of Syrian Antioch, but near Antioch in Pisidia, in Asia Minor, *enk. Kal.* 5, 'Kalytos is a village of Antioch, but not that of Syria, but that of in the region of Pisidia, or Phrygogalatia. Κάλυτος κώμην οὖσαν Ἀντιοχείας, αὐτῆς δὲ οὔτε τῆς Συριακῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς περὶ Πισιδίαν, εἴτε μὴν Φρυγογαλατίαν'. Eustathios contradicts in this to our other source for these saints, the *syn. C.*, which defined the Kalytenoi as saints being born in Syria. Eustathios could have found evidence pointing him to these direction, when he made the first steps of his inquiry (τέως πρῶτα ζητήσας ἐγώ) in Thessalonike.

²⁰⁹ See the Greek text with my translation in Section 4 of the *Appendix*.

²¹⁰ ODB, s. v. 'Synaxarion', 1991; Hyppolite Delehaye, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica* (London: Variorum, 1977), 246.

Nevertheless the comparison of the *enk. Kal.* with the *syn. C.* shows interesting results.²¹¹ Eustathios included all the details, which are contained in the *syn. C.* into his *enkomion*. The metropolitan bishop added in his narrative to these facts, and the only instance when he changed something concerns the homeland of the Kalytenoi, and the place of their martyrdom.

I have distributed the differences in Eustathios' redaction into categories. First writing and *enkomion* he composed a *prooimion* and observed other, 'obligatory' parts of the genre to make a well-arranged narrative. Second, he created a flowing narrative compared to the details in the *syn. C.* This group contains the following items. *a.* Marc, the hermit had long hair in the *syn. C.* The metropolitan bishop on the one hand remarked in the *enk. Kal.* that it might have abounded with insects,²¹² and on the other he created a posthumous miracle to Marc. The hermit's hair was cut and taken to the temple of Aphrodite, where all the pagan statues collapsed. Eustathios linked this event to the conversion to Christianity of Nikon, Neon, and Heliodoros,²¹³ who later suffered martyrdom with Marc's other, anonymous disciples.²¹⁴ *b.* In the *syn. C.* Marc is arrested, then further information is provided on his martyrdom. Eustathios told a longer story about Magnos,²¹⁵ Diomedes, Magnos' huntsmen hunting for Christians, and Marc's captivity. *c.* There are differences between the torments told by Eustathios and those in the *syn. C.* Eustathios made the events more 'miraculous', *f. i.* the lead poured into the mouth of the Kalytenoi did not harm the martyrs,²¹⁶ and their corps were exposed to public view, but it entailed such a wave of conversions, that ultimately Magnos had the corps burnt.

²¹¹ See the comparison of the *enk. Kal.* and the *syn. C.* in Section 3 of the *Appendix*, and the text of *syn. C.* in Section 4.

²¹² *enk. Kal.* 6.

²¹³ They were also martyrs from Kalytos, who denied the pagan cult of Philomela in the version of the *syn. C.*; *enk. Kal.* 8–9.

²¹⁴ *enk. Kal.* 36.

²¹⁵ The *praefectus*, or ἡγεμών of Antioch in the *syn. C.*

²¹⁶ *enk. Kal.* 30.

The third group of items in Eustathios' redaction comprises the comportment and character of Marc, the hermit, who seems to become the protagonist of the narrative of the *enk. Kal.* First Eustathios described Marc as a layman, second as an 'intellectual' hermit, and finally as a divine teacher. The topic of lay spirituality is peculiar to this piece of Eustathios; the theme of religiosity based on understanding and the saint as a teacher are also present in Eustathios' other hagiographic orations.²¹⁷

2. A NOVEL REDACTION OF THE *VITA PHILOTHEI*

In the case of the *v. Phil.* it is possible to compare Eustathios' new redaction with an earlier version of Philotheos' life: a short menologion-entry in the so-called *Menologion of Basil II* (*men. B.*). The textual comparison between the *v. Phil.* and *men. B.* provides means to understand Eustathios' hagiographic technique and the message, conveyed by this technique, better.

The *men. B.* is one of the most lavishly decorated Byzantine liturgical manuscripts. Despite its title the *men. B.* is in fact a *synaxarion*, which can be dated to between 979 and 1005. It was dedicated to emperor Basil II (976-1025). The *men. B.* was further copied, and the imperial (i.e. imperially commissioned) illustrated *menologia* of the eleventh century clearly

²¹⁷ Eustathios' Philotheos of Opsikion (*v. Phil.* 3, 7, 14), and the anonymous stylite (see in *Chapter I* in detail) are portrayed as teachers. Eustathios featured himself in the *prooimion* of the *v. Phil.* as one of the 'bees of right understanding what is good and divine' (*v. Phil.* 1, αἱ πρὸς αἴσθησιν μέλισσαι). In the *enk. Kal.* the metropolitan bishop used a similar expression for Marc, the shepherd of his soul and that of the people visiting him. Eustathios brought Marc into the number of hermits, *enk. Kal.* 6, 'who by means of the κατ' αἴσθησιν art of a shepherd presented the way of this art, which is according to the spirit. ὅσοι τῆ κατ' αἴσθησιν ποιμαντικῆ τὴν κατὰ πνεῦμα ἔφαινον'. κατ' αἴσθησιν means the same as in the *v. Phil.*, 'according to the right understanding of what is good and divine'.

imitate the *men. B.*²¹⁸ in their iconography.²¹⁹ Besides these data present scholarship does not have much to say about the dissemination and use of imperial menologia.²²⁰

The *men. B.* ‘presents a standardised portrayal of Philotheos as priest and wonderworker devoid of any information’.²²¹ Philotheos is a wonderworker (θαυματουργός) and priest (πρεσβύτερος), who venerated God from young age by ascetic means.²²² He was a largitious person apportioning his wealth among the poor.²²³ According to the *men. B.* he spent his days weeping and lamenting contemplating the punishment of the sinners, the fire of gehenna.²²⁴ Philotheos was a teacher,²²⁵ a healer who helped everybody by deeds and prayer.²²⁶ As a result of this lifestyle, he was given the capability of performing miracles.²²⁷ After his death, Philotheos’ body was not subject to corruption and he became a myrrh-exuding saint.²²⁸

What did Eustathios do when portraying ‘his’ Philotheos of Opsikion compared to the Philotheos in the *men. B.*? He featured some characteristics of the saint differently, such as the fear of the eternal fire and Philotheos’ rain-making capability.²²⁹

I group the differences between Eustathios’ version and that of the *men. B.* into different categories. First, as we know from the *lemma* of the *v. Phil.*, Eustathios was asked to compose an oration (λόγος), which required a new form compared to the short, indecorous description of Philotheos’ deeds in the *men. B.* The most prominent result the new form

²¹⁸ ODB, s. v. ‘Menologion of Basil II’, 1341.

²¹⁹ Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: rewriting and canonization* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002), 151–152.

²²⁰ On the manuscripts see Albert Ehrhardt, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche I-III*. (Leipzig and Berlin: Hinrichs, 1936-1952), III, 341–442.

²²¹ ODB, s. v. ‘Philotheos of Opsikion’, 1663.

²²² PG 117.50.C τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ νέας ἡλικίας θεραπεύσας νηστεύων, ἀγρυπνῶν, προσευχόμενος.

²²³ PG 117.50.C τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ σκορπίζων εἰς τοὺς πένητας.

²²⁴ PG 117.50.C ἐν θρήνῳ καὶ κλαυθμῷ τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ διάγων διὰ τὸ ἐννοεῖν τὰς ἐκεῖθεν τῶν ἀμαρτῶλων κολάσεις καὶ τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς.

²²⁵ PG 117.50.D πολλοὺς ἐπιστηρίζων καὶ ὠφελῶν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας.

²²⁶ PG 117.50.D τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἐτοίμως τὰς αἰτήσεις παρέχων.

²²⁷ PG 117.50.D καὶ ἀμέμπτῳ τῷ θεῷ λειτουργῶν ἐδέξατο χαρίσματα θαυματουργίας.

²²⁸ PG 117.50.D ταφεῖς βρῦει παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν τιμίων ὁστέων αὐτοῦ ἔλαιον μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.

²²⁹ See the structure of the *v. Phil.* in Section 1 of the *Appendix*, in which I indicated the differences in Eustathios’ version. In Section 2 of the *Appendix* you find my translation of the *v. Phil.* found in *men. B.* with the indication of items Eustathios omitted or applied in his redaction.

entailed is the *prooimion* which aims at catching the attention of the audience based on the personality of the orator (*ex persona auctoris*),²³⁰ by exposing Eustathios' opinion about genuine religious wisdom. Eustathios' narrative makes a flowing unity, while the synaxarion-entry is only a list of details. Eustathios inserted Biblical quotes and allusions to embellish his redaction.

Second, Eustathios obeying the rules of composing a *vita*,²³¹ inserted two paragraphs introducing Philotheos' parents, his birthplace, and re-ordered the information given in the *men. B.* chronologically following Philotheos' course from birth to his posthumous miracles. Additionally Eustathios presented some of Philotheos' miracles on the same way, while others are only part of his redaction to demonstrate his new hero's divine power. Eustathios exhibited that Philotheos healed the sick by placing his hands on people (17), multiplied food (17), turned an entire river into wine (17) and moved great stones only by his word (18). In the *men. B.* we find written that Philotheos 'chased out demons, he healed the weak, he cleansed people from leprosy, he drew down heavy showers in the time of drought'.²³² Bringing down rain alludes to the story of Elijah (1 Kg 17), thus this is a miracle elsewhere ascribed to a prophet. All the other examples evoke miracles which Christ performed according to the Gospels. In the *v. Phil.*, the healing-miracles are equal to those of the Gospels which give numerous examples of Jesus curing the sick. The multiplication of food explicitly refers to Christ's well-known miracle,²³³ and fits to Eustathios' picture about Philotheos who was the 'river of charity'.²³⁴ Moving stones from one place from another is amongst Jesus' promises to those who would follow him.²³⁵ But Philotheos' miracle turning

²³⁰ Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, 128.

²³¹ Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, 107, §246., Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos: griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantischer Zeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 56–68.

²³² PG 117.50.D δαίμονας ἐκβάλλειν, ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύειν, λεπρούς καθαρίζειν, ὑετούς ἐν ταῖς ἀβροχίαις κατάγειν.

²³³ Jn 6.5–15, Mt 14.13–21, Mk 6.32–44, Lk 9.10–17.

²³⁴ *v. Phil.* 9, ποταμὸς ἐλεημοσύνης.

²³⁵ Mt 21.21.

an entire river into wine exceeds Christ's accomplishments in the marriage of Cana.²³⁶ It may provoke irony from a modern audience, but Eustathios only applied amplification (αὔξησις) according to the rhetorical practice of his age to praise Philotheos on a worthy manner.²³⁷

The third group of differences between the *v. Phil.* and *men. B.* comprises various elements which do not seem to have anything in common at first view. Alexander Kazhdan stated that Eustathios wrote 'a vigorous polemic against the traditional monastic ideal. In this respect the *v. Phil.* corresponds to Eustathios' pamphlet, *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*'.²³⁸ Kazhdan collected the main points with which Eustathios inculcated the Thessalonian monks.²³⁹ Complementing Kazhdan's list with other passages from the *Vm.* it is possible to find all the responding chapters to Eustathios' additions in the *v. Phil.*

Metaphrasis (μετάφρασις), as Christian Høgel singles out, is 'the rewriting of texts'. Changing the style and details of content was a widespread and legitimate practice in Byzantium, so that new generations would not be deprived of the edification provided by an out-of-date hagiographic narrative. Høgel says that in many cases the distinction between new redactions and new copies is difficult to maintain.²⁴⁰ In the cases of the *v. Phil.* and the *enk. Kal.* there is no way to define the sources of Eustathios' redactions, only the existence of two versions about the same saints can be proved, which gives the opportunity for comparison. Comparing the *v. Phil.* and the *enk. Kal.* with earlier redactions in hagiographic collections, namely the *men. B.* and the *syn. C.*, it is clear that first Eustathios wrote longer pieces adding new items because of the requirements of the genre. Second, the

²³⁶ Jn 2.1–11.

²³⁷ Laurent Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde Gréco-Romain* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1993), 676.

²³⁸ ODB, s. v. 'Philotheos of Opsikion', 1663.

²³⁹ Kazhdan–Franklin, *Studies*, 150.

²⁴⁰ Christian Høgel, *Metaphrasis: redactions and audiences in Middle Byzantine hagiography* (Oslo: The Research Council of Norway, 1996), foreword.

metropolitan bishop embellished the pieces using a language higher register and improved the narrative flow. Third, he inserted possibly novel elements to convey his message about such topics, as priesthood, the importance of education, and authentic religiosity.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis deals with three orations written by Eustathios while archbishop in Thessalonike. The *v. Phil.* and *enk. Kal.* are hagiographic orations in the strict sense focusing on a holy priest and martyrs, whereas the *Styl.* addresses the question of living sainthood in a form resembling a ‘mirror for princes’. In the following paragraphs, I recapitulate my conclusions taking each piece under examination one by one, and evaluating the *Styl.* and the *enk. Kal.* in the light of twelfth-century events.

Oration to a Thessalonian stylite

In 1179 Eustathios directed an oration to an existing, but anonymous chain-wearing stylite, living atop a column in a small shelter in the bay of Thessalonike. The stylite was not a unique phenomenon at the time. Local people and travellers frequented his column and provisioned the stylite, who however pursued a life in segregation from other people. I think that Eustathios composed the *Styl.* using the ‘mirror’ genre as disciplinarian of church doctrine in Thessalonike. Eustathios seems to have followed the traditional approach to stylitism acknowledging that the column sanctified the stylite. I have found that Eustathios portrayed his ideal stylite first, as a teacher possibly having in mind Symeon the Stylite as featured by Theodoret of Cyrrihus in the *Rh.* Second, as I see, Eustathios expected from an ideal stylite to be a rhetorically skilled orator and assigned him to conduct a *theatron* while delivering spiritually enhancing orations to the people. Third, Eustathios’ stylite lives in an urban milieu conscious of the fact that his column is situated in a much frequented place.

The *Styl.* addresses the question of how a living holy man can be endorsed by the local leader of the established church. While in the sixth-century West Gregory of Tours

urged a stylite near Trier to come down and destroyed his column,²⁴¹ such a course of action was not presumably available to Eustathios—even if he had wished to do so—, because the holy man had become an inherent element of the eastern religious scene to a considerable degree.²⁴² Eustathios' main aim was to bring the stylite under his authority by making him an active member of the community.²⁴³ The bishop of Thessalonike did not reject the pattern of living holiness,²⁴⁴ and his sceptical attitude towards a holy man was not a unique phenomenon of the Komnenian period. Paul Magdalino argues that the beginning of the twelfth century was a period when 'the holy man ran the risk of losing his credentials'.²⁴⁵ The reason for this, as Magdalino presents, ultimately stem from the 'extended family government'²⁴⁶ system of Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180). The emperor played down possible element in the Byzantine religious tradition which might have been rivalled his supreme power.²⁴⁷ Holy men with an extensive clientele of their own were one of these elements.²⁴⁸ It is not by chance that Eustathios compares the task of the stylite to that of the emperor, declaring the superiority of the latter.²⁴⁹ Nevertheless 'the holy man was only just below the surface, and when circumstances permitted, he again emerged as a saint'.²⁵⁰ The importance of Eustathios' *Styl.* is that it can be labelled as a 'handbook for stylites in the Komnenian period' showing a possible way in which a stylite could have functioned as an established holy man in Thessalonike during the last years of Manuel' reign. Thus in

²⁴¹ Peter Brown, 'Eastern and Western Christendom in late Antiquity. A parting of the ways', in *Society and the Holy in late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 180.

²⁴² Brown, Peter, 'The rise and function of the holy man in late Antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971): 82.

²⁴³ See Eustathios on Manuel I as a dynamic ruler according to the classical Greek ideal Mandalino, *Manuel*, 409.

²⁴⁴ See Eustathios' praise of stylitism in *Styl.* 31.

²⁴⁵ Magdalino, 'Holy man', 52

²⁴⁶ Magdalino, *Manuel*, 180–198; idem, 'Holy man', 64.

²⁴⁷ Magdalino, 'Holy man', 64.

²⁴⁸ Patlagean, Evelyne, 'Sainteté et Pouvoir', in *The Byzantine saint*, Ed. Sergei Hackel (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 88.

²⁴⁹ *Styl.* 78.

²⁵⁰ Magdalino, 'Holy man', 65, Especially so from the second half of the thirteenth century, see the hagiographical literature of the Palaiologan period: Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Hagiography in late Byzantium (1204–1453)', in *The Ashgate research companion to Byzantine hagiography*, Vol. 1. Periods and places, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (London: Ashgate, 2011), 175 sqq.

Eustathios' stylite we have a plausible model of a living saint, what might have found official recognition. This holy man does not have eccentricities—other than living on a column—, conforms himself to traditions, and acts as an educated and conscious member of an urban community improving the unity of the faithful by means which are similar to that of the official church.

The life of Philotheos of Opsikion

The *v. Phil.* is an oration about a saint who was not well-known in Thessalonike. I see *v. Phil.*'s lemma as a token of Eustathios' help for Philotheos, the monk of which the bishop availed himself to bolster his message with the monk's authority. Due to the parallels with the *Vm.* present in the *v. Phil.*, I situate the *v. Phil.* in the same context of Eustathios' dispute and struggle for authority with the Thessalonian monastic community, in which the *Vm.* was written. Eustathios definitely was at loggerheads with certain Thessalonian monastic communities and their abbots, whom the sources do not define further. According to text of the *Vm.*, the case of the controversy between Eustathios and the monks of Thessalonike was triggered by one of the abbots arraigning Eustathios. According to the hypothesis of Karin Metzler, the trial took place in Constantinople, where the *Vm.* was certainly written. No evidence has survived that Eustathios received any help from the emperor to relieve his difficult situation, as it happened earlier in the case of the Lependrenos affair. Connecting the *v. Phil.* to this controversy gives temporal boundaries to the composition and delivery of the oration, which are 1180 and 1185. I link the delivery of the *v. Phil.* to the feast-day of the saint, on 15 September.

The *v. Phil.* mirrors clashes between two groups of the Byzantine religious sphere, that of the monks and the clergy. Monks were a central element of Byzantine society,²⁵¹ firmly consolidating their position from the ninth century onwards. Monasteries attracted a great number of people and wealth from all strata of Byzantine society. Monastic institutions were far more popular than ordinary churches in the eyes of private founders; additionally, they benefited from imperial patronage. Monks were appreciated as confessors more than priests and they were considered models of Christian virtue.²⁵² More than two thirds of the protagonists of hagiographical works were of monastic origins.²⁵³ Eustathios' Philotheos is on the contrary a holy priest displaying saintly comportment of a clergyman. Alexios I (r. 1081–1118) strengthened the position of the clergy, especially that of Hagia Sophia. From his reign the sacerdotal hierarchy constituted the dominant force in the Church of the twelfth century. Alexios I charged the cathedral clergy and bishops to preach the Orthodox doctrine. Scandals erupting in Mount Athos during Alexios' reign created an atmosphere in which holy men started to be viewed with suspicion.²⁵⁴ Manuel I initiated a monastic reform founding the Kataskepe monastery near Constantinople, which he did not endow with lands, so that propriety would not have distracted monks from the proper performance of their vocation.²⁵⁵ Eustathios of Thessalonike as a bishop faced the constant difficulty that his authority was eroded by uneducated, wealthy monks. In this climate his controversy with the Thessalonian monks allowed him to portray an extraordinary, educated priest, Philotheos, who never took monastic vows and was the

²⁵¹ Peter Charanis, 'The monk as an element of Byzantine society', *DOP* 25 (1971): 61.

²⁵² Magdalino, *Manuel*, 317–320; Rosemary Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*. (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 7–120.

²⁵³ Charanis, 'Monk', 63.

²⁵⁴ Angold, *Church and society*, 265–286; Magdalino, *Manuel*, 318; Morris, *Monks and laymen*, 267–296.

²⁵⁵ Angold, *Church and society*, 287; Nicetas Choniates, *History*, van Dieten p. 206–220; *Op.* p. 244.

embodiment of philanthropy²⁵⁶ using his wealth for the purpose of charity, keen on learning, and properly administering his office.

Enkomion of the so-called Kalytenoi martyrs

Eustathios dedicated an *akolouthia* and an *enkomion* to the Kalytenoi martyrs. These pieces were written after 1185, the Norman siege of Thessalonike. According to the testimony of the *lemma* of the *akol. Kal.*, the *akolouthia* which had formerly been used in church services got lost during the days of the Latin occupation. I see Eustathios as an archbishop who was striving during the months of the Norman occupation to ensure the spiritual life of his diocese. He negotiated with count Baldwin and tried to secure churches and restore church property, such as vessels, books, and other precious furniture. I think that Eustathios rewriting the *akolouthia* and additionally composing an *enkomion* to the Kalytenoi martyrs continued this activity of restoration after the Norman occupation.

²⁵⁶ As another Philaretos the Merciful, see Rydén, Lennart. *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful written by his grandson Niketas: a critical edition with introduction, translation, notes, and indices*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2002.

APPENDIX

1. STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE *VITA PHILOTHEI*

Ms. (fol.)	C. No. Tafel		Content	Criticism on monks in the <i>Vm.</i>
118a		Title	From the person of monk Philotheos Occasional oration	
118a	1	THE IMAGE OF THE BEE	Two types of bees and the honey produced: this bee-lifestyle is useful for every social rank (from paupers up to the emperor)	
	2	Eustathios as such a bee	Eustathios offers this oration as the honey of a flower of his spiritual meadow	
	3	the Great ²⁵⁷ Philotheos	Faithful servant (πιστός δοῦλος) Good worshipper (ἀγαθός θεράπων) FRIEND OF GOD (φίλος θεῶ) <u>Instructor of all</u> Eustathios' and everybody's wonder (θαῦμα καὶ μέλημα)	
118b	4	HIS HOMETOWN AND HOMETOWN	1. Opsikion thema A. THE INHABITANS: GREAT WARRIORS ('LIONS'), VIRTUOUS PEOPLE ²⁵⁸ B. HIS HOMETOWN: μύρμηξ (ANT) B1. Symbol of eagerness B2. Ethopoiia: Encourages from the person of Salomon THE SAINT TO INVOLVE HIMSELF IN TRADE B3. and <u>distribute his incomes between the poor</u>	36-41 154.15-20 60 121 181.8-10 178.8-45

²⁵⁷ I underlined the elements which one might find in the *men. B.* too.

²⁵⁸ I CAPITALISED the differences in Eustathios' *v. Phil.* compared to the *men. B.*

			(charity)	
	5	PARENTS	Father: virtuous as his son	
119a	6		Mother: Theophila (beloved by God) Virtuous Keen on the formation and EDUCATION of the child	
	7	Childhood adolescence	1.Becoming divine 2.IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION 3.meditation on Scripture 4. austerity toward the body, spiritual progress (θεωρία) 5. <u>despite of earthly things</u> 6. <u>prayer</u> 6a. <u>standing with stretched arms</u> 6b. <u>bending his knees</u>	144
119b	8			127
120a	9	Use of his talents	1. HIS RELIGION WAS NOT AN EXTERNAL SHOW OFF 2. HE USED EARTHLY THINGS 2A. THESE ARE BLESSED BY GOD 2b. <u>helped the poor with his richness ('river of charity')</u> 3. FOLLOWER OF EVANGELIC EXAMPLE (lily of God, being everything for everyone) 4. SOLITARY LIFE VS. LIFE IN A COMMUNITY: fight against the <u>demons</u> on his own and fight against the same in a community 4A: IT IS A MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT TO LIVE IN A COMMUNITY 4B. IT IS MORE DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW THE SOLITARY LIFESTYLE IN THE WORLD THAT IS MORE COMPLEX THAN SOLITUDE 5. HE, WHO FOLLOWS THIS LIFESTYLE, IS SIMILAR TO THE SUN	
120b	10			168.1-8 147.5-15 148.8-10 123 Cf. proimion
	11	CHOICE OF SECULAR LIFE AND HIS MARRIAGE	1. He chooses secular life (not monastic, though both are equal) 2. He marries a woman	147.5-35

			and begets a number of children	
	12	PRAISE OF MARRIAGE	Philotheos retains his virtues He and his wife seek together virtue	
	13	<u>Priesthood</u>	1. Advancing in virtues Philotheos becomes similar to angels 2. He wants to become a priest (εις ιερωσύνης ὕψος ἀναπτῆναι) 2a. MAIN REASON: THE UNITY WITH GOD IN THE HOLY COMMUNION	
	14		1. ACCORDING TO CANON LAW with the utmost accordance of the people of Opsikion he is anointed priest 1a. He is the angel of light (φωτὸς ἄγγελος) and servant of the flame (φλόγεος λειτουργός) 2. HE DEDICATES HIMSELF TO HOLY SERVICES, HYMNS, AND DAILY READING (to deliver good sermons)	
	15		3. HE LIVED IN THE CHURCH 4. He cultivated the soil himself	147.5
122a	16	PRAISE OF AGRICULTURE	1. It is good because strengthens the body with sweating 2. It gives food (to his family and to others)	154
	17	<u>Philotheos as wonderworker</u>	1. Multiplication of food 1a. He turns AN ENTIRE RIVER INTO WINE	
122b	18		2. HE LIFTED UP AND MOVED AWAY A GREAT STONE ONLY WITH HIS WORDS 2a. Due to this miracle all vice (idololatriy, theft) ceased to exist	
	19			

123a 123b	20	Philotheos' <u>death</u>	<p>1. His body did not putrefy for a year, but exuded fragrant odours</p> <p>2. He was transferred to a martyr.</p> <p>2a. DURING THE TRANSLATION HE WAS RISEN AND HELPED PEOPLE TO CARRY HIS BODY</p> <p>3. SAINTS AS INTERCESSORS FOR LIVING PEOPLE: Eustathios' encouragement to believe in this</p>	
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2. THE VITA PHILOTHEI IN THE MENOLOGION OF BASIL II

Commemoration of the holy father Philotheos the Wonderworker²⁵⁹ (PG 117.49 CD)

τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φιλοθέου τοῦ
θαυματουργοῦ

On the same day (15 September)

Φιλόθεος ὁ θαυματουργὸς ὁπῆρχε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος Ὀψικίου· ἦν δὲ πρεσβύτερος· Πολλὰ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ νέας ἡλικίας θεραπεύσας, νηστεύων, ἀγρυπνῶν, προσευγόμενος, τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ σκορπίζων εἰς τοὺς πένητας, ἐν θρήνῳ καὶ κλαυθμῷ τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ διάγων, διὰ τὸ ἐννοεῖν τὰς ἐκεῖθεν τῶν ἀμαρτῶλων κολάσεις, καὶ τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὸν ἀκοίμητον σκώληκα· καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιστηρίζων, καὶ ὠφελῶν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας, καὶ ἀμέπτως τῷ θεῷ λειτουργῶν, ἐδέξατο χαρίσματα θαυματουργίας, δαίμονας ἐκβάλλειν, ἐσθενοῦντας θεραπεύειν, λεπροὺς καθαρίζειν, ὑετοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀβροχίαις κατάγειν· ποιεῖ γὰρ ὁ κύριος τὸ θέλημα τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν, καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν εἰσακούει. οὕτω δὲ θαυματουργῶν καὶ τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἐτοίμως τὰς αἰτήσεις παρέχων, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐτελειώθη. καὶ ταφεῖς βρῦει παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν τιμίων ὀστέων αὐτοῦ εἰς σεων [sic] ἔλαιον μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.

Philotheos the Wonderworker was sprung from the theme of Opsikion. He was a priest. He venerated God from his young age, with fasting, keeping vigil, and prayers. He apportioned his wealth among the poor. He spent his days LAMENTING AND WEeping TEARS WHILE THINKING ABOUT THE PUNISHMENT OF THE SINNERS [coming from] ABOVE, ABOUT THE FIRE OF THE GEHENNA, AND ABOUT THE EVER-SCOUTING WORM.²⁶⁰ He confirmed and helped many people by his teaching and his blameless service to God. He received the gifts of performing miracles: he CHASED OUT DEMONS, HE HEALED THE WEAK, HE CLEANSed PEOPLE FROM LEPROSY, HE DREW DOWN HEAVY SHOWERS DURING DROUGHT. For the Lord makes the will of those who fear him and listens to their supplication. Performing miracles this way and willingly supplicating for the needs of those who visited him, he finished his life in peace. After he was buried, his honourable bones were gushing with salutary oil until this day.

legenda:

Philotheos the Wonderworker: passage applied again by Eustathos in the *v. Phil.*

LAMENTING AND WEeping: Passage what Eustathios omitted in his redaction

²⁵⁹ The translation is mine.

²⁶⁰ This refers to the Devil. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica* 40. (PG 45.105 A)

3. STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE ENK. KAL. WITH PASSAGES JUXTAPOSED FROM THE SYN. C.

Ms. (fol.)	C. No. Tafel	Content		syn. C. (transl. of the Greek)
28a		Title	λόγος ἐκθετικὸς of the three Kalytenoi martyrs Alpheios, Zosimos, Alexandros, and their fellow-martyr Marc	On the same day contest of the holy Kalytenoi martyrs Alpheios, Alexander, Zosimos, Nikon, Neon, Heliodoros, and Marc
	1	Image of the traveller collecting narratives and delivering them		
	2	Eustathios as such a traveller using a 'not well-arranged' narrative'		
	3	Eustathios on his sources for the <i>enk. Kal.</i>		
	4			
28b	5	Homeland of the martyrs	Kalytos in Pisidia (not in Syria) Barbaric, but famous people	These lived under the reign of emperor Diocletian in Antioch of Pisidia [5] under the governorship of Magnos.
	6	Marc the hermit	Not a priest but a layman dedicated to God Possessed apostolic grace Dwelted in deserted mountains observing the spirituality of holy hermits A shepherd of people	Marc HERDED SHEEP, ²⁶¹ had GREY HAIR ON HIS HEAD REACHING DOWN TO HIS HEEL. When it became known betrayed by those WHO VISITED HIM in the MOUNTAIN that he is a Christian, immediately Marc was bound and flogged [10].
	7		Marc's aim was to lead people to God as an intellectual hermit ²⁶² Austerity Clothing Long hair up to his heels (Eustathios' note on insects dwelling there)	
	8		Marc's hair was brought to the Temple of Aphrodite after his martyrty where pagan statues collapsed with the relic present	
	9	Nikon, Neon, and Heliodoros turned to Christian faith		

²⁶¹ I CAPITALISED elements common to both the *Syn. C.* and the *enk. Kal.*

²⁶² πρὸς αἴσθησιν ποιμάνων, see the same about Eustathios himself in *v. Phil.* 1: πρὸς αἴσθησιν μέλισσαι.

		seeing the miracle of Marc's hair Their martyrdom by decapitation		
	10	Marc was virtuous and communicated the divine doctrine to people Marc's simplicity of soul		When it became known betrayed by those WHO VISITED HIM in the MOUNTAIN that he is a Christian, immediately Marc WAS BOUND AND FLOGGED [10]
	11	Marc as teacher of the divine	Marc's virtue attracted people who visited him increasing the number of his flock	
29a	12		Marc taught men, women, and children leading them to God	
	13	Marc's martyrdom	Under the reign of Diocletian his commander Magnos was hunting for Christians with the help of Diomedes, a huntsman Diomedes with his henchmen met Marc the teacher, who resembled a real ascetic with a bear near his feet and meagre Diomedes report of Marc to Magnos for being a Christian The conversion of Diomedes' sons to Christianity seeing the tamed bear	
	14			
	15			
	16			
29b	17		Marc's arrest by Diomedes, examination, torments by drubbing, and imprisonment	
	18		Marc is taken to Klaudiopolis for further inquiry	HE [MARC] WAS SENT TO KLAUDIOPOLIS AND COPPERSMITHS WERE CALLED TO PREPARE MARC'S CHAINS. THREE BROTHERS WERE BROUGHT: ALPHEIOS, ALEXANDROS, AND ZOSIMOS, INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF KALYTOS. CONCERNING THEIR CRAFT THEY WORKED WITH FIRE BEING SKILLED IN [15] IRON-FABRICATION. WHEN THEY STARTED TO FORGE THE IRON, IT EFFUSED LIKE WATER THOUGH THEIR HANDS. The forge-men were wondering about what was
	19		The virtues of the three Kalytenoi brothers Good people by nature, but not Christians They were blacksmiths working in Klaudiopolis	
	20	episode with the Kalytenoi brothers	Marc the divine teacher leading people to God until the last moment of his life	
	21			
30a	22		Marc's torture: fetters, continuous standing, boots with nails	
	23		The Kalytenoi blacksmiths forged iron fetters with sharp spins in the inner side to torture Marc While forging Marc's fetters, the hands of the craftsmen grew numb, nor did the iron allow itself to be forged. The three Kalytenoi realised that some sort of divine objective	
	24			

	25		prevents them from executing their work, finally they became conscious that they are preparing means of torments destined to Marc whom they know to be a famous confessor throughout the city. They decided to support Marc, the servant of the true deity, especially if such miracles had prevented him to be tortured. The blacksmiths were confirmed by divine words heard from the sky and left aside their hammers and tools. They gave back (27) the money they had got after having been commissioned and, with a short oration, declared to Magnos that they were ready to die for Marc's God. They are immediately imprisoned (28) and tortured in different ways. When none of these convinced the Kalytenoi to change their mind, Magnos (29) commanded to sink melted lead into their mouth. But Magnos' machination (30) did not prove successful and the lead did not harm the Kalytenoi brothers. Afterwards Magnos (31) gave orders to forge iron nails and the brothers died by being fixed to stones by those nails imitating the crucified Christ. Eustathios argued (32) that it could be easy for God to save his faithful from these torments, but He wanted to have mercy on them letting them enter his blossom	happening heard a DIVINE UTTERANCE which persuaded the forge-men to suffer together with Marc. THEY DID NOT WANT IT, BUT [20] OUTRIGHT THEY CALLED TO AID THE NAME OF CHRIST AND THROWING AWAY THE IRON THEY WERE SEIZED, TORMENTED BY TWISTING, AND FIERY LEAD WAS PUT INTO THEIR MOUTH IN A MOULD. They were blinded on a STONE, PUT INTO FIRE [25], and died.
	26			
30b	27			
	28			
	29			
	30			
	31			
31a	32			
	33		Magnos exposed to the public the bodies of the martyrs, but because people seeing them turned towards God being sanctified by their bodies and rebel against Magnos, he made their bodies burnt	
	34			
	35	Marc's death	Magnos torments Marc by drubbing him, cutting out of his tongue, finally cutting down his head	Iron boots were put on Marc, he was heavily drubbed, put on nails, his tongue was cut, nailed on a stone, and his head cut off.

	36		The disciples of Marc: Nikon, Neon, Heliodoros, virgins, and youngsters fought against the pagan cult of Philomela near Kalytos, then they suffered martyrdom in Klaudiopolis	Nikon, Neon, and Heliodoros with children and virgins [30] finished their life executed by sword in a place called Philomelos.
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4. THE KALYTENOI MARTYRS²⁶³

in: *Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople*, p. 86.

feast day: 28 September

<p>Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Καλυτηνῶν Ἀλφειοῦ, <Ἀλεξάνδρου>, Ζωσίμου, Νίκωνος, Νέωνος, Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ Μάρκου.</p> <p>Οὗτοι ὑπῆρχον ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ βασιλέως ἐν πόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Πισιδίας,(5)Μάγνου ἡγεμονεύοντος. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ἦν ποιμαίνων πρόβατα, λευκὴν ἔχων τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ βαθεῖαν μέχρι τῆς πτέρνης αὐτῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεγνώσθη ὡς εἶη χριστιανός, προδοθεὶς παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἀνιόντων, παραχρῆμα κρεμασθεὶς(10)</p> <p>ξέεται καὶ παραπέμπεται ἐν Κλαυδιουπόλει προσκληθέντων δὲ χαλκοτύπων κατασκευῆς ἕνεκεν τῶν Μάρκου δεσμῶν, προσήχθησαν τρεῖς ἀδελφοὶ Ἀλφειός, Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ζώσιμος τὴν Κάλυτον οἰκοῦντες κώμην, βάνασοι τὴν τέχνην καὶ τῆς (15) σιδήρου ἐργασίας ἐπιστήμονες ἀρξαμένων δὲ τύπτειν, κατέρρει ὁ σίδηρος ὡς ὕδωρ καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν ἐνάρκων. Οἱ δὲ τὸ συμβᾶν θαυμάσαντες καὶ φωνῆς θείας ἐπακούσαντες προτρεπούσης συναθλῆσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ Μάρκῳ, οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ'(20)εὐθέως τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἀπορρίψαντες συνελήφθησαν καὶ στρέβλαις ὑπεβλήθησαν καὶ διὰ χώνης περιτεθείσης αὐτῶν τῷ στόματι μόλιβδον ἐδέξαντο ζέοντα καὶ ἐν πέτρᾳ προσηλώθησαν καὶ τῷ πυρὶ (25) ὑπεβλήθησαν καὶ τοῦ βίου ἐξῆλθον. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ὑποδεθείς κρηπίδας σιδηρᾶς καὶ μαστιχθεὶς ἰκανῶς καὶ ὀβελίσκοις καταπαρεῖς καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τμηθεὶς καὶ ἐν πέτρᾳ καθηλωθεὶς, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη. Νίκων δὲ καὶ Νέων καὶ Ἡλιοδωρος μετὰ νηπίων καὶ (30) παρθένων ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Φιλομηλίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξίφους ἐτελειώθησαν. Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν γέγονεν ἐν Καλύτῳ μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ κή, τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου ἐν Κλαυδιουπόλει εἰκοστῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἐν τῷ Φιλομηλίῳ (35) ἰουλίου</p>	<p>On the same day contest of the holy Kalytenoi martyrs Alpheios, Alexander, Zosimos, Nikon, Neon, Heliodoros, and Marc.</p> <p>These lived under the reign of emperor Diocletian in Antioch of Pisidia [5] under the governorship of Magnos. Marc herded sheep, had grey hair on his head reaching down to his heel. When it became known betrayed by those who visited him in the mountain that he is a Christian, immediately Marc was bound and flogged [10]. He was sent to Klaudiopolis and coppersmiths were called to prepare Marc's chains. Three brothers were brought: Alpheios, Alexandros, and Zosimos, inhabitants of the village of Kalytos. Concerning their craft they worked with fire being skilled in [15] iron-fabrication. When they started to forge the iron, it effused like water though their hands were working. The forge-men, wondering about what was happening, heard a divine utterance which persuaded the forge-men to suffer together with Marc. They did not want it, but [20] outright they called to aid the name of Christ and throwing away the iron they were seized, tormented by twisting, and fiery lead was put into their mouth in a mould. They were blinded on a stone, put into fire [25], and they died. Iron boots were put on Marc, he was heavily drubbed, positioned on nails, his tongue was cut, nailed on a stone, and his head cut off. Nikon, Neon, and Heliodoros with children and virgins [30] finished their life executed by sword in the place called Philomelos. The end came for the three martyr-brothers in Kalytos on 28 September, for Marc in Klaudiopolis on 21 of the same month, while for the others in Philomelos [35] on 13 July. Liturgy is celebrated at their shrine which is in fact close to that of holy Cyprian.</p>
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²⁶³ My translation.

δεκάτη τρίτη. Τελείται δὲ ἡ αὐτῶν σύναξις ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ αὐτῶν μαρτυρείῳ, τῷ ὄντι πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Κυπριανοῦ ἐν τοῖς Σολομῶνος.	
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