

Routledge Research in Byzantine Studies

HOLINESS ON THE MOVE: MOBILITY AND SPACE IN BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHY

Edited by
Mihail Mitrea



Holiness on the Move: Mobility and Space in Byzantine Hagiography

Holiness on the Move: Mobility and Space in Byzantine Hagiography explores the literary, religious, and social functions of monastic mobility in Byzantine hagiography, touching on aspects of space, narrative, and identity. The ten chapters included in this volume highlight the multifaceted and rich nature of travel narratives, exploring topics such as authorship and audience, narrative structure and function, identity-making and practicalities of and discourse on travel. In terms of geographical span, the case studies cover Constantinople and its hinterland, Asia Minor, mainland Greece, Trebizond, the Balkans, and southern Italy and range chronologically from the end of the sixth to the fourteenth century.

The contributions offer novel insights and perspectives on the importance of mobility in the literary construction of holiness in the Byzantine world and the wider medieval Mediterranean, the spatial dimension of sacred mobility, and the ways in which mobility is employed in the narrative construction of hagiographical texts. As such, the volume joins the burgeoning research on sacred mobilities and will interest students and scholars of Byzantine and medieval literature, religion, and history, as well as a wider readership with an interest in the study of space and mobility.

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Frontispiece: Abraham's journey to Canaan, Basilica di San Marco, Atrium, West arm, North cupola (photo by Ekkehard Ritter, North Adriatic Project fieldwork records and papers, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC)

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Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>List of contributors</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xv
Introduction	1
MIHAIL MITREA	
PART 1	
Mobility and Space: Narratological Approaches	15
1 A Saint in Space: Mobility and Distance in the <i>Life</i> of Cyril Phileotes	17
MARGARET MULLETT	
2 Space, Narrative, and Compositional Structure: Constructing Authority in the <i>Life of Lazaros of Mount Galesion (BHG 979)</i>	44
FLORIN LEONTE	
3 Boundaries of Holiness: Biography and Narrative Structure in John Xiphilinos' <i>Miracula</i> and <i>Passio</i> of St Eugenios of Trebizond	65
MIRCEA DULUŞ	
4 "I Went Aboard a Ship and Reached Byzantium:" The Motif of Travel in Edifying Stories	90
MARKĚTA KULHÁNKOVÁ	

PART 2

Monastic Mobility and Identity 103

- 5 *The Oration on St John of Damascus* by Constantine Akropolites (*BHG* 885) and Its Source (*BHG* 884): A Spatial Reading 105

LEV LUKHOVITSKIY

- 6 Holiness Abroad: Greek Saints and Hagiography in Norman Italy 126

JAMES MORTON

- 7 Local Pilgrimage and Historical Identity in Slavonic Hagiography in Greek Translation: Two Accounts from the Archbishopric of Ohrid 146

GRIGORI SIMEONOV

PART 3

Monastic Mobility: Experience and Representation 187

- 8 Pilgrimage in Thirteenth-century Byzantine Greece: The *Life* of Barnabas and Sophronios 189

GEORGIOS MAKRIS

- 9 Theodore the Stoudite on Exile 212

PARASKEVI TOMA

- 10 The Metaphor of Road in Byzantine Hagiography 230

YULIA MANTOVA

- Index* 247

Figures

	Frontispiece: Abraham's journey to Canaan, Basilica di San Marco, Atrium, West arm, North cupola (photo by Ekkehard Ritter, North Adriatic Project fieldwork records and papers, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC)	ii
1.1a	The chronotope in the Byzantine letter	23
1.1b	The chronotope in the ancient and twelfth-century Greek novel	23
1.1c	The chronotope in Byzantine hagiography	23
1.2	The adventure novel of everyday life	24
1.3a	The first chronotope (preparation) in the <i>Life of Cyril Phileotes</i>	25
1.3b	The second chronotope (practice) in the <i>Life of Cyril Phileotes</i>	25
1.3c	The third chronotope (old age, death, and posthumous miracles) in the <i>Life of Cyril Phileotes</i> : at Philea	26
2.1	Lazaros' travels and places cited in the <i>Life</i> . After Richard Greenfield, <i>The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion</i> (map by Richard Greenfield, reproduced with permission)	50
3.1	Saints Orestes, Eugenios, Eustratios, and Auxentios, Church of St Nicholas, Bogdana Monastery, Rădăuți, Romania, Naos, soffit of the south-western arch, ca. 1480–1490 (photo by Vlad Bedros, reproduced with permission)	67
3.2	The spatial sequence of miracles in John Xiphilinos' <i>Miracula</i>	79
7.1	Bulgaria in the late ninth–early tenth century (Wikipedia)	147
7.2	The 15 Martyrs of Tiberiupolis. Modern icon partially based on the medieval wall painting (ninth/tenth century) in the eponymous church, Strumica (photo by author)	149
7.3	St Clement of Ohrid, wall painting, 1295, Church of the Theotokos Peribleptos, Ohrid (photo by author)	151
7.4	The Church of Saints Clement and Panteleimon in Ohrid, Reconstruction of the ninth-century monastery of St Panteleimon (photo by author)	152
7.5	The Holy Unmercenaries Cosmas, Damian, and Panteleimon, wall painting, 1191, Church of St George, Kurbinovo (photo by author)	153

viii *Figures*

7.6	The medieval church of the 15 Martyrs of Tiberioupolis, Strumica (photo by author)	154
7.7	Ohrid (photo by author)	155
7.8	The late antique episcopal basilica of Bargala (Wikimedia Commons)	156
7.9	Saints Cyril and Methodius, wall painting, 1191, Church of St George, Kurbinovo (photo by author)	165
7.10	Saint Clement's statue in Ohrid (photo by author)	166
8.1	Map showing the major shrines attested in the <i>Life</i> of Barnabas and Sophronios and the routes the saints followed (map by Stella Makri)	190
8.2	Basilica of St Achilleios, Larissa, aerial view of the excavation. After Gialouri, <i>St Achillios' Basilica</i> , fig. 30 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)	193
8.3	Basilica of St Achilleios, Larissa, subterranean tomb. After Gialouri, <i>St Achillios' Basilica</i> , fig. 16 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)	195
8.4	Mount Ossa, Thessaly (Wikimedia Commons)	197
8.5	Maroneia, Thrace, remains of the medieval walls (photo by author)	198
8.6	Plan, medieval fortress of Maroneia, Thrace. Redrawn after Doukata-Demertzi, <i>Παλιόχωρα Μαρωνείας</i> , fig. 40 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)	199
8.7	Maroneia, Thrace, remains of a medieval tower (photo by author)	200
8.8	Maroneia, Thrace, medieval district built over an early Christian basilica. After Doukata-Demertzi, <i>Παλιόχωρα Μαρωνείας</i> , fig. 44 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)	201
8.9	Maroneia, Thrace, middle Byzantine chapel built over an early Christian basilica. Aerial view of the excavation. After Doukata-Demertzi, <i>Παλιόχωρα Μαρωνείας</i> , fig. 72 (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)	202
8.10	Glazed pottery from the excavations at Maroneia, Thrace (The Archaeological Society at Athens, photo in the public domain)	202
8.11	Plan of excavated basilica, Hagios Charalambos, Maroneia, Thrace (The Archaeological Society at Athens, photo in the public domain)	203

Preface

This volume grew out of the conference *Holiness on the Move: Travelling Saints in Byzantium*, organised at Newcastle University in 2019, within the framework of the Marie Skłodowska-Curie research project *Sacred Landscapes in Late Byzantium* (grant agreement no. 752292), funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme.¹

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1 <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/travellingsaints/>

x *Preface*

On a personal note, I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my wife, Elena-Cristina Mitrea, for her invaluable support both during the conference and throughout the editing process. I dedicate this volume to our daughter, Maria-Ziana.

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Abbreviations

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ARCBH</i>	<i>The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography</i> . Vol. 1, <i>Periods and Places</i> . Vol. 2, <i>Genres and Contexts</i> , edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis. Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011, 2014
<i>BBulg</i>	<i>Byzantinobulgarica</i>
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> . 3rd ed., edited by François Halkin, 3 vols. <i>Novum Auctarium</i> . Brussels, 1957–1984
<i>BMFD</i>	<i>Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents</i> , edited by John Philip Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero. Washington, DC, 2001
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BollGrott</i>	<i>Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata</i>
<i>BSl</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>Byz</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>ByzF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EEBS</i>	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>JEChrSt</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JMedHist</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie, <i>A Greek English Lexicon</i> . Oxford, 1925–1940. Revised Supplement, edited by Peter G. W. Glare and Alexandra Anne Thompson. Oxford, 1996
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</i> , edited by Jacques-Paul Migne, 161 vols. Paris, 1857–1866

xvi *Abbreviations*

- PLP* *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, edited by Erich Trapp. Vienna, 1976–
- PmbZ* *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, edited by Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Claudia Ludwig, Beate Zielke, and Thomas Pratsch. Berlin, 1998, 2013
- REArm* *Revue des études arméniennes*
- REB* *Revue des études byzantines*
- RSBN* *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
- RSCI* *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*
- SC* *Sources Chrétiennes*
- SJBMGS* *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- TByzW* *Travel in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, edited by Ruth Macrides. Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002
- TM* *Travaux et Mémoires*
- ZRVI* *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*

Introduction

Mihail Mitrea

Narratives of travel and mobility are found in various Byzantine literary genres, from pilgrims' accounts to novels and letters. A less explored genre that couches a wide variety of stories of geographical and imagined mobility is hagiography. Although featuring somewhat marginally among the source material for the study of mobility in the Byzantine world, as one of the most prolific genres of literature, hagiography repays scholarly investigation, especially when delving into its literary analysis. A close scrutiny reveals that mobility in hagiographical accounts carries various meanings, from symbolic implications of places and itineraries to overlooked parallels to biblical models and unexplored relationships between geographical background and spiritual experiences. Moreover, mobility can be explored in light of the hagiographers' narrative choices, the audiences' horizon of expectations, and the wider context of Byzantine spirituality and monastic culture.

Over the past decades, issues of mobility and circulation of individuals, objects, ideas, and beliefs in Byzantium and the wider Mediterranean have come into the focus of several conferences, research projects, and publications.¹ To name just a few, the numerous academic events and publications of the Wittgenstein-Award project *Mobility, Microstructures and Personal Agency in Byzantium*, led by Claudia Rapp at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, explored the mobility of people, goods, and ideas within and beyond the Byzantine realm. More recently, Carolina Cupane's research project on *Enclosed and Secluded Places in Early and Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, hosted by the same institution, aims to highlight the importance of places of confinement and seclusion for the spiritual development of holy men. The mobility of monks from East to West has been explored in the comprehensive volume *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge (IV^e-XV^e siècle)*, edited by Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot, which touches on topics such as regulations regarding mobility, monastic institutions, monastic and cultural networks, women's journeys, and specific types of mobility. The forthcoming volume *Sacred Mobilities in Byzantium and Beyond: People, Objects and Relics*, edited by Veronica della Dora, Charalambos

Dendrinos, Mark Guscini, and David John Williams, contributes to this line of research by investigating the role of the mobilities of objects, people, and relics in articulating religious narratives and shaping sacred spatialities. Similarly, Daniel Oltean's project on *Greek Palestinian Monks under Muslim Rule: Adaptation, Migration, and Propaganda, 7th–11th Centuries* at KU Leuven further dovetails this stream of research.

Perhaps the first to come to mind when thinking about monastic mobility are wandering or itinerant holy men and women, who willingly embraced travel as a way of life and particular path of achieving holiness. They received considerable scholarly attention, from Eleanor Duckett's seminal book on *The Wandering Saints of the Early Middle Ages* and Élisabeth Malamut's *Sur la route des saints byzantins* to a dedicated chapter in Alice-Mary Talbot's remarkable monograph, *Varieties of Monastic Experience in Byzantium, 800–1453*. However, travel was an integral part of the life course and spiritual journey of many other Byzantine monastics, who underwent temporary spells of mobility for various reasons (in pursuit of a personal, ecclesiastical, economic, or even political interest) and under different social and political circumstances, including foreign raids or invasions, which forcefully drove monks from their spiritual abodes.² In addition to documenting the geographical mobility of their saintly heroes during their lifetime, saints' lives also feature other forms of mobility, including pilgrimage to holy sites, such as the saints' shrines, the posthumous movements of their bodies through the translation of their relics, processions, and various forms of micromobility and imagined mobilities, which include dream visions of visits to shrines or visitations by the saints.³

The road to assuming the monastic garment in Byzantium began almost invariably with a movement away from the familiar and a gesture of voluntary social renunciation and retreat from one's family and *patris*.⁴ Moreover, those eager to advance their spiritual life and take on extraordinary struggles out of love for Christ moved away from coenobitic monasteries into remote and harsh environments in search of good places for *askēsis*, *hēsychia*, and communion with God.⁵ When the fame of their ascetic lifestyle and miracle-making powers spread and drew in streams of visitors, they often journeyed on to safeguard their stillness, avoid distractions, and escape the spiritual dangers of pride, as was, for instance, the case of the renowned late-Byzantine holy men Sabas the Younger and Maximos Kausokalybites. Other monks undertook overland journeys and sea voyages out of a desire to reach far-off sacred sites for veneration and prayer, especially in the Holy Land, or renowned relics or monastic centres, such as St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, as well as seek out spiritual edification and *paideia* from living holy persons. However, even in such cases, the coveted end point of their quest and journey of spiritual development was not one particular place, but the Kingdom of Heaven. Travels could vary by range from short commutes, as in the case of disciples who fetched food and other supplies from nearby monasteries for their masters, to long distance travel,

crossing multiple boundaries and covering thousands of kilometres, including pilgrimage to the holy sites.⁶

A brief tale from the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* illustrates well the expectation that monks would disassociate themselves from the material world, shunning the comfort of a stable shelter:

It was said of Abba Agathon that he spent a long time building a cell with his disciples. At last when it was finished, they came to live there. Seeing something during the first week which seemed to him harmful, he said to his disciples, ‘Get up, let us leave this place.’ But they were dismayed and replied, ‘If you had already decided to move, why have we taken so much trouble building the cell? People will be scandalized at us, and will say, “Look at them, moving again; what unstable people!”’ He saw they were held back by timidity and so he said to them, ‘If some are scandalized, others, on the contrary, will be much edified and will say, “How blessed are they who go away for God’s sake, having no other care.” However, let him who wants to come, come; as for me, I am going.’ Then they prostrated themselves to the ground and besought him to allow them to go with him.⁷

This anecdote conveys the ideal of monastic *xeniteia*, i.e., willingly assuming the condition of a stranger in the world – echoing the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (11:13, 13:14) –, seeking detachment from it and renouncing the comforts of stability through self-imposed exile.⁸ Saints’ lives often portray mobility as a strategy pursued by monastics for spiritual advancement, to test their ascetic discipline, triumph over adversities, overcome forces of nature or foes, and hone in their miracle-making powers and ascetic virtues. Travel also afforded holy men the opportunity to fulfil social functions, such as performing miracles or charity, and establish ties to and strengthen the faith of communities they would later protect as patron saints. Additionally, monastics travelled for a host of other economic, cultural, or missionary purposes, connected to the needs of their monasteries. In this process, they contributed to the spread and circulation of ideas, knowledge, and beliefs.⁹ Moreover, holy men triggered mobility around them, with people seeking their protection and help in curing diseases during their lifetime or posthumously at their shrines, asking for advice and spiritual guidance, and, in the case of powerful figures, even seeking to gain spiritual capital by associating with them.¹⁰

Despite the benefits travel could bring to the spiritual development of a monastic and the legitimate spiritual reasons that could prompt it, there was an inherent tension between monasticism and geographical mobility. Several Byzantine monastic foundation documents (*typika*) and church canons discouraged or heavily regulated travel and mobility, even from one monastery to another. This was in accordance with the ideal of *stabilitas loci*, which held that monks should remain for life within the confines of the

monastery in which they took monastic vows.¹¹ In addition to the physical dangers facing any layman, such as robbery, enslavement, and even loss of life at the hands of brigands, pirates, or due to warfare in general, travel exposed monks to additional hazards, especially of a spiritual nature. The road could be rife with temptations of various origins, threatening to disrupt inner peace. Consequently, vagrant monks, who willingly gave up the sedentary life, stability, hierarchy, and order of a coenobitic monastery, were often regarded as inconsistent, erratic, disobedient, or lacking self-control and integrity. They could even be suspected of being thieves, criminals, or spies, as was the case of Sabas the Younger, during his sojourn in Cyprus.¹² Therefore, itinerant monks often faced hostility from the part of the people and authorities in the cities and villages they visited.

Notwithstanding the idealised rhetoric of *stabilitas loci* and formal constraints imposed on it, mobility was an integral part of monastic trajectory, be it as a practical means of adapting to the circumstances of daily life or a deliberate strategy in one's spiritual journey towards perfection. Recent research has pointed out that even holy men perceived as comparatively static, such as stylites, would move in space and challenge spatial boundaries. As Georgia Frank underlines, stylites could soar, roam, and hover above their pillars, as well as leave them to undertake physical and celestial journeys.¹³ Similarly, Myrto Veikou points out how St Lazaros of Mount Galesion's multiple relocations were employed as a narrative strategy in the construction of his identity as a holy man and pillar ascetic.¹⁴ Other, less obvious, forms of mobility include imagined mobility (in dreams or visions) and a vast range of bodily movements, gestures, and postures captured under the canopy of micromobility (proxemics and kinesics).¹⁵ Furthermore, the hagiographical representation of travel and mobility is closely linked to the concept of memory. The space in which holy men moved is interwoven with the memory of the local community to which it provides a representation of its past, and, in these terms, it conveys the community's social values. Travel and mobility create a specific geographical space and imbue it with meaning insofar as identity and collective memories are embedded and organised through the perception of space.¹⁶

Research into monastic mobility has also inquired into gender differences in this phenomenon. Given the lurking dangers involved in the process of travelling, as well as societal gender norms and expectations, women's travels were generally more limited in terms of range and frequency in comparison to those of men. Unlike monks, who would change monasteries more often or leave them in pursuit of spiritual progress and contact with the divine, nuns usually remained in the monastery where they had taken monastic vows.¹⁷ While decidedly more limited, hagiographical sources do offer valuable insights into various types of mobility that lay and monastic women undertook for different purposes, including tending to the needs of family members, especially children, seeking help at the retreat or tomb of

a holy man, joining a monastic community or pursuing a specific ideal of sanctity.¹⁸

Finally, the interaction between mobility and space has also been analysed through the lenses of the iconic image of space and hierotopy.¹⁹ Introduced by Alexei Lidov and aimed at circumventing Mircea Eliade's notions of 'sacred space' and 'hierophany,' the concept of hierotopy defines the specificity of human agency in its interaction with the transcendental world as acted through the combination of material texture, ritual performance, and topographic specificity. For instance, in Byzantine thought, the icon was not a mere depiction on a flat surface but a form of pictorial creativity with a specific spatial vision that emanated "from the depiction into the environment in front of it and existing between the picture and its beholder."²⁰ With regard to literary texts, including hagiography, the iconic perception of the world underwrites the descriptions of pilgrimages and sacred places (a relic, an icon, a monastery, or a church).

This volume, *Holiness on the Move: Mobility and Space in Byzantine Hagiography*, explores the literary, religious, and social functions of monastic mobility in Byzantine hagiography, touching on aspects of space, narrative, and identity. The contributions gathered here offer novel insights and perspectives on the importance of mobility in the literary construction of holiness in the Byzantine world and the wider medieval Mediterranean, the spatial dimension of sacred mobility, and the ways in which mobility is employed in the narrative construction of hagiographical texts. The volume thus contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the significance of mobility and space in Byzantine hagiographical accounts and religious culture and literature more broadly. As such, it joins the burgeoning research on sacred mobilities and will interest students and scholars of Byzantine and medieval literature, religion, and history, as well as a wider readership with an interest in the study of space and mobility.

The ten chapters in this volume address different aspects of the nexus between holiness and mobility in Byzantine hagiographical accounts (with several insights drawn from homiletics and epistolography) and are meant to offer a selective and by no means comprehensive overview of the multifaceted nature of monastic mobility in Byzantium. They are grouped into three interconnected sections based on their primary thematic focus, namely (1) *mobility and space: narratological approaches*, (2) *monastic mobility and identity*, and (3) *monastic mobility: experience and representation*. In terms of geographical span, the case studies cover Constantinople and its hinterland, Asia Minor, mainland Greece, Trebizond, the Balkans, and southern Italy, and range chronologically from the end of the sixth to the fourteenth century.

The first three chapters relate to the so-called 'spatial turn'²¹ and take a narratological approach to issues of space and mobility in Byzantine saints' lives. They investigate how these concepts are embedded in and structure hagiographical accounts, looking at their forms and functions as narrative

devices. In “A saint in space: mobility and distance in the *Life* of Cyril Phileotes,” Margaret Mullett examines the space and mobility layers of Nicholas Kataskepenos’ hagiographical account (*BHG* 468) in honour of the late-eleventh-century “portmanteau” saint, Cyril Phileotes. Her analysis of the perceived, conceived, and lived space in the *Life* meticulously shows that, despite an apparent paucity of place names, which at first sight would indicate a lack of attention to space and mobility from the part of the hagiographer, space is in fact more prevalent in the text than initially thought. Characters interact in and with space through mobility and movement. Mullett scrutinises in minute detail the less evident micromobility present in the *vita*, offering an inventory of the references to proxemics and kinesics. These include physical distance (intimate, personal, social, and public) to objects and people, relocations, stances, facial expressions, and gestures (of greeting, ascetic practices, resting, eating). Her analysis reveals the hagiographer’s concern with documenting movement in all its forms, as his hero’s range of mobility progressively reduces from the village of Philea where Cyril lived as a layman to his monastic cell at the Soter monastery.

The following chapter, Florin Leonte’s “Space, narrative, and compositional structure: constructing authority in the *Life of Lazaros of Mount Galesion* (*BHG* 979),” investigates how spatial representations are employed to craft Lazaros’ identity as a saint and spiritual leader. Leonte argues that the account is structured along two dimensions (active/contemplative life) which are reflected in the spaces constructed in the *vita* (*outside* and *inside*). They correspond to the two stages in Lazaros’ life: his travels prior to reaching Galesion (the *outside* space) and his activity as a monastic founder on the mountain (the *inside* space). The description of the holy man’s travels to the Holy Land at the beginning of his monastic career is used to convey his quest for spiritual development and perfection. At the end of this initiation, in the second stage of his monastic life, Lazaros becomes a stylite and founds several thriving monastic communities on Mount Galesion. His mobility and spiritual ascent continue in this location, as he moves up the mountain with every pillar and new monastery he founds, in a process of “territorialisation.” As the chapter shows, in this last section of the *vita*, the hagiographer is concerned with establishing his hero’s identity and legitimacy as a spiritual guide and building his profile as a monastic leader.

In “Boundaries of holiness: biography and narrative structure in John Xiphilinos’ *Miracula* and *Passio* of St Eugenios of Trebizond,” Mircea Duluş analyses the geographical distribution of miracles in Xiphilinos’ account, uncovering a spatial pattern of ordering the *Miracula* based on the origin of the beneficiaries. The account relates first miracles to the benefit of locals from the holy man’s *patris* of Trebizond, gradually progressing to people from more distant regions. Duluş argues that this spatial expansion is indicative of the hagiographer’s intention to showcase the “ecumenical fame” of his hero and convey the reach of St Eugenios’ cult, which radiated beyond the local confines of his homeland into the wider sacred topographies of the

Pontos. By tracing the contours of the saint's cult, this collection of miracles therefore conveys "the sacralization of space" and the irradiation of St Eugenios' holiness from Trebizond. Moreover, the hagiographer's pride in and attachment to his hero's *patris* could indicate that he composed the account while away from Trebizond. As Duluş stresses, this argument places the date of composition later than previously thought in scholarship, during the period Xiphilinos spent in Constantinople, setting the early 1030s as a *terminus post quem*.

In her chapter, "I went aboard a ship and reached Byzantium:" the motif of travel in edifying stories," Markéta Kulhánková highlights the narratological use and importance of space and mobility in the early hagiographical genre of edifying stories. Selecting examples from the *Lausiaca History*, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, the *Spiritual Meadow*, and the *Daniel-Sketiotes-Dossier*, Kulhánková demonstrates the use of three spatial concepts in these edifying stories: the dichotomy *oikoumenē* – *erēmos*, liminality, and *heterotopias*. By employing narrative theory, she also investigates travel as a frame for a story or collection of stories, such as travelogues, and as a motif of a single story.

The following three chapters, making up the second section of the volume, engage with the topic of identity and explore how hagiographers employ monastic itineraries, spatial biographical information, and the selection and spatial distribution of miracles to craft and convey a certain identity for their holy heroes. Lev Lukhovitskiy's chapter, "The *Oration of St John of Damascus* by Constantine Akropolites (BHG 885) and its source (BHG 884): a spatial reading," centres on the two hagiographies of St John of Damascus, namely the eleventh-century *Jerusalem Life* by John III, Patriarch of Antioch, and its thirteenth-century *metaphrasis*, the *Oration* by Constantine Akropolites. By looking closely into their geographical setting, Lukhovitskiy traces the contours of the identity the two hagiographers crafted for their hero, a liminal figure between the Roman and Arab realms. He also shows how their own views on Byzantium's past are reflected in their respective hagiographical accounts. While Akropolites fashions St John of Damascus as a Roman citizen and Constantinopolitan émigré, who attained sainthood in an exotic and barbarian environment, the *Jerusalem Life* presents the saint as a son of Damascus, who is not necessarily Roman. Similarly, the imagined geographies created by the two hagiographers are at odds, with Akropolites depicting the Arab and Roman worlds in opposition to each other, while for John III the Roman East is only temporarily lost to the Arabs.

In "Holiness abroad: Greek saints and hagiography in Norman Italy," James Morton analyses how issues of identity are reflected in the travels of six Calabro-Sicilian saints, whose *vitae* were composed during the Norman rule in southern Italy. Although the Norman conquest severed politically the Italo-Greek Christians from the Byzantine Empire, Morton makes the case that their affinity towards the Greek-speaking world is reflected in the

array of characters the six saints interact with throughout their monastic careers and journeys. Despite what would be expected given the context of the Norman conquest and annexation into the Roman Church, their *vitae* are populated with numerous Greek-speaking characters, while the few Latins mentioned fit the stereotypical image found in Byzantine hagiography. Moreover, the protagonists' predominantly eastward travels convey their lingering religious connection to the Byzantine Christendom. The direction of mobility from the Islamic or Latin to the Byzantine world, as well as the absence of references to the Roman Church, is telling of their strong sense of belonging to Byzantine Christianity and ultimately of the lingering cultural influence of Byzantium over southern Italian monasticism.

Grigori Simeonov's contribution, "Local pilgrimage and historical identity in Slavonic hagiography in Greek translation: two accounts from the Archbishopric of Ohrid," exemplifies the making of new sacred geographies by analysing instances of mobility involving the translation of holy relics and pilgrimage in the *Long Life of St Clement of Ohrid* and the *Martyrion of the 15 Martyrs of Tiberiupolis*, two hagiographical texts from the Archbishopric of Ohrid written in Greek on the basis of older Slavonic texts. Simeonov contends that, by promoting the veneration of local saints, these compositions were part of a process of cultural and historical identity building for the newly established Archbishopric and successor to the Bulgarian Church. Moreover, they were employed by the Church in the wake of the restoration of Byzantine power in the Balkans to ensure the consolidation of its religious authority and spread of the Christian faith in the region of Macedonia. As the chapter shows, the two texts pursue these aims by including narratives about the translation of the saints' relics, local pilgrimage to their shrines, and miraculous healings effected at these sites. Furthermore, the analysis of the miracles included in these hagiographical texts allowed the author to trace the shift of the cult of the saints from a localised to a trans-regional basis enclosing the northern and the central parts of the Balkan peninsula.

The last section of the volume features three chapters which deal with spatial aspects and practicalities of religiously motivated mobility and literary representations of (enforced) mobility and space. Georgios Makris' paper, "Pilgrimage in thirteenth-century Byzantine Greece: the *Life* of Barnabas and Sophronios," employs a combination of archaeological and textual evidence to shed light on the setting of the pilgrimage undertaken by the fourth-century wandering holy men, Barnabas and Sophronios. As presented by their thirteenth-century hagiographer, Akakios Sabbaites, their itinerary from Athens to Mount Mela included monastic communities, such as those on the holy mountains of Athos, Papikion, and Kellia, and sacred sites, such as urban shrines. Makris follows this itinerary closely, investigating the practicalities of the holy men's mobility, including the land (public roads in mainland Greece) and sea routes they took, the duration of the voyage, the stops made along the way at various locations, and the activities

engaged in at these stopovers (veneration at shrines and churches, encounters with various lay individuals and monks). Makris examines to what extent the information offered in the hagiographical account is corroborated by the material evidence preserved to this day, such as the remains of the churches, shrines, towns, and settlements mentioned in the account, and places this information in the appropriate historical context, thereby contributing to the study of the major holy places of the period investigated and of the material conditions of pilgrimage. Overall, Makris points out that the archaeological evidence correlates with the information gleaned from hagiography (and hymnography) which is often hard to pin down.

In her contribution, “Theodore the Stoudite on exile,” Paraskevi Toma engages with the topic of enforced mobility, analysing the case of the exiled cleric Theodore the Stoudite. Banished by three emperors for various periods of time due to his vocal opposition, exile features prominently in Theodore’s works. Toma explores his corpus of letters and catechisms to reveal the uses and meanings Theodore attached to this term, as well as how the experience of exile transpires through and alters his writing. After an overview of the connotations of exile in monastic literature, Toma shows that Theodore’s experience of forced separation surfaces differently in the two types of writings analysed. If he presents exile from a political and social viewpoint in his letters, the term takes on spiritual valences of suffering and martyrdom, punishment, rejection of immorality, and eternal banishment in his catechisms. Moreover, the chapter traces the influence of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Climacus on Theodore’s understanding and literary representation of exile, and argues that through his writings Theodore overcame the physical limitations of exile.

In the final chapter, “The metaphor of road in Byzantine hagiography,” Yulia Mantova draws on George Lakoff and Mark Johnson’s work on metaphors to investigate the heterogeneity in the meaning of the metaphor of road or way as employed in early and middle Byzantine hagiography (fourth–twelfth centuries), as well as its roots in classical and early Christian sources. Based on a word search in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, Mantova identifies and discusses four clusters of meaning attributed to this metaphor. The most frequent of them presents life as a road or journey and is illustrated by variations such as following a path of vice or virtue, walking a crooked or straight road or death as the end of the journey. The heroes of hagiographical accounts take the road of *askēsis* and piety and their hagiographers render their physical travels as journeys of spiritual growth. Another cluster of meaning describes a person’s behaviour by means of the road chosen, with the middle road indicating a balanced person, while less frequent variations of the metaphor equate it with speech/*diēgesis* and method/means. As Mantova shows, these various uses of the metaphor of road serve to enrich the fabric of hagiographical accounts and convey meaning by employing an idea that highly resonates with the cultural horizon and experiences of the Byzantines.

The study of monastic mobility is part of the broader interest in travel in Byzantium, which has received increased scholarly attention over the past decades. The present volume contributes to this line of research by focusing on the hagiographical representation of monastic travel and sacred space in accounts ranging from Late Antiquity to late Byzantium. The chapters included in this volume highlight the multifaceted and rich nature of travel narratives, exploring topics such as authorship and audience, narrative structure and function, identity-making and practicalities of and discourse on travel. They raise a series of questions and open up new perspectives on the significance of travel episodes in a holy man's monastic and spiritual trajectory, as well as on hagiographers' intentions, and the use of mobility as a means for furthering it. These contributions add new texture to our understanding of religiously motivated mobility in the Byzantine world and lay the ground for further exploration of issues at the intersection between holiness, mobility, and literary representation.

Notes

- 1 E.g., Ivanova and Jeffery, *Transmitting and Circulating*, which gathers contributions that investigate networks of exchange and movement, looking at the mobility of various people, such as pilgrims, painters, and captives, as well as the transmission of knowledge and instances of contact.
- 2 Cf. Gerolymatou, "Moines en mouvement," 223–234.
- 3 Angelidi and Calofonos, *Dreaming; Krönung, Traum*; Renberg, *Incubation Sanctuaries*; von Ehrenheim, "Pilgrimage," 53–95; Efthymiadis, "Ταξιδιώτες," 155–165.
- 4 Cf. Oltean, *Devenir moine*; Mitrea, "Monasticism," 396–422.
- 5 Cf. della Dora, *Landscape*, 118–202.
- 6 Maraval, *Lieux saints*; Külzer, *Peregrinatio*; Bitton-Ashkelony, *Pilgrimage; TByzW*; Daim, *Pilgrimage*; Ariantzi and Eichner, *Pilgerwesen*; Ritter, *Glaube und Geld*; Dietz, "Culture of Movement," 11–42; Talbot, "Byzantine Pilgrimage," 97–110, and *Pilgrimage*; Bogdanović, "Glorious Spaces," 166–189.
- 7 *Sayings*, trans. Ward, 21.
- 8 On *xeniteia*, see Bitton-Ashkelony, *Pilgrimage*, 148–149; McGuckin, "*Xeniteia*," 23–38.
- 9 Cf. Oltean, "Global History," 58–74.
- 10 On the participation of holy men in the social and political life of Byzantium, see, e.g., Morris, "Political Saint," 43–50.
- 11 The principle of *stabilitas loci* was dictated by the canons of the Fourth and Seventh Ecumenical Councils. See Herman, "La *stabilitas loci*," 115–142; *BMFD*; Galatariotou, "Typika," 77–138; Nicol, "*Instabilitas loci*," 193–202.
- 12 Déroche, "Doubts," 76; Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 225–227; Congourdeau, "Terre Sainte," 124.
- 13 Frank, "Traveling Stylites?," 261–273.
- 14 Veikou, "Space," 143–175.
- 15 Cf. Hall, "Proxemics," 51–73; Birdwhistell, *Kinesics*.
- 16 Cf. Tounta, "Conflicting Sanctities," 101–144.
- 17 Talbot, *Varieties*, 48, 78–79.
- 18 Talbot, "Comparison," 1–20; Nikolaou, "Women's Journeys," 353–370.

- 19 Lidov, *Hierotopy*, and “Hierotopy,” 32–58; della Dora, *Landscape*, 48–60 (“Iconic Topographies”).
- 20 Lidov, “Hierotopy,” 40.
- 21 Warf and Arias, *Spatial Turn*; Veikou, “Space,” 156–166; cf. Cresswell and Merriman, *Geographies*, 11, who speak of a ‘mobility turn.’

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A Saint in Space

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Boundaries of Holiness

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Theodore the Stoudite on Exile

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The Metaphor of Road in Byzantine Hagiography

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