Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation

III

The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion

Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation

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THE LIFE OF LAZAROS OF MT. GALESION:

AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY PILLAR SAINT

Introduction, translation, and notes
by Richard P. H. Greenfield

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For Anne

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Scriptural Citations

Septuagint (all citations are based on the numbering of L. C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament according to the Vatican Text,* 2 vols. [London, 1864])

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

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

Apocrypha

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

New Testament

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

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AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AnalBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
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BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca,* ed. F. Halkin, 3d ed. (Brussels, 1957)
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IstMitt *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*

Janin, *Constantinople byz.*
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RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RegPatr	*Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople,* ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris, 1932–79)
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ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
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SM	*Studi Medievali*
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SubsHag	Subsidia Hagiographica
SynaxCP	*Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris,* ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
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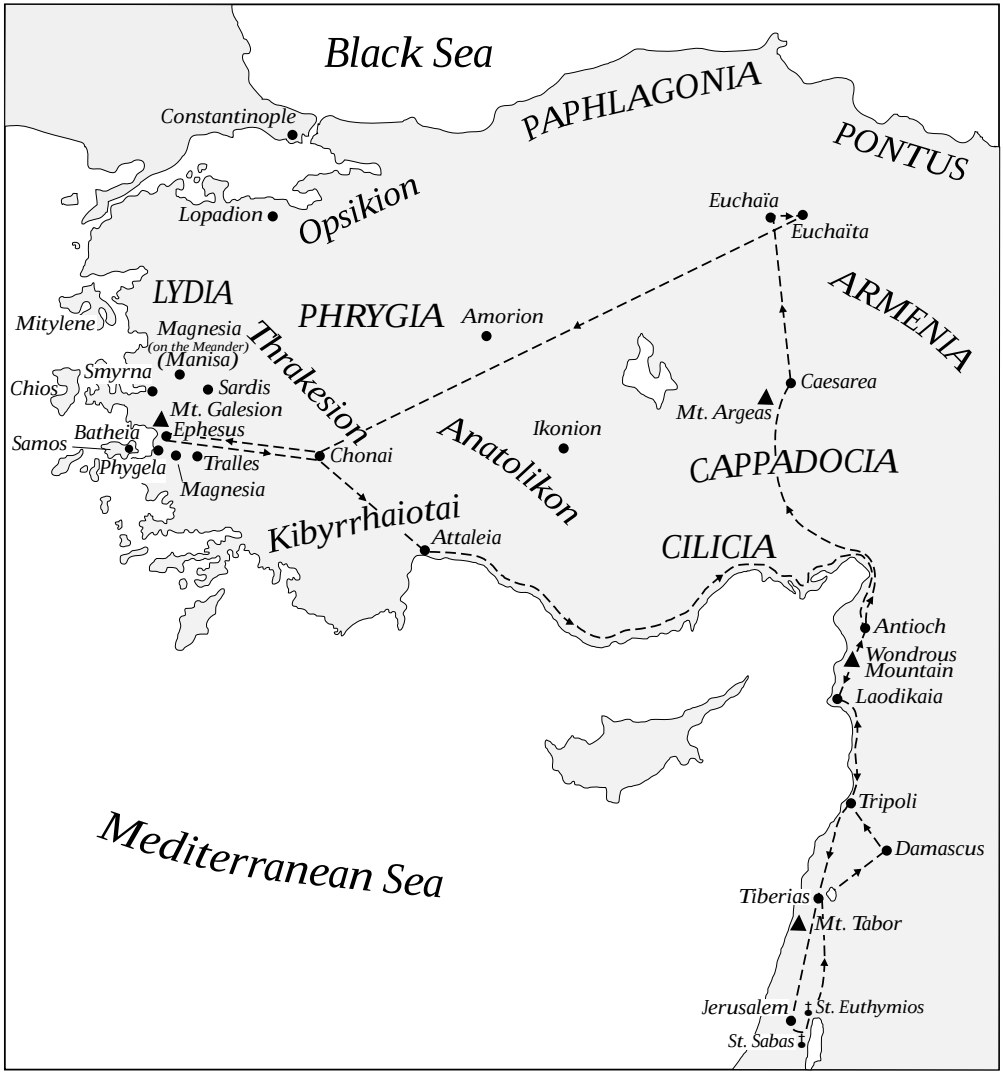

Lazaros' travels and places cited in the *vita*

INTRODUCTION

A. Lazaros' Reputation among His Contemporaries

By the time of his death, in November 1053, Lazaros Galesiotes' reputation for sanctity extended far beyond the region of Ephesus, where he had spent the greater part of his life; he was for many people one of the brightest stars in the Byzantine monastic firmament. This, at any rate, is the impression given by Gregory the Cellarer, a disciple and trusted supporter of Lazaros, who wrote the *vita* that is translated here.

Gregory's account, written shortly after Lazaros' death, is by far the longest, most detailed, and most trustworthy source on the saint; it also forms the basis for most of the other material that has been preserved, and it is thus referred to below as the "primary *vita*." Four other significant sources on Lazaros exist, but these add nothing reliable and, in fact, confuse some issues. The most substantial is a late thirteenth-century reworking of the *vita* by the patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory of Cyprus, who may have possessed an already reworked version of the Life as well as a familiarity with later traditions concerning Lazaros and his foundations. Two other brief sources are apparently related to this version: an epitome drawn from an *akolouthia* of Lazaros, and a slightly fuller *synaxarion* found in a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscript, now in Moscow. Finally, a section of the Lives of Barnabas and Sophronios (founders of the Soumela monastery near Trebizond), written by Akakios Sabbaites early in the thirteenth century, probably preserves oral traditions concerning Lazaros; it is, perhaps, a slightly earlier, unworked version of the tradition employed by Gregory of Cyprus.[1]

Lazaros' status as a holy man was based chiefly on his extraordinary perseverance as a pillar ascetic or stylite, for he spent the last forty or so years of his life on the barren mountain of Galesion,[2] not far from the city of Ephe-

[1] For a more complete discussion of the primary *vita* and its author, see below section G; on the other source material see below, section H.

[2] The masculine form of this toponym (Galesi*os*) enjoys almost equal support in modern scholarship to the neuter (Galesi*on*), which is used here: Delehaye, Janin, Malamut, Ševčenko, and the *ODB* have preferred the masculine; Halkin, Laurent, Foss, Munitiz, Kaplan, Thomas, and Morris have preferred the neuter. The problem arises because the toponym, both in the *vita* and elsewhere, almost always appears in circum-

sus on the west coast of Asia Minor. An immense and at times emotionally overwhelming impression was made upon visitors by the sight of the gaunt old man standing on the top of his pillar, dressed only in the tattered and ancient leather tunic that was his sole protection from the elements. Unbelievers are said to have converted to Christianity on the spot, while for the pious he provided a living and demonstrable proof that a frail mortal could indeed successfully imitate on earth the life of the angels in heaven. He had in truth become a "living icon" and had shown his contemporaries that there was at least one man alive who was still quite capable of meeting the daunting standards of ascetic practice set by his now legendary predecessors in earlier Christian tradition.[3]

Despite his astonishing feats of ascetic endurance, however, and his symbolic (and at times literal) isolation from his fellow men, Lazaros remained fundamentally committed to the warmer, more human, ideals of Christian

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stances that do not allow its gender to be determined; it is thus either used with the neuter noun ὄρος (as in the common phrase τὸ Γαλήσιον ὄρος) or else it appears in cases (such as the genitive or dative) that do not allow its gender to be established. I have been able to find only one instance in which it is used unambiguously in the *vita,* Chap. 246, where the phrase εἰς τὸ Γαλήσιον clearly shows that it could be neuter. In several places in the *vita* of Athanasios I by Theoktistos the Stoudite (see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakulteta S.-Peterburgskogo Universiteta* 76 [1905], 9–12), and also in the *vita* of Meletios of Mt. Galesion (see Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, 5 [1921], 613–14), however, it is definitely given as a neuter, and it is on the basis of this evidence that I have favored the neuter form here. My thanks to Alice-Mary Talbot for the references to the *vitae* of Athanasios and Meletios; on them, see below, section I, p. 64.

[3] The Byzantine tradition of stylites or pillar ascetics was a long and distinguished one going back to the 5th century. Begun by Symeon the Stylite the Elder, this striking tradition of extreme asceticism had evidently flourished without interruption down to Lazaros' day, despite opposition during the Iconoclast period. Stylites, who, like Lazaros, also practiced many other forms of asceticism, were venerated at all levels of society for the mastery they showed not only over their own mortal bodies but also over the forces of nature in general. The elevated position afforded by their pillars symbolized the isolation of these remarkable individuals from the concerns and sinfulness of normal material existence and emphasized their status as beings whose way of life was closer to that of the angels than men. Standing midway between heaven and earth, and demonstrably enjoying the supernatural protection and favor of their celestial patrons, they were thus respected and sought out as intermediaries who could effectively present the concerns of ordinary mortals to those who had power at the heavenly court. See especially here, Delehaye, *Stylites,* and, for further references and discussion of their representation in art, *ODB,* s.v. "Stylite."

love, charity, and toleration. His reputation thus also owed a great deal to this softer, caring side of his character that was experienced not only by his close followers, but by the faithful and curious, whether local people or pilgrims and visitors from far away, even overseas, who made the exhausting and sometimes dangerous ascent of the mountain to his pillar. To them, rich and poor, powerful and humble alike, he gave proof of his sanctity by his practical, unquestioning, sometimes extraordinarily generous and often secret acts of charity; he did so, too, by the wisdom and helpfulness of the advice he gave to all who sought his spiritual counsel or who came to him for confession. Visitors went away marveling at his insight and at his ability to relieve the burdens of a guilty conscience.

Furthermore, in spite of Lazaros' great humility and his determined efforts to avoid the praise of men, numerous stories of miraculous acts came to be associated with him during his life: stories of healing, exorcism, protection, provision, insight, and foresight. Before he died, he had thus gained considerable repute as the intermediary, or (for the more simple) actual possessor, of superhuman powers. Not only was he himself demonstrably immune to the wiles and viciousness of the Devil and the demons, whom he could control with a word or a simple gesture, but even his name and the invocation of his prayer became a powerful charm that could produce all manner of effects contrary to nature.

Lazaros' reputation spread rapidly by word of mouth, initially in the immediate vicinity of Ephesus, then throughout western and southern Asia Minor, as well as much farther afield. This process was doubtless assisted by Galesion's proximity to the pilgrimage center of Ephesus and the busy port of Phygela, for those who visited these places on business or in the course of their travels heard of the nearby holy man and were drawn to see him for themselves; they then carried their tales far and wide across the Byzantine Empire and Galesion became a pilgrimage destination in its own right, rivaling its older and more famous neighbor. Casual visitors were not the only ones attracted to this "blazing beacon" of Christian virtue, however. A flourishing community of some three hundred monks sprang up around Lazaros in a number of monasteries on the barren and inhospitable mountain, a phenomenon viewed by the author of the *vita* as the greatest miracle Lazaros performed.[4] Some of these monks carried impressive reports of Lazaros' sanctity on missions to Constantinople and elsewhere, even to some of the further

[4] See Chap. 79; cf. also Chaps. 62 and 85.

reaches of the Byzantine world. Moreover, Lazaros' advice was sought and successfully followed by people seeking to establish communities of their own. The reputation of this particular style of monasticism, as well as of its originator, thus spread beyond the confines of Galesion itself. At the same time this reputation was established by the respect and veneration that Lazaros and his monastery gained among holders of some of the highest political offices in Asia Minor, and this led, in time, to recognition from the imperial court itself. Support, primarily in the form of grants of land and money, from the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos and his mistress Maria Skleraina appears to have assured the survival of the community that Lazaros created on Galesion, and, as this endured and eventually came to be ranked along with the other great holy mountains of the Byzantine world, the memory of its founder's sanctity was upheld.

Lazaros' reputation as a holy man was by no means universally accepted, however, at least during his lifetime and in the period immediately following his death. The *vita* reveals that a distinctly negative attitude existed toward him among members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Ephesus, in some neighboring monasteries, and even within his own monastic community. Stories circulated that he was a fraud, or at least that his asceticism was seriously exaggerated for the benefit of visitors. Moreover, instead of the kind, generous, and caring figure so revered by his supporters, these rumors depicted Lazaros either as a tyrannical despot, given to fits of anger and violence toward his monks, or as an incompetent and idle superior who tonsured anyone who came to him and who regularly ignored the needs and the wishes of those in his charge. According to these stories, the monks were beaten, robbed, and starved, while Lazaros himself gobbled up quantities of communion bread when he was supposed to be fasting, guzzled wine, and sat on top of a pillar stuffed full of gold, since he received large and frequent donations from the faithful but never spent a penny on his monks nor gave much away in public to the poor and the hungry. At the same time the life of the community was constantly being disrupted by the antics of frivolous youths and by quarrelsome monks of dubious vocation whom Lazaros was unable to control, as well as by clever and dangerous confidence tricksters by whom he was completely fooled. In settling disputes he would rule in favor of the wrong party, while refusing to listen to genuine and pressing concerns among the brethren, even at times when the well-being of the community was in peril.[5]

[5] See below, section D.

Whatever the impression left by the *vita* and the fact of its ultimate survival, a number of factors suggest that contemporary opinion was divided over Lazaros. The almost total absence of posthumous miracle stories and the paucity of evidence for a major cult or tradition of artistic representation of Lazaros support this view. Indications that disputes over the legal status of his monasteries on Galesion continued for several years after his death, and the evident obscurity into which the mountain fell until the thirteenth century, would imply that there were sufficient doubts in existence, whether or not these were deliberately fueled by those who had their own reasons for opposing Lazaros, to cloud his reputation and prevent him from attaining a permanent place among the greatest figures of Byzantine monasticism.[6]

B. The Principal Events and Chronology of Lazaros' Life

In establishing the course and dating of Lazaros' life there is one seemingly indisputable point of reference: his death on the 7 November 1053.[7] Another relatively certain date is that of the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; generally agreed to have taken place on 28 September 1009, this event was witnessed by Lazaros.[8] In addition, the *vita* provides information on Lazaros' age and the length of time he spent in various places. A brief summary of some of the most important points appears in Chapter 254. When pieced together with a number of vaguer hints, this information makes it possible to establish a general, and at times quite detailed, sequence and date for the events mentioned in the *vita.*

Lazaros, whose secular name was Leo, was born in the vicinity of Magnesia on the Meander, the fifth child of parents who appear to have been peasants. The date of birth can easily be determined, although it is not given in the *vita*, since the author states unambiguously that Lazaros was eighty-

[6] See below, section I.

[7] In Chap. 254 Lazaros is said to have died in the year after the creation 6562, Indiction seven. On the exact interpretation of this date, see Malamut, "Bessai," 243–51; cf. Delehaye, *Stylites,* cxv, who construes this as 8 November 1054; Delehaye is also followed by Janin, *Églises centres,* 246 n. 6.

[8] See Chap. 19. The date is that given by the most reliable source for these events, the Christian Arab historian Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd of Antioch, who wrote in the mid-11th century. Some other Arab historians date the destruction to 1007/8, however, and the Greek historian John Skylitzes (writing in the second half of the 11th century) suggests 1010.

six years old when he died on 7 November 1053;[9] straightforward arithmetic thus allows his birth date to be set between 8 November 966 and 7 November 967.[10]

If Lazaros was born in 966/67, it is then quite straightforward to establish the course of his early life from the information provided by the author of the primary *vita*, which is evidently cited by him from reliable sources.[11] At the age of six (thus 972/73) he was sent to a local priest, called Leontios, to begin his education; three years later, aged nine (975/76), he went to study with a notary called George at the nearby monastery of Oroboi; and, after another three years, at the age of twelve (978/79), he went to another neighboring monastery, Kalathai, where his uncle Elias, who had been of considerable influence in his education, was a monk.[12] It was here that the compelling urge to leave the area of his birth for the Holy Land, a goal which was to dominate the early part of his life, first manifested itself in an attempt to run away from the monastery. On this occasion, however, Lazaros was thwarted, and he remained at Kalathai for two years until, at the age of fourteen (thus 980/81), he was sent to another (probably local) monastery, Strobelion, where he stud-

[9] See Chap. 254.

[10] Janin, *Églises centres,* 242, concurs on 967 but then (p. 246 n. 6) argues for 968. Rather similarly Malamut, *Route,* 40, agrees on 967, but (p. 61) also suggests 967–68, a figure again proposed by Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 148). If, however, Lazaros was born in 968, he would have been at most 85 and possibly only 84 when he died. Delehaye agrees with the basic calculation, although his mistake in dating Lazaros' death to 1054 means he gives the date as 968. For some reason Kazhdan in *ODB,* s.v. "Lazaros of Mount Galesios," suggests that the date is "usually calculated as ca. 972." The only real problem in dating Lazaros' birth to 966/67 is that the tradition preserved in the *vita* written by Gregory of Cyprus, in the epitome, and in the Moscow *synaxarion,* states that Lazaros was only seventy-two when he died (the figure is given in Gregory of Cyprus, chap. 41, *AASS,* Nov. 3:605E; epitome, *AASS,* Nov. 3: 680A; Moscow *synaxarion,* f. 220). If correct, this would mean that Lazaros was born at the very end of 980 or in 981. The reliability of the tradition preserved in these versions as an historical source is dubious, however (see discussion below, section H). Even if it were accepted, the consequent birth date would be very hard to square with the date of Lazaros' departure from Jerusalem (see below). The source of the figure seventy-two, if it is not genuine, is uncertain, but one may note that this number has a certain significance in Greek folklore; see G. K. Spyridake, "Ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο," Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Κ. Ἄμαντον (Athens, 1940), 409–18.

[11] See below, section G, p. 55.

[12] See Chap. 3.

ied to be a notary under the guidance of a monk called Nicholas.[13] Altogether, Lazaros spent three and a half more years there before he finally succeeded in escaping for the East at the age of eighteen (984/85).[14]

After a visit to the shrine at Chonai and an adventurous journey across Asia Minor, which must have taken several months at least, given the slow and erratic progress of the Paphlagonian monk in whose company he was traveling, Lazaros reached Attaleia on the south coast (presumably sometime between 984 and 986).[15] He spent the next seven years there,[16] associated with a monastery in the vicinity where he was evidently formally tonsured as a monk and took the religious name of Lazaros. There, too, he first demonstrated his ability to pursue the solitary life and formed his own first small community, as well as gaining a considerable local reputation as a holy man. Lazaros stayed at Attaleia until the pressures of his growing popularity became intolerable, and he left to fulfill his life-long dream of visiting the Holy Land. He must have been about twenty-five or twenty-six when he arrived in Jerusalem, sometime between 991 and 993.

Lazaros was to stay in the Holy Land until the church of the Holy Sepulchre was demolished and pressure on the Christian residents from Islamic authorities became too great to bear. For a period of probably six years[17] he

[13] See Chap. 4.

[14] See Chaps. 5–6 (which provide the figure of three and a half years), and 254 (which states that he was around eighteen when he left his homeland).

[15] See Chaps. 8–9. For Lazaros' travels, see the map, p. xx, and also that in Ševčenko, "Eastern Provinces," 745.

[16] See Chap. 14.

[17] The figure of six years given in Chap. 16 seems to refer only to the first period Lazaros spent in the lavra of St. Sabas, not his whole time there. The beginning of Chap. 17 certainly suggests this, and it would appear to agree with my general chronology for Lazaros' life, which places his arrival in Jerusalem somewhere between 990 and 993 and his departure in 1009. If this chronology is accepted, he must have spent much longer than six years at St. Sabas—probably fifteen, at least—the balance therefore having been spent after his return from his temporary stay at St. Euthymios. On this interpretation, Lazaros would have been thirty-one or thirty-two following this six-year initial period at St. Sabas, and the date of his expulsion would be between 996 and 999. It should be noted, however, that the other versions of the *vita* do not agree on the length of time Lazaros spent at St. Sabas, although their accounts are not necessarily incompatible with the outline of events suggested above. Gregory of Cyprus (chaps. 13–14, *AASS,* Nov. 3:592–93) appears to suggest that Lazaros spent six years at the

was a monk at the lavra of St. Sabas, at this time a large monastic community a short distance from Jerusalem; but after disobeying the superior with his determination to pursue a solitary way of life in the desert during Lent, he was expelled. He then moved to the monastery of St. Euthymios, also quite near Jerusalem, and spent an unspecified time in that community before becoming disillusioned with the standards of monastic life there.[18] Helped by his initial sponsor, the archdeacon of the church of the Resurrection in the Holy Sepulchre complex in Jerusalem, he was able to secure readmittance to the lavra of Sabas. His second stay seems to have been most successful: he not only became a fully professed monk, but was ordained priest by the patriarch (prior to 1001)[19] and came to occupy the quite senior position of *kanonarches* in the monastery; at the same time he was developing the rigorous ascetic habits which were to characterize the later part of his life.

Lazaros left St. Sabas and the Holy Land shortly after the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the orders of the Fatimid caliph al-Hākim, an event generally dated to September 1009.[20] He would have been forty-two or forty-three when he set out for Asia Minor again, having spent somewhere between sixteen and nineteen years in the Holy Land.[21]

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lavra before his ordination and then the same number again afterward, apparently giving a total of twelve years for his initial stay, since there Lazaros' ordination precedes his expulsion. The Moscow *synaxarion* (f. 218^{v}) says that he labored tirelessly in St. Sabas for ten years, a figure which might be taken as referring only to his second stay. Ševčenko, "Eastern Provinces," 723, suggests a period of thirteen years for Lazaros' stay in Palestine but provides no basis for this figure.

[18] See Chap. 17.

[19] The patriarch mentioned in Chap. 17 as having ordained Lazaros must be Orestes Hieremias, who held office from 15 January 986 until 3 February 1006, as the patriarchate of Jerusalem remained vacant following his death until Theophilos took office in 1012. Since this Orestes was apparently also absent from Jerusalem from 1001 onward, having gone to Constantinople as an ambassador from the Caliph al-Hākim to sign a peace treaty with Basil II, and having remained there until his death, Lazaros' ordination must have taken place before his departure; see Schlumberger, *L'épopée* 2:443, drawing on Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd. On the dates of Orestes' patriarchate, see G. Fedalto, "Liste vescovili del patriarcato di Gerusalemme," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 49 (1983), 17.

[20] See above, n. 8, for the date, and the *vita,* Chap. 19, for discussion of this event.

[21] As is argued below, n. 24, Delehaye (*Stylites,* cxv) is surely mistaken in suggesting Lazaros left in 1006, a figure based only on incorrect internal calculations. Malamut

Lazaros traveled slowly northward toward Asia Minor, stopping and making detours to various pilgrimage sites. After crossing into Byzantine territory at Laodikaia, he visited the "Wondrous Mountain" at Antioch where St. Symeon the Younger had lived as a stylite; this visit made a deep impression on him and undoubtedly influenced the subsequent course of his life. From there he traveled up through Cilicia into Cappadocia and then northward again to visit pilgrimage sites in Pontus, before turning west and returning first to Chonai and finally to Ephesus. His long and arduous journey illustrates vividly the problems and dangers of a solitary traveler at the time. If Lazaros fled Jerusalem in the autumn of 1009, he was probably on Mt. Argeas near Caesarea in Cappadocia in the early spring of 1010,[22] and on the way to Euchaïa by early March of that year;[23] as he then had to travel another six hundred miles or more on foot before reaching the Ephesus area, one may conjecture that Lazaros was not back in his home region until late in that year or early in the following one (1010 or 1011).[24]

(*Route,* 119), who gives the date as 992, is evidently confusing this incident with Lazaros' departure from Attaleia. As mentioned above, Ševčenko ("Eastern Provinces," 723) provides no reason for his figure of only thirteen years for Lazaros' stay. Having established the chronology to this point, it now seems clear that the birth date of 980/81, which is required if Lazaros died at the age of seventy-two (as the versions of Gregory of Cyprus, the epitome, and the Moscow *synaxarion* suggest), is untenable. If he had been born at that later date and the chronology of his early life is sound, he could not have reached Jerusalem until 1004 at the earliest, and more probably not before 1005 or 1006; thus there would simply not have been enough time for the minimum ten- or twelve-year residence attested by these sources. On the other versions of Lazaros' Life, see below, section H.

[22] See Chap. 25.

[23] See Chap. 28.

[24] The *vita,* however, states explicitly (Chaps. 30 and 254) that twenty years elapsed between Lazaros' departure from his homeland and the time he returned to it again. Delehaye (*Stylites,* cxv) suggests on this basis that Lazaros must have returned to Asia Minor in 1006 (not 1013 as Thomas [Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 148] mistakenly claims), and Janin (*Églises centres,* 242 n. 6) agrees in dating Lazaros' return to Ephesus in 1005; Foss (*Ephesus,* 128) evidently follows Delehaye, while Boulhol (*Anagnorismos,* 124) gives the year as 1004 and Lazaros' age as thirty-seven, although he provides no reason for doing so. These dates are, however, impossible if Lazaros witnessed the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in 1009; thus Delehaye's claim that none of the dates he gives "sont contredites par aucun des faits racontés dans la Vie," must be mistaken. If the chronology I have suggested here is correct, then

After a short visit to the general vicinity of his home village and a brief stay at a monastery above the village of Kepion, evidently just outside Ephesus, Lazaros finally settled in the area at a small hermitage dedicated to St. Marina and occupied by two brothers. These men built a pillar for Lazaros, and it was thus here, during his seven years at St. Marina, that he began the career as a stylite which was to bring him such renown. His reputation soon spread and, with the aid of local benefactors, a monastery was constructed to house the disciples who gathered round him. Of particular importance was a wealthy woman called Iouditta, originally from Calabria, who paid for the rebuilding of the church and also adopted Lazaros' young brother Ignatios, who ran away from home to join him during this period.[25] The metropolitan

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Lazaros had in fact been away from the area for far longer than twenty years: twenty-five at least and perhaps as long as twenty-seven since he ran away from the monastery of Strobelion.

One solution to this difficulty is that the author may be using a very round figure here. Another is that the twenty years he mentions may actually refer to the time Lazaros was away from Asia Minor, that is outside Byzantine territory. This latter suggestion would certainly make some sense since, as was shown above, Lazaros left Attaleia somewhere between 991 and 993. Possibly Gregory the Cellarer heard Lazaros give this figure or found it in the *typikon* (see Chap. 246) and mistakenly took it as referring to the time he was away from his specific homeland in the Ephesus region. Other conceivable solutions raise more problems than they solve: perhaps Lazaros did not really witness the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre (but later claimed this in order to legitimize his departure from St. Sabas) or perhaps his seven-year stay at Attaleia is either a fabrication or a misunderstanding of information contained in the *diatyposis,* given the unlikelihood of an inexperienced young man in his late teens or early twenties having been allowed to do what he is said to have done there.

[25] Chronological problems are posed by the *vita's* statement (Chap. 33) that Ignatios was only about eight when he ran away from home to join his brother. Even if he arrived at St. Marina almost immediately after Lazaros, say in late 1011, then the earliest possible date for his birth would be 1003; Lazaros, however, having been born in 966 or 967, must have been at least thirty-six by then. As Lazaros was the fifth child born to his parents (see Chap. 3), his mother Irene/Eupraxia, even had she started having children at a very early age indeed, would have been at least fifty years old in 1003 and thus past normal childbearing age. Furthermore, since Irene/Eupraxia was still alive long after Lazaros had gone up onto Galesion (Chap. 59), Ignatios cannot have been Lazaros' half-brother by a different mother. There seems to be no simple solution: the easiest way out is to suggest that Gregory the Cellarer must have been mistaken or exaggerating in claiming that Ignatios was only eight when he joined his brother; or possibly Ignatios was indeed born when his mother was very old, either by Lazaros'

of Ephesus also evidently granted some land to the community, an important point when considering later strained relations between Galesion and the ecclesiastical authorities in Ephesus.[26] From the chronology established to this point it would appear that Lazaros began his stay at St. Marina in 1011 or possibly 1012,[27] at about the age of forty-five.[28]

The situation of this monastery beside the main road into Ephesus was not well suited to one who aspired to the ascetic ideals of *hesychia.* After seven years there,[29] Lazaros turned to the neighboring mountain, Galesion, which was quite barren and largely uninhabited; he left his pillar at St. Marina and settled instead in a cave that had been previously occupied by a holy man called Paphnoutios. His first stay lasted for only six months before he was ordered off the mountain by the metropolitan of Ephesus,[30] but he returned shortly thereafter, this time to remain for good. It is important to note, however, in view of the prominence of this problem at the end of Lazaros' life, that the authorities in Ephesus openly opposed his settlement on the mountain from the very start. Lazaros' permanent move to Galesion should be

own father or by a second husband. Other answers are mere speculation and are fraught with difficulties: perhaps Ignatios was an illegitimate child of Lazaros' father (who, although dead by the time Lazaros returned to his home [Chap. 30], could still have been alive seven or eight years before); perhaps Irene was not Lazaros' real mother at all (hence her trouble in recognizing him [Chap. 30]); perhaps Lazaros was *not* eighty-six when he died; perhaps the story of his stay at Attaleia *was* a fabrication or an exaggeration; or perhaps Lazaros *did* later invent the story that he witnessed the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre (on which the dating of his return to Asia Minor and of his establishment at St. Marina depends) and in fact returned much earlier, possibly in 1005 as the *internal* evidence of the *vita* would suggest. The problem is insoluble as it stands but the chronology I have suggested appears otherwise sufficiently sound and coherent for it not to be rejected on this basis alone.

[26] On the possible identification of this metropolitan as Theodore II of Ephesus, see below, Chap. 34; he may also have been the metropolitan who opposed Lazaros' initial move from St. Marina to Galesion, see below.

[27] Depending on when he actually returned to the region and how long he spent at Kepion.

[28] See the *vita,* Chaps. 31–32. Delehaye (*vita,* p. 520 [1]) and Janin (*Églises centres,* 243), who use the date of Lazaros' death and the information given in Chap. 254 but do not take into account the dating of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, suggest, respectively, the years 1006–13 and 1005–12 for Lazaros' stay at St. Marina.

[29] See Chaps. 35 and 254.

[30] See Chap. 53.

dated around 1018 or, perhaps more likely (given the six-month trial period) 1019, when he would have been about fifty-two or fifty-three years old.

Lazaros stayed in the cave for a few months at the most before moving onto a pillar which the brethren had built for him nearby.[31] At first he was alone there but, after he nearly died of thirst, a monk went up to live in the cave to look after him.[32] Although the process is not described in any detail in the *vita,* a new community, known as that of the Savior, grew up around Lazaros' pillar and came, in the course of time, to have resident monks and a church.[33] The *diatyposis* (monastic rule) given by Lazaros at the very end of his life limited this community to twelve brothers but, at this earlier time, when it was the only community on the mountain, it may well have been larger.[34] Lazaros spent twelve years at the Savior before moving higher up the mountain to a new pillar, which he had built for him following a disagreement with some of his monks over the constant visits to the community of a nun from Ephesus.[35] This move to his second pillar, that of the Theotokos, must have occurred in 1030 or 1031, when Lazaros was about sixty-four.[36]

The same pattern repeated itself here, with a small community gradually developing around the pillar at this new site,[37] which then became unsuitable

[31] The monastery, and hence, presumably, Lazaros' pillar, was a short distance below the cave of Paphnoutios; see Chap. 52.

[32] See Chaps. 53 and 55.

[33] Chap. 56 shows that people soon started to visit Lazaros there quite regularly. The construction of the church of the Savior is mentioned in passing in Chap. 42 but no details are given. Gregory of Cyprus fills this gap by making Iouditta, to whom the primary *vita* attributes the financing of the new church at St. Marina, responsible for the Savior instead (chap. 25, *AASS,* Nov. 3:598D). My general chronology dates the development of the community of the Savior to the early 1020s.

[34] See Chap. 246. It is not clear if this number includes monks living in the cave of Paphnoutios or in the cell or cells in front of it; certainly there was at least one cell there at a time shortly after Lazaros' death; see Chap. 52.

[35] See Chaps. 57–58.

[36] Janin, *Églises centres,* 243, suggests Lazaros stayed at the Savior from 1012 to 1024.

[37] The *vita* (Chaps. 43, 50, and 64) refers to a number of incidents said to have taken place when Lazaros was living *alone* on the pillar of the Theotokos. This perhaps indicates that a fairly considerable period of time elapsed before the monastery developed there; cf. Chaps. 58 and 61. A tiny chapel appears to be the first development at the site (Chap. 64).

for Lazaros' requirements for some reason. If the tradition preserved by Gregory of Cyprus is to be believed, it became too cramped for his now more ambitious plans, which were to lead to the founding of a third community on the mountain.[38] Certainly the *diatyposis* suggests that the monastery of the Theotokos was only a small establishment at the end of Lazaros' life, of the same size as the Savior.[39] It is unclear exactly how long Lazaros spent at the Theotokos, and it is nowhere stated when precisely he moved up to his last pillar, that of the Resurrection, around which the largest and evidently most enduring community on Galesion was to be founded. The move certainly did not take place before late 1041 (probably not before early 1042) and there are some indications that it may have occurred in mid 1042 or shortly thereafter, when Lazaros was already seventy-five or seventy-six.[40]

[38] Chap. 29, *AASS,* Nov. 3:599E. On this version, see below, section H. Gregory of Cyprus may, however, be confusing or conflating this move with the one from the Savior to the Theotokos, because he describes it as being preceded by the incident in which Lazaros almost died of thirst; according to the primary *vita* (Chap. 55) this happened soon after his move to the mountain and thus when he was still at the Savior. The other incident mentioned, that of the snake sliding inside his tunic (Chap. 67), did indeed take place at the Theotokos.

[39] See Chap. 246.

[40] Chaps. 229–30 provide the crucial evidence establishing the earliest possible date for Lazaros' move to his pillar at the Resurrection. According to the narrative there, the move took place while the anonymous monk, whose escapades form the subject of those chapters, was away from Galesion on the final phase of his adventures. This phase, which involved his absconding from a mission to Constantinople, began at the very earliest in late 1041: he was still in Bulgaria when Peter Deljan was blinded early in that year and evidently "wandered about" for some time after that before making his way back to Galesion, where he remained for another "short" period until he got permission from Lazaros to go on the mission. This must have left before the beginning of June 1042, however, for the monk became involved in the acclamation of Constantine Monomachos as emperor, which occurred early in that month. Chap. 102 also tells the story of a mission that went to Constantinople from Galesion in April 1042 to warn Nikephoros Kampan[ar]es about the insurrection that resulted in the overthrow of Michael V (see Chap. 102). It is unclear how this may relate to the anonymous monk's mission, if at all, but it is conceivable that it was the one from which he absconded; certainly the date accords. Lazaros' move to the site of the Resurrection must thus have taken place between late 1041 (or perhaps April 1042) and the point at which the anonymous monk returned, sometime after June 1042.

Additional, if tenuous, evidence elsewhere in the *vita* corroborates this suggested dating. Chap. 227, which deals with the imposter Dalassenos, may thus refer to a time

Be that as it may, Lazaros, who had evidently been ill for several years,[41] died on his pillar at the monastery of the Resurrection, which by that time had grown into a community of some forty monks,[42] on 7 November 1053, most probably at the age of eighty-six. Gregory the Cellarer says that he had spent forty-one years in all on Galesion,[43] a figure which quite nicely confirms the chronology suggested here if it is taken to include the time he spent at St. Marina, in the foothills, where he established himself in 1011 or 1012.[44]

C. Lazaros as a Person, an Ascetic, and a Teacher

It is often hard to obtain a sense of genuine personality from hagiographical writing, and much of what is said about Lazaros in the *vita* conforms to accepted stereotypes and patterns; nevertheless, there are some fascinating glimpses of Lazaros' character here and the reader is occasionally able to penetrate beneath the simple veneer of pious reputation.

Little is revealed about Lazaros' physical appearance, except that he was evidently a tall man,[45] and, of course, gaunt as a result of his strict asceticism.[46] The harsh regime he followed appears not to have seriously undermined his

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when Lazaros was already at the Resurrection, given that the preceding chapter mentions the icons of the archangels that stood at the foot of his pillar there (cf. Chap. 253). As suggested in the footnotes to Chap. 227, a likely date for the incident may be shortly after the accession of Monomachos, that is, in 1042. At the same time, the episode involving Makrembolites (Chap. 101) may have taken place shortly before or at about the time Michael IV died, that is, in December 1041. As Lazaros is stated to be on the pillar of the Theotokos at that time, these two episodes taken in conjunction would also indicate a date for the move sometime in 1042. This would also tie in with the story contained in the other versions of the *vita* suggesting that Monomachos gave Lazaros the money to build the church of the Resurrection, although, as will be seen below (section F.b., p. 41), the question of this funding is very thorny.

[41] See Chaps. 206–7.

[42] See Chap. 246.

[43] See Chap. 254.

[44] It is only a problem if this first period in the area is excluded, for according to my chronology, Lazaros did not actually move up onto the mountain proper, to the cave at what was to become the community of the Savior, until 1018 or 1019: on this reckoning he spent, at the most, about thirty-five years on the mountain itself.

[45] See Chap. 73.

[46] See Chap. 252.

physical constitution until well into his eighties, when he became seriously ill;[47] even to the end, however, his body is said to have remained in remarkably good condition, considering the circumstances in which he had lived.[48]

As regards Lazaros' character, the most obvious aspect is his lifelong devotion to Christian asceticism. His determination to survive on only the barest necessities and to give away to the needy anything he deemed superfluous revealed itself very early in his life,[49] while his first actual experience of solitary asceticism came when he was in his early twenties, at Attaleia.[50] Presumably the patterns of his ascetic life and diet were already being formed at that time, but they became firmly established during his years at the lavra of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, and were applied with increasing strictness after he returned to the Ephesus region.

While in the Holy Land, Lazaros abstained from wine, except at the Eucharist, as well as oil and cheese.[51] These practices continued at St. Marina where, after a period of time, he also excluded bread from his diet (except for communion bread) and lived entirely on raw vegetables and pulses, which were either boiled without oil or merely soaked in water.[52] At the monasteries of the Savior and the Theotokos, he abstained from cooked food on Wednesdays and Fridays, and, during the three forty-day fasts of the Byzantine liturgical year he would eat nothing at all on weekdays. This harsh regime was moderated a little at the monastery of the Resurrection, but he was already in his late seventies then; indeed, these changes may have occurred only when he lost his teeth and became ill during the last three years of his life. At that stage he was eating cooked food, prepared without oil, daily; he also avoided liquids until evening, when he would have drinks that were sometimes hot and sweetened with fruit juice or honey.[53]

Lazaros' devotion to asceticism was not restricted to his diet. He had evidently already taken to wearing the single leather tunic, which was to char-

[47] See Chaps. 206–8, 221, 223; cf. also, Chap. 82 and perhaps Chap. 68.

[48] See Chap. 252.

[49] See Chaps. 3, 4, 8, 23, 24.

[50] See Chaps. 10–14.

[51] See Chap. 17.

[52] See Chaps. 35 and 81.

[53] See especially Chaps. 81–82; but also Chaps. 45, 53, and 55.

acterize his dress sometime before he returned to the Ephesus region.[54] This continued to be the only real clothing he had all the year round while he was on his various pillars, and even this tunic was only changed after years of use, when it was quite literally falling apart.[55] The only other garments he wore were a cowl, scapular, and stole, although, toward the end at least, he also had a woollen cloak.[56] Lazaros had stopped sleeping on a bed while he was at St. Sabas; for the rest of his life, he used a special little chair instead so that he never lay down at full stretch.[57] Even when he was seriously ill he refused any extra comfort in this respect, although his monks tried hard to offer him some relief in the form of a pillow or cushion.[58] He thus strove to attain the ascetic ideal of perpetual watchfulness, keeping vigil all night and, even when overcome by sleep, only dozing lightly while sitting down.[59] At night he would also engage in the spiritual practice of contrition, weeping and wailing while his monks were singing the vigil service in church.[60]

By the time he was on his first pillar at the community of St. Marina, Lazaros had adopted the practice of wearing ascetic "irons" next to his skin. These were a series of heavy pieces of metal, linked together, that tightly enclosed his upper body from shoulders to waist;[61] they were only removed at his death and seem thereafter to have become a relic in the monastery church.[62] He also evidently suffered greatly from lice and other vermin,[63] but it was his endurance of perpetual exposure to the elements that made the greatest impression upon those who saw him.[64]

[54] See Chap. 26.

[55] At least one such leather tunic lasted for twelve years; see Chaps. 35, 82, 112, 208, 235; cf. Chaps. 59 and 252.

[56] See Chap. 35 (for the former) and Chap. 208 (for the latter).

[57] See Chap. 35; cf. Chap. 162.

[58] See Chap. 208.

[59] See Chaps. 53, 59, 225, 248.

[60] See Chap. 185.

[61] See Chap. 35; cf. Chap. 59.

[62] See Chap. 252 for their removal, Chap. 179 for the suggestion of their use as a relic.

[63] See Chaps. 59, 222, 235.

[64] See, e.g., Chaps. 59, 111, 208, 235. Note that in Chaps. 59–60 reference is made to a period during which Lazaros tried hanging his bare feet outside the pillar through a hole in the wall, although he was eventually persuaded to abandon this practice.

The outstanding feature of Lazaros' ascetic practice was thus his confinement on an open pillar for more than forty years, a feat which placed him in a long tradition of Byzantine stylites. He occupied a total of four pillars during this period,[65] spending seven years on the first (at St. Marina) and roughly twelve years each on the last three on Galesion. Each of his pillars was built to order and, from the scant evidence provided by the *vita,* were similar, at least in their basic features. Most notably these pillars were completely open to the elements, lacking a roof to provide shelter from wind, rain, and snow or shade from the sun.[66] However a wall of some sort enclosed the space on top of the pillar, creating the very cramped and confined "cell" in which Lazaros lived. This wall was high enough to obscure him from the view of anyone standing on a platform that had been built adjoining the cell,[67] but when Lazaros stood up, he could be seen by those below and in front of his pillar;[68] he in turn could see a great deal of what was going on within the monastery and in at least some of the surrounding area.[69] The cell had no door[70] but did have a small window giving access to the platform; Lazaros could open it to speak to visitors and receive his food and other needs, but it could also be secured from the inside.[71] It seems to have provided only a limited view of the area immediately outside, as he was unable to see whether more than one person was waiting to talk to him.[72] The window was nevertheless large enough for him to lean out of[73] and, on one occasion at least, for a visitor to thrust his head and part of his body through in order to examine

[65] As did Symeon Stylites the Elder; Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.,* 26.12.

[66] Lazaros' pillar at St. Marina was initially covered but he later had the roof removed: see Chap. 31. For it being open to the elements, see, e.g., Chaps. 111, 235.

[67] See, e.g., Chap. 81.

[68] See, e.g., Chaps. 117, 128, 142. Chap. 225 also suggests that Lazaros could be seen when he was dozing, although it is unclear exactly from what vantage point and whether he was still standing (perhaps propped up in some way) or was actually seated on his special chair; only the latter would imply much greater visibility. Cf. Chap. 59.

[69] See Chaps. 108, 109, and 236.

[70] When Lazaros was dying, entry had to be gained over the wall by means of a ladder; see Chap. 249.

[71] See, e.g., Chap. 219.

[72] See, e.g., Chaps. 88, 103–4.

[73] See, e.g., Chaps. 87 and 120.

the interior.[74] Access to this window was gained by means of a ladder[75] leading to the platform on which visitors could stand or sit;[76] at the monastery of the Resurrection, at least, icons of the archangels stood there.[77]

The cell at the monastery of the Resurrection may also have had a second window that opened toward, and perhaps even into, the church.[78] Such a feature would, as Delehaye argues, explain the puzzling passages in the *vita* that appear to state unequivocally that the pillar was actually inside the monastery church.[79] The obvious solution is that a later church was constructed around the pillar once Lazaros had abandoned it, but Chapter 160 implies to the contrary that the pillar was definitely *in* (ἐν) the church when his successor, Kerykos, moved onto it, even though this man is also said to have always lived without any shelter. Moreover, Chapter 225, at least as Delehaye understands it, implies that Lazaros could be seen, and poked with a stick, from inside the church during a service.[80] If, however, the pillar abutted the side of the church and had an opening through which Lazaros could observe and even participate in the services, this might account for statements suggesting that the pillar was in the church. Moreover, if the opening was simply a small window, rather than a door, it would explain passages clearly indicating that people had to descend the pillar before they could enter the church.[81]

[74] See Chap. 114; Chaps. 75, 107, and 117 also imply that a kiss of greeting could be given through this window.

[75] See, e.g., Chap. 87.

[76] See, e.g., Chaps. 114 (which refers to the "other part of the pillar") and 107 (where a visitor sits while talking to Lazaros).

[77] See Chap. 226.

[78] See Chap. 249. If the brothers were singing in the church when Jonas gave his shout, it is hard to understand how they would have heard him if he was outside and some distance away from the building; on the other hand, if he opened a window directly into the church there would be no problem. Chap. 118 also seems to imply that one of Lazaros' pillars, probably that at the monastery of the Resurrection, stood very close to the wall of the church on one side; cf. also Chaps. 86 and 252.

[79] See Chaps. 157, 159, and 207; for Delehaye's discussion of these passages, see his *Stylites,* cxii–cxiv.

[80] This, however, is certainly not the only possible interpretation: see the text and the notes on the chapter below.

[81] See, e.g., Chaps. 219 and 252.

The height of the pillars is never specified,[82] but they were apparently relatively low. Certainly a normal conversation could be conducted with people on the ground below and Lazaros could easily be heard when preaching or when addressing the monks who would assemble round it.[83] As has just been seen, the pillar at the monastery of the Theotokos, and probably also that at the Resurrection, was certainly short enough to join onto the wall of the choir of the church, even if it was not later completely incorporated into the building. Little is said, either, about the method of construction used in these pillars, although the one at the Theotokos monastery certainly included masonry,[84] and that at the Resurrection apparently incorporated a water cistern.[85] The pillar at the Savior was built in a dry water course,[86] but otherwise it is implied that the pillars stood in the main courtyard of the monastery that grew up around them.

The exact size of the cell is also never stated. The pillar at the Theotokos is said to have been little more than two feet wide;[87] although this measurement may refer only to the pillar itself,[88] there is no reason for supposing that the cell on top of it was very much larger.[89] When Lazaros was dying at the Resurrection, there was room for at least one monk (and possibly more) in the cell at the same time;[90] the evidence implies, however, that there was really no more space than Lazaros required for standing up and for sitting on his special chair, although there was apparently also an area in which he relieved himself[91] and room for putting a pot of food or drink on the floor. Although

[82] Chap. 58 in the *vita* refers to the pillar of the Theotokos as being "elevated" and implies that the one at St. Marina also fit this description.

[83] See, e.g., Chaps. 57, 108, 120, 128, 142; Lazaros could also evidently be reached with a pole (Chap. 225).

[84] See Chap. 58.

[85] See Chap. 222. Delehaye (*Stylites,* clx) interprets this passage to refer not to a water cistern but to a waste pipe.

[86] See Chap. 53.

[87] See Chap. 235; the figure given is "three spans."

[88] See Delehaye, *Stylites,* clv.

[89] Cf. Chap. 114, where the cell is described as "very confined and stifling" by a distinguished visiting ascetic.

[90] See Chap. 249.

[91] See Chap. 81.

Lazaros sometimes wrote in his cell,[92] this was presumably done on his lap and does not necessarily imply the presence of any other furniture. Nor is there mention of any decoration apart from the symbol of the cross that he had himself engraved in one pillar.[93] He did, however, apparently have tokens on hand to give to visitors and probably some coins for the poor from time to time.[94]

Another fundamental aspect of Lazaros' character that emerges from the *vita* is his extraordinary determination. The primary evidence for this is his long and unfailing endurance of the extremely harsh ascetic lifestyle, but his single-mindedness was already apparent in his early life and travels, which are characterized by his refusal to be deflected from his goals by any obstacle, be it relatives,[95] robbers,[96] soldiers,[97] hostile peasants,[98] political rulers,[99] women,[100] demons,[101] animals,[102] lax monks,[103] or intransigent superiors.[104] The same determination is also epitomized by his refusal to consider abandoning his foundation on Galesion despite prolonged and fierce opposition from the highest ecclesiastical and political authorities and from large numbers of his own monks.[105]

Along with this determination, Lazaros also possessed considerable powers of persuasion. He made an excellent impression on those he encountered or who came to see him and this ability certainly assisted him, both in his

[92] See Chap. 67.

[93] See Chap. 59.

[94] See Chaps. 75, 113, 145; cf. Chap. 248, where the rumor that the pillar was full of gold is mentioned.

[95] See Chaps. 3–4, 30.

[96] See Chaps. 9, 23.

[97] See Chap. 15.

[98] See Chaps. 27, 28.

[99] See Chap. 20.

[100] See Chap. 7.

[101] See Chaps. 7, 25, 28.

[102] See Chaps. 22, 25–27.

[103] See Chaps. 4, 8, 17, 24.

[104] See Chaps. 5, 17.

[105] See below, sections D and F.

own career and in furthering the interests of his monasteries. Important and influential people thus became willing helpers and benefactors, among them members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (like the archdeacon of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem),[106] local lay people (like the Calabrian woman Iouditta at St. Marina),[107] and notable members of the aristocracy and bureaucracy (like Romanos Skleros, or Nikephoros Kampan[ar]es).[108] While the impression Lazaros made late in his life depended to a large extent upon his appearance and reputation, his persuasive abilities predate his celebrity and the establishment of his credentials.[109]

Lazaros' capacity to express himself, in speech and perhaps even in writing, also seem to have been a factor in his influence. Despite his relatively low social background, he had received a good education as a notary in his youth.[110] There are several references in the *vita* to his writing of letters,[111] and these were evidently not only acceptable to people occupying some of the highest positions in the Byzantine world, but also made a considerable impression upon them.[112] Lazaros was clearly not interested in debating theological questions or expounding the finer points of the Scriptures,[113] preferring actions and example to words. The *vita* reveals that he was, nevertheless, a persuasive and memorable teacher, particularly of his monks, who would gather

[106] See Chaps. 16–17; cf. e.g., the metropolitan of Ephesus mentioned in Chap. 34, or the bishop of Philetos, Chaps. 10–11.

[107] See Chap. 34.

[108] See Chaps. 87 and 245 for Romanos; Chap. 102 (cf. Chaps. 105–6) for Nikephoros. For attracting the respect of other important and influential men, see, e.g., Chaps. 101, 103, 105, 107, 118, 119; also, of course, the evident attraction of benefactions from Constantine IX Monomachos and Maria Skleraina, Chap. 245 (cf. 230). Lazaros' contacts with such people are neatly summarized by Morris, *Monks,* 104–5; she also summarizes his benefactors, p. 139; cf. eadem, "Political Saint," 49.

[109] So, e.g., his persuasion of the Armenian soldiers in Chap. 15 or of the emir in Chap. 20, in addition to those mentioned above, like the archdeacon at Jerusalem or the bishop of Philetos.

[110] See Chaps. 3, 4, and 30.

[111] See, e.g., Chaps. 67, 102, 151, 221, 223, 227, and 238.

[112] So his letters to the emperor, which evidently provoked irritation as well as eliciting substantial assistance. Cf. Ševčenko, "Eastern Provinces," 725.

[113] See Chaps. 119–20.

around his pillar to hear him speak or read to them, or who, like some visitors, would receive individual counseling from him.[114] When speaking he liked to make his points briefly but vividly and effectively,[115] and was given to supporting his teaching by reference to patristic examples[116] as well as to the Bible.[117]

Lazaros' great devotion to asceticism does not appear to have completely overwhelmed his sense of humor. The author of the *vita* thus mentions him smiling on a number of occasions and even joking at the folly of his monks or visitors, often as a means of gentle reproach.[118] Similarly appealing to the modern mind is the evidence that Lazaros was a warm, caring person, who was renowned for his benevolence, generosity, and tolerance. He was evidently always concerned with the long-term effect of his actions on the spiritual well-being of those with whom he was dealing, rather than with adherence to strict rules of human conduct and with immediate and superficial appearances of right and wrong. Thieves, for example, were allowed to make off with their ill-gotten gains, were forgiven when apprehended, or were even rewarded with gifts, because Lazaros saw that they were driven to their crimes by the dire economic and social circumstances in which they found themselves; he also believed that generosity would lead more surely to their salvation than would harsh reproaches or punishment.[119] Beggars and other visitors were also treated generously, even when they were suspected of being wrongly motivated or of being outright frauds, and even when this placed serious strains on the resources of the monastery. Indeed, Lazaros went so far as to claim that the real reason God had permitted his foundation to prosper was to look after such people.[120]

The *vita* makes clear, however, that Lazaros' tolerance had its limits and

[114] See, e.g., Chaps. 10, 49, 100, 118, 121, 128, 147, 148, 196, 232.

[115] See Chaps. 101, 105, 119, 122, 184.

[116] See especially Chap. 128; cf. also Chaps. 132–33, 135–37, 144, 148, 157, 162, 163, 186, 210, 216.

[117] See, e.g., Chaps. 181 and 196; but cf. the statement in Chap. 119, which suggests that he tried to avoid too frequent or ostentatious use of such citations.

[118] See, e.g., Chaps. 88, 107, 114, 248.

[119] See, e.g., Chaps. 66, 108, 142, 240, 241.

[120] See, e.g., Chaps. 32, 34, 123, 143, 145, 146, 150, 151, 161, 210, 211, 213, 248. Cf. also Lazaros' devotion to the ideal of Christian charity in his early days in Chaps. 3, 4, 8, 23, 24.

that he was not always amiable and gentle. Thus, when he thought it would be beneficial to an individual or the community at large, he might adopt quite a strict approach to appropriate and proper behavior,[121] and his monks would sometimes be harshly reproved and physically punished for infractions of discipline.[122] Sometimes, too, he would feign great anger for the sake of the effect this might have on the object of his wrath.[123] The *vita* also provides glimpses of genuine and very human irritation and frustration,[124] however, which help to round out his portrait. At one point the author notes that, when roused, Lazaros could be a terrifying man.[125]

Lazaros also gained a reputation for remarkable, indeed sometimes miraculous, insight and foresight, and a number of episodes recorded in the *vita* show that he did possess considerable ability to judge character and to weigh up a particular situation. This allowed him to resolve problems in ways that were not always obvious to those involved; his solutions tended to seek compromise and the best outcome for all concerned (in terms of long-term spiritual benefit), rather than to make definitive judgments in favor of one party or rulings which provided only superficial justice or were based simply on adherence to tradition.[126] This ability also made him very popular as a father confessor; he was able to discern the problems that were troubling people, the sources of the guilt feelings that were making them depressed or miserable, and was thus able to help them unburden themselves of their troubles.[127] He was clearly a very shrewd man, and his biographer is keen to point out that, even though his actions may have appeared at times to be naive or his decisions unwise, he always knew exactly what he was doing.[128]

A final aspect of Lazaros' character to be noted here is his modesty and humility. Possession of such virtues is a standard part of the traditional picture of a Christian holy man, but Lazaros' careful avoidance of praise, his refusal to take credit for his achievements and abilities, and his attempts to practice

[121] See, e.g., Chaps. 91, 95, 118, 119, 147, 148.

[122] See, e.g., Chaps. 11, 49, 57, 77, 182, 183, 188, 194, 195, 203, 204, 224, and 225.

[123] See Chaps. 142, 150, 220.

[124] See Chaps. 202 and 245.

[125] See Chap. 195.

[126] See, e.g., Chaps. 122, 125–26, 127, 129, 131–34, 183, 187, 189, 225.

[127] See, e.g., Chaps. 93, 94, 96, 118, 226.

[128] See, e.g., Chaps. 18, 121, 146, 183, 210.

charity and the like in secret rather than overtly, appear to have been genuine and are borne out by the account of his actions and teaching, at least as recorded in the *vita.*[129]

D. Lazaros as an Eleventh-Century Monastic Leader

Many aspects of Lazaros' character are discernible in the policy and practice he adopted in overseeing the affairs of the monastic communities that formed around him. Here his prime concern was to ensure that the core ideals of cenobitic monasticism were maintained while allowing for the exploration of individual spiritual experience by those who were capable of doing so.[130] His policies and practices thus fit into a pattern detectable in many important monastic foundations of the tenth and eleventh centuries that attempted to blend elements of eremitical and communal life, and which have been characterized as hybrids of cenobitic and lavriote styles of monasticism.[131] Activities

[129] See, e.g., Chaps. 14, 15, 72, 145, 151, 185, 186, 197, 212, 215, 220.

[130] This is perhaps seen most explicitly in Chaps. 180 and 196, but is also implied by many of the passages cited in the following notes. See also the description of Lazaros' style of monasticism in Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change,* 87–88; Kazhdan, "Ideals," 476; and cf. Papachryssanthou, "Vie monastique," 164.

[131] See Morris, *Monks,* 31–63, but esp. 40–42. Morris is, however, perhaps overly determined to place Lazaros in the "lavriote" camp; she thus tends to lay too little stress on his concern to maintain communal aspects of monastic life and to limit the practice of individual asceticism that would take members of his community beyond the normal confines of that lifestyle. For example, Morris states (p. 54) that the monastic habit, with all its symbolism involving tonsure, robes, scapular, and cowl was common in "the great coenobitic houses" but that "this is in marked contrast to Lazaros of Mount Galesion in his hair shirt . . . and vividly marks the difference in <his> monastic approach." Quite apart from the fact the Lazaros is not said to have worn a hair shirt, the *vita* reveals that he actually argued for the preservation of the three levels of monastic habit for his monks (Chap. 130), ensured that a new habit was issued to them each year (Chap. 145; cf. the stipulation in the *diatyposis,* Chap. 246), and wore the cowl, stole, and scapular himself (Chap. 35, although it is to be noted that the passage is taken from the Life of St. Stephen the Younger and applied to Lazaros; cf., however, Chap. 160 where the stylite Kerykos is also said to have worn a scapular and cowl that he made for himself out of wool). In contrast to Morris, see Thomas ("Evergetine Reform," 249–52; Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 151–52) who emphasizes Lazaros' struggle to preserve cenobitic forms at a time when these were threatening to break down under the weight of individual interests.

which tended to undermine the communal life of the monastery or attitudes and practices that threatened the equality of its members[132] were frowned upon by Lazaros, who attempted to eradicate them whenever possible. Private acts of worship,[133] refusal to participate in communal meals,[134] the possession of private property or money, and the pursuit of private interests were all condemned.[135] At the same time, the role and responsibility of the superior, in deciding not only matters of communal importance but the minutiae of the lives of each individual in his monastery, was emphasized.[136] For Lazaros, the spiritual well-being of the individual depended upon long experience of, and training in, the communal monastic life, together with the practice of the accompanying virtues, especially obedience.[137] Individual expressions of spirituality were permissible (and perhaps ultimately to be sought), but only when they originated *within* this framework. A number of other stylites are thus

[132] For stress on equality, see, e.g., Chap. 187. This is also implied by Lazaros' condemnation of the possession of personal property; but compare Chap. 227, where a supposed nobleman is said to have been treated with "respect" by the father and the brothers because of his background.

[133] See, explicitly, Chap. 138; cf. also the emphasis placed on the necessity for, and benefits of church attendance by Lazaros (and Gregory the Cellarer), e.g., Chaps. 139, 157, 177, 182, 185, 204.

[134] See, e.g., Chaps. 147; cf. Chaps. 184, 204.

[135] See Chaps. 143, 145, 148, 163, 191–93, 202, 204, 216, 228.

[136] Morris (*Monks,* 42) suggests that Lazaros' "role as *hegoumenos* was, in the lavriote tradition, more advisory than administrative," with the day-to-day running of affairs left to an *oikonomos.* This is certainly the approach envisaged in the *diatyposis,* and may well have become necessary as Lazaros himself became older and the community larger, perhaps after his move up to the monastery of the Resurrection; it is also implied by his evident desire to escape the problems of communal life at the Savior by moving to the (then) remote pillar of the Theotokos. The *vita* clearly shows, however, that, for much of his life at St. Marina and on Galesion he was closely involved in the day-to-day affairs of the monasteries; note, e.g., the apparent requirement that monks coming and going from the monastery should report to him in order to receive his blessing (Chaps. 134, 185, 249); his personal control of monastery business (implied in Chaps. 134, 154, 156, 249); and his involvement in disputes about personal property (Chap. 148) or even the legitimacy of peeling fruit before it was eaten (Chap. 57). My interpretation of Lazaros' role here thus agrees more closely with Kazhdan's view ("Ideals," 476) than with that of Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 152).

[137] See, e.g., Chaps. 158, 180, 198, 200, 201.

mentioned in the Galesiote community,[138] but permission to adopt such a solitary way of life had to be obtained from Lazaros himself, who would grant it only in exceptional circumstances and with great reluctance, while emphasizing the dangers involved.[139] At the same time he stressed that those who could not aspire to such heights of spiritual achievement were in no sense inferior; their quest for salvation simply followed a different, rather than a lesser, path.[140] Similarly, Lazaros emphasized that those whose backgrounds suited them only to the more menial tasks in the monastery were not inferior to the choir-monks and that each way of life had advantages and disadvantages:[141] all men were equal in the eyes of God and it was merely human vanity and pride to differentiate between them.

Lazaros was concerned with the well-being of his whole flock, not just that of the spiritual stars or those who possessed exceptional abilities. He thus sought to apply and stress in his communities (as in his own life) those elements of the Christian message that emphasized the need to value and care for the weak, the poor, and the less able. There was thus a constant stress on the advantages of perseverance,[142] of determination, and of true asceticism.[143] Moreover, Lazaros' clear devotion to the ideals of toleration meant that he was almost always prepared to give those who failed a second chance, to forgive those who caused trouble for him or the community, and to give the benefit of the doubt in even the most unpromising circumstances.[144]

The *vita* reveals that many monks believed it was perfectly possible to practice their monasticism in ways that ran counter to, and indeed sometimes fell far short of, the ideals espoused by Lazaros; as a result he encountered

[138] So Kerykos (Chap. 159), Nikon, and Merkourios (Chap. 175); Laurentios "the Stylite" (first mentioned in Chap. 71 but also on several other occasions) probably only adopted this way of life after Lazaros' death. Note also the monk who is implied by Chap. 61 to be living as a solitary on the mountain.

[139] See, e.g., Chaps. 175, 189, 196, 197, 204; cf., again, Chap. 81.

[140] See, e.g., Chaps. 181, 187, and 194.

[141] See Chap. 182.

[142] See, e.g., Chaps. 62, 100, 152, 216.

[143] See, e.g., Chaps. 140, 149, 162, 173.

[144] There are numerous examples in the *vita.* See, e.g., Chaps. 66, 99, 100, 108, 129, 142, 143, 152, 188, 201–3, 228, 230, 232, 239, 242. For Lazaros making special allowances for the weak and sick, see, e.g., Chaps. 139, 148, and 149.

strong and determined opposition from within his flock when he attempted to impose those ideals.[145] The *vita* may, then, be seen as providing interesting evidence concerning the state of Byzantine monasticism during the first half of the eleventh century, and in particular may bear witness to a decline at that time in the acceptance of cenobitic forms.[146] Lazaros has thus been hailed as a precursor of reforms that were attempted later in the eleventh century, even though he himself was unsuccessful in some respects in putting his ideals into practice on Galesion.[147]

In this situation Lazaros' policy and practice of monastic management led to his being accused by some of lax discipline, even of sinfulness and corruption,[148] and, by others, of unnecessary rigidity and harshness.[149] Lazaros thus stood between, or perhaps fell between, those who held extreme positions at either end of the Byzantine monastic spectrum. He was opposed, on the one hand, by those who wished to limit monasticism to ardent and completely committed ascetics, and who believed that the pursuit of solitary and individual spiritual goals, independent of control by a superior and free of the constraints of communal existence, was the highest, indeed perhaps the only, true form of Christian life. On the other hand, he ran into trouble with those who saw monasticism as little more than an extension of ordinary life in which the pursuit of personal and individual interests (in terms of the regulation of lifestyle, the conduct of handiwork or trade, and the possession of property and money), and the perpetuation of distinctions of birth, wealth, and education, were to be permitted as a matter of course in a loosely ordered community. Proponents of this view felt that such a community should enjoy the privileges and benefits associated in the Byzantine world with religious establishments, but be unrestricted by many of the more arduous and troublesome controls of traditional cenobitic monasticism.[150]

[145] Chaps. 193 and 202 provide evidence of how extreme this opposition became.

[146] Lazaros himself makes an interesting general comment on this in Chap. 232.

[147] See Thomas, "Evergetine Reform," 249–52; Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 151–53.

[148] See, e.g., Chaps. 57, 82–83, 99, 143, 152, 221, 226, 231–32, 240, 248.

[149] See, e.g., Chaps. 138, 143, 148–49, 162, 182, 187, 193.

[150] The difficulties faced by successful monasteries during this period in balancing the practical needs for territorial and economic expansion with the almost inevitable spiritual compromise this required are clearly described and shrewdly analyzed by

Lazaros' relations with his monks were not always easy, and at times became openly hostile, particularly toward the end of his life. While many of these difficulties arose from his views on the fundamental meaning and purpose of monasticism, others appear to have their roots in the particular situation that developed on Galesion. Many monks were pessimistic about the community's survival after Lazaros' death, in view of determined opposition from the ecclesiastical authorities in Ephesus. Moreover, some were unhappy with his desire that his own brother Ignatios take over as superior,[151] and some were disturbed by Lazaros' refusal to understand or act on their concerns.[152] Lazaros was seen as being not only intransigent but also out of touch with the realities of the situation; he thus provoked the opposition of those monks who believed that a simple, legal solution, acceptable to all parties, would be to leave Galesion for the monastery of Bessai, which Lazaros himself had founded nearby. By the end of his life, then, Lazaros' very powerful and determined character and his unwavering conviction of his own divinely inspired correctness had deeply divided his community and nearly destroyed all that he had achieved on Galesion. Yet, history refuted his critics and proved him correct, as the author of the *vita* is pleased to point out, for the monastery, which was the product and epitome of the sterner elements of his character, survived, as did the memory of the saint's warmer, gentler, and more human qualities.

E. Galesion as a Monastic Center

a) Earlier Monastic Settlement on the Mountain

Gregory the Cellarer held that Lazaros' greatest miracle was his establishment of the three monastic communities on Galesion, considering the

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Morris (*Monks,* 200–240). Lazaros was evidently caught in this dilemma; his own position was one of refusal to compromise the demands of true *eremia,* while his opponents within his community favored a more practical solution to the problems that arose as Galesion developed into a major and well-endowed monastic institution.

[151] See Chaps. 221 and 202.

[152] On opposition from Ephesus, see below, sections F and G, pp. 36, 38–39, 45–48, 56–57. For expressions of pessimism about the future, see, e.g., in the *vita,* Chaps. 140–41, 245, and 247; cf. also 249. The extent of this pessimism may perhaps be judged by the fact that even such leading figures in the community as Laurentios "the stylite" (Chap. 217) and Gregory the Cellarer himself (Chap. 170) were thinking of leaving Galesion after Lazaros' death.

meager resources with which he began the undertaking.[153] Lazaros was not the first holy man to try to live on the mountain, but he was evidently the first to bring organized monasticism there and to attract considerable numbers of visitors and pilgrims to its hostile and barren environment. Prior to his arrival a number of solitaries are said to have lived on Galesion; indeed Gregory goes so far as to say that there were always monks living on the mountain,[154] although the evidence that he cites apparently relates only to the relatively recent past.

The most notable of these solitaries was Paphnoutios, whose rather lurid story is related at length by Gregory, and who, according to traditions preserved in the monastery, was the first to live in the cave near the monastery of the Savior.[155] It would seem that this was some considerable time before Lazaros arrived, long enough for legendary stories to be associated with him, but not so long that all recollection of him and his successor had faded from local memory.[156] Paphnoutios was followed in the cave, according to this tradition, by the unfortunate shepherd who had accidentally shot him and who afterwards remained there until his own death; this man's skull was still preserved as a relic in the church of the Savior when Gregory composed the *vita,* although Paphnoutios' remains had been translated to Constantinople.[157] Another man is also said to have attempted the solitary life in this cave, and indeed had built a cistern in it for water; he did not remain there, however, but moved to a chapel of the Prodromos, which he also constructed, further down the mountain. Someone else had apparently built a church or chapel, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, somewhere on the mountain.[158]

Apart from these people, who had all gone by the time Lazaros arrived, Gregory was familiar with a tradition that a nun was still living on the mountain when Lazaros took up residence,[159] and a solitary was also living on the pillar of Petra, just above the village of Galesion toward the base of the mountain. Lazaros visited this man on two occasions while moving to Galesion,

[153] See Chap. 79; cf. also Chaps. 62 and 85.

[154] See Chap. 62.

[155] See Chaps. 36–40.

[156] Some major elements of the story are not original. Chap. 45 states that an icon of Paphnoutios still hung in the cave near the end of Lazaros' life.

[157] See Chap. 40.

[158] See Chap. 62.

[159] Ibid.

but the solitary was on the point of leaving to seek a more peaceful spot. The pillar later became incorporated into the general Galesiote monastic community.[160]

b) Lazaros' Primary Foundations on Galesion

The core monasteries of the community on Galesion, those of the Savior, the Theotokos, and the Resurrection, were located quite high up on the mountain, which lay to the north of Ephesus and was notorious for its barrenness and lack of water; it is to be identified with the modern Alamandağ.[161] The *vita* thus reveals that they were well above the village of Galesion and also above the area of Chalkos Halonios, which, in its upper regions in the central part of the mountain, included a difficult pass that had to be negotiated to reach the monastic colony.[162] The *vita* also makes clear that the pillars at the Savior and Theotokos, and the monasteries which came to surround them, were built in a gorge west of the main summit, the Theotokos being somewhat higher up than the Savior;[163] the Resurrection, a larger foundation than the others, was still farther up the mountain, perhaps above the gorge, rather than actually in it.[164] Most travelers to these monastic settlements set out from Ephesus and approached by the main path that ran through the village of Galesion and on up the mountain, but access could also be gained from another direction by a path that came down from near the summit.[165]

Little firm evidence is provided in the *vita* about the plan of any of the monasteries themselves or even about their facilities. They were apparently

[160] See Chaps. 41 and 53. On the location of this pillar and its later inhabitants, see Chaps. 159 and 175.

[161] See Delehaye, *vita,* 502B; idem, *Stylites,* cvi; Janin, *Églises centres,* 241, 248; Malamut, "Bessai," 244; Morris, *Monks,* 40; cf. Foss, *Ephesus,* 120. On the barrenness of the mountain in the *vita,* see, e.g., Chaps. 36, 186, 216, 218, 219, and references to water having to be transported from the river or the cistern at the Savior, Chaps. 45, 91, 174–76.

[162] See Chaps. 77, 154–55; cf. also Chaps. 41 and 56. The journey to these locations was difficult and visitors, at least in the early days, needed a guide; see, e.g., Chap. 46.

[163] See Chaps. 47, 50, 52–54, 58, 169; cf. Chap. 100, which implies that the monastery of the Savior was a very confined and oppressive place to live.

[164] See, e.g., Chap. 174.

[165] See Chap. 64.

unwalled,[166] although there was a definite entrance,[167] and each came to have cells for the brothers; buildings, which included a kitchen[168] and, at least in one or two of the foundations, a guest house where lay visitors were housed separately from visiting monks,[169] probably surrounded a courtyard in which stood Lazaros' pillar and the church.[170] After the monastery of the Resurrection was built toward the end of Lazaros' life, some functions were centralized there: it was thus the location of the pantry from which supplies were distributed to the other two monasteries[171] and probably also of the main guest house, as well as of the *archontarion,* a facility designed to house distinguished visitors and boasting the only real beds on the mountain.[172] Unfortunately, no physical remains have yet been located to allow a better idea of the topography of the monasteries on Galesion to be formed.[173]

c) Other Foundations and Properties Controlled by Lazaros

In addition to the monasteries of the Savior, the Theotokos, and the Resurrection, the *vita* mentions a number of other establishments on the mountain and in its vicinity that were either founded by Lazaros or came to be included within the general compass of the Galesiote community; it also controlled some more distant properties.

During Lazaros' lifetime, Galesion exercised control over, or had very close relations with, three or four monastic communities in the vicinity of the mountain: those of St. Marina,[174] Eupraxia, the Theotokos at Bessai, and the

[166] See Chap. 144.

[167] See Chaps. 207, 243; cf. Chap. 142.

[168] See Chaps. 86 and 236.

[169] See Chaps. 86, 142, 150, 162, and 243.

[170] See Chaps. 49 and 107.

[171] See Chap. 209.

[172] See Chap. 162.

[173] See Foss, *Ephesus,* 130, and cf. W. Müller-Wiener, "Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt* 11 (1961), 112–16.

[174] Chap. 193 shows that St. Marina continued to function in some capacity long after Lazaros established himself on Galesion. Chap. 160, although possibly referring to the early period, may also imply that the community on the mountain continued to enjoy the produce from St. Marina's holdings of arable land on the plain below the foothills. There would seem to be no grounds for claiming, as does Thomas (Thomas

Pausolype.[175] Also mentioned is at least one subsidiary foundation on the mountain itself, the "house of Philippikos,"[176] while another, that of Varva[ni]-tziana, was close by.[177] Other monasteries such as Kampsai,[178] may also have had ties to Lazaros' foundation. More distant properties, such as the *metochion* of Mathaia,[179] the *proasteion* alluded to in Chapter 90 (which was evidently more than a day's journey distant),[180] or the *proasteion* of Pentakrene,[181] are also mentioned.

The convent of Eupraxia must have been close by, probably at or near the foot of the mountain,[182] as was the monastery of St. Marina, which seems to have been across the river (probably the Caystros) from Galesion, on the route to Ephesus.[183] Bessai, too, was evidently quite close, although Chapter

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and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 149), that "the metropolitan of Ephesos had evidently reclaimed the administration of St. Marina after Lazarus' departure."

[175] Two of these foundations may, in fact, be the same; see below, section F.a., p. 35.

[176] See Chap. 221. See also Janin, *Églises centres,* 245 and n. 3. Morris (*Monks,* 215) takes *oikos* (house) to refer to a farmstead here.

[177] See Chaps. 91 and 92. A monk, Germanos, who would appear to be from Lazaros' community, was steward when Gregory the Cellarer was writing the *vita.* The monastery may also have possessed an estate at Komothon, which was perhaps not far from this place; see Chap. 91 and also Morris, *Monks,* 215.

[178] See Chap. 221.

[179] See Chap. 144.

[180] The mention in the same chapter of monks going to Lydia to collect grain might conceivably suggest that the monastery owned property there too.

[181] See Chap. 244. Chaps. 90, 246, and 247 confirm that the community possessed a number of *proasteia.* Another named *proasteion,* Epoptine, is said specifically to have belonged to the Pausolype; the importance of this particular property is discussed in section F.a., below, p. 35.

[182] The admission to this convent of a number of female relatives of Galesiote monks would suggest quite close proximity (see Chaps. 74, 164, 201), as would the fact that Eupraxia herself (Lazaros' mother Irene) visits her son on at least one occasion (Chap. 59) and also witnesses the remarkable monk Isaiah "in the middle of the gorge where the cross is set up" (Chap. 199), presumably while on her way up or down the mountain.

[183] The hermitage that was to become the monastery of St. Marina during Lazaros' occupancy lay by a spring in the foothills of the mountain of Koumaron (Chap. 31); this slightly elevated location is confirmed by Chap. 160. Chaps. 34, 36, and 160 also clearly indicate that St. Marina possessed cultivated land on the plain below it and lay quite close to a major road that led directly into Ephesus. This road apparently formed

247 indicates that there was room for several *proasteia* between it and Galesion and that it was separated from the main community on the mountain by a hilly or mountainous ridge.[184] Like St. Marina, it was apparently on the other side of the river at the foot of the mountain in a location both better supplied with water and more suited to agriculture and trade than the main community.[185]

Some of these communities, like the *proasteion* of Pentakrene, were very small indeed,[186] but others, like the convent of Eupraxia or the monastery of the Theotokos at Bessai, were larger. The convent of Eupraxia, which was headed by Lazaros' mother after she had been tonsured by her son, counted among its sisters some female relatives of monks who were members of the community on the mountain.[187] Bessai seems to have been the largest foundation in the area, with more than two hundred monks in comparison to around sixty-four on Galesion.[188]

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part of the route from Galesion to the city, as Chap. 193 implies, although when Lazaros moved to the mountain from St. Marina (Chap. 53), he had to cross the river before he could begin his ascent of the foothills of the mountain and visit the pillar of Petra that stood just above the village of Galesion. This suggests that Koumaron should not be identified with Galesion. See also here, Janin (*Églises centres,* 242–43), Foss (*Ephesus,* 128), and Malamut ("Bessai," 245–46), who, in light of the above evidence, agree in situating the monastery on the left bank of the Caystros by the main highway north of Ephesus.

[184] See Chap. 247 for further discussion of this information.

[185] See Chap. 218. A certain amount of scholarly discussion has taken place over the question of whether the Bessai (Βέσσαι) of the *vita* should be identified with the Bessai (Βῆσσαι) mentioned by an imperial chrysobull dated to May 1054 (Zepos, *Jus* 1: 637) as being near a place called Ataia and being required to supply one thousand *modia* of wheat a year to the Nea Mone on Chios. Malamut ("Bessai," 248–51) argues convincingly that these two places are distinct, although she does not take into consideration the discussion of the topic in Foss, *Ephesus,* 129 n. 52. Foss suggests that if the Ataia of the chrysobull is emended to Anaia (a port on the Ionian coast just to the south of Phygela; see Chap. 75), then they may in fact be identical; the internal evidence, however, would still appear to place Bessai too close to Galesion for this identification to be convincing.

[186] See Chap. 244.

[187] See Chaps. 164 and 201; cf. Chap. 74. Janin (*Églises centres,* 245) comments briefly on this establishment; see also Talbot, "Family," 129; eadem, "Comparison," 3.

[188] Chap. 246 specifies that there are to be forty monks at the Resurrection and twelve each at the Savior and the Theotokos, for a total of sixty-four. Chap. 79, in

F. Problems Concerning Lazaros' Foundations

a) The Relationship of the Pausolype and Bessai to Galesion

While the *vita* provides evidence for the existence of the monastic communities and properties mentioned in the preceding section, it actually raises more questions than it answers concerning their relationship to Lazaros' principal foundations on Galesion. Many of these problems are probably insoluble, given the present state of the evidence, but they deserve consideration, for they have an important bearing on understanding both the nature of the situation in which Lazaros left the Galesiote community at his death and on some of the motives involved in the writing of the *vita.*

Nothing is said in the *vita* about the formal relationship of either the St. Marina or the Eupraxia communities to Galesion.[189] Some material is, however, provided on the ties of Bessai and the Pausolype to the mountain but it is, unfortunately, problematic. The difficulties are compounded by the fact that most of the evidence is contained in the later stages of the *vita* where the text is sometimes quite badly broken: vital elements have sometimes been lost and accounts break off, tantalizingly, in the middle.

The problem posed by the relationship of the monastery of the Pausolype to both Galesion and Bessai is relatively uncomplicated. According to Chapter 245 of the *vita,* "most of the construction" of the Pausolype was financed by a generous donation of seven hundred and twenty *nomismata* from Maria Skleraina, the mistress of Constantine IX Monomachos. This donation was made "after she had heard about <Lazaros> from her brother," a probable allusion to the visit of Romanos Skleros to Galesion (Chap. 87), a visit which evidently made a considerable impression upon him. In that case, the donation must almost certainly have been made between the accession of Constantine

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reference to Lazaros' foundation of the three monasteries on the mountain *and* Bessai, mentions a total figure of three hundred monks. Even if this number also includes totals for some of the other minor foundations, it implies a community of more than two hundred at Bessai, making it a very substantial monastery. Foss (*Ephesus,* 129) agrees with this figure, but Janin (*Églises centres,* 245) seems to be mistaken in suggesting "qu'il ait compté jusqu'à trois cent moines du vivant même de Lazare"; he is followed by Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 149).

[189] Janin (*Églises centres,* 245) suggests that St. Marina was probably not subordinate to Galesion.

IX and Maria's death, that is between 1042 and early 1046 at the latest,[190] although it is impossible to tell when the project was actually carried out. It is not entirely clear, however, whether this foundation was distinct from the one at Bessai. Janin is noncommittal on the subject,[191] but Malamut has tentatively suggested that the Pausolype should be identified with Bessai;[192] her arguments are certainly cogent, but my own interpretation of the text of Chapters 246 and 247 suggests the opposite.[193] The allusion to the two places in very much the same context in Chapter 245, without any suggestion that they are identical, could be interpreted either way, but, when they are again mentioned together (Chap. 247), it would appear to be precisely for the purpose of contrasting them: Bessai is to depend on Galesion for its support, while the Pausolype is demonstrably self-supporting as it possesses the *proasteion* of Epoptine.[194] One could equally well suggest that the Pausolype be identified with the convent of Eupraxia and speculate that Maria may have intended to fund a female monastic establishment to parallel the male one supported by Constantine Monomachos.

The issues surrounding the foundation at Bessai are far more involved. One of the few definite points which may be established from the *vita* is that the monastery at Bessai was constructed on land granted by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos for the remembrance of both himself and his mistress Maria Skleraina.[195] The date of this grant, however, is not clear: the text does not establish whether Maria was alive or dead at the time, although the immediate mention in the same passage of her own substantial donation might suggest the former, and thus again give a date somewhere between late 1042 and early 1046.[196]

[190] She died ca. 1045, and certainly before May 1046; see the note in Chap. 245.

[191] Janin, *Églises centres,* 245.

[192] Malamut, "Bessai," 247; she is followed by Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 149).

[193] See also Seibt, *Skleroi,* 75.

[194] See below, Chaps. 246 and 247 in the *vita* on the considerable problems involved in translation and interpretation of this passage.

[195] See Chap. 245.

[196] A date for the donation prior to the death of Maria Skleraina is also proposed by Malamut, "Bessai," 246, although, as she points out, the actual construction, or at least completion, of the monastery was delayed. Morris (*Monks,* 42) gives a date for the foundation of Bessai between 1046 and 1050 but provides no reason for doing so.

We also know for sure that Bessai was founded by Lazaros himself,[197] while the circumstances that led to the start of the construction of the church of the Theotokos there (and, probably, the monastery as a whole) are also described.[198] Lazaros had had problems with the ecclesiastical authorities in Ephesus from the very start of his career on Galesion when he was ordered off the mountain by the metropolitan very soon after his initial move from the monastery of St. Marina; it was apparently only by taking advantage of this man's absence in Constantinople that he was able to establish himself there permanently.[199] These problems, prompted by Ephesus' legal ownership of the mountain and its insistence that Lazaros and his communities had no rights there,[200] had continued over the years. Indeed, they evidently worsened toward the end of Lazaros' life, possibly following the foundation of his third, much larger (and thus threateningly permanent) monastery of the Resurrection.[201] The worried monks of Lazaros' community, faced by this increasingly determined and unpleasant opposition, first persuaded him to appeal to the emperor to extricate them from their difficulties;[202] then, after this attempt was deliberately thwarted, started nagging Lazaros "rather differently" to found another monastery to which they could retire if they were forced to leave Galesion after his death. The result was the Theotokos at Bessai.

Unfortunately there is no clear indication of the date of these events or the identity of the emperor in question. It is thus impossible to say whether the attempted mission to secure aid from Constantinople on this occasion was related to the interest in Galesion already shown by Monomachos, Maria Skleraina, and Romanos Skleros, or whether it predates this. The phrasing of the brethren's plea to Lazaros in Chapter 239 may suggest that this incident

[197] See Chaps. 216 and 245. Gregory of Cyprus, in his version of the *vita* (*AASS,* Nov. 3:602E–F), suggests that an unnamed monastery, which may plausibly be identified with Bessai (see Janin, *Églises centres,* 244 n. 7), was founded by a disgruntled *oikonomos* as an attractive rival to Galesion, rather than by Lazaros himself. On this version of the *vita,* see below, section H.

[198] See Chap. 239.

[199] See Chap. 53.

[200] See Chap. 245.

[201] In general on such problems of disputed control between lay or monastic founders and local bishops, see especially Morris, *Monks,* 149–54. On Galesion and Ephesus in particular, see also Thomas, *Religious Foundations,* 217; cf. also 157 n. 30.

[202] See Chaps. 238–39.

took place before the specific grant of land for the monastery at Bessai had been made.[203] The monks thus urge Lazaros to "look around somewhere else and find a place <that's> free and found another monastery there," implying that they, at any rate, knew of no specifically designated or even obvious place for such a foundation at this time. In that case one might hypothesize that another mission went to Constantinople, now certainly to Constantine Monomachos, to actively solicit his grant of the land for Bessai.[204]

Whatever the circumstances of its foundation, Bessai had certainly been in operation for at least some time before Lazaros died in late 1053. Quite apart from the imperial instruction (evidently issued shortly before his death) that he himself should move there,[205] there are several accounts of monks already living at Bessai while he was still alive;[206] indeed, Lazaros sent his own brother Ignatios, the future superior of Galesion, there.[207]

One of the biggest problems in the *vita* with regard to the foundation at Bessai is that both Lazaros and Gregory the Cellarer appear keen to cast aspersions on that monastery at every opportunity. By the end of his life, Lazaros was doing his best to ensure its secondary and second-rate status in comparison to his establishments on Galesion; he thus describes Bessai as a place for "tradesmen."[208] He evidently saw it as an appropriate place for monks who could not endure the rigors of life on the mountain and were unable to fulfill his stated ideal of perseverance in the harsh conditions there; it even had diabolical approval, being the place to which the Devil tried to lure a monk who wished to go back up to Galesion.[209] Furthermore, Lazaros' apparent intention in the stipulations concerning Bessai included in his *diatyposis,* even on a charitable interpretation of Chapters 246 and 247, was to

[203] That mentioned in Chap. 245.

[204] This mission could not be one of those mentioned at the end of Lazaros' life, since they obviously postdate the foundation of Bessai; see Chap. 245, e.g., and the discussion below, section F. b., pp. 46–47. Thus the suggestion by Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 149) that the foundation of Bessai resulted from Lazaros' steward [*sic*] Gabriel's negotiations with Monomachos is to be discounted.

[205] See Chap. 245; cf. Chaps. 217 and 253.

[206] See Chaps. 202, 216–18.

[207] See Chaps. 52 and 221.

[208] See Chap. 216.

[209] See Chap. 218.

ensure that this monastery could not deprive Galesion of its means of support;[210] more plausibly, these stipulations may have been intended to ensure that Bessai stood in a position of complete economic, if not administrative, dependence to Lazaros' own community on the mountain. It was thus specified that Bessai was to receive from the *proasteia* lying between the two foundations only what was surplus to the requirements of the monks on Galesion and, if there were no such surpluses, it was to receive nothing at all.[211] It would appear that Lazaros wished Bessai to be of no concern at all to those who were administering the community on the mountain; even the statement in Chapter 246 that it was to have its own superior may be taken, in this rather negative atmosphere, to be an indication of Lazaros' wish to sever all but the most essential economic ties. Finally, Chapter 217 makes it plain that the church of the Theotokos at Bessai was still unfinished at this time, and it would appear that Lazaros was quite happy for it to remain so.

But why did this hostility arise? How can one explain this negative attitude on Lazaros' part toward an establishment he had himself founded? As his views evidently puzzled even some of his own monks, to judge from the rather angry debate recorded in Chapter 245 of the *vita,*[212] I shall offer only a number of tentative suggestions.

It has already been mentioned that the actual impetus for the foundation of Bessai came not from Lazaros himself and his own vision of the development of his community, but rather from the desire of some (perhaps many) of his monks to find a safe haven from the interference and abuse they were encountering from the ecclesiastical authorities in Ephesus.[213] Lazaros evidently viewed such worries about future security as weakness and interpreted the attitude of these monks as showing both a lack of commitment to the true ascetic ideal and a lack of faith in the divine economy. Thus the imperial grant which provided land and perhaps money for Bessai, instead of furthering La-

[210] On the interpretation of this passage and the crucial question of the translation of the verb διοικεῖν, see below, Chaps. 246–47.

[211] This is also the understanding of Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 149). For a different interpretation of this passage, see Kaplan, *Les hommes,* 306, and, more fully, idem, "Evergetis," 111; also Morris, *Monks,* 215; for details, see below, Chap. 246 n. 1011.

[212] Cf. also the question posed by the eunuch Stephen in Chap. 216.

[213] See Chap. 239.

zaros' own policies, actually served to undermine them, for it facilitated the establishment of this "lesser" monastery to which disgruntled and "weaker" brethren from the mountain could now go, while still nominally remaining in the Galesiote fold. Furthermore, as the later part of the *vita* shows, it provided Lazaros' opponents, both outside and within his community, with a perfect excuse for putting pressure on him to leave the mountain where his presence was illegal; the situation could be easily resolved were he to take himself and his community down to the establishment at Bessai where he had every right to be.

Lazaros died before the dispute with Ephesus was resolved, and there are a number of interesting hints in the *vita* that this was an ongoing issue at the time of its composition. Problems, which are clearly not unconnected, seem also to have arisen with a now more independent and assertive Bessai. For instance, Gregory the Cellarer's otherwise brief description of the contents of Lazaros' *diatyposis* and his treatment of the discussion that surrounded it is dominated by the topic of relations between Galesion and Bessai. He himself appears to realize that this emphasis is rather strange, and comments somewhat cryptically, after he has finished describing the document, "I have not written <all> this about our holy father's [Lazaros'] rule without good reason, as someone might claim, but so that we may learn the truth from this when we are seeking it."[214] The primary *vita* is also very careful to discount the possibility that Lazaros never signed this document while he was still alive,[215] unlike the later versions of the Life, where this incident has been turned into a posthumous miracle.[216] Gregory the Cellarer takes equal care to establish

[214] See Chap. 246.

[215] See Chaps. 246 and 250.

[216] Gregory of Cyprus' account (chap. 42, *AASS,* Nov. 3:605E–606B) thus tends to the overtly miraculous, for there Lazaros is said to have been found dead (rather than simply unconscious), but then miraculously revived not once but twice—first producing the *diatyposis* that he had himself written, and then signing it. A similar version of this episode is contained in the Moscow *synaxarion* (Moscow, Historical Museum [ГИМ] 369/353, ff. 220–220v; on these versions, see section H, below). It is, however, also possible that instead of being a simple piece of enhancement, what is recorded here might represent a different attempt from that in the primary *vita* to deal with a hostile version of events, presumably supported by Bessai (and perhaps Ephesus), which held that Lazaros had indeed died *without* having signed the vital (and, for Bessai, extremely damaging) *diatyposis,* thus rendering it invalid. To counter this story two different approaches were perhaps taken in the period after Lazaros' death: that of the

both that Lazaros directly approved the finished *diatyposis,* even though he did not write it himself,[217] and that imperial and patriarchal confirmation of it was indeed eventually obtained.[218] Probably stories to the contrary were circulating, along with other malicious gossip about the old man,[219] which aimed to refute Galesion's claim to supremacy over Bessai and the establishment of that foundation as Lazaros' legitimate heir. As things stood at this point, the brethren who remained on the mountain were faced with the unpalatable fact that unless the validity of the *diatyposis* could be established, Bessai could claim both the spiritual and material heritage of Lazaros' work, while they were liable to be left with nothing.[220] Gregory the Cellarer's approach to the subject reflects this need and shows a sharp awareness of the possible implications if the other stories were accepted as reliable. This may lie behind another cryptic comment, in Chapter 223, that the place of the firstborn had been usurped by the second as the result of "some deception." It may also lie behind the author's harping on Lazaros' determination to stay on Galesion at all

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primary *vita,* which claimed that Lazaros dictated the document and was still alive when he signed it, although he had to be helped with the signature, and that preserved in Gregory of Cyprus' account, which held that although he had in fact died, he was able to revive miraculously and both produce and make legal the necessary document.

[217] See Chap. 246.

[218] See Chap. 223.

[219] See, e.g., Chaps. 78, 82, 84, 202, 218, 237–38, and 248.

[220] There is good reason for supposing that economic issues were a major factor in the problems between the two foundations. Galesion apparently could not survive without the produce of the *proasteia,* which legally belonged to Bessai, but if Bessai were forced to surrender this produce it would be reduced to economic dependency on Galesion. Failure to secure control of these economic resources could result, in hostile circumstances, in one foundation starving the other out of existence. Lazaros' speech in Chap. 245, in which he refuses to move to Bessai, specifically refers to his unwillingness to take the property of Galesion there. He also argues that since Christ approved the construction of both monasteries, "He can again send whatever is necessary to that monastery [Bessai], just as <He has already done> with this one." Further on, he refers to his conviction that the people of the neighboring villages would always supply the monks of Galesion in dire need. Note, too, the argument of Cyril the *oikonomos* in Chap. 247 and the mention there of a "dearth of necessities" and a situation of "shortage" in the monastery just before Lazaros' death; cf. Chap. 210, which refers to a severe famine in the area at that time. In general on the possibility of monastic establishments dwindling or succumbing entirely as a result of such pressures, whether accidental or deliberately provoked, see Morris, *Monks,* 172–78.

costs, and his refusal either to comply with the imperial order to move down to Bessai or to accept the opinion of brethren who were worried about their future on the mountain once he was gone. Gregory the Cellarer, it would seem, was writing serious polemic, as well as hagiography.[221]

b) The Foundation of the Resurrection Monastery and the Involvement of Constantine IX Monomachos

Lazaros' third and final establishment on Galesion, that of the Resurrection, quickly became the largest and most important monastic community on the mountain, but its foundation involves another set of questions, closely related to those surrounding the monastery at Bessai (and perhaps even more intractable).

The initial difficulty here is that no mention is made of the foundation of the Resurrection monastery in the primary *vita* in its present form. As a result, precise information is lacking, not only about the dating of Lazaros' move from the Theotokos monastery,[222] but also about his motives in establishing that of the Resurrection and the sources of its funding. This crucial gap, however, is filled in all the other versions by various forms of a story linking the foundation of the Resurrection monastery to Constantine IX Monomachos. The outline of this story is that Lazaros predicted to the exiled Monomachos that he would soon become emperor; when this prediction came true, Lazaros, who had received in a vision not only the inspiration for the foundation of the Resurrection monastery but also a clear indication of its site, was rewarded with imperial funding and assistance for its construction.[223]

[221] There is a hint of this same line of approach in Malamut, *Route,* 186: "Sans doute Bessai avait fini par avoir mauvaise réputation, mais l'hagiographe condamne surtout un monastère qui avait échappé à l'emprise de Lazare." To my mind this begs the further question, did it slip or was it pushed?

[222] See above, section B, p. 13.

[223] See the version of Gregory of Cyprus, chaps. 29–31, *AASS,* Nov. 3:599F–600E; for the Epitome see 607E–F; the *synaxarion* version is on f. 219 of Moscow, Historical Museum (ГИМ) 369/353 (τὸν τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως ναὸν ἐδείματο . . . τῶν ἀναλωμάτων παρὰ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μονομάχου ἀφθόνων στελλομένων. ὅς τις δὴ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πλείονα πίστιν ἔσχεν, ὡς προείποντα αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λέσβῳ διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάρρησιν). There is also an interesting and possibly earlier variant in the version of Akakios Sabbaites in Lampsides, "Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον,"167–70. On these versions, see below, section H.

What is perhaps most interesting, and most problematic, here is that a related story appears in Chapter 230 of the primary *vita.* This chapter preserves many details of an episode in which an anonymous monk from Galesion, who is presented by the author as an unscrupulous and highly dubious character, gained the favor of the exiled Constantine Monomachos by predicting his elevation to the imperial throne, using current information (instead of divine inspiration) and a forged letter (which purported to be from Lazaros but which he had actually written himself). The monk went to Constantinople after Monomachos had become emperor, presumably in the second half of 1042, and collected his "reward" consisting of a "quantity" of gold and some spices.[224] Unfortunately, the text breaks off before the end of the story and there is no account of what happened to these riches. The flow of the narrative might suggest that both monk and gold disappeared, at least for a while, but, as the monk himself did eventually return to Galesion, it is conceivable that at least some of the money actually reached Lazaros' community.[225]

Given the parallels between these stories, it may be plausibly suggested that the section missing at this point in the primary *vita* contained some information about the foundation of the Resurrection monastery.[226] But to go further and accept (with the other versions) that Monomachos was knowingly

[224] For further details and discussion, see Chap. 230.

[225] The point of all the stories in the section of the *vita* in which this episode appears (a section which begins after the break at the end of Chap. 223) is to illustrate the wonderful powers of insight and good judgment that Lazaros displayed toward members of his community. For example, Chap. 227 demonstrates Lazaros' good judgment in not tonsuring the imposter Damianos himself (although he does not know he is a fake) and his foresight concerning the man's death. In the case of Chaps. 228–30, which concern the activities of the renegade monk in question here, the climax of the story, from this point of view, may well have been that Lazaros' continued trust in this monk, despite his lengthy and continued record of disobedience and international intrigue, eventually resulted in his return to Galesion together with the crucial and substantial imperial donation to the monastery. A lesser man than Lazaros might well have cut all ties with the monk much earlier, or at least refused him permission to leave the monastery again, and thus have lost out on the eventual rewards he was to bring to the community.

[226] This is certainly the assumption of Lampsides, "Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον," 175. For more on these lacunae, see below, section G, pp. 49–51.

involved in this project or that he gave money to Galesion specifically for this monastery would be highly problematic.[227]

The primary *vita* thus stresses that the unscrupulous monk involved in this episode was working on his own and, far from furthering Lazaros' plans, was actually using Lazaros' name and reputation for his own devious ends; there is thus no reason for supposing that his pitch to the emperor had any connection with Lazaros' ideas for the development of Galesion. Moreover, Chapter 230 states unambiguously that the monk returned to Galesion only *after* Lazaros had "gone up to <the pillar of> the holy Resurrection"; thus Lazaros' plans for that monastery must already have been formulated and the process of establishing this third center already begun prior to the receipt of any imperial grant.[228]

A further difficulty encountered here is that the primary *vita* makes no mention of the Resurrection being an imperial foundation; if this had indeed been the case, it would surely have been of immediate relevance to the ongoing and apparently increasingly unpleasant arguments with Ephesus, as it would have provided Lazaros' community with precisely the legitimacy and support it so patently lacked. If the monastery of the Resurrection had really been founded, or at least constructed, with such obvious favor on the part of the emperor (who was still ruling when Lazaros died), it is hard to see how the difficulties with Ephesus would have continued in the form they obviously

[227] The point then would have been that God, working through Lazaros and both the unwitting monk and emperor, actually arranged the donation for Galesion's benefit and the fulfillment of Lazaros' plans for the monastery of the Resurrection.

[228] Cf. also Chap. 109, which, if it refers to the Resurrection monastery (as it almost certainly does), shows that Lazaros was already on his pillar there before construction of the refectory took place. Gregory of Cyprus' version also indicates that Lazaros had already started or designed the project before he had the money (or sanction) to carry it out; his ability to fund and finish such an ambitious project is worked in as a further miraculous element (chap. 30, *AASS,* Nov. 3:600D). Interestingly too, in the version of Akakios Sabbaites, the visionary experience evidently associated with the foundation of the Resurrection in the tradition preserved in the other versions of the *vita* does not precede the start of the project, as it does in the account of Gregory of Cyprus, but occurs after Lazaros has himself marked out the ground in the presence of the emperor's representative sent to oversee the construction; cf. Lampsides, "Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον," 170. On these versions, see below, section H.

did. Again, if Monomachos really had knowingly approved and financed this project, it would make little sense for him then to have ordered Lazaros to leave Galesion and move to Bessai, especially since the grounds on which he made this decree were that while Galesion "belonged to the metropolitan of Ephesus . . . the site of Bessai had been given to our venerable father by the emperor [Monomachos] himself."[229]

If Gregory of Cyprus' account of this episode (which directly links Monomachos to the Resurrection) is examined more closely, it is perhaps no surprise, in light of the above difficulties, to find that its historicity is immediately cast into doubt by the fact that he apparently makes Monomachos (1042–55) the direct successor of Romanos III Argyros (1028–34). Moreover, his description of Lazaros' vision strikes a false note, for he says that he was "told by an unspoken voice to leave his cell" (ἐξελθεῖν τῆς κέλλης φωνῇ ἀρρήτῳ προστάσσεται) in order to see it, and that he did so "when he was in the open air" (ὡς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἐγένετο); this would be impossible in the version of the primary *vita,* where Lazaros is said to have remained perpetually on his *unroofed* pillar. On the other hand, this detail does tally with both the epitome version and the account by Akakios Sabbaites, which agree that Lazaros lived in a cell on the mountain, rather than on a pillar, prior to the construction of the monastery of the Resurrection. These details lend support to the view that Gregory of Cyprus was here employing a later tradition about the foundation of the monastery of the Resurrection and incorporating it into his reworking of the primary *vita* at a point where crucial information is now missing, rather than reporting anything that had an historical basis. Thus, given the various points outlined here, there would seem to be no reason at all for supposing that Constantine Monomachos was knowingly or directly involved in the foundation of the monastery of the Resurrection.[230]

But what then was the origin of the story of the emperor's involvement in this project? An obvious explanation is that, as has been suggested, the lost section after Chapter 230 in the primary *vita* did indeed include some account

[229] See Chap. 245. Note too that the emphasis on the formal approval given to Lazaros' *diatyposis* by emperor and patriarch would be strange if the monastery of the Resurrection was already an imperial foundation; see Chap. 223.

[230] It is also interesting to note an odd stress in the version by Akakios Sabbaites (Lampsides, "Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον," 170), which may perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to explain why the monastery of the Resurrection, there depicted as an imperial foundation endowed with great riches, should only have had a mud-brick church.

of how Monomachos' donation to the anonymous monk eventually found its way to Galesion and was used to fund Lazaros' final and most ambitious establishment. In that case the story that the monastery of the Resurrection was built with imperial money was true, but not in the sense that the emperor intended this to happen or even knew what his money had been used for; the Resurrection was thus an imperial foundation in the sense that it had been constructed with imperial money, but it was most certainly not an imperial foundation in any legal sense.

At the same time this speculation does not rule out another possibility, namely that Gregory of Cyprus has here picked up a tradition, also preserved in the other versions of the *vita,* which was deliberately fostered, or even created by Galesion, in an attempt to establish the legitimacy of its position vis-à-vis the foundation at Bessai in its ongoing dispute with Ephesus. As has been made clear already, it would certainly not have hurt Galesion's stance to be able to claim that Lazaros' last and greatest foundation on the mountain was actually built not only with divine sanction (as the result of a vision that specified its precise location), but also with the direct and wholehearted support of the reigning emperor some considerable time before the end of Lazaros' life. In that case the version of the foundation of the Resurrection given by Gregory of Cyprus, and the possibly earlier version in the account by Akakios Sabbaites, may reflect a propaganda campaign waged by the monks of Galesion in their struggle for survival with Ephesus.[231]

Galesion may, however, have been able to employ such propaganda only after Monomachos had died (in 1055), when there was less possibility of its position being openly and damagingly refuted by the emperor himself or of an appeal by Bessai to Constantinople being upheld. Indeed, prior to this, such a refutation would have been a very real danger to Lazaros' followers on the mountain; for if Monomachos was *not* knowingly or deliberately involved in the foundation of the Resurrection monastery, then he may well have believed that the only legitimate imperial monastery under Lazaros' control was

[231] It is perhaps worth noting that Monomachos was also involved at this time in the reconstruction of the church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem (dedicated 1048). The fact that the name of the monastery on Galesion was inspired by Lazaros' own stay in Jerusalem (see Chap. 253) would appear to rule out the suggestion that Monomachos might be associated with it because he had a particular devotion to foundations dedicated to the Resurrection; but this coincidence may perhaps have been useful or even instrumental in fostering the notion of it having imperial patronage.

that at Bessai, since it was for this alone that he had, knowingly and purposely, given a donation of land.

That Monomachos was in fact of this opinion concerning Bessai may also find some support from the admittedly confusing and unclear account in the primary *vita* of the missions that were sent to him from Galesion shortly before Lazaros died. The apparent growth in the opposition to Galesion from the ecclesiastical authorities in Ephesus toward the end of Lazaros' life may perhaps be connected to his foundation of a third community on the mountain and his development of plans for it as a major monastic establishment. While the metropolitan might have been able to ignore two small communities of a dozen monks each and assume that any problems they posed would be easily resolved once their charismatic founder had died, a monastery designed for some forty monks, together with the growing pilgrimage traffic that went with it, was presumably a very different proposition. Faced with this opposition and the resulting fears of his monks, Lazaros, as has been seen, founded the monastery of Bessai as a potential haven for them; this did not, however, alleviate the pressure from Ephesus, which was now perhaps specifically directed at forcing him to leave for his new, legal foundation. Thus, when the worries of the brethren again became unbearable, Lazaros, who was now near death, appealed to Monomachos once more.

Many difficulties of interpretation are posed by the various passages in Chapters 221 through 248 of the *vita* that refer to missions sent from Galesion to Constantinople at the end of Lazaros' life. The most plausible explanation (although not the only one) is that Lazaros' first mission to Monomachos was probably sent in the summer of 1053 and involved the monks Pachomios and Gabriel.[232] The purpose of the mission, from Lazaros' point of view, was to obtain a settlement of the dispute with Ephesus that would favor Galesion and the monastery of the Resurrection and which would carry with it the weight of imperial authority. Monomachos' understanding of the situation, however, was very different from that of Lazaros. The emperor, perhaps encouraged in his opinion regarding the legitimacy of Bessai by the monk Gabriel (who evidently did not share his superior's views on the subject), decided to have Lazaros move to Bessai instead of confirming him in possession of Galesion.[233] Lazaros flatly refused to comply. He sent a letter to this effect to

[232] See Chap. 221.

[233] This is the message conveyed in Gabriel's letter recorded in Chap. 245. It is a course of action that would certainly support the interpretation of Monomachos' posi-

Monomachos by means of the monk Kosmas the Jerusalemite, the condemnatory tone of which merely served to upset the presumably startled emperor, who may not even have been aware of Lazaros' own understanding of the situation.[234] The initial delegation then returned to Galesion, bringing with it a sum of money.[235] Shortly afterward Lazaros died with the situation still unresolved. Another mission must then have gone to Constantinople, taking with it the signed *diatyposis.* This mission, which probably took place quite soon after Lazaros' death and certainly before Monomachos died in 1055, evidently managed to clarify the basis of the earlier misunderstanding and convince the emperor of the legitimacy of Lazaros' position (perhaps because the *diatyposis* now actually existed).[236] The result was imperial and patriarchal approval of the document and thus of Lazaros' own position concerning the foundations on Galesion.[237]

A most interesting point here, given the course of events and interpretation suggested above, concerns the money (*nomismata*) brought back to Galesion by the brethren just before Lazaros' death. If, as seems likely, this was donated by Monomachos, then it must have been given specifically for Bessai, for at the time the emperor had just ordered Lazaros off the mountain and had certainly not yet changed his mind, if he ever did so. In that case this money was presumably given either to ensure the completion of the Theotokos

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tion as regards Bessai, outlined above. Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 149) apparently understands this mission to be related to the foundation and endowment of Bessai; the *vita* (Chaps. 221, 245–46) surely implies, however, that it took place at the very end of Lazaros' life, when Bessai had already been in existence for some time.

[234] See Chap. 223. At this point Lazaros evidently considered sending his brother Ignatios to Constantinople for official recognition as his successor; the plan was abandoned, however, perhaps in frustration; see Chap. 221.

[235] See Chaps. 246 and 248.

[236] See Chap. 223 for these details; the emphasis placed there on the emperor and patriarch actually *seeing* the *diatyposis* may be explained if the lack of such a document was the stumbling block in earlier discussions over the future of Galesion.

[237] Gregory the Cellarer's comment in Chap. 223 about the usurpation of the place of the firstborn by the second suggests, perhaps, that the issue was still not finally resolved, even when he was writing the *vita.* See also here, Janin, *Églises centres,* 246 n. 3; cf. Morris ("Political Saint," 46) who states that "after his [Lazaros'] death letters were speedily despatched to Constantinople," although she cites Chap. 221 (the missions of Pachomios and Gabriel, and Kosmas the Jerusalemite, which clearly occurred *before* Lazaros died).

church at Bessai (and hence to prevent those who wished to stay on Galesion from claiming that they could not move there because it was still unfinished),[238] or else was intended to defray the expenses of the move. Here then may be an explanation of the rather cryptic and confused reference in Chapter 248, which suggests that Lazaros secretly gave the *nomismata* to the *parakellarios* Neophytos before his death (so that he would not die with any money in his possession), with instructions "to give them [the *nomismata*] to the brothers after his death." It is, however, unclear quite what happened, for the money seems to have disappeared for a while, even though Neophytos reportedly fulfilled his instructions. The *vita* may preserve a hint here that the faction within the monastery that remained loyal to Lazaros' views about staying on the mountain at all costs (a faction to which Gregory the Cellarer, and presumably also his *parakellarios* Neophytos, belonged) secreted the money to keep it out of the hands of those who favored the community's move to Bessai. Indeed, by keeping the money from its intended recipients, the Galesiote community may have actually ensured its survival at this crucial point. The possession of a substantial donation might well have allowed Bessai, with imperial backing and cooperation from the authorities in Ephesus, to complete its church and enforce the abandonment of the mountain once Lazaros' charismatic presence was no longer there to protect it. Perhaps too it was this money, when it resurfaced after Monomachos had been won over or had died, which allowed the expansion of the Resurrection monastery sometime after Lazaros' death and helped confirm Monomachos' connection with it.[239]

Although plausible, this interpretation remains hypothetical and it should be quite plain by this point that one cannot hope to resolve in an entirely satisfactory way all the issues concerning Lazaros' various foundations on and around Galesion. The questions surrounding the foundation of the Resurrection monastery and Constantine Monomachos' involvement with Galesion cannot be answered with any more certainty than those concerning the relationship of Bessai or even the Pausolype to the mountain. What is clear, however, is that deep and decidedly murky currents run behind some passages in the *vita.* The reader should be aware of this and of the hagiographer's polemical interests, and thus not take everything at face value.

[238] See Chap. 217.

[239] So, e.g., the construction of additional cells there, which are mentioned in Chap. 110.

G. The Primary Vita *and Its Author*

The present translation of the *vita* of Lazaros by Gregory the Cellarer is based on the edition published by Hippolyte Delehaye in 1910 in the *Acta Sanctorum.*[240] Delehaye's text is edited from a single manuscript from Mount Athos, Lavrioticus I.127 of the fourteenth century, in which the *vita* is found on folios 81 through 293.[241] The manuscript divides the Life into five parts, while Delehaye published it in two hundred fifty-five chapters varying in length from a single paragraph to several pages. A late copy of this version of the *vita* is found in the Athos manuscript s. Annae n. 6, folios 145–307, dating to the eighteenth or nineteenth century.[242]

The scribe of the earlier manuscript has left a note at the end of the *vita* (f. 294) stating that it was copied at the monastery of the Anastasis (Resurrection) in Constantinople for the Great Lavra on Athos. The note also reveals that the text on which the copy was based had come from Galesion, but the manuscript was incomplete, having been seized by the "barbarians" (Turks) when the monastery was overrun; it had then fallen into the hands of a perfumer (μυρεψός) who had torn pages from the book at various places to use as wrapping paper for his wares. How it came to the copyist is not made clear, but, if the perfumer was indeed responsible for all the lacunae in the text, the copyist must have gained possession of the manuscript before too much damage was done, for the gaps, although significant, do not appear to be substantial when compared to the considerable length of the surviving document.[243]

[240] *BHG* 979; *AASS*, Nov. 3:508–88. See also p. 71.

[241] For further information on the contents of this manuscript and its transcription, see Delehaye's introduction (in Latin), *AASS,* Nov. 3:503, 3–4; cf. idem, *Stylites,* cvi–cvii.

[242] Short extracts, primarily of historical interest, were published a few years before Delehaye's edition by Loparev, "Zhitie"; idem, *Kratkii otchet,* 15–21; and by Gedeon, "Γνώσεις." I have been unable to see this last work.

[243] The text of the manuscript note and discussion of it, together with details of the gaps, are published by Delehaye in *AASS,* Nov. 3:503.5; they are also indicated at the appropriate places in the notes to the translation of the text, below. As Delehaye suggests, there must be some question as to whether the copyist, who left blank pages at the appropriate places, received the manuscript in the correct order and thus as to whether everything in the present text occurs in the sequence the author intended. Close examination of the structure of the *vita,* however, does not reveal any serious grounds for thinking that the folios are out of order.

The fact that some of these lacunae occur at points of considerable significance for the history of Lazaros' various foundations, however, when taken in conjunction with the polemical motivation apparent in places in the *vita* and the hostile undercurrents it reveals, raises the possibility that they may be less accidental than the explanation concerning the perfumer would suggest. If the context of the seven major lacunae in the *vita* is examined, it emerges that six of them occur in sections dealing with opposition to Lazaros or problems concerning his foundations,[244] while even a number of the more minor disturbances in the text appear related to the same issues.[245] There may thus

[244] Thus: 1. About two-thirds of f. 207 are missing at the end of Chap. 170, which is concerned with Gregory the Cellarer's plan to leave Galesion and the dangers of the monastery breaking up.

2. Almost all of ff. 236–236v are blank toward the end of Chap. 202, which relates the story of Lazaros' opponents Barnabas and Methodios and the latter's attempt to poison his brother Ignatios.

3. Most of f. 253 and all of f. 253v are blank at the end of Chap. 223, which concerns the missions to Constantinople and elsewhere of Gabriel, Pachomios, and Kosmas the Jerusalemite.

4. Most of f. 262 and all of ff. 262v–263v are blank at the end of Chap. 230, which contains the story of the anonymous monk and the benefactions he secured from Constantine IX Monomachos. This is the section which may have referred to the foundation of the monastery of the Resurrection.

5. Some of f. 270v and all of f. 271 are blank at the start of Chap. 237, which provides details of the suspicions and hostilities shown toward Galesion by the church authorities in Ephesus.

6. Some of f. 279 and all of ff. 279v–281v are blank at the start of Chap. 245, which deals with the mission of Gabriel to Constantinople and the order of Monomachos that Lazaros should leave the mountain for Bessai.

Only the gap between Chaps. 210–11 (a small part of f. 242v and all of ff. 243–243v) cannot be directly related to these issues, because it occurs in the section describing Lazaros' miraculous provision of food. Chap. 210 is, however, explicitly set during the year prior to Lazaros' death and mentions the famine at that time to which reference is also made in the arguments over the future of the community recorded in Chap. 247.

[245] So, e.g., the gap at the beginning of Chap. 90 (the end of f. 149) comes in a story apparently concerning Neophytos the *parakellarios* who was involved in the disappearance at Lazaros' death of the money brought back from Constantinople (Chap. 248). The textual problem in Chap. 141 occurs in a passage discussing the desire of "most" of the brethren to move from Galesion to Bessai after Lazaros' death and their fears about the quality of his successor. The apparent disruption in the text in Chap. 194 could also be linked to the mention of Kosmas Philippikos and his "rebellion," which occurs in the previous chapter. Even the gaps in Chaps. 52 and 53 appear in contexts

be grounds for suggesting that these lacunae are the result not of chance but of deliberate tampering with the text by someone who wished to remove material, which, in the ongoing disputes over Lazaros' foundations, had become sensitive or damaging to their particular position. If this "editing" did indeed take place, one cannot tell when it may have occurred, but it is possible that Gregory of Cyprus, who produced a reworked version of the *vita* in the late thirteenth century, may have been as much in the dark over the content of these missing segments as we are today.[246]

All that is known about the author of the *vita* is what can be gleaned from references to himself in his work.[247] His monastic name was Gregory and, by the end of Lazaros' life, he held the important office of cellarer at the monastery of the Resurrection on Galesion;[248] he had earlier been *trapezopoios,* a position closely linked with the pantry.[249] Clearly, then, Gregory was trusted and respected by Lazaros, and it is also evident that he was especially close to him toward the end of his life; moreover, he firmly supported Lazaros' views concerning the future of the Galesiote community.[250] After Lazaros' death he continued to be a very influential figure in the monastery; his decision to remain on Galesion instead of leaving for Jerusalem, as he at one point contemplated, may have been instrumental in the survival of the community there.[251]

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that mention Ignatios, Bessai, and the monastery of the Resurrection. However, other problems in Chaps. 25, 34, 63, 64, and 69 appear entirely unrelated.

[246] See below, section H, and also section I, where further doubts about the authenticity of the story of the Turks and the perfumer are raised.

[247] He may also be the anonymous monk of Chaps. 154, 156–58. Material concerning Gregory the Cellarer is discussed by Delehaye in his introduction, *AASS,* Nov. 3: 504A–C.

[248] See Chap. 170; cf. also Chaps. 151, 210, 211 (possibly), 212, and 213. The reference in Chap. 210 may perhaps indicate that Gregory had ceased to be cellarer by the time he was writing the *vita.*

[249] See Chap. 209; on this office in general, see the note to Chap. 82; on the connection with the pantry, see also Chap. 211.

[250] See especially Chaps. 81 and 217; cf. also, e.g., Chaps. 97, 98, 121, 127, 151, 172, 212, 249. In one or two places Gregory does come close to criticism of Lazaros, as in, e.g., Chaps. 191 and 192; and in Chap. 212 he says that he "often" used to argue with him over instructions he received.

[251] See Chap. 170.

The *vita* also reveals that Gregory the Cellarer originated from Constantinople; his mother was still living there and sending letters to him with news from the city after he had entered the Galesiote community, and he had friends there, some of whom visited the monastery.[252] His association with Galesion evidently began while he was still a layman;[253] he did not join the community until Lazaros was on the pillar of the Theotokos (thus after 1030/31), since in Chapter 57 he is unable to draw on his own knowledge to explain why Lazaros left the monastery of the Savior. Gregory's statement in Chapter 224, "this rule [concerning the conduct of the vigil] remained in force down to our own <day>, but I do not know if it is still observed now," poses an interesting question about his situation when writing the *vita,* since his ignorance of this matter implies some separation from the community; unfortunately the start of the chapter is lost, and with it the context, and so it is impossible to suggest a satisfactory explanation. As is clear from the dating of the *vita,* Gregory the Cellarer must have outlived Lazaros by at least five years.

Internal evidence within the *vita* thus establishes that it cannot have been written any earlier than September 1057; in Chapter 98 the author refers to an old friend who was involved in the revolt of Isaac Komnenos against Michael VI Stratiotikos, which formally began with Isaac's proclamation as emperor on 8 June of that year and ended with his coronation on 1 September. Indeed, as Gregory the Cellarer evidently had time to hear of later developments concerning his friend, the earliest possible date for the completion of the *vita* is probably 1058, between four and five years after Lazaros' death.[254] The author himself was a younger contemporary of Lazaros and witnessed many of the episodes he records; moreover, he sometimes cites the eyewitness reports of others who are still alive when he is writing. It is therefore unlikely that the *vita* was written too long after the revolt, making a date after 1057 (but still in the third quarter of the eleventh century) most probable.[255]

[252] See Chap. 97; cf. Chaps. 96, 98, 127. Ševčenko, "Eastern Provinces," 725, points out that, although he came from the capital, Gregory the Cellarer did not trust it as a place for monks.

[253] See Chap. 75.

[254] See further on this the notes to Chap. 98. References to Ignatios as superior (Chaps. 52, 94, and 100), or to brethren who have died since Lazaros' death (Chap. 197), also indicate some considerable time elapsed before it was written.

[255] Gregory the Cellarer apparently joined Lazaros' community while the holy man was on his second pillar at the Theotokos, thus between ca. 1030 and 1042 (see above

The text of the *vita* suggests that Gregory the Cellarer had received a reasonable, though not outstanding education. The style of the work is, for the most part, straightforward and functional, although there are some more sophisticated passages in the introduction, for example, and in some transitional sections; there are no classical allusions, however, or anything to suggest he had more than a good religious education. One or two hints may indicate some medical background,[256] but, if so, this has done nothing to destroy the author's belief in the activity of the Devil and the demons or to suppress his readiness to blame them for all manner of problems, even when these admitted of an ordinary, rather than a supernatural explanation.[257]

The *vita* will undoubtedly seem rather rambling and even disorganized at times to the casual reader, and it is clearly not the work of an author with firmly defined ideas about literary form; Gregory the Cellarer apparently had only a rudimentary idea of the pattern his work was to take before he began to write it. The narrative thus has a general overall structure, which Gregory

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section B); even if he arrived toward the end of this period and was a young man in his early twenties when he did so, the *vita* must almost certainly have been completed by the end of the 11th century, by which time he would have been in his eighties. Chap. 75, in which he is referred to as "Father" while still a layman, may indicate that he was, in fact, *not* young when he first came to be associated with the monastery. As A. Cutler ("Under the Sign of the Deēsis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature," *DOP* 41 [1987], 147) notes, modern scholars who have worked with the *vita* agree on an 11th-century date. The only exception is H. G. Beck (*Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* [Munich, 1959], 701), who dates it to the beginning of the 14th century at the earliest; Cutler suggests that this is either a mistake or unjustified skepticism. In a personal communication to me (of March 1983), Beck stresses that his dating is only hypothetical and admits the strength of internal evidence against it, while still defending it on the basis of the late date of the manuscript of the *vita* and the absence of Lazaros from earlier *menologia.*

[256] See, e.g., Chaps. 151, 172, 206; cf. the medical analogies employed in Chaps. 49, 190, 194.

[257] For examples of Gregory the Cellarer resorting to a supernatural explanation when this is avoided by Lazaros himself, see Chaps. 28, 52, and 154–55; for general examples of Gregory's belief in the demonic powers, see Chaps. 25, 26, 38–39, 42–52, 55, 56, 63, 67–69, 78–79, 81, 154–56, 166–67, 174, 194, 200, 208, 218–19, 222, 226, 233, 243–44. One particular theme that recurs is that of demons causing people to fall over cliffs; see Chaps. 41, 42, 47, 131, 132, 243, 244, cf. Chaps. 51 and 166. Cf. here Delehaye, *Stylites,* cvii; the demonology of the *vita* was the focus of particular attention in Joannou, *Démonologie.*

outlines, and probably develops, as he proceeds: it is broadly chronological, in the sense that material on Lazaros' early life comes at the beginning and information to do with his later years and the events surrounding his death comes at the end, but, for much of the work, the structure is topical.[258] The impression that the course of the narrative is being decided as it is written would appear to be confirmed by the loose structure within these broader topical segments: there are some substantial digressions and subtopics,[259] and individual episodes follow each other on occasion simply because something that has been mentioned has reminded the author of the next incident he records.[260] Nevertheless, Gregory the Cellarer attempts to give the start and finish of the work some symmetry,[261] to set the characteristic features of Lazaros' life against the traditional patterns of asceticism in the introductory chapter, and to provide a foreshadowing of what is to come in the description of Lazaros' years at Attaleia;[262] there is also some deliberate biblical parallelism, especially toward the end of the *vita,* where Lazaros is equated with Christ in a number of respects.[263] Biblical allusions predominate and there are numerous quotations from both Old and New Testaments, most of which appear to be

[258] See Chaps. 79–80, where Gregory the Cellarer provides an outline of the topics to be discussed in subsequent chapters.

[259] See, e.g., the sections on Paphnoutios, Chaps. 37–40 (described as "seasoning" to the main narrative in Chap. 36); on the "haunted mountain," Chaps. 42–52; or on the anonymous brother, Chaps. 154–58 (which contains its own subsection in Chap. 155).

[260] See, e.g. (among many), Chaps. 84–87, where the story of a monk checking up on malicious rumors about Lazaros' diet leads, by way of the vision this person has at the monastery, to two other narratives concerning incidents in which people see lightning or dazzling light in connection with Lazaros; or Chaps. 91–92, where mention of Varva [ni]tziana triggers recollection of a comparable incident involving another monk from the same monastery.

[261] So perhaps the use of the motif of light in connection with both Lazaros' birth (Chap. 2) and his death (Chap. 252).

[262] See Chaps. 9–14.

[263] This is typical of the *synkrisis* that appears at the end of many *vitae.* See here, e.g., Lazaros' betrayal by Kosmas in Chap. 239, which is compared to Jesus' betrayal by Judas; his food miracles (Chaps. 209, 211–13), which are probably deliberately reminiscent of those performed by Jesus; and especially Chap. 251, which describes the appearance of his corpse when it is lifted down from his pillar in terms that recall the deposition of Christ.

from memory. The abundance of references and allusions to collections of stories concerning the early ascetic fathers presumably reflects Lazaros' own taste for such anecdotes.[264] On at least three occasions elements have been borrowed, without acknowledgment, from other hagiographical sources.[265]

Perhaps because of the hostile context in which the work was composed, Gregory the Cellarer is unusually scrupulous about citing his sources and ensuring that they can be checked by his readers; he outlines his methodology explicitly in Chapters 80 and 205, and throughout the *vita* he habitually identifies his source for a story.[266] For Lazaros' early life Gregory relies on information included in the *diatyposis,*[267] supplemented by his recollections of Lazaros' own (evidently frequent) accounts,[268] as well as by information about his childhood obtained from the monk Leontios who, with his wife, knew Lazaros and his parents at that time.[269] Most of Gregory's sources for the rest of the Life are monks on Galesion, many of whom were still alive at the time of the *vita*'s composition (among them Lazaros' brother, the superior Ignatios);[270] Gregory himself also tells quite a number of stories from his own experience.[271] One or two episodes appear to derive from local lay people.[272]

[264] See above, section C, p. 22. Gregory the Cellarer himself appears to have made particular use of the chapters on Symeon the Stylite the Elder and James of Cyrrhestica from Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Historia Religiosa,* and of the *vita* of Daniel the Stylite.

[265] Much of Chap. 35, which provides a general description of Lazaros' ascetic lifestyle, is drawn almost word for word from the *vita* of St. Stephen the Younger; some of the "Life" of Paphnoutios (Chaps. 38 and 39) is close to the *vita* of St. Jacob the Monk; and elements in Chap. 243 appear to have been drawn from an episode recorded in the *Apophthegmata* in connection with Makarios the Great (see below Chaps. 35, 38, and 243). As Delehaye (*Stylites,* cviii) points out in relation to Chap. 35, this practice of Gregory the Cellarer "peut inspirer quelque inquiétude" (about the reliability of the text), but, in fact, these appear to be isolated incidents.

[266] For Delehaye's commentary on Gregory's sources, see his introduction, *AASS,* Nov. 3:504C–F; cf. idem, *Stylites,* cvii.

[267] See Chap. 246.

[268] See Chaps. 9, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27, 29, 36.

[269] Chaps. 2–3.

[270] See Chap. 81.

[271] See, e.g., Chaps. 75, 96–98, 205, 212, 214.

[272] Perhaps the Constantine of Chap. 65; cf. Kyriakos in Chap. 243.

On one occasion Gregory says that he is using a written account he has obtained,[273] and Delehaye suggests that he may also have had some sort of written collection of Lazaros' ἀποκρίσεις (responses) before him.[274] This need not necessarily have been the case, however, for Gregory the Cellarer could just as easily have been relying on his own memory, both of specific incidents he had witnessed and of Lazaros' teaching in general, to which he had been exposed on a regular basis over a long period of time. In other places it seems possible that Gregory does rely on information derived from the *diatyposis,* although there seems no reason for supposing that every mention of something which was done habitually or "as a rule" in the monastery, necessarily came from this source.[275] Clearly Lazaros gave oral rulings to his monks in the community on Galesion on particular matters of discipline and administration as these became necessary;[276] over time, such rulings undoubtedly turned into established practice and this may, but equally well may not, have found specific reference in the written *diatyposis* when it was eventually composed at the very end of his life. On some occasions Lazaros also evidently provided more general oral advice concerning such matters,[277] but again there is nothing to suggest that this followed a set pattern and was intended to be comprehensive (a type of "spoken *typikon,*" as it were), or that Gregory the Cellarer's account of such advice need reflect the actual contents of the written *diatyposis.*

There is good evidence that Gregory the Cellarer had clear polemical aims in writing the *vita;* although his main intention was undoubtedly to glorify and confirm Lazaros' reputation as a holy man and miracle worker who lived a life of extraordinary asceticism, he was also concerned to defend his hero from malicious and damaging accusations spread by his opponents and

[273] Chap. 84.

[274] Delehaye, *Stylites,* cvii. The segment most likely to derive from such a source is Chap. 196.

[275] Janin, *Églises centres,* 245, n. 5, suggested that responses to monks found scattered throughout the *vita* represent elements of the "rule"; he cites particularly Chaps. 189–96. The collection of excerpts translated in Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 155–65, includes all the possible passages of this type.

[276] See, e.g., Chaps. 135, 138–39, 144, 147, 150, 182, 184–85, 191.

[277] See Chap. 187.

to set the record straight on what he perceived to be the true history and intended status of Lazaros' foundations on and around Galesion.[278]

From Gregory the Cellarer's point of view, and that of the faction he probably represents, it was vital not only to denigrate the position and legitimacy of the community at Bessai as much as possible, but also to downplay any links the emperor Constantine Monomachos may have had to it. Gregory was all too well aware of the dire consequences for the surviving members of the community on the mountain if it were ever established beyond dispute that Monomachos had actually given Lazaros the land for the monastery at Bessai, but had *not* been involved in the foundation of the Resurrection monastery and, moreover, had himself been of the opinion that Bessai was Lazaros' only legal and legitimate foundation. Presumably Gregory the Cellarer could not deny that the emperor had granted land to Lazaros for the construction of Bessai, but in the *vita* he may have attempted to ensure that any other imperial funding which found its way to Galesion could not be claimed by the opposition, and also to imply that any support Monomachos gave to Bessai was in fact due to misunderstanding. Hence then, perhaps, Gregory's treatment of the mission to Constantinople in Chapter 245, in which the monk Gabriel is made implicitly responsible for the emperor's support for Bessai and his order that Lazaros should leave the mountain; hence too the possibly deliberate vagueness in Chapter 248 about the fate of the money that this mission brought back to Galesion and which, if it came from the emperor, must certainly have been intended for Bessai. Finally, Gregory the Cellarer's hostile and derogatory tone concerning the monk who is the subject of Chapters 228 through 230 may also perhaps be explained along these lines. This monk, who perhaps brought to Galesion the money from Monomachos that Lazaros used for the Resurrection monastery, and whom one would expect to be praised by Gregory, is in fact represented as a skilled confidence trickster and charlatan with a dubious record.[279] Gregory's attitude might be explicable, however, if the Bessai faction (possibly even including this monk himself) had subsequently begun to say that this money and everything purchased with it should really belong to Bessai as the only one of Lazaros' foundations the emperor

[278] For examples of Gregory the Cellarer defending Lazaros' reputation, see, e.g., Chaps. 19, 29–30, 56, 64, 78–79, 87, 119, 138, 145, 182, 183, 185, and 231.

[279] So, for example, his involvement in the rebellion of Peter Deljan, Chap. 229.

Monomachos actually considered to be legitimate. By blackening the opposition and by representing both monk and emperor as unwitting tools in the realization of God's deeper plans for the development of Galesion, Gregory the Cellarer is able to deflect this argument.

H. Later Versions of the Vita

Gregory the Cellarer's version of the *vita* is not the only one to survive, although it seems to be the primary source for the others. The most substantial of these other versions is the reworking by Gregory II of Cyprus, patriarch of Constantinople between 1283 and 1289. This version was also published by Delehaye in the same volume of the *Acta Sanctorum,* following the primary *vita;* his edition is based on a fifteenth-century manuscript.[280] One may probably concur with Delehaye in seeing the version of the *vita* by Gregory of Cyprus as an embellished abridgement of the earlier one. The Life has been transformed by the author into little more than an encomium and is thus probably more useful as a witness to the development of the cult of Lazaros than as a true historical source.[281]

It is true, however, that Gregory of Cyprus' version does differ at a number of points from the primary *vita.* While some of the smaller discrepancies are undoubtedly to be explained by the author's carelessness, other more important ones may, as Delehaye suggests, perhaps be due to his possession of a reworked version of the Life (possibly attempting to fill in the lacunae in the manuscript) and/or to his knowledge of later traditions concerning Lazaros and his foundations (possibly developed with specific polemical aims in view). An example is provided by the significant section that describes the role of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos in financing the construction of the Galesiote monastery of the Resurrection, a foundation said here to have owed its location to a vision seen by Lazaros;[282] another is the overtly miraculous

[280] *BHG* 980; *AASS,* Nov. 3:588–606. The manuscript is the Vatican's Barberiniano VI.22, ff. 283–314. A copy of this text also appears in the same manuscript as the first version, Athos' Lavrioticus I.127, ff. 296–341^{v}, but it is in a later, 18th-century hand.

[281] Delehaye, *AASS,* Nov. 3:508.28; idem, *Stylites,* cviii.

[282] As is discussed above (Section F.b.) the original contents of this lacuna and the origin and motive of traditions that may have arisen to fill it are questions of great importance in considering the relationship between Lazaros' various foundations and their legal and moral claims to represent his tradition after his death. See Chap. 230 of the *vita;* chaps. 29–31 in the version of Gregory of Cyprus, *AASS,* Nov. 3:599F–600E.

account of Lazaros' death at the age of seventy-two (rather than eighty-six).[283] Even where Gregory of Cyprus' version appears to supplement the primary *vita* in important ways, however, there are serious doubts about the historical accuracy of the material it contains.[284] There must, then, be reservations about its ability to add anything of importance to the knowledge of Lazaros' life and foundations already gained from the earlier account.

Other surviving versions of the *vita* are short. A brief epitome drawn from an *akolouthia* of Lazaros, found in the same manuscript as the primary *vita,* was published by Delehaye alongside the two major versions in the *Acta Sanctorum.*[285] The second part of this epitome, at least, appears to be a condensation of the same tradition found in the version by Gregory of Cyprus, since it mentions the vision which led to the foundation of the monastery of the Resurrection and its financing by Constantine IX as well as giving Lazaros' age at death as seventy-two.

An unpublished *synaxarion* found in a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscript, now in Moscow, also seems very close to the epitome version, although somewhat fuller.[286] It contains a similar account of the foundation of the Resurrection monastery and also includes a version of the events surrounding Lazaros' death, which is close to that in Gregory of Cyprus' *vita.*

A third short, but rather different, source of evidence concerning Lazaros and his foundation on Galesion has been published more recently by O. Lampsides.[287] This text is taken from the lengthy account of the lives of Barnabas and Sophronios, the founders of the Soumela monastery,[288] written by

[283] See Chap. 42, *AASS,* Nov. 3:605E–606B (for Lazaros' death), chap. 41, 605E (for his age). The historical significance of the events surrounding Lazaros' death and the motives of the author of the primary *vita* for stressing that they were *not* miraculous are discussed above, section F.a., pp. 39–40.

[284] So, e.g., the problems cited above, section F.b., p. 44.

[285] *BHG* 980e; *AASS,* Nov. 3:607–608 from Athos' Lavrioticus I.127, ff. 74v–77. Delehaye (*Stylites,* cix) dismisses this work as "absolument dénoué d'importance."

[286] Moscow, Historical Museum (ГИМ) 369/353, ff. 217v-220v. I have been unable to see this manuscript, but am very grateful to Alexander Kazhdan for generously allowing me to use his notes and his partial transcription of this text. See also p. 71.

[287] "'Ανέκδοτον κείμενον περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Λαζάρου Γαλησιώτου," *Theologia* 53.1 (1982), 158–77.

[288] For more on this monastery, situated some twenty-five miles from Trebizond in northeast Asia Minor, see *ODB,* s.v. "Soumela monastery."

Akakios Sabbaites early in the thirteenth century.[289] Lampsides argues that the account probably preserves oral traditions concerning the life of Lazaros that Akakios himself heard while visiting the monastery of the Resurrection on Galesion. Although the value of this text is probably negligible as a reliable source for the actual details of Lazaros' life, it nevertheless provides some interesting variants and evidence of the development of traditions concerning him in the most successful and enduring of his foundations. Events in the early part of Lazaros' life and career are compressed and somewhat confused in this account and have become more miraculous in the telling; moreover, any mention of Lazaros' travels is omitted. He is thus said to have fled the monastery in which he had been educated and to have moved directly to Galesion at the age of twelve.[290] Interestingly also, no other foundation on Galesion apart from that of the Resurrection is mentioned, nor is Lazaros said to have been a stylite until he took up residence on his pillar there toward the end of his life when he was already over seventy. He and his early disciples are instead said to have lived in crude, dry-stone huts, open at the center and with two roughly apsidal ends, the construction of which is described in some detail.[291] This would suggest that all trace of the other earlier and smaller foundations on the mountain, those of the Savior and the Theotokos, had completely disappeared by the early thirteenth century, while stone huts of the type described were evidently visible, whatever their true origin. Furthermore, if it is accepted that Akakios Sabbaites actually visited the monastery of the Resurrection, it would also appear to suggest that the primary *vita* of Lazaros (and so the biographical details it contained) was not well known at this time, at least to the informant (presumably a member of the community) who lies behind the narrative contained in his account.[292]

[289] For further information, see Lampsides, "Ἀνέκδοτον κειμενον," commentary, 158–59, 171–72. The text is edited from the manuscript Dionysiou 268, ff. 483v–491v.

[290] "τὸ ὄρος Κάχλυκον, κατὰ κοινοῦ δὲ Γαλλύσιον" (Mt. Kachlykon, commonly <called> Gallysion), f. 486v, p. 164. The narrative is perhaps influenced by the Life of Daniel the Stylite (see *vita Danielis,* chaps. 2–5).

[291] Cf. the epitome version (*AASS,* Nov. 3:607E), which says that Lazaros "dwelt alone in a stifling and very oppressive cell on the northern part of the mountain" prior to the foundation of the monastery of the Resurrection, and not on a pillar. Cf. also the situation implied for Lazaros by Gregory of Cyprus' account of his vision concerning the Resurrection monastery, above, p. 44.

[292] Lampsides, "Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον," 174, suggests that a possible reason for Akakios' obvious ignorance of Lazaros' travels to the Holy Land was that his visit might

This version includes a fuller and slightly different form of the story concerning Constantine Monomachos' endowment of the monastery of the Resurrection on Galesion.[293] It represents a variant of the tradition found in Gregory of Cyprus' *vita*, although it seems to be more precise in its dating and in its details of the financing and construction of the church; it also appears to tally better with the chronology of the primary *vita,* since Lazaros is said to be in his seventies when this happens. What has survived here is thus perhaps a slightly earlier, unworked version of the tradition which Gregory of Cyprus employs.

I. Galesion after Lazaros' Death and the Development of His Cult

Although the Galesiote community ultimately surmounted its problems and came to flourish and grow in repute in the Byzantine world, not very much is known of its later history. The primary *vita* reveals that a period of extreme uncertainty ensued in the weeks immediately following Lazaros' death. A struggle for control of the monastery, its possessions, and even Lazaros' remains may well have taken place between those who wished to stay on the mountain, those who wished to move to Bessai but still remain independent, and the authorities in Ephesus who wished either to remove an independent community from Galesion altogether or to assert control there themselves.[294] Another point of serious tension that had developed during the last

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have been too short to have been told of this. Even if this were the case, it would not explain the omissions and discrepancies in what is recorded; the things that he clearly *was* told show a complete ignorance of events recorded in the primary *vita.* Nevertheless, the *vita* of the founder of the monastery and the *typikon* would be among a monastery's most important possessions, so it would be strange if a copy of the primary *vita* did not remain on Galesion until it was threatened by the Turks and united with the Anastasis monastery in Constantinople (see below, section I, pp. 66–67); certainly the copyist's note (see above, section G, p. 49) would suggest a copy did remain there. It is thus hard to explain the ignorance and confusion of Akakios' informant.

[293] Lampsides, "Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον," 167–70.

[294] The immediate response of some of the brethren to the news of Lazaros' death, "Where shall we go? Who can govern us after you as well as you <have done>?" (Chap. 249), clearly illustrates the nature of the uncertainties and doubts troubling them. Evidence of a breakdown in control may be found in Chap. 100, where the eunuch Stephen, who had been ordered to remain at the monastery of the Savior by Lazaros, evidently took the opportunity provided by the latter's death to fulfill his wish to move to the Resurrection monastery; and also in Chap. 204, where an anonymous monk (conceivably the same one who figures in Chaps. 228–30) reportedly set himself up as a "hesy-

phase of Lazaros' life, opposition to the succession of his brother Ignatios as superior of the community, now erupted into actual violence, with an attempt on Ignatios' life.[295] This incident reveals, with striking clarity, the extent to which the situation had deteriorated; even Gregory the Cellarer himself thought of abandoning the struggle and traveling to the Holy Land.[296] But then, somehow (although by what dubious and perhaps desperate means is unclear) the position was significantly altered: Gregory was dissuaded from leaving by one of the elders of the monastery, Ignatios became superior,[297] Lazaros' body remained in a sarcophagus in the narthex of the church of the

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chast" and refused to participate in the communal life of the monastery after Lazaros' death. Chap. 170, to which reference is made just below, shows that the complete abandonment of the monastery was a real possibility at this time. For uncertainty about the disposition of Lazaros' body, fueled by fears that control of the community would rest with those who possessed it, see Chap. 253.

It is possible that Gregory of Cyprus' story (chap. 35, *AASS,* Nov. 3:602E–F) of the founding of an unnamed, but attractive, rival monastery by a disgruntled *oikonomos* of Galesion may originate in the events of this time. Although the primary *vita* leaves no doubt that Lazaros himself founded Bessai, it probably emerged as a serious rival to Galesion only after his death. To judge from the number of monks who wished to move to Bessai, it seems likely that a considerable exodus from the mountain now took place; this was possibly led by the *oikonomos* to whom the patriarch refers and who thus, in legend, came to be remembered as Bessai's founder. One might note that Cyril, the *oikonomos* in 1053, expresses serious doubts about the viability of Galesion in Chap. 247; he is said to have had no hope of the monastery's survival. Moreover, Chap. 83 shows that by the time the *vita* was being written, Cyril no longer occupied this office, which was instead held by one Bartholomew.

[295] A monk called Methodios, already a proven opponent of Lazaros, reportedly attempted to administer poisoned wine to Ignatios "at the very time of our holy father's death" (Chap. 202). The rebel monk Kosmas Philippikos may possibly have been implicated in this affair, see Chap. 193. Opposition to Ignatios was apparently not something new: the hostility evoked by Lazaros' attempt to make him *oikonomos* of "Philippikos' house" was evidently so severe that Ignatios wished to leave Galesion altogether, but was eventually persuaded by Lazaros to move to the foundation at Bessai (Chap. 221). Cf. also Chap. 141, in which the monks express concerns about finding a suitable successor for Lazaros.

[296] See Chap. 170. Another notable figure in the community, Laurentios (who later became a stylite), also thought of leaving after Lazaros died (Chap. 217); see also Chap. 141, where "most" of the monks are said to have asked for permission to leave at that time.

[297] Several weeks evidently elapsed before Ignatios took over as superior; cf. Chaps. 100, 170. Chap. 52 shows that he remained at Bessai during this interim period.

Resurrection, and the members of the community who were loyal to their dead founder's vision of Galesion stayed on the mountain to continue the fight.

Despite this stabilization of the situation, however, the damage already done to Lazaros' reputation during the disputes that marred the last phase of his life may explain why he did not immediately become accepted as a figure of major importance in the Byzantine cult and why Galesion now entered a phase of relative obscurity. The propagation of damaging rumors about him by the local ecclesiastical authorities in the Ephesus region was undoubtedly harmful in this respect; the alienation of imperial support shortly before his death must also have been detrimental. Almost nothing, then, is known of the history of Galesion or of any cult associated with Lazaros from the middle of the eleventh to the early thirteenth century. No tradition of posthumous miracle-working survives, and only two episodes in the *vita* may be considered in this category.[298] There is no notice for Lazaros in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople,*[299] no record of any contemporary iconographical tradition associated with him,[300] and no evidence that copies of the primary *vita* were made at this time. All that is known is that his body was moved from its temporary resting place to a more permanent tomb on Galesion on 17 July in an unknown year, sometime in the eleventh century.[301]

[298] The first is the granting of an extra day of life to a member of the community as a result of Lazaros' intercession (Chap. 179); the second, the prevention of Ignatios' murder, again by his intercession (Chap. 202). The primary *vita* denies any miraculous element in the production or signing of the *diatyposis* for the monastery, an event treated as a posthumous miracle in other versions (see Chap. 250, and above, section F, pp. 39–40). The production of holy oil on Galesion on "St. Lazaros day" and its employment as a miracle-working substance by the faithful as far afield as Chios (Chap. 76) may refer to an element of the posthumous cult of Lazaros, but this is far from certain.

[299] Lazaros is, however, mentioned there under 7 and 10 November, *SynaxCP*, 204–5.29 and 211–12.43. There is also reference to the translation of his remains under 17 July, cols. 825–26.31 (see immediately below).

[300] There is a 14th-century image of Lazaros as a standing figure in the narthex of the katholikon of Hilandar on Mt. Athos. *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fourna,* ed. P. Hetherington (London, 1974), 60, notes under the appropriate date for Lazaros Galesiotes, 7 November, "Saint Lazarus the confessor, an old man, bald with a long beard." The fact that he is called a confessor and is not depicted as a stylite suggests that only a vague memory of him persisted, unsupported by any firm and original iconographical tradition.

[301] See Janin (*Églises centres,* 246, 247) for references. The transfer must have taken place sometime between 1058 and 1100, since the *vita,* which does not mention it, was

In the thirteenth century, however, perhaps assisted by the emergence of the empire of Nicaea following the loss of Constantinople to the Latins, Galesion entered into a new period of prominence.[302] Akakios Sabbaites visited Galesion and composed his version of Lazaros' Life early in that century, while the Nicene teacher and writer Nikephoros Blemmydes was evidently confined there for a short period of time around 1239.[303] It is, however, to the patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph I (1266–75, 1282–83), who had been superior on the mountain before his elevation, that the community undoubtedly owed much of its enhanced reputation and well-being. Moreover, this patriarchal connection and accompanying influence were continued under Athanasios I (1289–93, 1303–9), who had spent more than eighteen years in the monastery and had been ordained there.[304] Yet another patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–89), had been a monk on Galesion; his substantial reworking of the *vita* confirms the distinction enjoyed by this holy mountain during the second half of the thirteenth century.[305] The prominent role played by two other monks from the community, Meletios and Galaktion, in the anti-unionist disputes under Michael VIII Palaiologos, must also have helped to increase the profile of Galesion, which by this time was apparently developing a notable library and was the scene of a productive *scriptorium.*[306] Around 1273, with help from the patriarch Joseph I and the emperor Michael VIII, Galesion acquired as a *metochion* the monastery that

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completed at the earliest ca. 1058, while at least one manuscript which does (Coislin. 199) dates from the 11th century.

[302] Janin, *Églises centres,* 247.

[303] See his *Autographia sive curriculum vitae,* ed. J. A. Munitiz (Turnhout-Leuven, 1984), 1.59 (xxxv); English translation, idem, *Partial Account,* 77–78. See also Janin, *Églises centres,* 247–48.

[304] See A.-M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, D.C., 1975), xvii–xviii; cf. eadem, "Comparison," 15; Nicol, *"Instabilitas,"* 197.

[305] See here, especially, Janin, *Églises centres,* 247–49; also Foss, *Ephesus,* 129–30. On pride in one's monastery as a reason for hagiographic composition and Gregory of Cyprus' version of the *vita* as an example of this, see A.-M. Talbot, "Old Wine in New Bottles: The Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaeologan Period," in *The Twilight of Byzantium,* ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 24.

[306] See Janin, *Églises centres,* 249; also, Halkin, "Manuscrits," who suggests, however, that Galesion never became a major cultural center. On Meletios see also Nicol, *"Instabilitas,"* 196, and A. Failler, "Mélèce le Confesseur et le monastère Saint-Lazare de Constantinople," *REB* 56 (1998), 231–38.

had been founded in 1241 by Nikephoros Blemmydes at Emathia near Ephesus.[307] The episode further underlines the influence Galesion enjoyed during this period, but a letter of Gregory II of Cyprus reveals that, even then, the monastery continued to have a difficult relationship with the metropolitan of Ephesus.[308]

The resurgence in importance of Galesion in the later thirteenth century was quite remarkable, but it was to be relatively short-lived, for the monastery appears to have been destroyed by the Turks early in the fourteenth century.[309]

[307] See Janin (*Églises centres,* 247–48) and Thomas (Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* 150). The original source is George Pachymeres, *de Michaele Palaeologo* 5.2 (*Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecem,* ed. I. Bekker [Bonn, 1835], 1:342.9–13); cf. *RegPatr,* no. 1405. Nothing more is known of Emathia although the site, as described by Blemmydes, sounds as wild and barren as Galesion, which must have been nearby. It was evidently close to Ephesus and also not far from the monastery of Gregory Thaumaturgos, where Blemmydes lived during its construction; see also Munitiz, *Partial Account,* 116–17 n. 73.

[308] See Janin, *Églises centres,* 248; *RegPatr,* no. 1500.

[309] See above, section G, p. 49, on the note in Lavrioticus I.127 to this effect; see also Janin (*Églises centres,* 249–50), who dismisses any suggestion that it may have continued after this date. Foss (*Ephesus,* 130; followed by Nicol, *"Instabilitas,"* 199–200) is probably correct in suggesting that it was plundered and abandoned when Ephesus fell to the Turks in 1304. See also below on possible difficulties raised by this story.

There is a suggestion in John Lazaropoulos' *Miracles* of Eugenios of Trebizond (written in the 14th century) that Galesion had been severely attacked by "barbarians" at a much earlier date, apparently during Lazaros' lifetime (see *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond,* ed. and trans. J. O. Rosenqvist [Uppsala, 1996]), chap. 5, ll. 627–28, pp. 238–239); the details provided in this source, however, suggest that some sort of confusion has taken place and little weight is to be placed on the story. Chap. 5 of the *Miracles* claims that the abbot of the monastery of Eugenios, Paul, had been a disciple of Lazaros on Galesion but had "later" fled to Trebizond from the mountain, following the barbarian attack; this part of Paul's career is described in the course of an incident that takes place specifically during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), and the clear implication is that his flight, and the barbarian attack which provoked it, had taken place quite some time in the past, thus certainly during Lazaros' lifetime. The fact that the *vita* makes no mention at all either of such an important incident or, for that matter, of a Paul among the monks on Galesion, suggests that the story must have become confused. Perhaps the most likely explanation, and one tentatively put forward by Rosenqvist, is that this Paul may be the one mentioned in Chaps. 20–24 of the *vita:* he had probably been a fellow monk with Lazaros in the monastery of St. Sabas and, in company with him, fled the barbarian attacks made on the Christian communities of Palestine around 1009, before going his own way at Laodikaia.

This was, however, not quite the end of Lazaros' foundation, for a chrysobull of Andronikos II provided for the merger of the monastery of the Mother of God on Galesion with that of the Anastasis in Constantinople.[310] Although this document is not dated, Janin suggests the unification may have taken place in the later thirteenth century, since no mention is made of the sack of monastery by the Turks.[311] He also connects it with a further important piece of evidence for the growth in respect for Lazaros and the continuation of his cult in the capital at that time. This is Constantine Akropolites' dedication to Lazaros of a chapel he had purchased (in connection with his restoration of the Anastasis monastery) and his careful prescription for an annual celebration of Lazaros' feast day there, together with a weekly liturgy in his memory to be said by monks from the monastery.[312] Further evidence for the continuation of Lazaros' cult is provided by commemoration of the translation of his head.[313]

As with so much to do with Lazaros and his foundations, however, the evidence outlined here concerning the fate of his community seems to raise more problems than it solves. Was there a single transfer of the Galesiote community to Constantinople? Or was this a long drawn out process? And when did it happen? In the late thirteenth century at the time of Andronikos II's chrysobull? Or only in the early fourteenth when Galesion was sacked by the Turks? If a complete transfer of monks and property from Galesion to the Anastasis in Constantinople took place in the late thirteenth century *prior* to the Turkish sack, it is difficult to explain the story that the sole manuscript of the *vita* of the founder was seized by the Turks when the monastery was de-

[310] MM 5:264–67.

[311] Janin, *Églises centres,* 249. Cf., idem, *Églises CP,* 21, where he suggests that the Anastasis monastery may have been restored as a refuge for the Galesiote monks worried about the Turkish conquest.

[312] The liturgy for Lazaros was to be said every Thursday. See H. Delehaye, "Constantini Acropolitae, hagiographi byzantini, epistularum manipulus," *AnalBoll* 51 (1933), 282–84; Janin, *Églises CP,* 20–22; idem, *Églises centres,* 249; K. A. Manaphes, "Κωνσταντίνου Ἀκροπολίτου, Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακαίνισιν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσεως διαθετικός," Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυζ.Σπ. 37 (1969–70), 459–65. See also Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents,* no. 46, chap. 8.

[313] Janin, *Églises centres,* 247, 249. The transfer evidently took place on 25 October in an unknown year, perhaps, as Janin suggests, because of the threat posed by the Turks at the beginning of the 14th century, or possibly somewhat earlier in the context of the development of his cult at Constantinople in the later part of the 13th century.

stroyed, for it seems most unlikely that such an important document would simply have been left behind by the monks of the community during a peaceful move to the capital. The authenticity of the story concerning the fate of the manuscript of the *vita,* with its (convenient) explanation for the lacunae in the text, has already been called into doubt,[314] and this might be a further reason for questioning it. On the other hand, if the manuscript *did* remain on Galesion until its sack by the Turks, the simplest explanation would be that there was a two (or more) stage transfer to Constantinople; perhaps one group left Galesion in the late thirteenth century to join the Anastasis monastery but another remained to the bitter end with the monastery's most treasured possessions, including the *vita* and, possibly, Lazaros' head. If that is what happened, then new significance may be found in the otherwise rather awkward fact that Andronikos' chrysobull deals specifically with a monastery dedicated to the Virgin on Galesion rather than that of the Resurrection, as one would expect.[315] A third possibility remains, however, and that is that all these events took place at the same time early in the fourteenth century. In that case the move to Constantinople could not be seen as being simply or largely due to a growth in the prestige of Galesion and its founder in the capital; it would also be a matter of urgent necessity following the sack of the monastery by the Turks.

Whatever is the case, it seems clear that Lazaros' cult, and at least some important elements of his foundation, survived the loss of Ephesus and Galesion to the Turks in the early fourteenth century by being transferred to Constantinople. Indeed veneration for him, or at least some memory of him, survived there until the early fifteenth century, for the Russian traveler Zosima records seeing relics of "Lazarus, bishop of Galesium" in the monastery dedicated to the Lazarus of the Gospels near the Hodegetria. It is, however, far from clear whether these relics actually belonged to Lazaros himself,[316] and, after this, both he and his foundations disappear entirely from the historical record.

[314] See above, section G, p. 50–51.

[315] Cf. Janin, *Églises centres,* 249 n. 3, and note the suggestion in Akakios Sabbaites cited above, p. 60, that no memory or trace of Lazaros' earlier foundations on the mountain remained by the early 13th century.

[316] See G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 379–81, who (p. 381 n. 121) mistakenly associates Lazaros with Syria. Janin (*Églises CP,* 298) suggests that Zosima is referring to a separate monastery dedicated specifically to Lazaros of Galesion, but Majeska

J. Conclusion

Initially, the most striking aspect of the *vita* is undoubtedly its great length, but its importance does not lie simply in its bulk. It is an unusually accessible, instructive, and refreshingly vivid piece of hagiography that not only provides an enormous wealth of material on Lazaros himself, but also much fascinating information concerning Byzantine society in the first half of the eleventh century.[317] The author avoids, for the most part, many of the more stultifying features of the Byzantine genre of hagiography, as well as the embellishments of high-flown rhetorical style that often prove so tedious to the modern reader (and which, for instance, are all too visible in the "improved" version by Gregory of Cyprus). Instead, one finds a clear, comparatively well-rounded picture of Lazaros himself and, in a host of episodes, fascinating glimpses of life in the eleventh century, both inside a monastic community and in the world around it. These glimpses are at times so immediate and so vital that one has the illusion of looking through a window onto that now distant and remote period.

Clearly the *vita* must speak for itself, but one may think here, for example, of Lazaros having his clothes torn off by vicious sheepdogs after he has taken refuge on a rock, wedging shut the door of a lonely chapel to keep

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proposes that the monastery might have been said to bear this dedication simply due to the confusion arising because relics of Lazaros Galesiotes were housed there alongside those of his biblical namesake. Interestingly, both the earlier Russian Anonymous (early 1390s) and the Armenian Anonymous (late 14th/early 15th century) mention that the relics of a St. Meletios were also preserved in the sanctuary; although the latter describes these relics as belonging to the 4th-century patriarch of Antioch, Majeska suggests that they may have belonged instead to the late 13th-century anti-unionist Meletios (Galesiotes), who was a monk of the monastery. This introduces a further link to Galesion, since Meletios was also a monk on the mountain before going to the capital (Janin, *Églises centres,* 248), and this, surely, is the origin of Meletios' sobriquet "Galesiotes" (rather than a derivation from the unofficial name of his burial place, as Majeska suggests). Was this Meletios venerated at the sanctuary because of some earlier association it had with the founder of Galesion? Or could it be that association of the sobriquet of this Meletios with the name of the biblical Lazaros to whom the church was dedicated, when combined with a memory of Lazaros, led to the false impression received and transmitted by Zosima that relics of Lazaros Galesiotes were displayed there? On this, see Failler, "Mélèce le Confesseur," 231–32.

[317] Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change,* 201, describe the *vita* as "the last great example of eleventh-century hagiography." Cf. here Morris, *Monks,* 70–71.

out the wolves, avoiding seduction by a nun in the narthex of a pilgrimage church, arguing with marauding soldiers or, in his old age, spilling his hot evening drink over his feet and cursing the Devil for having made him scald himself. There is the Lazaros who laughs, who loses his temper, and who bumps heads with a bear in the fog, as well as the Lazaros who meets, and indeed far surpasses, all the standard criteria of Byzantine ascetic virtue.

As well as the shining examples of notable and meritorious monks who grace Lazaros' communities, there are also the lesser brethren with human failings: those who fall asleep in the narthex of the church during morning service, eat to the point of getting sick while celebrating a festival away from the monastery, succumb to the seduction of their host's wife, end up dead drunk beside the path after drinking wine from a broken jar so as not to waste it, sneak around the monastery during church services pilfering possessions from the cells of fellow monks, persuade a flock of goats to follow by using Lazaros' name, or wait with great glee to poke Lazaros with a stick if he should start dozing.

As well as the members of the community who engage in moderate asceticism, there are the madmen and extremists who suffer strange delusions, whip themselves, have their beards pulled out by ice, put rocks in their mouths, stand all night in special harnesses, encourage lice to bite them, and allow maggots to breed in their putrefying sores. There are the loyal, upstanding supporters of Lazaros, and there are the villains: the monks who constantly grumble and argue with Lazaros over his policies; the monks who whisper malicious gossip and spread dreadful rumors about Lazaros; the monk who betrays a desperate mission from the monastery to the opposition in Ephesus; the people sent up the mountain at unexpected moments to check out Lazaros' pillar and to examine him physically for any signs of fraudulence; or the monk who tries to murder Lazaros' brother Ignatios by poisoning his wine.

Finally, while one finds important allusions to historical events and personages in the world outside the monastery, and interesting references to places, practices, and customs, one also catches glimpses of ordinary people, alive and real in that distant world: the priest's wife who is abused by her husband and attempts to get rid of him by using magic to send him mad, only to discover that he has used the potion to celebrate the Eucharist and given it to his whole congregation; the woman who is murdered after the priest to whom she has confessed a love affair reveals her secret to her husband; the man who cannot resist returning to his home after years of exile only to end

up accidentally sleeping with his own daughter; the confidence trickster who pretends to be possessed by a demon in order to dupe gullible villagers out of their valuables with the connivance of the local priest; the girl who has been tricked out of her inheritance and then abandoned to her fate on the roads of Asia Minor; the fraudulent nobleman who arranges for his colleagues to act as imperial agents trying to arrest him; the woman who is notorious in her village for her extraordinary meanness; the poor man who is so desperate that he accepts everything he is offered by Lazaros even though he is unable to carry it; the passersby who steal all the beans from the monastery's fields; and the streams of beggars and poverty-stricken peasants who keep coming to the monastery to find something to eat. The characters, to many of whom it is still easy to relate nine hundred years later, continue to step out of the shadows of the eleventh-century *vita* in a colorful, animated procession, and, as they do so, help us to slip back toward the world from which they have come.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION

This translation attempts to adhere to the pattern of the original Greek as closely as possible, while at the same time capturing in modern English the atmosphere of vitality and accessibility that pervades most of the text. For the benefit of those unable to compare the translation with the Greek, pointed brackets are used to indicate where words or phrases have been supplied in order to improve the flow or sense of the English. The one notable exception to this practice is in the case of Lazaros' name; Gregory the Cellarer uses it very rarely indeed, but the English requires it to be included so frequently that to bracket it on every occasion where it does not appear in the original would prove an irritation. Figures in square brackets refer to the pages of Delehaye's edition. In general, information concerning textual issues and factual matters is provided in the footnotes; in the interests of clarity and conciseness, however, questions of chronology are dealt with primarily in section B of the introduction, while basic information concerning individuals mentioned in the *vita* is brought together in the Prosopographical Glossary (Appendix B).

The work in progress of Anna Lambropoulou in Athens on a new critical edition of the *vita* of Lazaros, as well as her edition of the Moscow *synaxarion* ("Ἀνέκδοτο Κείμενο γιὰ τὸν ὅσιο Λάζαρο Γαλησίωτη," *Theologia* 59 [1988], 588–93), only came to my attention in the final stages of the publication of this translation. It is regrettable that I have been otherwise unable to acknowledge or make use of her work.

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[508]

The Life, Conduct, and Ascetic Practice of Our Blessed Father Lazaros the Miracle Worker who <Lived> on <Mount> Galesion

1. *He Who fashioned* our *hearts alone, Who understands all* our *works,* as the holy Scripture says,[1] and Who foresees the instability of our minds and how our thoughts tend toward evil things from our youth,[2] has consented in His goodness that contemporary authors should set down in writing the lives, the deeds of contest and asceticism, and the extraordinary and most marvelous achievements of the saints who lived before the law,[3] under the law and in the time of grace,—I mean those of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and blessed ones. <Such authors have> left <their accounts> like living icons[4] or clean and very clear mirrors for subsequent <generations> in order that when, as the Apostle says, we *consider* their lives and *their behavior* through these <stories>, [509] we may *follow their faith,*[5] and in order that whatever path someone desires to travel he may do this easily and without stumbling, finding his guide therein. For nothing leads so naturally toward the way of virtue or, on the other hand, is so good at making <people> despise all transitory things, whether these bring sorrow or joy, as when <an account of> a life which is virtuous and pleasing to God falls on the ears[6] of those who love Him. For if, as the same blessed Paul says, *bad company ruins good morals,*[7] it is clear that

[1] Cf. Ps. 32 (33):15. This quotation, with the same alterations of αὐτῶν to ἡμῶν, is also used by Theodoret of Cyrrhus as the opening of the introduction to his *commentarius in Amos,* PG 81:1664B.

[2] Cf. Jer. 3:25; 39 (32):30.

[3] That is, the Mosaic law. The meaning is clarified below.

[4] This seems to be a definite allusion to Basil of Caesarea, *epistola* II (PG 32:220); indeed much of the opening segment of this chapter can be read as an expansion of the theme raised by Basil; cf. also Eusebius of Caesarea, *contra Marcellum,* PG 24:764C.

[5] This is a rough quotation from Heb. 13:7. The first section follows the interpretation of the RSV rather than that of the RV, which translates ἀναστροφή (here taken as "behavior") as "conversation."

[6] Cf. Nah. 1:12.

[7] 1 Cor. 15:33, following the RSV translation. The original passage quotes a fragment of Menander's *Thais.* As well as "bad company," the sense of "bad topics of conversation" is also implicit in the Greek; cf. the AV translation, "evil communications."

good <company> tends to lead to good <behavior> and to attune <people's> spiritual condition to what they are hearing.

Who, then, will not think himself miserable when he hears about the lives of the holy men <who lived> before the law and under the law, when he considers, as is likely, what we (who have received the spiritual law, have enjoyed such grace, and have been deemed worthy of the gift of the Holy Spirit) must do if these men (some of whom had only the natural law and the others only the shadowy, written law) exhibited such a scrupulous quality of life? When he has thus reduced his opinion of himself, he will reap much spiritual benefit. Who also would not be warmed when hearing about the deeds and the teachings of the apostles that demonstrate their pure and genuine faith and love? Who again would not have his soul set aflame when hearing of the torments of the martyrs and of the rackings and scourgings and slaughters that they endured for the love of Christ and learn to bear his tribulations nobly for Christ and not to fear the temptations brought against him by his enemies? Who, once again, when hearing about the angelic and superhuman life of the ascetics, and thus receiving the spur of divine zeal in his heart, would not be roused to <follow> the same way of life and would not incite himself to imitate it so as to *leave everything* and eagerly *follow* Christ?[8] For these <ascetics> especially, of all the saints throughout the ages, may perhaps be said to exactly fulfill God's commandments and preserve in themselves unimpaired the images of those who, of old, were illustrious on account of their piety and their other achievements, whether they manifested these by their deeds or their words or their miracles; for we learn from the holy Gospels that to *leave everything* and eagerly *follow* Christ and to be *crucified to the world*[9] is <the way> of those who seek to achieve perfection and those who have fulfilled all the commandments of the law. So this way <of life> reveals their similarity to the prophets and apostles and righteous men, while their struggle against the invisible enemies and the extirpation of their individual will shows their likeness to the martyrs. But what about their guidance of those who are in error and their drawing out of the worthy from the worthless and their display of miracles and the prophetic grace of their predictions?[10] Does not the former

[8] Cf. Lk. 5:28.

[9] Cf. Gal. 6:14.

[10] The general characteristics of the successful ascetic life laid down here are used by Gregory the Cellarer as the pattern for the main areas he considers in his treatment of Lazaros' life.

show their likeness to God and the latter the grace of the Holy Spirit, which has been richly poured out upon them? For the holy hive of ascetics has proved to be a scented meadow, full of flowers, making the souls of all <people> in a variety of ways come to the sweet smell of the good spirit.[11] One <member> of this holy and divinely assembled phalanx is, then, our blessed father Lazaros, whose life and angelic[12] career I have <here> set forth in order to make it known to all, writing in brief because I lack words and knowledge, and simply, in my own amateurish way, but nevertheless truthfully.

2. This man [Lazaros],[13] <who> became a shining, blazing[14] star among those who live as monks, <was> a scion of the Asiatic land, <for he came> from some rural <place> named after the Theotokos, situated somewhere near

[11] This simile would appear to refer to the Λειμωνάριον or Λειμών, the *Pratum spirituale* (Spiritual Meadow) of John Moschos (ca. 550–619), completed by Sophronius of Jerusalem (ca. 560–638). This is a popular collection of stories about monks that enjoyed wide circulation in Byzantine monastic circles; see, especially, the introductory chapter. On this work, see *ODB,* s.v. "Moschos."

The only other known usage of the verb [ἐγ]κατοσφραίνω, in Suidas, has the sense of "scenting out" or "finding" (by scent), but the present translation follows the causal sense of "making one smell at a thing" found in usage of the basic verb in the active voice (see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon,* s.v. ὀσφραίνομαι, II). I am grateful to an anonymous reader for suggesting this line of approach. The metaphors of a beehive and a flowery meadow have perhaps become slightly mixed here. Note that "in a variety of ways" renders ποικίλως, which contains a basic sense of "many colored" and thus continues the flower theme in the Greek.

[12] The Greek word ἰσάγγελος actually has the sense of "equal to an angel." It is also used of Lazaros in Chap. 151, below; cf. Chap. 84, where his lifestyle is said to imitate that of the angels (ἀγγελομίμητος), and the conclusion in Chap. 255, where he is described as an earthly angel (ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος).

[13] Lazaros' given name was Leo (see below, Chap. 9), but Gregory the Cellarer, who scarcely ever refers to Lazaros by name in the text, does not use it (apart from the reference in Chap. 9) and clearly thinks of him throughout as "Lazaros" or "the Father," even when describing his early life (see, e.g., Chap. 11). Thus, even before Chap. 9, where clarity and English usage requires a name rather than the pronoun commonly employed in the Greek, I have consistently referred to him by his monastic name to avoid confusion.

[14] The word translated here as "blazing," πυρσοφαής, is not otherwise known although the similar term πυρσολαμπής is used of various holy men; cf. *vita s. Ioannicii (Sabas), AASS,* Nov. 2.1:334ᴀ (ἀστὴρ πυρσολαμπής). Lazaros is also described rather similarly as a brilliant beacon in Chaps. 36, 111, and 128.

the borders of Magnesia.[15] His parents were not the sort who care very much about wealth or life's other deceits but <rather> those who live piously, self-sufficiently,[16] and devoutly, and (to put it like the apostle) provide their nourishment by their own hands.[17] Their names were Niketas and Irene, and they had Lazaros, who was truly a son of Victory and Peace,[18] fifth among the children born to them, just like another Job, <who> was *fifth from Abraham;*[19] <like him also> this great man [Lazaros] really was as hard as steel, as his life thereafter showed.[20] When Lazaros emerged from his mother's womb,[21]a light at once shone forth miraculously from heaven and filled the whole interior of the house with an indescribable flash of lightning.[22] Indeed, the people who were there could not stand the brilliance of this light and, leaving the mother with the baby, rushed out of the house and stood somewhere nearby in great fear and trembling. They waited for a little while and then, after that terrible

[15] The context of the whole account indicates that this refers to Magnesia on the Meander; it is thus understood both by Gregory of Cyprus (*AASS,* Nov. 3:589A–B), and by the Moscow *synaxarion,* f. 218. The town was in western Asia Minor a short distance southeast of Ephesus; it is to be distinguished from the other city of Magnesia (now Manisa) further north in Lydia. Foss ("Twenty Cities," 482–83) suggests, on the basis of the *vita,* that the area was "peaceful, prosperous and rustic" at this time. For a fuller account of Ephesus in particular and the area in general during this period see idem, *Ephesus,* 116–37.

[16] The word in Greek is αὐτάρκως. On the connotations of this term here and in the context of middle Byzantine society, see Kaplan, *Les hommes,* 496; cf. 226.

[17] The implication is that they were peasants. The author is apparently referring to 1 Th. 4:11, or perhaps to 1 Cor. 4:12. For a comparison of Lazaros' family background with those of other holy men, see Malamut, *Route,* 68–69.

[18] This is what the parents' names mean. The version of Akakios Sabbaites gives the names of Lazaros' parents as Paul and Eudokia; while Kaplan, *Les hommes,* 496, mistakenly identifies Lazaros' mother as Helen.

[19] Job 42:17. A similar comparison is drawn in the *vita* of Luke the Stylite, who lived in the 10th century: Delehaye, *Stylites,* 198, chap. 3.12–14. Cf. Kazhdan, "Ideals," 478.

[20] Commonly referred to as adamantine in his endurance, Job was used frequently as a model or "type," especially in Byzantine hagiographical and ascetic writings.

[21] Lazaros was evidently born either at the very end of 966 or, more probably, in 967; see the Introduction, section B, pp. 5–6, for detailed discussion of this point.

[22] The language used here may allude to the description of the conversion of St. Paul on the way to Damascus at Acts 9:3; cf. Acts 22:6 and 26:13. Note, too, the rather similar reference to a flash of lightning associated with Lazaros' death, below, Chap. 252.

light had gone away, went back into the house again. When the midwife approached the woman who had just given birth, she found the baby standing upright;[23] he was facing east and had his hands pressed tightly to his chest in the form of the cross. The midwife who delivered him recounted this herself; she was the wife of the great Leontios, the monk who, in turn, told me these things and <all> the rest about Lazaros' childhood and what happened to him up to his departure from his own country for the Holy Land.[24] So, when his parents and those who were there saw these things (as well as what they learned from hearsay), they were filled with wonder and amazement, and from then on began to guess the future well enough and to say that they expected to see something great and auspicious in connection with the child.

3. So the child was raised devoutly and piously by his parents <in a way> not unworthy of their hopes for him. [510] When he became articulate in his speech and had reached the age of six, he was handed over by his parents to the aforesaid priest Leontios at the behest of his uncle Elias, who was a monk in the monastery of Kalathai.[25] Because <this Elias> had also heard by word of mouth about the miraculous character of the child's birth, he said that it had certainly not happened without God's aid, and for this reason he urged the boy's parents to let him receive the proper attention for instruction in the holy letters.[26] After three years had passed,[27] they sent him away for instruction, on the orders of the same uncle, to a notary[28] called George who lived

[23] A similar story is told in the 6th-century *vita* of St. Nicholas of Sion, chap. 2, ed. I. and N. P. Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline, Mass., 1984), 22–23.

[24] This does not imply that Leontios was a married monk, merely that he had been married at some time prior to his becoming one; men and women often entered the monastic life after the death of a spouse, or a married couple might choose to be tonsured at the same time.

[25] This monastery must have been in the vicinity of Magnesia and Lazaros' home village; so Janin, *Églises centres,* 242 n. 5; see also Morris, "Political Saint," 45. Delehaye notes some other possibilities that were discussed, and rejected, by Loparev, "Zhitie," 366.

[26] The phrase τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα refers to elementary education based on religious texts, especially the Psalms; see Talbot, *Holy Women,* 126 n. 47; cf. 167 and 171. On Lazaros' education compared to that of other holy men, see Malamut, *Route,* 70–73.

[27] This makes Lazaros about nine years old at this point; the date is 976 or 975.

[28] The term νοτάριος (notary) can be applied to a range of more or less important officials, both lay and ecclesiastical, who were involved in specialized scribal, secretarial, and legal work. It is evident from Chaps. 4 and 30 that George must have been an ecclesiastical notary. Chap. 4 states that Lazaros received further professional train-

at Oroboi.[29] After he had spent another three years there,[30] his uncle took him to the monastery with him to teach him about church matters and to have him as his attendant.[31] However, when the boy saw that his uncle was well endowed with material necessities but gave away nothing at all from his possessions to the poor, he secretly took whatever he found[32] and gave it to the needy. In the end, because Lazaros continued to do this, there was no way for him to escape detection, for when <Elias> looked for these things and could not find them he began to assail <the boy> with interrogations, blows, and insults; but he bore everything nobly and did not stop his good work. He would also take books from the church and, reading them by himself in solitude, would reap much profit from them.

4. Then divine love entered into Lazaros' soul and he, like the great Abraham, began seeking to become a wanderer from his own homeland and to go to the holy places of Christ's passions.[33] So, one night, he slipped out of the

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ing as a notary when he was a little older, and in Chap. 30 he is referred to as such. This suggests that he must have been at least relatively well educated in the more secular areas of Greek language and of law. See *ODB,* s.v. "Notary," and in more detail, H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Byzantine Notaries," *Medieval Prosopography* 9 (1988), 21–49 (41–49 for ecclesiastical notaries in particular). See also here Morris, "Political Saint," 45; eadem, *Monks,* 77.

[29] It is clear from Chap. 30, where Lazaros returns to this place after his wanderings, that Oroboi was also close to his home near Magnesia; see Janin, *Églises centres,* 242, nn. 5 and 7. As Janin and Delehaye note, the Synaxarion for 8 August (*SynaxCP,* 877) refers to the monastery of Oroboi and its saintly abbot Theodosios, although without any indication of place or period.

[30] Lazaros is thus about twelve years old and the date is 979 or 978.

[31] On such practice see Talbot, "Family," 121–22.

[32] A very similar expression is also used of Lazaros' own actions in the following chapter, but also of a thief at his monastery in Chap. 241.

[33] Cf. Gen. 12:1; there may also be some reminiscence of two passages from John Chrysostom in the wording here: *In cap. XII Genes. Hom.* 32.γ´ (PG 53:296), and *In Acta Apostolorum Hom.* 40 (PG 60:282). The theme of Lazaros' thwarted desire to travel to the Holy Land, which runs through this and the following chapters, is reminiscent of a less elaborate incident in the *vita Danielis,* chap. 6.

On the tradition and development of Byzantine pilgrimage to the Holy Land, see especially E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire,* A.D. *312–460* (Oxford, 1984); Wilkinson, "Christian Pilgrims"; idem, *Jerusalem Pilgrims;* Kötting, *Peregrinatio,* 83–111; *ODB,* s.v. "Pilgrimage." Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from Byzantine territory was certainly encouraged by the victories in the east over the Arabs in the 960s and 970s under Nikephoros II Phokas and John I Tzimiskes, which opened up the

monastery in secret without being observed by anyone and set off on the journey for which he was longing.[34] When his flight became known, however, his uncle sent some people out to search for him without delay. They caught up with him by making inquiries and then returned to the monastery again and took him back to his uncle against his will. When <Elias> had sufficiently chastised him with insults and blows, he ordered those in the monastery to watch him carefully so that he might not leave it at all. After spending two years in the monastery with his uncle,[35] Lazaros was sent by him to the monastery of Strobelion,[36] to a notary called Nicholas, for further education in the professional skill<s> of notaries. This notary was just as heartless as the monk [Elias], for he would give nothing away at all and was <quite> without pity. Therefore, when the pupil saw that his teacher was so untutored in regard to the good, he began without hesitation to teach and admonish him not to be so unsympathetic and miserly toward the poor. However, as Lazaros saw that the man was scarcely swayed at all by his words, he left off speaking and took to action, and whenever he found anything, he did the same with it as he had done with the monk's possessions. When this came to the notary's knowledge, however, he was not angry or annoyed with the boy, as the monk [Elias] <had been>, but instead he was amazed and astonished at the youth's good moral judgment and disposition.[37] Once, in the middle of the night, <Nicholas> woke up and heard the sound of people singing psalms. He got up and went quietly

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overland route. The phenomenon of pilgrimage was also developing dramatically in Western Europe precisely at this time. Following the Byzantine successes and the conversion of Géza of Hungary in 985 many more pilgrims could make the journey than before. For pilgrimage from the Western viewpoint, see in particular J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975), esp. chaps. 6–8.

[34] On the motif of flight in Byzantine hagiography, see Malamut, *Route,* 93–95.

[35] This now makes Lazaros about fourteen; the date is 981 or 980.

[36] It is unclear if the nominative should be Strobelion or Strobelios. C. Foss ("Strobilos and Related Sites," *Anatolian Studies* 38 [1988], 168) suggests that this monastery "was probably located in the Maeander valley," because this is where Lazaros was born and spent most of his life. In this assumption he follows Janin (*Églises centres,* 242, n. 5), who also believes that the monastery in question should probably be distinguished from one at Strobilos, a fairly busy port on the Carian coast not far from Halikarnassos (Bodrum). Although neither has any sure evidence for distinguishing the two places, Foss's documentation of other localities with the same or similar names (e.g., on Chios and in Epiros) certainly strengthens the case for the suggestion that the monastery was near Lazaros' home. See also *ODB,* s.v. "Strobilos."

[37] These qualities of Lazaros are praised and illustrated at length below.

to where the boy was, for it seemed to him that the sound was coming from there. As he stood nearby, he heard Lazaros praying and singing psalms by himself, and so he went back and lay down in his bed and fell asleep again praising God. And so, from then on, <Nicholas> no longer treated Lazaros as a pupil but as a teacher. Such a man, then, was Lazaros' teacher.

5. After he had spent three years with <this Nicholas>, however, Lazaros gave him the slip one day and went away.[38] He joined up with some monks and, when he had changed his worldly dress for a monastic habit <that he got> from them, he traveled with them, happy and rejoicing because he had now accomplished his desired goal. But not long afterward his joy was changed to sorrow, for they[39] pursued him again and caught him; they returned, taking him unwillingly <with them>, as on the first occasion.

6. When <another> six months had passed after his return, Lazaros could not bear the burning in his heart and his longing for the holy places of Christ's passions and so, unnoticed, he ran away again.[40] He arrived at a place where there was a monk who had confined himself on a pillar and, when he approached <this man> and told him what he had on his mind, he discovered that he was a good adviser for him.[41] For this <stylite> took off Lazaros' worldly clothes and dressed him in a monastic garment;[42] then, after giving him his blessing, he sent him off to make the journey he desired with many exhortations not to turn back.[43] When evening came, Lazaros did not want to

[38] The verb ἀναχωρέω, here translated as "went away," also has the sense of monastic "withdrawal" in Greek and carries with it here something of that connotation; it is related to the English word "anchorite."

[39] The reference is presumably to a search party from Strobelion but it could perhaps be to the same "people" sent out by Lazaros' uncle Elias on the previous occasion; if so it would confirm the proximity of Strobelion to Kalathai and Lazaros' home village.

[40] Lazaros would appear to have been seventeen or eighteen at this point when he finally managed to leave his home area; the date is thus somewhere between late 983 and 985. On Lazaros' journeys in general, which now begin, see Malamut, *Route,* 40–43.

[41] For parallels in the Lives of other Byzantine saints to this encounter between the future holy man and a wise adviser, see Malamut, *Route,* 97–98; cf. also below, Chap. 9.

[42] This "monastic garment" may refer to the novice's habit, although Delehaye suggests that Lazaros may only have received this when he was in the monastery at Attaleia; see further below on this point, Chap. 9, n. 56.

[43] Compare Lazaros' evident determination not to "turn back" at the end of Chap. 18.

go into a village and so, spotting a small chapel in the middle of the fields, he made his way <there> and went into it; he closed its rickety door and stood, offering up his prayers to the Lord. When he had finished he said a<nother> prayer, sank to the ground and lay down. After he had slept a little, however, he was suddenly awakened by cries of some sort ringing in his ears. Listening carefully he seemed to hear what sounded like wolves standing somewhere nearby outside and howling. [511] He got up, wedged a stone against the door, said a prayer, and then lay down on the ground and slept. In the morning he left there and took the road leading to Chonai.[44]

7. Going on his way, Lazaros found some people originating from Cappadocia who were also heading toward the church of the Archangel. He joined their ranks and went on with them. Now there was a girl with them who was crying and wailing bitterly; when Lazaros saw her, he asked about her and discovered the reason for her sorrowful complaint. According to her she had been tricked by some people and had estranged herself from her family, for, on the advice of these deceitful people, she had taken quite a lot of money from her family home; when they had <thus> led her astray, however, they had taken the money and, abandoning her, had disappeared from sight. Her lament was not, however, so much about these events as because she was terrified and shaking with fear in case she should be disgraced by someone, for she was a virgin. When Lazaros discovered this, he went over and spoke with her; he persuaded her and, through her, those traveling with her to let him take her into his safekeeping until they should reach Chonai. Which indeed he did. Upon their arrival there they found some of her relatives and gave her into their charge so that they might take her back to her homeland and to her parents.

But the wicked Devil, who is indeed the opponent and enemy of the good, saw what happened: that not only was Lazaros himself preserved unharmed from his wicked darts, being protected by the grace of Christ, but also that he had guarded the girl in the same way. Because he was unable to bear his defeat, he hastened to besmirch the purity of Lazaros' chastity by another

[44] Chonai (now Honaz or Khonas) was near the ancient city of Colossae in Phrygia Pacatiana. It was famous for the church of the Archangel Michael, which is mentioned in the following chapter and in Chap. 29 below when Lazaros visited the place again on his return from the Holy Land. The church honored the miraculous diversion of the river, which the archangel was said to have wrought there, and it was an important center for both pilgrimage and trade fairs; see *ODB,* s.v. "Chonai" and "Chonai, miracle at"; Kötting, *Peregrinatio,* 166–71; Malamut, *Route,* 304–5.

such means;[45] but truly he labored in vain. Thus, when night fell, Lazaros stood in one corner of the narthex <of the church of the Archangel> and addressed his prayers to the Lord and then lay down to sleep in the <same> place.[46] But the most Evil One had procured a woman dressed as a nun to approach him and entice him into shameful sexual intercourse; Lazaros, however, got up quickly, as if fleeing from fire, and left the place without saying anything to her. Then he stood in another spot and called on God to deliver him from the many wiles of the Evil One and to contrive to make his journey to the Holy Land an easy one.[47] After Lazaros had thus prayed for many hours, the Lord of all did not disregard his supplication but, in His goodness, delivered him from the war of fornication and enabled him to set out at once in the morning on the journey to Jerusalem.

8. For, while Lazaros was sitting in the narthex after the completion of the early morning service,[48] he saw a monk going into the church to pray. When he came out, Lazaros went up to him and asked him where he was from

[45] Lit. "another such vessel"; cf. 1 Pet. 3:7.

[46] Most Byzantine churches possessed at least one narthex, which was an area, separated from the main nave or ναός, through which one passed from the main entrance. The size of the narthex in relation to the church might vary considerably, but it served a number of liturgical functions including preparation for processional entries, baptism, and the commemoration of the dead. As is clear from the present episode, the narthex might also play an important role in accommodating visitors at pilgrimage sites, as a resting place during the day or overnight, and it could fulfill a similar function at places where "incubation" (the seeking of healing or inspiration during sleep at a sanctuary) was practiced. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Narthex."

[47] The chapter to this point is also translated in Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change,* 246–47, although my translation differs from theirs in certain respects. The episode of the maiden in distress, as is pointed out there, is in some ways parallel to an incident in the epic of Digenis Akritas (J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites* [Oxford, 1956], 143–59), although there the Devil triumphs over the hero who violates the girl in question. On this parallel see in particular Kazhdan, "Ὁ τέλειος μοναχὸς," 203–5, 216. Laiou ("Sex," 213–15) also mentions the incident during discussion of the Digenis passage; see also Malamut, *Route,* 279–80. Compare, too, the incident recorded in Chap. 15, below.

[48] The word translated by "early morning service" here, κανών, may include a more precise reference to the liturgical "kanon," a set of eight or nine odes or verse paraphrases chanted during the early morning service of "*orthros*" (the Byzantine equivalent of Western matins), but it seems more probable that it is used in this context as a synonym for the service as a whole. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Kanon," "Orthros"; cf. also below, Chaps. 72, 157, 171, 182.

and where he was going. Then, since he heard from the <monk> that he came from Paphlagonia[49] and was traveling to the Holy Land, he fell at his feet and begged him to take him along. The monk encouraged Lazaros to follow him readily, since he had nothing to fear from him, and so he left that place and went on his way with him. But the monk was perverse[50] and did not want to travel straight <there>, or rather he was unable to because of the wicked habit which he had. He would thus turn aside from the direct route and go round on a detour to the villages where he would beg and collect bread and whatever else anyone offered him; he would put these things into a bag and give them to the youth [Lazaros] to carry. Then, wherever they were when evening fell, they would go in, whether it was to a village or a local market,[51] and he would sell these things and pocket the price <he got> for them.

When, however, the youth saw such greed on the part of the monk, he could not keep quiet but began to admonish him, as he had done earlier with the notary, saying to him with humble modesty such words as, "Why do we greedily collect things that we don't need, Father? And, when we collect them, why don't we distribute them among those who are as poor as ourselves instead of wandering around carrying them all day? Isn't the journey hard enough work for us <already>?" Lazaros, however, derived no benefit from addressing such admonitions to the <monk> but instead made him angry <so that> he attacked him with insults and blows; therefore Lazaros stopped speaking and turned to action. When the <monk> went off to beg, Lazaros would give everything away if he happened to meet anyone; <then>, when the <monk> came back and found the bag empty, he would demand furiously and

[49] Paphlagonia ran along the Black Sea coast of northern central Asia Minor.

[50] It is hard to do justice in translation to the Greek word σκολιός, which is rendered by "perverse" here. It could almost be translated into colloquial English by its literal meaning of "crooked" (i.e., "the monk was a crook"), but the Greek also makes a play not only on the man's moral deviousness but also on his tortuous physical progress, which deviates from the "straight" road to the Holy Land; furthermore, it contains a sense of willful and deliberate perversity. In this sort of context, there is also the connotation of diabolical cunning, for the word is often applied to the trickiness of the Devil, especially when conceived as the serpent (on this see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 31, 44–45).

[51] The Greek term translated by "local market" (ἐμπόριον) can indicate quite a wide variety of places. It most likely refers here to a market outside the walls of a rural settlement or to the business district in a town. See *ODB,* s.v. "Emporion."

angrily, "Where are the loaves of bread that I collected by begging all day? Surely you didn't sell them while I was away?" He was thus assuming from his own wicked motivation that Lazaros was the same <as him>; for it is true that we judge others by our own standards. So, when Lazaros heard these things from the monk, he would smile and keep quiet, but the <monk>, seething with anger, would subject him to insults and blows. Lazaros, however, who really was as hard as steel and a skillful boxer,[52] would bear everything nobly, and would not stop virtuously giving <these things> away, just as that other man <would> not <stop> greedily collecting them.

9. Traveling like this they reached Attaleia.[53] There, however, that treacherous man who did not act like a real monk, that imitator of Judas, went to one of the shipowners and, speaking in the language of the Armenians,[54] made an agreement to sell the boy to him. But, by the providence of God, one of the sailors overheard this and, while the monk was still talking to the shipowner, went and informed the youth about these things, for he was not <there> with the monk. As soon as he heard this, Lazaros took off and fled, just as he was. He turned off the main road and quickly started to climb the mountain that lay nearby but, while he was still on the lower slopes, night fell. He began his [512] ascent but, because of the darkness of the night and the great steepness of the mountain, he spent the whole night, as he said, struggling <along> by hand and foot; only when the day had dawned was he able with difficulty to climb up on top. When, however, he did reach the top of the mountain, he found a worn path and went along it. While he was walking along by himself like this, an old monk met him and, when <this monk> had stopped and questioned him and found out all about him, he dissuaded him from <continuing> his journey to Jerusalem because of his youth.[55] Instead he recommended that

[52] Metaphors of the monk as boxer or wrestler are very common in ascetic and hagiographic literature.

[53] Attaleia (Antalya) was a city in southern Pamphylia on the Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor; it was an important naval, military, and trading center at this time with strong links to the Middle East.

[54] There is possibly a hint here (as in Chap. 15) of the general mistrust and suspicion toward Armenians that was common in Byzantine literature, and so perhaps also in real life.

[55] Cf. an incident in the *vita Danielis* (chap. 10), where the young saint is dissuaded from traveling to the Holy Land by an older holy man he meets, although for reasons of political instability, not youth.

he should follow his advice and go with him to his monastery (for the old man was superior of a small flock) and persevere there until such time as there might be no concern over his age. So, persuaded by the old man's words, Lazaros prostrated himself and followed him. After he had spent some time in the monastery he received from that venerable old man the first habit of a monk,[56] and similarly was given the name Lazaros, for previously he was called Leo.[57] And so, as he was well educated in the divinely taught injunctions and precepts by that venerable old man, he became, in a short time, a model and example of every virtue to the brothers there, for he was obedient to all the words of the old man and did nothing whatsoever without his approval.[58]

10. However, when Lazaros learned from the brothers who were there

[56] Lazaros had apparently already been given a "monastic garment" of some sort by the stylite he encountered soon after he ran away from Strobelion (above, Chap. 6), but the precise significance of that habit is not made clear nor is there mention of his taking any vows at that time. If it *was* the novice's habit, then the present, clearly more formal, occasion must refer to his taking the *mikron* or *apostolikon schema,* the habit of the lesser grade of monks that differentiated them from the superior grade, those who wore the *mega* or *angelikon schema.* Lazaros evidently became *megaloschemos* at St. Sabas near Jerusalem, although his rank is there described, rather confusingly, as being *apostolikon* rather than *angelikon* (see below, Chap. 17). Delehaye, however, understands the present passage to refer to the novice's habit rather than to the *mikron schema;* he may be supported by the stress laid on Lazaros' obedience at the end of the chapter, for the novice's habit is described as the "clothing of submission" (ὑποταγῆς ἔνδυμα), and is equated by Lazaros with that of the martyrs rather than that of the apostles or angels in Chap. 130, below. The hierarchical distinction of rank referred to here was apparently quite common, although it was far from being universally recognized or approved in Byzantine monastic circles. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Schema." In Chap. 130, Lazaros himself argues in favor of such a triple categorization of the monastic habit against some of his own monks who are questioning it. In Chaps. 228 and 240 the term *mandyotes* also appears to be used for a novice.

[57] It was normal practice for Byzantine men and women to change their names when they entered the monastic life. Usually, as in this case, the new name began with the same letter as the old.

[58] Despite the fact that he manifestly disobeyed people with authority over him at a number of crucial points in his own life, Lazaros himself demonstrates for the first time here a virtue that he evidently valued very highly in his perception of the monastic life and which he viewed as an essential requirement before a person could advance to higher and more individualistic expressions of that life. Cf. below, Chap. 60 (another example of his own obedience) and Chap. 179 (for an illustration of similarly exemplary obedience by one of his monks).

before him that in the mountain facing the monastery there was a cave suitable for those seeking spiritual peace,[59] he begged the old man <for permission> and went off to take up residence in it. He performed many marvelous labors of asceticism there, but the Enemy of the righteous could not bear these, for every time he attacked Lazaros he was defeated by him; so he crept up on him in another way. The most Evil One thus stirred up some heretics from the village that lay near the mountain (for there were very many of them <living> in it),[60] thinking to drive Lazaros from the mountain by means of them. These <people> would thus come up and attack him with insults and jests, and they even threatened to hit him if he did not quickly leave the mountain; but he bore everything gently and tolerantly, for he was well aware who was inciting them to this action. As a result he did not cease admonishing and encouraging them with kind words until he made them not only stop attacking him but even reject their ancestral heresy, and he thus caused them to join the orthodox church. When he saw them yielding to his words, he wrote to the bishop of Philetos,[61] who received them to communion after they had anathematized their own heresy in church. Some of those who had repudiated <their former beliefs> went to Lazaros and asked to be tonsured by him and to live with him. He was not persuaded to do this <at first>, but they continued begging him more persistently, and so, as he was unable to convince them despite saying a great deal to them, he wrote to the old man and, with his encouragement, received them.[62]

[59] Hesychia (ἡσυχία), the ideal of Byzantine spirituality that underlies all the activities and pursuits of monastic asceticism. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Hesychia."

[60] It is impossible to identify the exact heresy of these people. Lemerle ("Pauliciens," 110), who mentions this episode as occurring in the life of Paul [sic] the Galesiote, is not drawn into suggesting that they may have been Paulicians, although it is quite possible, even likely, that they were dualist heretics of some kind. The Paulicians had lost their political and military standing following their defeat and dispersal by the forces of the central Byzantine administration more than a century before, in the 870s, but there is good evidence for the continued presence of various groups of dualist heretics in different parts of Asia Minor at this time in the late 10th century and, indeed, for long afterward. Cf. below, Chap. 115, where Lazaros converts someone explicitly described as a Paulician.

[61] The bishopric of Philetos came under the metropolitanate of Lycian Myra; see J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), 7.343, 9.225, 10.274, 13.278.

[62] On this common pattern in Byzantine monasticism by which a *koinobion* grows up around a solitary ascetic, a pattern which is, of course, repeated several times during

11. When the bishop learned what had happened, he went up to Lazaros. He saw him and spoke with him and, since he had profited greatly from the conversation and from the sight of him, decreed that he himself would furnish all Lazaros' needs. Indeed, <the bishop> acquired such faith in him that he bestowed his chasuble[63] on him, although Lazaros gave it back to him for the following reason. Since his fame was spreading to places nearby, a great number of people were going up to him. First of all, as the father himself related,[64] because the mountain was rocky and hard to climb, they constructed a direct path, heating the rocks and then, after drenching them with vinegar, quarrying them out with iron tools.[65] Subsequently, with the cooperation of the bishop, they built a chapel and cells for the brothers close to the cave. Since there were six of them, two of their number were ordained by the bishop. But then, at one of the major feasts, a dispute arose between them as to which one should wear the <bishop's> chasuble, for they also had another. When the father learned about this, he took it and sent it back to the bishop; he then took some hair cloth that he had cut out and sewed with his own hands and gave it to them, saying, "If anyone doesn't agree to celebrate the service with this <on>, he must go away from here." They were unable to argue with him and so, having made obeisance, they accepted this.

12. Once, a man who had the appearance of a demoniac went up to him. Supposedly being aroused by the demon, he said, "I won't go down from the mountain until you've driven me out of <this> creature of God!" and he also spoke much other nonsense. After he stopped yapping and came to himself, the father told the brothers to give him a gift and dismiss him. But the man asked to see the father alone and, when he met with him, said, "If you listen

Lazaros' sojourn on Mt. Galesion itself, see Papachryssanthou, "Vie monastique," 164–65.

[63] The *phelonion,* essentially the same garment as the Western chasuble, was worn by priests and bishops over the basic *sticharion* during liturgical celebrations; normally it was made of wool or silk. See *ODB,* s.v. "Phelonion."

[64] The term "the father," used commonly for Lazaros throughout the *vita,* was evidently how his monks referred to him.

[65] The same technique was used to prepare the ground for building a church in chap. 55 of the *vita* of Theodore of Sykeon: see A. J. Festugière, ed., *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon,* SubsHag 48 (Brussels, 1970), 47. It is also described in *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy,* ed. G. T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, D.C., 1985), 60.51–56 (chap. 18). The practice was well known in the ancient world, its most famous employment being by Hannibal in his crossing of the Alps (Livy, 21, 37, etc.); see Dennis for further references.

to me and if you want, I can make you famous and make your monastery rich." When [513] the father said, "How?" he replied, "I'm not possessed by a demon, but I pretend to have this problem.[66] If I find someone established in a church somewhere[67] (whether he's a monk or a layman) who's compliant with my <scheme>, I get him to ask around and find out who has a nice ornament or some other <such> object. After he's found this out and told me the names of these people, I take a cross and go off to some place where it's damp; I then dig <a hole> and hide it there.[68] After several days I make myself appear to be aroused by the demon. I first go into the church and get everyone there to follow me, as though they're under orders from the saint; then I go out with them to the place where I hid the cross by burying it. I dig with my own hands or with a spade, pull out <the cross>, pick it up, and go back to the church. I then begin to call <the people> by name and say, 'Oh, so-and-so, the saint commands you to bring this <particular> object of yours here so that your whole household may not be tormented by demons.' I do this every day and then, when I've gone through them all, I make myself appear to have been cured. Afterwards we split everything that's been brought, I and the person in

[66] This man does not appear to have been alone in using feigned demonic possession as a means of making a living, and the problem evidently remained a persistent one. The canon lawyer Theodore Balsamon, writing in the later part of the 12th century, thus deplores the fact that "many" people who "simulate demonic frenzy for gain" are wandering around the towns of the empire; Commentary on *Canon 60 of the Council in Trullo,* PG 137:716–17; P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," in Hackel, *Byz. Saint,* 59–60; Greenfield, *Demonology,* 93.

[67] The reference is probably to a small private religious foundation of some kind, and the implication is thus not that the person actually lives in the church itself but rather in an associated private dwelling or monastic community to which the church belongs; see below where the charlatan refers to this individual as "the person in charge of the church" (lit. "the master of the church"). The same verb (καθέζομαι) is used in Chap. 28 of a nun similarly associated with a chapel (*eukterion*).

[68] The practice of the burial and rediscovery of the cross described here bears some interesting resemblances to the famous episode of the alleged discovery of the Holy Lance at Antioch by the visionary Peter Bartholomew and the Crusaders (on 15 June 1098), at least as this incident was viewed by detractors (whether Christian or Muslim) who claimed Peter had himself buried it in advance. On the incident, see in general, e.g., J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London-Philadelphia, 1986), 95–96, and in particular, S. Runciman, "The Holy Lance Found at Antioch," *AnalBoll* 68 (1950), 197–205; C. Morris, "Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch," in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich,* ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), 33–45.

charge of the church, and so I go off again somewhere else." When the father heard all this, he was amazed at the great variety of skills the demons have for doing evil, and at God's forbearance. In reply to the man, he said, "Brother, not only am I myself not going to be misled by you, but I also advise you to stop such wicked behavior; if you can't work, at least support yourself by begging, but just give up this satanic practice!" So Lazaros sent him away, and was not misled into listening to him, or rather to the one who had cunningly contrived by means of that man to involve him in the twin evils of vainglory and avarice,[69] and so to thrust him utterly into the abyss of destruction.

13. On another occasion some people went out to Lazaros from the village that lay near the mountain and asked for his blessing to go to the precipitous part of the mountain to collect honeycombs. The father, however, told the brothers <to bring some> honey and, when they had brought it, said to these people, "If it's honey that you want, look, here's honey! Eat as much as you want and then go back to your homes; but don't go <onto the cliff> there lest you return with a harvest of bitterness instead of the sweetness of the honey." One of them replied brashly to the father, "I've collected many such <honeycombs> and nothing bad has <ever> happened to me, so I'm not worried about going onto the <cliff> now." But the father answered him, "Believe <me>, brother, this time it won't do you any good to go there." However, when Lazaros was unable to dissuade them, despite saying many things, he let them go and do what they wanted. So they went off and, after attaching a rope to the man who had told the father he was expert at this, began lowering him toward the cave. Before he reached it, however, the rope was cut through as if by somebody, <causing> the wretched man <to be> flung down the cliff; he was smashed <on the rocks> and expired at once.[70] So the others went down

[69] The sins that were often seen as being, respectively, the causes of the fall of Satan and Adam and Eve; Gregory the Cellarer, and the original audience, would also probably be inclined to see here a parallel to the temptation of Christ by the Devil.

[70] Although the Byzantines were well versed in techniques of apiculture (see *Geoponica* 15:ii–ix), the method of collecting honey from wild bees alluded to in this chapter is known from antiquity and is still practiced in some parts of the world today. A Byzantine illustration of another of the dangers of the practice, the reaction of the bees themselves, appears in the Venice *Kynegetika* of pseudo-Oppian (Z. Kádár, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* [Budapest, 1978], pl. 183, 1), although here the swarm is located in a palm tree, not on a cliff face. Much closer parallels to the practices described here, although from various locations in the Far East, are discussed and illustrated in E. Crane, *The Archaeology of Beekeeping* (London, 1983), 28–31; more details, including accounts of the dangers of falling while collecting

and picked him up, and then, with much weeping and wailing, went off to the village to bury him. But they told everyone about the father's prediction and the words that he had spoken to them <in trying> to prevent them from going there. Those who heard about this were astounded and then were <quite> unable to control themselves; they went up to him, together with their wives and children, singing psalms and holding crosses in their hands. <Indeed>, there was little they did not do, clapping their hands, leaping about, heaping myriad praises on him, and eventually calling him a prophet.

14. These people <started> doing this frequently, however, and so, when the father observed this and that not only would they not leave him alone but were also ascribing to him the reputation of a prophet, he <began to be> afraid lest the praise of men should become an obstacle for him on the way of God.[71] He thus decided to leave that place and travel to the Holy Places, particularly because the old man, who was his guide and teacher, had by this time completed his life; he was, moreover, now of the right age to do this.[72] Lazaros had <by then> spent seven years there engaged in fasting, keeping vigil, and other godly exercises, <practices> that he had not only performed successfully himself and in a manner pleasing to God but had also taught to the brothers who were with him. <Now, however>, he mulled over these points in his mind and then slipped away one night without being observed by anyone, and set out on the <journey> to Jerusalem. He took nothing with him, but left the monastery without bread or any other necessity, with only one tunic, without shoes, and

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honey in this way, are provided by S. S. Strickland, "Honey Hunting by the Gurungs of Nepal," *Bee World* 63.4 (1982), 153–61; vivid illustrations of these practices are provided by E. Valli and D. Summers, "Honey Hunters of Nepal," *National Geographic,* November 1988, 660–71; see also, *Archaeology* 48.6 (1995), 39. Kaplan, *Les hommes,* 38, refers to this episode during his discussion of honey in Byzantine agricultural practice, although he does not appear to have fully understood it and mistakenly places it in Chap. 3 of the *vita.* See also *ODB,* s.v. "Apiculture."

[71] Lazaros stresses this danger in his teaching, below, Chaps. 185 and 186, while his own avoidance of praise is described again immediately below in Chap. 15, as well as in Chap. 220.

[72] Lit. "the time of his life now called him to this." Given the figure of seven years for his stay at Attaleia, which is provided in the next sentence, it would appear that Lazaros is at least twenty-four, but probably twenty-five or twenty-six at this point; the date must thus be somewhere between 990 and 993. Malamut (*Route,* 41) agrees, although she suggests more precisely that he was twenty-five and the date 992.

without staff or knapsack,[73] carrying with him only his trust in God. So, he left there and set out.

15. As he neared the great <city> of Antioch, Lazaros saw some people standing in the middle of the road, lamenting over a girl who had just been abducted by the Armenian army as it passed by there. When he found out about this, he immediately started to pursue the<se soldiers>. Reaching the place where they had taken up their quarters, he went up to some of them and asked if they would point out their commander to him. Since they wanted to know why he was looking for him, the father responded, "Some of you have abducted a girl and that's why I'm trying to see him, so that I may take her away, with his backing, after I've looked around and found her, wherever she may be." The words were not even out of his mouth before the men, hearing <the word> "girl," grew angry and began shouting at him roughly, "Abba, an evil demon led you here; be off so that you don't lose your life along with the girl!" The <soldiers> made this angry response in order to frighten him, but the father was not scared at all by their words and instead became even bolder. He replied to them, "I'm telling you straight,[74] that if you don't hand her over to me right now I'm going to go directly to the *katepano,*[75] and then I won't just recover the girl from you on his orders, [514] but I'll also demand your punishment." When they heard these words, the <soldiers> quickly changed their brutality into docility and their brash insolence to humility and started begging him to go away, saying that they would look <for her> after he had gone and would release her when they found her. But as they saw that Lazaros would not be convinced by their words unless he got the girl, they looked around and found her and brought her to him. "Take this girl, Father," they said, "who hasn't been touched by us and hasn't suffered any harm, and go away, <but> give us your blessing yourself in compensation." The father prayed for them and, taking the girl, turned back.

They had not yet reached her village, however, when night overtook them

[73] This alludes to Jesus' instructions to the apostles at Mt. 10:9–10; Mk. 6:8–9; Lk. 9:3, 10:4, and 22:35. There are several other allusions to these prohibitions elsewhere in the *vita,* e.g., Chap. 23, below.

[74] Lit. "in truth."

[75] Although the term *katepano* could, like the parallel term *strategos,* also be used to indicate the governor of a province, it is probably used here simply to indicate a military commander; see further *ODB,* s.v. "Katepano."

in the middle of their journey. Lazaros turned off the road a little way, stopped, and, after he had made a bed in the sand with his own hands, told the girl to lie down there and sleep. When he saw her pleading with him and begging him not to leave her, he said, "Lie down while I go a little way away from you to say my office; after I've finished, I'll come back and lie down near you." So he went away from her and said his office standing up; when he saw that she was asleep, he himself lay down at the spot where he was standing and went to sleep. He woke up in the middle of the night, however, and found her lying behind him, so he got up and stood singing psalms until the morning; and <then> he left there with her and went on his way. When they came near to her village, Lazaros prayed for her and sent her on her way. He continued on his journey, even though she begged him very much to go with her so that she might repay him for the favor that he had done for her; but he, fleeing the praise of men, as has been said, left her and continued on his journey. Thus the incidental task turned out no less <important> to him than the <main> task, and in fact more so, if the word of Christ is true, as indeed it is, that there is no greater love than this, that someone should lay down his life for his neighbor.[76]

16. When Lazaros had reached Jerusalem[77] and had gone round and worshiped at all the holy sites,[78] and indeed all the monasteries <too>,[79] the divine

[76] Cf. Jn. 15:13, which is obviously being quoted from memory since the wording differs from the Gospel text.

[77] It is impossible to tell how long the overland journey of some 750 to 800 miles from Attaleia to Jerusalem may have taken Lazaros; assuming that it was not more than a few months, he would still have been in his mid-twenties when he arrived and the date somewhere between 990 and 993. Malamut (*Route,* 315) suggests a date around 1000.

[78] For details of the itineraries followed by pilgrims in Jerusalem before the Crusades, see Wilkinson, "Christian Pilgrims," 84–97; for the sources in translation, see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* and idem, *Egeria's Travels* (Warminster-London, 1981). The *vita* of Lazaros is not referred to in the literature on this subject. Although Wilkinson's itineraries are from a somewhat earlier date (4th–7th centuries) than that of Lazaros' visit, there would seem to have been little change prior to the 11th century. Among surviving accounts of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the closest to Lazaros' is probably that of Bernard the Monk, who made the journey about A.D. 870, roughly a century earlier (trans., Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 142–44). While numerous other accounts and pilgrim guides survive from the early 12th century, these reflect the rather different circumstances that followed the seizure of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099. See also *ODB,* s.v. "Jerusalem"; Malamut, *Route,* 314–16.

[79] The interest shown by Lazaros in the indigenous monasteries of Palestine seems to have been unusual at this time for a foreign pilgrim. See S. H. Griffith, "Anthony

love that had entered his soul made him long to live in the lavra of St. Sabas[80] above all the <other> monasteries there. Then, while he was sitting in <the church> of the Holy Resurrection,[81] the archdeacon[82] of the church approached him and, when he had questioned him and found out about him, he persuaded Lazaros to go home with him. After he had entertained him in a friendly way, <the archdeacon> prevailed upon Lazaros to share his thoughts

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David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine," *Church History* 58 (1989), 16–19; also Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 32.

[80] The Great Lavra of St. Sabas was established in a rocky valley some seven miles southeast of Jerusalem in A.D. 483 by St. Sabas, one of the most notable figures in the early monasticism of Palestine. The lavra expanded over the years to become the most important monastic center in the Holy Land with close links to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Some five hundred monks apparently lived in the lavra in the mid-9th century and at the end of the 11th century there were still more than three hundred, so it must have been a large establishment when Lazaros spent his years there. The lavra is still in existence. See *ODB,* s.v. "Sabas," "Sabas, Great Lavra of"; Patrich, *Sabas;* also Hirschfeld, *Desert Monasteries,* passim; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 169. On the ancient organization of the Palestinian lavras compared to that of Byzantine monasteries at this time, see also Papachryssanthou, "Vie monastique," 166–73.

[81] This is part of the famous Holy Sepulchre complex that occupied the most important place in the religious life of Christian Jerusalem and was the starting point for pilgrimage itineraries in the city. The Rotunda of the Anastasis (Resurrection), built over the edicule of Christ's tomb, was originally constructed in the 4th century A.D., but the structure Lazaros saw when he arrived in Jerusalem at the very end of the 10th century had undergone several substantial renovations; it must have shown clear evidence of the most recent major repairs, required after it had been seriously damaged during riots in 966, since these took as long as twenty years to complete. Nevertheless, the Anastasis, the final destruction of which Lazaros witnessed (see below, Chap. 19), evidently made a profound impression on him, and he gave the same name to his last and most important establishment on Galesion; see the comment by Gregory the Cellarer in Chap. 253. On the history of the complex and its appearance up to this time, see especially R. Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989), 66–69; V. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme* (Jerusalem, 1981), 1:28–139; Wilkinson, "Christian Pilgrims," 88–94; idem, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 174–78; also *ODB,* s.v. "Sepulchre, Holy."

[82] The office of archdeacon (ἀρχιδιάκονος) first appeared in the 5th century, and was normally occupied by the bishop's secretary; he could thus be a powerful and influential figure, despite the subordinate position of the diaconate in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The *Commemoratorium* of ca. A.D. 808 provides a detailed list of the one hundred and fifty staff belonging to the complex of the Holy Sepulchre (a figure which includes some forty resident monks), but there is no mention of an archdeacon as such; fourteen

with him; when he thus learned from him that he had chosen to live in the monastery of St. Sabas, he took him along with him to the lavra. <The archdeacon> gave the superior twelve *nomismata,*[83] according to the rule of the monastery, and thus arranged for him to be received and numbered among the brothers there.[84] Lazaros spent six years in the monastery (as he often told us),[85] holding the office of *kanonarches* together with another brother.[86]

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deacons are listed, but perhaps the closest official at that time may have been the "secretary who, after the Patriarch, controls everything." Certainly the archdeacon of the *vita* seems to have been influential in assisting Lazaros' career in Jerusalem as we see in this and the following chapter. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Deacon"; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 12, 137.

[83] The *nomisma* was the standard gold coin of the Byzantine world, the equivalent of the earlier *solidus* and later *hyperpyron.* See further *ODB,* s.v. "Nomisma."

[84] There was a long tradition behind the practice of prospective monks donating some or all of their property to the monastery they were about to join. There are records of these *apotagai* (ἀποταγαί) or "entrance gifts" being permitted as early as the time of Justinian, and by the 8th century they seem to have become common and indeed compulsory in many cases, as here. Clearly the practice, which could verge on simony, was open to abuse and various imperial initiatives were taken to prevent or reduce it. This policy was adopted by those concerned with monastic "reform" in the mid-11th century and is thus endorsed by, e.g., the Evergetis *Typikon* (Gautier, "Évergétis," chap. 37, 79–81). In 1096 Alexios Komnenos, in his *De jure patriarchae* (Zepos, *Jus,* 3.409.16–25), was to codify the ban on compulsory *apotagai* or bequests of land in these circumstances while permitting free will gifts (*prosenexeis*); I am indebted to an anonymous reader for these references. Lazaros himself evidently approved of such gifts from those entering the monasteries on Galesion, providing that they were indeed made voluntarily: see below, Chap. 192. On this practice see, in particular, E. Herman, "Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 7 (1941), 439–50; Thomas, *Religious Foundations,* 145, 183, 207–8; cf. also Malamut, *Route,* 92.

[85] The figure of six years given here seems to refer only to the first period Lazaros spent in the lavra of St. Sabas, rather than to his whole time there; that is to say, the period prior to his expulsion (see the following chapter). For further discussion, see the Introduction, section B, n. 17. On this interpretation, Lazaros would have been thirty-one or thirty-two when his first stay at St. Sabas came to an end, sometime between 996 and 999.

[86] The *kanonarches* (κανονάρχης) was the precentor of the monastic choir who led the singing and directed choir offices. The position was evidently quite important; see, e.g., Theodore of Stoudios, *poenae monasteriales,* 1.99 (PG 99:1746C); *iambi,* 10 (PG 99:1784B–C). The fact that the monk with whose fate Lazaros is so concerned in Chap. 20 was his fellow *kanonarches* at St. Sabas would appear to indicate either that he must

17. After this, Lazaros <began to be> troubled by the idea that he too should go off with those who used to go out into the desert during the period of the holy forty <days>,[87] but the superior of the monastery would not let him do this. Lazaros was unable to control the burning impulse of this idea,[88] however, so he left without the knowledge of the superior of the lavra and went off into the desert with the others. When he returned, the superior would no longer accept him but expelled him from the lavra and drove him away for being an idiorrhythmic and someone who would rather follow his own wishes than those of his superior.[89] Lazaros therefore left the monastery of St. Sabas and went to that of St. Euthymios,[90] but after spending some time there he withdrew and went back again to St. Sabas for the following reason, which he

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have been reappointed to this office after his return from St. Euthymios, or that he held it only during his second stay at the monastery. Gregory of Cyprus (chap. 13, *AASS,* Nov. 3:592F), who gives Lazaros' office as that of *parekklesiarches* or "assistant sacristan" (see below, Chap. 82), places both his appointment to this office and his ordination before his expulsion.

[87] The reference is to Lent. The practice of going out into the desert at this time had a long history dating back to the founders of the monastic tradition in Palestine, such as Euthymios and Sabas. See here Patrich, *Sabas,* 272, cf. 293, and note that this was evidently a privilege reserved for the abbot and those monks he chose to accompany him.

[88] Note the rather similar language used at the beginning of Chap. 6 to describe Lazaros' motivation in leaving Strobelion for the Holy Land.

[89] The term "idiorrhythmic," which is explained exactly in the text here, is found in the context of Byzantine monasticism from the 5th century onward with the same negative connotations. Idiorrhythmics were criticized for going against the tradition of cenobitic monasticism, which was the norm in the Byzantine church. The practice did not find official acceptance until the 14th century when some centers of idiorrhythmic monasticism were established, notably on Mt. Athos. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Idiorrhythmic monasticism." The Byzantine monastic tradition placed considerable stress both on spending a sufficient time under the discipline of the *koinobion* before embarking on a career as a solitary and also on getting "official" permission to do so when the time came; see here Papachryssanthou, "Vie monastique," 161–62. Note that these points have already been made above in the *vita,* Chaps. 4–6, 9–11, 14; they are also reiterated on several occasions below in Lazaros' handling of situations arising in his own monasteries, see, e.g., Chaps. 159 and 175.

[90] The monastery of St. Euthymios was some six miles east of Jerusalem, about halfway to Jericho. It was founded by Euthymios, the father of Palestinian cenobitic monasticism, in the 5th century, the church being dedicated in 428/9. See *ODB,* s.v. "Euthymios the Great"; Patrich, *Sabas;* Hirschfeld, *Desert Monasteries;* Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 157.

himself recounted. "I went out," he said, "to a certain place with some other brothers to pick chickpeas, but <some> Arabs with their women and children came along with us.[91] When I saw that they were almost naked and were fooling about in an improper way and saying shameful things to the monks,[92] my mind was quite badly disturbed, so I withdrew from <the monastery of St. Euthymios> and went to the archdeacon and asked him to take me back again to the lavra of St. Sabas."[93] The archdeacon took Lazaros and brought him back to the monastery of St. Sabas <where> he gave the superior a Gospel valued at twelve *nomismata* and arranged for him to be received as on the first occasion.[94] Some time afterward, when the superior saw that Lazaros [515] was making progress in the works of God, he summoned him and persuaded him to accept the dignity of the priesthood, even though he was unwilling; after appointing him to the apostolic and great habit,[95] he sent him with some

[91] Or perhaps, "met us <there>."

[92] The implication that these monks could at least understand Arabic, together with the comment below in Chap. 20 concerning the apparent readiness of Lazaros' fellow *kanonarches* at St. Sabas to associate with "Saracens" and then actually to convert to Islam, provides an interesting witness in a Greek source to the presence of Arabic-speaking monks in the great monasteries of Palestine at this time, despite the typically negative attitude that the account betrays. Such incidents as these may perhaps betray signs of suspicion, if not tension, between Greek and Arabophone monks there; if so this would seem to have been something new (see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 32), but understandable, given the Byzantine successes of the late 10th century and the contemporary situation under the reign of the Caliph al-Hākim bi-Amr Allah. See in particular here, S. H. Griffith, "Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine," *Church History* 58 (1989), 16–19; and, more generally, idem, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic," *The Muslim World* 78 (1988), 1–28.

[93] The edited text continues the direct speech to the end of the following sentence. It makes more sense, however, to end the direct speech here and to understand the next sentence as a parallel to the similar one that occurs toward the end of Chap. 16, above; in both cases, then, δεχθῆναι is taken as a passive.

[94] It is interesting to note that the archdeacon had to pay a second entrance gift to have Lazaros readmitted.

[95] On the position Lazaros may have occupied in the formal scheme of Byzantine monasticism prior to this, see above, Chap. 9, n. 56, which refers to his tonsuring at Attaleia. The problem here is that the terms *apostolikon* and *megaloschemos* normally refer to two different stages in the monastic progression, the former being applied to

other brothers to the patriarch.[96] With the assistance and testimony of the archdeacon, Lazaros was presented to <the patriarch> who, when he saw that he was arrayed and adorned with the <necessary> virtues, praised him and declared him worthy of the priesthood; he first ordained him deacon, then priest. After he had been made priest by the laying on of the patriarch's hands and had <thus> been greatly enriched in the grace of the spirit, he returned again to the monastery of St. Sabas, and remained there until the uprising of the accursed Agarenes [Arabs] occurred.[97] During all the years he spent in the monastery of St. Sabas, as he himself often said when asked by the brothers, he never drank wine outside the church, nor did he taste oil or cheese or any of the other things which make the flesh fat;[98] nor did he lie on his side but he made a <specially> designed seat and would sit on it when he partook of a moment of sleep.[99]

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the *mikron schema,* the habit of the lesser grade of monks, the latter to the superior grade, who wore the *mega* or *angelikon schema.* If Delehaye is correct in suggesting that Lazaros was only made a novice at Attaleia, then the present passage is perhaps to be interpreted as meaning that he was elevated through both ranks at once at St. Sabas; certainly Lazaros, and Gregory the Cellarer, were aware of the normal distinctions in this terminology, as Chap. 130 shows, and this might argue against simple confusion here. On the other hand, given the lack of strict formality in Byzantine monastic hierarchy as well as the possibility of local variations, it may well be that the author *is* being imprecise here, or else he is relying on a source that used this particular terminology. In either case he may merely be intending to indicate that Lazaros became a fully fledged monk at this point.

[96] This must refer to the patriarch Orestes Hieremias, who held office from 986 until 1006; see further the Introduction, section B, n. 19, where it is also argued that Lazaros' ordination must have taken place in or before 1001.

[97] See below, Chap. 19.

[98] This passage is probably to be read in conjunction with the attempts made later in the *vita* to absolve Lazaros from allegations that he was less abstemious in his consumption of food and drink than was proper for a prominent ascetic; see below, Chaps. 78, 81–84. Lazaros' diet is also mentioned in Chaps. 35 and 46. Information about the similar diets of other notable ascetics on Galesion is provided in Chaps. 160, 164, 174, 177, and 198.

[99] On this manner of sleeping, see below Chaps. 35 and 165, but especially Chap. 162, where the practice is traced back to an angelic instruction received by the founder of organized Egyptian monasticism, Pachomios. Cf. also the *vita Athan. Ath.* (B), chap. 6.28–30.

18. One day Lazaros, as well as some other <monks> from the lavra, went out into the desert.[100] While he was standing in a <dry> river bed in the middle of the day and offering up his prayers to the Lord, he heard a voice from above, as if from the cliff, saying this to him three times: "Lazaros, you must return to your homeland!"[101] Since he was alone there when he heard this, he recounted it to the fathers after he had gone back to the lavra. He was told by those who knew the place well: "There is a cave above the river bed, and we know that a nun has lived in it for a long time.[102] Maybe she was inspired by God and said this to you." This <was the response of> the elders. Lazaros prostrated himself, said "May the will of God be done,"[103] and went to his cell. But when he went out again from the lavra to the desert of Rouba,[104] according to the custom, and passed the Dead Sea, as he happened to be near the place in which Lot's wife stood frozen into a pillar of salt,[105] he smiled

[100] The version of the *vita* by Gregory of Cyprus (chap. 15, *AASS,* Nov. 3:594A) suggests that Lazaros spent a number of years on a pillar in the Palestinian desert at this point.

[101] The calling of Samuel in the temple would certainly spring to the mind of the Byzantine audience (I Ki. [Sam.] 3:4–8), but the voice from above may also allude to the baptism of Jesus by John in the desert (Mt. 3:17; Mk. 1:11; Lk. 3:22) and perhaps also to the Transfiguration (Mt. 17:5; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:35).

[102] Female solitaries were evidently very rare indeed by this time in Byzantine history; see Talbot, "Comparison," 16–17. Two others are, however, mentioned in the *vita,* in addition to the present nun: the extreme ascetic of Chap. 59 (referred to by Talbot), and a nun who was apparently living on Galesion when Lazaros moved there (Chap. 62). Also to be considered here is the woman Irene (of Chaps. 56–57), who was refused permission by Lazaros to live in this way.

[103] Cf. Acts 21:14.

[104] Presumably this was in Lent again; see Patrich, *Sabas,* 126 and 272. The desert area of Rouba (Ruva, Rova, Riva), mentioned in the Lives of various Palestinian saints, was near the Great Lavra of St. Sabas to the east, between it and the Dead Sea; see Patrich, *Sabas,* esp. 51–54. The place is described vividly, a century after Lazaros knew it, in the account of Daniel the Abbot (trans. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 140–41; cf. John Phokas, 329).

[105] For the biblical story see Gen. 19:26. The reputed location of the pillar changed from time to time over the centuries, while the pillar itself was sometimes said to grow and shrink with the waxing and waning of the moon, or as it was licked by animals. According to Epiphanios the Monk, in the late 8th century the pillar was just to the north of the Dead Sea, and this seems to have been the general area in which it was located in the Middle Ages; so, e.g., in the account of Daniel the Abbot at the beginning

when he saw her, and then gave her a slap in the face. "Woe to you, wretched woman!" he said, "What has happened to you?" He did not do this to strike or humiliate the pillar (for how <could he> when it was lifeless and senseless?), but rather he did it to frighten himself, through her example, out of the idea of going back to his own homeland <and so> suffering the same fate, according to the word of the Lord that, "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of heaven."[106]

19. But God, Who loves men, and Who of old ordered Jacob to depart to his homeland[107] and arranged for Moses to return to Egypt again for the salvation of his own people,[108] also (for reasons that He <alone> understands) arranged for this man to go back again to his own country (even though he was unwilling), for the salvation of the many people who have been saved and who are <still> being saved through him until the close of this age.[109] For at that time, with God's permission, the sacrilegious and abominable Agarenes [Arabs] rose up against the Christians and laid waste to almost the whole <civilized> world, together with the monasteries and churches in it.[110] Their leader was a man by the name of Azizes. When this Azizes came into the Holy City [Jerusalem] and saw that the church of the Resurrection of our Christ and

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of the 12th century (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 148). The pillar that Lazaros saw would thus seem to have been in an area some twelve miles northeast of St. Sabas. See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 164.

[106] The quotation is from Lk. 9:62, although it is not quite exact; it is repeated below, Chap. 63; cf. above, Chap. 6. The same passage is also quoted in the *vita Danielis,* chap. 10 (cf. above Chap. 9, n. 55); and it evidently lent itself to moments of serious decision; cf. Niketas Choniates, *Historia,* ed. I.-A. van Dieten, Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae 11.1 (Berlin, 1975), 427.20.

[107] Gen. 31:3.

[108] Ex. 3–4.

[109] Cf. Mt. 28:20.

[110] This refers to events which took place during the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Hākim (r. 996–1021). Al-Hākim, who came to the throne as a boy, almost certainly suffered from a severe personality disorder; he is often described as "mad" (or, at best, "eccentric"), although he is believed to have been divine by the Ismā'īlite Druze sect. His instability showed itself particularly in unpredictable and violent political purges and religious persecution of Jews and Christians. These attacks began in 1003 and intensified from 1004/5. Other sources support the suggestion that a large number of monasteries and churches were destroyed or confiscated during this period, at least in Palestine.

God was so beautiful and marvelous, that impious <fellow> ordered one of his dogs (so one might say), who stood out from the others in both physical strength and evil, to climb up (woe is me!) and take down the venerable gold cross that was on the dome, and to throw it to the ground. This servant, who was even more criminal and sacrilegious than his criminal and sacrilegious master, did so. Then that wicked Azizes, after he had reviled our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ a great deal, angrily ordered all <his men> to go up and demolish the church. Almost before all the words were out of his foul mouth, those men, barking like dogs being sent out hunting, rushed up and hurried to carry out their orders. As they began to demolish <the church>, they found some jewelry and gold coins in the cavities[111] in the middle of the wall; these <objects> had been placed there by those people, both men and women, who, moved by their affection for Christ, once came there with the blessed Helen.[112] For this reason those impious men did not stop their demolition until they had completely leveled <the church> to the ground.[113]

[111] Reading ὀπαῖς for ὠπαῖς.

[112] This refers to Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, who undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 326–27. This pilgrimage was a very large and public affair, resembling most closely a newly Christianized form of the traditional imperial progress through the provinces. The exact contribution of Helena to the religious development of the Holy Land is difficult to assess, but her pilgrimage probably included the personal foundation and endowment of a number of major churches, or at least the supervision of building works already begun on the orders of Constantine, including the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. She is also, of course, alleged by tradition to have discovered the True Cross on her visit to Jerusalem. On Helena's journey and her traditional role in the Church, see J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta* (Leiden, 1992), esp. 55–72; also e.g., E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire,* A.D. *312–460* (Oxford, 1984), 6–49; *ODB,* s.v. "Helena."

[113] The dating of this event is discussed in the Introduction, section B, n. 8; it is agreed that it occurred within the period 1007–10, probably on 28 September 1009. The most reliable source for these events, the Christian Arab historian Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd of Antioch, reports that the Caliph al-Hākim sent written orders to his lieutenant at Ramleh, Yāroukh, to carry out the demolition of this important Christian monument. Yāroukh's son, Yūsuf, was sent to Jerusalem together with Husayn b. Zāhir al-Wazzān and Abu'l-Fawāris ad-Dayf; after stripping the church, they destroyed as much of it as they could, although some parts proved too difficult to demolish. Other Arab historians generally agree with this account. The Greek historian John Skylitzes, who wrote in the second half of the 11th century, also records the event, but says that the church was destroyed in 1010 by Azizios ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατάρχων (347.84; the name is later given

When Lazaros and the other fathers saw this (for, as he used to say, he was standing there watching everything with his own eyes), they decided to leave <the Holy Land>. This was not so much because of this incident, but more because of the persecution taking place at that time, for <the Muslims> killed a lot of people, monks and laymen; even worse, many people who were afraid of physical death, alas, died spiritually by denying their faith and calling themselves Saracens instead of Christians.[114] So these men, these lights of the world[115] and imitators of the holy apostles, departed from <the Holy Land> and were scattered here and there throughout the regions of Romania;[116] and <this persecution> was the reason for the dispersal of these men over the whole world, just as long ago the murder of St. Stephen was for the apostles.[117]

20. Since everyone was leaving, the father also decided to depart from

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as Azios, 387.12). This name, of course, agrees with that given by Gregory the Cellarer, but its absence in the Arabic sources suggests that both he and Gregory are making a double confusion here: first, mistakenly identifying the leader of the wrecking party with the Fatimid Caliph in Cairo, and second, confusing the Caliph, al-Hākim, with his father, al-'Azīz, who had died on 14 October 996. The church of the Resurrection was eventually rededicated in 1048 after being rebuilt under the patronage of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55). See here, M. Canard, "La destruction de l'église de la Résurrection par le Calife Hākim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré," *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 16–43 (including a French translation of the relevant Arab sources); H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (London-New York, 1986), 329–37, 379–80; Schlumberger, *L'épopée,* II, 442–44; also R. Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989), 66–78.

[114] See further here, A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Muslim Subjects* (London, 1930), 120.

[115] Cf. Phil. 2:15.

[116] Romania here signifies the Byzantine world in general.

[117] See Acts 7:58–8:4, but note that Acts 8:1 specifically excludes the apostles themselves from this diaspora following the death of Stephen. It is interesting that John Skylitzes' brief account of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre also concludes with the information that the monks from these monasteries were scattered over the whole world (347.88–89). Is it possible that this could indicate a link of some sort between these two works? By referring to the early diaspora here and his stress at the start of the chapter that Lazaros left the Holy Land for God's own purposes, Gregory the Cellarer is perhaps guarding against the charge that Lazaros had run away in the face of persecution and possible martyrdom; further on such defensiveness by Gregory, see the Introduction, section G, pp. 56–57.

<the Holy Land> with another monk called Paul,[118] and go to Rome,[119] so he used to say. While they were still there <at Jerusalem>, however, some bad news reached them, for the monk who used to be Lazaros' [516] fellow *kanonarches* at the lavra of St. Sabas, as the story has already made clear,[120] had denied the Christian faith; the wretched man had abandoned his monastic habit and position and had gone off and become a Muslim. When the father heard this, he was very upset at the perdition of the brother and persuaded Paul to go with him and see this man, wherever he might be. So they went out and found him, and when Lazaros saw him wearing Saracen clothes, he said to him through his tears, "Alas, brother, what do I see? Have you thus scorned your salvation by denying both your faith and your habit? Wasn't it for this very reason that I was always telling you, when you were with me in the lavra, not to make friends with the Saracens? Come, my beloved brother, come and turn back again to our compassionate God, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who does not want the death of a sinner but that he should turn back and live."[121] The father said these words to him and others to lead him to repentance, but the man acted deaf and dumb and could not even look directly at them for shame. When the father saw him in this state, he spoke to him again: "What is it, brother? Won't you answer? Don't you realize that the good Paul <here> has also come for your sake? Give us any answer you want." Scarcely opening his mouth the man replied to the father, "What can I say to you, brother, when I have got myself caught up in such evils? Even if I want to repent and follow you, I cannot, for if it should come to the knowledge of the local emir he would kill me, and you <two> as well. But if you can go and persuade him to

[118] On the dating of Lazaros' departure, see the Introduction, section B, p. 8 n. 21; as is suggested there, Lazaros would have been forty-two or forty-three when he set out again for Asia Minor, probably in late 1009, and would have spent between sixteen and nineteen years in the Holy Land.

[119] On Rome as a site for Byzantine pilgrimage see Malamut, *Route,* 316–17; also, on pilgrimage from the East to the West in the 10th and 11th centuries, see B. Hamilton, "*Orientale lumen et magistra latinitas:* Greek Influence on Western Monasticism (900–1100)," in his *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900–1300)* (Aldershot, 1979), 5:181–216 (repr. from *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963)*.

[120] See above, Chap. 16.

[121] The last part of this sentence is a loose quotation from Ezek. 33:11, "*I desire not the death of the ungodly, as that the ungodly should turn from his way and live.*" It is also used, in almost exactly the same form, in Chap. 39, below.

let me go, I'll come with you, wherever you want." The father was glad when he heard these words and went off at once to the emir. He saw him and, after much tearful pleading on behalf of the brother, persuaded him with difficulty to give him to them. Then, taking him <with them> at night so that it should not be known to any of the Saracens (for these were the emir's instructions), they started traveling through the desert.

21. After they had got far enough away from the place they had left, they wanted to have a short rest, and lay down on the ground and went to sleep. But that miserable and misguided <former monk> got up <again>, when he saw that they were asleep, and went back, *just like a dog to its own vomit.*[122] When <Lazaros and Paul> woke up and could not find him, they realized what he had done. They understood then that his mind was twisted and that his repentance was not on account of God, just as Judas' was not. Thus, when <Judas> understood what he had done, he returned and cast down the silver pieces, and then, unable to bear his shame, fell into despair and went out and hanged himself;[123] so, in the same way, this man also pretended to repent when he was trapped by force of circumstances, but because he had been blinded by his despair and was unable to perceive the way of repentance and the compassion of Christ, he turned back again to the darkness of perdition. So the fathers got up and continued their journey through the desert, despairing of the salvation of that miserable man.

22. As it was terribly hot in the middle of the day <Lazaros and Paul> grew extremely thirsty, but He, Who long ago made water gush forth from the barren <hill of the> jawbone for Samson when he was fighting and thirsty,[124]

[122] This is a loose quotation from Prov. 26:11; 2 Pet. 2:22. A similar, though not identical version is also given below, Chap. 201.

[123] Mt. 27:3–5.

[124] The reference is to Judg. 15:19. This translation seems to me to be the best way of solving the problems that surround the phrase διὰ τῆς ἀψύχου σιαγόνος. Although it would make sense if διά were taken here in its obvious meaning as "through" or "by means of," it would also imply that Gregory the Cellarer has misunderstood the story in the LXX (and the Hebrew). In the scriptural passage the word for "jawbone" (σιαγών) is used as a proper name for the hill on which the miraculous supply of water occurred, it being the place in which Samson had just slaughtered a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (Judg. 15:14–16; the etymology is explained in v. 17). The standard text of the LXX thus translates "And God broke open the cistern in the <place of the> jawbone, and water flowed out from it, and he drank" (RSV: "And God split open the hollow place at Lehi [jawbone], and there came water from it; and when

now also miraculously led these men to go to a place where there was water. The water was hidden from the outside by a bramble bush but, when they went inside the bush, they found the water and drank; they then came out <again> and lay down in the shade of the bush.

While they were lying on the ground like this they looked up and saw (just saying and hearing <this> is enough to fill one with horror, let alone seeing it) four lions apparently coming toward them. When they suddenly saw these <lions>, they <stayed> lying <there but> raised the hands and eyes of their souls[125] <in supplication> to God, Who <alone> could save them, and called on Him for help. And, indeed, they did not fail in their request for, just as He miraculously tamed the wild beasts for Daniel,[126] so also did He for them. <The lions> thus came up one by one, smelt them from head to foot, licked them with their tongues and then went by, wagging their tails just like pet dogs do when they see their masters; after <the lions> had drunk and come out of the bush, they did the same thing <again> and then left <the men> and went away. After they had thus been miraculously saved from the beasts, they got up and gave glory to God Who had saved them from the mouths of lions;[127] then they drank some more water and went on their way.

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he drank . . ."). The translation of διά as "through" at this point would thus perhaps suggest that Gregory has mistakenly understood (or mistakenly remembered) the LXX as referring to God miraculously supplying the water directly out of a jawbone itself, taking the standard text of the LXX as referring literally to an object rather than to a place name; this would have the advantage of making good sense of the qualification "lifeless."

Another possibility is to translate the passage (more literally) as "made water gush forth by means of the lifeless jawbone," in which case it would seem that Gregory must have imagined God using the jawbone to produce the water in some way. Indeed, there is an alternative reading in the LXX at this point which translates as, "And God opened the wound (τραῦμα) of the jawbone." This perhaps suggests that the water was thought to have issued forth from the place where the jawbone had struck the ground when Samson discarded it, in which case the jawbone could be taken as instrumental in the production of the water. Perhaps Gregory knew this alternative reading and took it in this way.

[125] The Greek implies purely mental action here: the men are presumably afraid to move in case they are seen by the lions, but still go through the normal motions of supplicatory prayer in their minds. For such actions performed physically by Lazaros see, e.g., Chap. 28, below. The phrase ὄμματα τῆς ψυχῆς is well attested, see Lampe, *Lexicon,* s.v. ὄμμα, 1.

[126] Dan. 6:16–23.

[127] Cf. Ps. 21 (22):21; 2 Tim. 4:17.

23. For three days <Lazaros and Paul> traveled through the desert, not tasting anything else at all except the water, for they were carrying nothing, no bag, no staff, no bread, nor anything else to eat.[128] <Eventually> they came to Tiberias,[129] <where> they went into the town and received alms from the Christians who lived there. They then left, but three camel drivers, who had seen them as they were about to go into the town, stayed waiting for them to come out and suddenly attacked them and tried to take the bread which the townspeople had given to them. <Lazaros and Paul> took out one loaf and gave it to these men, expecting to get rid of them by giving them this, but they ate it like dogs and started to chase them again. When the father saw that they were chasing them again, he said to Paul, "Let's give them all the bread and be rid of them, because that's why they're following us; <that way> we won't get hurt by them." But <Paul> became very angry with Lazaros and persuaded him to go on without being afraid; then he turned on [517] them, raised his right fist and shouted harshly at them, and thus suddenly made fugitives of the men who had just before been <their> pursuers.[130] So they went on their way without fear.

[128] The absence of equipment and provisions for travel here is again deliberately reminiscent of Jesus' instructions to the disciples in the Gospels; see above, Chap. 14.

[129] Tiberias is on the west bank of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias) about 70 miles north-northeast of Jerusalem. The main route from Jerusalem to Tiberias ran north to Neapolis (modern Nablus), where it divided, either going to the west via Sebastia (Sabastiya; OT Samaria) or to the east via Scythopolis (Bet She'an; OT Bethshean). If Lazaros and Paul traveled through the desert, however, they probably left Jerusalem to the east, in the direction of Jericho, and then headed up the Jordan valley, rejoining the easterly road at some point. The guide book of Epiphanios the Monk (7th/8th century) apparently refers to a route very much like this and states that it is a four-day journey from the Place of Baptism (just north of the Dead Sea) to Tiberias (see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 121 and map 34, 118). The time given for the journey there would thus tally reasonably well with that indicated by the *vita* of rather more than three days. Tiberias was an important regional center and the *vita* seems to indicate that it still had a thriving Christian community at the beginning of the 11th century; there is evidence that it contained a number of churches (as well as synagogues) in the 8th and 9th centuries as well as a monastery. The town was the pilgrimage center for visiting the sites of a number of New Testament episodes that were located a few miles to the north; most important were those of the feeding of the five and four thousand, and of the Sermon on the Mount, as well as the miracle of Jesus walking on the water. See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 64–66, 174a; cf. Malamut, *Route,* 317–18.

[130] An illustration of the dangers besetting pilgrims and travelers at this time; cf. also in the *vita* the attempt to sell Lazaros into slavery (Chap. 9), or the dangers of pirates

24. After they had gone up and worshiped on Tabor,[131] they went down to Damascus and then traveled through Lebanon <until> they came to Tripoli and so to Laodikaia.[132] Before they left for Laodikaia, however, someone who met them took out a *nomisma* and gave it to them, and someone else <gave them> a bag. Without Paul's knowledge, the father gave this away again to a poor man, thus following properly the word of the Lord, which, besides the other things, forbids carrying a bag.[133] When they got to Laodikaia, they decided to separate. After they had made this decision Paul said to the father, "Come, let's go to a money-changer so that we can split the *nomisma*." But Lazaros replied to him, "If you take my advice, give it to the poor, otherwise do as you think fit; I'm not taking even one obol from it." So, after embracing and praying for each other, they parted. Paul confined himself on a pillar somewhere there, although he did not remain in that place in the end.[134]

(Chap. 228). See further here Malamut, *Route,* 275–77, who comments on this incident among others.

[131] Mt. Tabor was an important pilgrimage site venerated as the location of the Transfiguration, as well as the meeting of Melchizedek and Abraham. Church buildings and a monastery are attested there from at least the 4th or 5th century and accounts speak of three basilicas from the 6th century; by the early 9th century there was a fourth, and Tabor had become the residence of a bishop, even though the monastery apparently had only eighteen monks. The guidebook of Epiphanios the Monk (7th/8th century) speaks of 4,340 steps going up the mountain and notes that it is a single day's journey from Tiberias. Tabor, in fact, is just more than nine miles southwest of Tiberias; it is thus evident that Paul and Lazaros made a deliberate detour from their route to Damascus in order to visit it. See *ODB,* s.v. "Tabor"; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 173.

[132] This route took Lazaros and Paul on a roundabout journey further inland to Damascus (ca. 70 miles northeast of Tiberias) and then back to the coast (at least 90 miles), which they evidently followed between Tripoli and Laodikaia (Lattakia) for a distance of about 110 miles. Following a treaty between al-Hākim and Basil II in 1001 Tripoli remained in Muslim hands, but the frontier with the Byzantine Empire was established just to the north. Laodikaia and its hinterland was thus under Byzantine control. The return of Lazaros and Paul to officially Christian territory may explain both the increase in the charity they received, which is noted here, as well as their decision to separate at this particular point.

[133] See above, Chap. 14.

[134] This raises the question of how Gregory the Cellarer (or Lazaros) knew that Paul did not remain there. It is conceivable that he later visited the monastery on Galesion, but news could have come by way of a visitor from the East (see, e.g., Chaps. 84 and 114), from someone like Kosmas the Jerusalemite who settled in Lazaros' community (see Chaps. 84, 221, 223), or from other monks in the general vicinity who had traveled

25. Upon leaving Laodikaia the father went to Antioch and so to the Wondrous Mountain and the monastery of St. Symeon;[135] then he left there, crossed Cilicia, and came to the region of Cappadocia.[136] When he reached <Mt.> Argeas,[137] he wanted to climb it but he was stopped by those <who lived> there because it was winter.[138] Lazaros, however, put all his hope in our Lord Jesus Christ and His mother and started to climb. When he was halfway up the mountain, <such> a <dense> fog came down around him, as he used

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to or lived in the Holy Land (e.g., the hostile monk at the Kouzena monastery mentioned in Chap. 84). Cf. below, Chap. 115, where information is evidently obtained about a Paulician, converted in Lazaros' monastery, who subsequently became a monk at St. Sabas at Jerusalem. It is also conceivable that this Paul may have later become superior of the monastery of St. Eugenios at Trebizond in the mid-11th century: see above, Introduction, section I, p. 65, n. 309.

[135] The journey from Laodikaia to Antioch is roughly fifty miles. The Wondrous Mountain (Saman Dağı), which is toward the sea to the southwest of Antioch on the river Orontes, was a major pilgrimage site devoted to the veneration of Symeon the Stylite the Younger. The site developed in the second half of the 6th century around the saint's pillar although, by the time of Lazaros' visit, the monastery had evidently been refounded by Greek and Georgian monks in the 10th century. Despite its destruction by the Mamluks in 1260, considerable remains of the complex can still be seen today. See W. Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart, 1986), 57–115; also *ODB,* s.v. "Wondrous Mountain," "Symeon the Stylite the Younger"; P. van den Ven, *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (Brussels, 1962).

[136] The wording of the text here and the fact that Lazaros arrives at Mt. Argeas [Argaios] before going to Caesarea perhaps suggest that he followed the main route westward across Cilicia to Tarsus and then north across the Taurus mountains by means of the Cilician Gates and so to Cappadocia.

[137] This mountain (Erciyas Dağı), a snow-capped, extinct volcano, partly responsible for the magnificent scenery in the famous valleys of Cappadocia, is, at 3916 m (ca. 12,000 ft.), the highest peak in Asia Minor. It rises just to the south of Caesarea (Kayseri) and dominates the surrounding landscape. Modern guides describe the climb as tiring, but not particularly difficult apart from the problems normally associated with high altitude; they are, however, presumably referring to an ascent in the summer under good conditions. On Mt. Argaios see *RE* 2:684, s.v. Ἀργαῖον Ὄρος.

[138] As has been seen above, Lazaros probably left Jerusalem sometime shortly after 28 September 1009. The fact that Chap. 28 indicates that he was somewhere beyond Caesarea on his way north to Euchaïta/Euchaneia by 9 March (see below, Chap. 28) suggests that he made his ascent of the mountain early in the spring. It had thus taken him about four or five months, including his stop at the Wondrous Mountain, to cover the approximately 750 miles between Jerusalem and this point on his journey.

to relate, that, even though he strained his eyes, he could not see to the right or left or anywhere else. He did not give up his attempt, however, but bent down and, using his hands to guide him, went on up. While he was climbing like this, he met a bear, as he used to say, and neither he nor it sensed the approach of the other until they came <so close that> they bumped into each other. The only explanation for this was that it was a device of the Evil One intended to frighten him into turning back, or rather of God allowing <this> as a trial of his faith and hope. The <bear> came to a halt at their sudden collision and left the path, while Lazaros went on his way unhindered, heartily singing the Davidic psalms. When he had climbed up <to the top> he found that the door <of the chapel> had been securely barred.[139] He opened it and went inside; when he had prayed, he came out, closed the door securely, and went down the mountain again.

26. After Lazaros had descended <the mountain> and was going on his way, he encountered a flock of sheep. The dogs saw him and began to chase him, so he climbed up on a rock and stood there, thinking that they would be unable to get up. But <these dogs> were raised up by the immaterial dog,[140] so to speak, and sprang from the ground with <great> leaps. They seized one piece each of the leather tunic that he used to wear[141] and tore it apart; then they went running off again, carrying the pieces in their mouths. The father was thus stripped naked by the dogs, but he praised God even for this, before he got down from the rock and went on his way. After he had gone a little

[139] Although it is not stated anywhere in the chapter that there was a chapel or sanctuary at the summit of the mountain that Lazaros intended to visit, this may reasonably be supposed from the mention of something with a barred or closed door there in which he prayed. Gregory the Cellarer has apparently omitted this detail from his narrative or else something has fallen out of the text. The latter seems more likely since the problem occurs close to the end of a folio in the manuscript and because it is unclear why there should be a stress on the door being securely closed. Such sanctuaries on mountain peaks were, as they still are, most often dedicated to Elijah; see *ODB,* s.v. "Elijah."

[140] In other words, the Devil. The Devil and his demons are quite commonly associated with dogs in the Byzantine tradition, although the *vita* seems to stress the link quite heavily, as is apparent from this and the following two chapters (cf. also below, Chaps. 54, 153); it also uses the metaphor of dogs for bad people relatively frequently, see, e.g., above, Chap. 19. See further here Joannou, *Démonologie,* 12; Greenfield, *Demonology,* 101, 122, 133–34, 188; and *ODB,* s.v. "Dogs." In general, see B. Woods, *The Devil in Dog Form: A Partial Type-Index of Devil Legends* (Berkeley, 1959).

[141] Further on this garment, see below, Chaps. 35, 82, and 112.

way from that place, however, he met someone riding a horse; this man felt sorry for Lazaros when he saw him, and took off a patchwork cloak he was wearing over his clothes and gave it to him. The father took this and, after putting it on, blessed the man who had given it to him; he also gave thanks to God for looking after him in this way and continued on his journey.[142]

27. When Lazaros reached Caesarea, he went into the church of St. Basil and prayed;[143] he then left the town and made the journey to the <shrine of> St. Theodore Stratelates.[144] While he was walking along by himself, however, an enormous black dog suddenly jumped out from somewhere and started to follow him; whenever he left the beaten track, the dog would disappear, but whenever he returned to it, he would see it behind him again, barking loudly. As evening was falling, he went into a village, but although he went almost all round it, no one invited him in. Not far from the village he found a cave, and went inside, but the dog came and stood in front of it and barked; as a result, the dogs from the village gathered too and stood there barking with it. The people of the village heard the noise <made by> the dogs and, thinking that a wild animal had gone into the cave, came running up to it carrying swords; then they stood <outside> shouting so that the wild animal (so they thought) would come out. However, when the father let them know with his voice that it was a man inside the cave and not a wild animal, they went away and left him <alone>. In the morning he got up and continued his journey, but the dog could still be seen, barking behind him, until evening came <again>. <Once more Lazaros> went into the village he had reached and went round it, but no one there invited him in, nor did he get even a crumb of bread. He went off to a place where there was a bread oven and, as the ashes were still <hot>

[142] The incident invites a comparison to the famous episode in the *vita* of St. Martin of Tours, where the saint divides his cloak and gives half to a naked beggar; *Vita S. Martini,* 3:1–4, ed. and trans. J. Fontaine, *Sulpice Sévère, Vie de Saint Martin* (Paris, 1967).

[143] Caesarea (Kayseri) was an important military base at this time as well as being a religious center because of its association with the most influential of the Cappadocian Fathers, St. Basil, who was born there ca. 329, became its bishop in 370/71, and died 1 January 379. Nothing now remains of this church. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Caesarea," "Basil the Great."

[144] The shrine was near Euchaïta in Pontus, a journey of some 150 miles almost due north from Caesarea, although it is impossible to tell exactly which route Lazaros followed. On this place and St. Theodore Stratelates himself, see below, Chap. 29.

like coals, he took them out of it and sat down nearby,[145] but the dog again went and stood in front of him and barked [518] so that there too all the village dogs gathered and stood barking with it. Lazaros got up and, picking up <a piece of> the wood which was lying there for use in the oven, <remained> standing there all night, as he used to tell <us>, chasing off the dogs.

28. When daylight came, Lazaros decided not to leave the village that day until the divine liturgy had been celebrated, <partly> because of the solemnity of the day, as it was the feast of the Forty Martyrs of Christ,[146] but at the same time as a test of the uncharitable people <who lived> there. When the time for the liturgy had come, however, and the divine service had been celebrated, <still> no one had given him even a crumb of bread to eat. Then Lazaros realized that they had no concept at all of sharing. He did not get angry or shout insults at them, but raised his hands and his eyes toward heaven and offered up some such words of thanks to God <as these>: "Lord, I give you thanks; and if you should consider me worthy to live in some place where it is clearly your will <for me to do so>, I will not eat by myself the bread that you send me, but I will also serve it as food to all those, rich and poor, who come to me in your name."[147] After he had said this, he left the village.

As he saw a small chapel somewhere nearby,[148] he went to it. He found a

[145] Presumably for warmth since this incident took place in early March, as the following chapter reveals; the glowing coals may also have been intended to help keep the dog away.

[146] The feast day of the Forty Martyrs is celebrated on 9 March, so these events apparently occurred on that date in 1010. It had thus taken Lazaros just over five months to travel from Jerusalem to this point in central Asia Minor, since he set out at the end of September in the previous year. The Forty Martyrs are venerated as soldiers who died when forced to stand naked all night in an icy lake because of their Christian beliefs; the martyrdom was believed to have taken place in the early 4th century during the reign of Licinius, near Sebasteia (Sivas). On the martyrs see *ODB,* s.v. "Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia."

[147] Lazaros fulfills this promise below, Chap. 32. For commentary on this example of the absence of charity in early 11th-century Byzantium, see D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New York, 1991), 110, although Lazaros was clearly not, as Constantelos suggests, on his way "to his monastery" at this point.

[148] The word translated as "chapel" here, εὐκτήριον, can be used of any ecclesiastical establishment, ranging in size from a simple chapel to a whole monastery; usually it describes private oratories and chapels as opposed to public buildings that were part of the official church organization. Considerable tensions certainly arose at various times concerning the function and control of such private establishments. It seems clear

nun established in it[149] who, when she saw him, got up and brought him bread and water and made him take some food. After he had partaken of <this> nourishment, he gave thanks to God (for he did everything to the glory of God and, if anything ever happened to him, whether happy or sad, it became an occasion for him to thank God) and then also blessed the nun, before setting off on his way. The dog appeared again, however, following him and barking until it was evening; and then it left him. Thus, even if the father did not say so directly, I conclude that this was not a <real> dog, but an evil demon that had transformed itself into the likeness of a dog, with God's permission, as a trial for the father. For how, if it was truly a dog and not an evil demon, was it able to follow him for those three days and play such tricks?[150]

29. In this way Lazaros reached Euchaïa, <where> he venerated the holy martyr Theodore; then he left and went down to Euchaïta <where> he worshiped and prayed in the church of the holy martyr Theodore Teron.[151] When

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from the contexts in which the term occurs in the *vita* that the author uses it to indicate a small monastic community of some sort based around an oratory or chapel, but probably without a large, formal complex of buildings. The εὐκτήριον at Oroboi is big enough to have a superior (Chap. 30) and cells, and is also described as a μονή, but that of St. Marina in the foothills of Koumaron (Chap. 31) has only two monks; it is evident from the comment at the end of Chap. 33 concerning this latter place that the author only considers that it has become a full-blown monastery (μοναστήριον) after the construction of cells and a new church. See here *ODB,* s.v. "Eukterion"; and, in general, Thomas, *Religious Foundations.*

[149] See above, Chap. 12.

[150] The association of the Devil and the demons with dogs was noted above, Chap. 26; they were thought to favor black animals of all kinds, see e.g., Chap. 73, below. See also here *ODB,* s.v. "Dogs," which cites this passage.

[151] Theodore Stratelates ("the general" or "commander") is very closely related to the other St. Theodore mentioned here, Theodore Teron ("the recruit"). While Teron was well known in early hagiographical literature, the first references to Stratelates are only found in the 9th century and his biography is clearly modeled on the Life of Teron. By the time of Lazaros' journey in the early 11th century, however, the cult of Stratelates had grown considerably; plausible arguments have been made for linking this development to social factors, particularly the growth in importance of the aristocracy and the military, which had rendered veneration of the humbler Teron less acceptable. Teron was apparently burnt to death under Maximian, whereas Stratelates is alleged to have died under Licinius, but in later hagiography both are said to have killed a dragon, and both are associated with a woman called Eusebia from Euchaïta (Mecitözü or Avkat), which was to the west of Amaseia (Amasya) in Pontus.

While Theodore Teron was firmly linked with Euchaïta, as here in the *vita* (although

he left there Lazaros made his way on foot across the Anatolikon theme,[152] <and so> came to Chonai.[153] He prayed in the church of the Archangel,[154] and then left there with some wandering monks and went down to Ephesus to the church of the Theologian.[155] From there he was on the point of leaving with these men and going to Rome, for the people with whom he was <traveling>

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there appears to have been no actual tomb in existence), there was evidently disagreement as to the exact name of the resting place of Stratelates' remains. One source thus knows it as Euchaïna (*SynaxCP,* 738), while Skylitzes reports that John I Tzimiskes built a large shrine for Stratelates' relics at Euchaneia in the 970s and changed its name to Theodoroupolis; as we see here, the text of the *vita* gives yet another variant in Euchaïa (Εὐχάϊα), although this is amended by Delehaye (p. 518 [2]; see also N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaita et d'Euchaneia," *AnalBoll* 104 [1986], 329) to Euchaïna (Εὐχάϊνα). Later sources appear not to know this place at all and confuse it with Euchaïta. It now seems certain, however, that whatever the exact name by which Stratelates' resting place was known, it was in fact located on the site occupied by modern Çorum, about 20 miles west of Euchaïta, and that it was completely destroyed toward the end of the 11th century. See *ODB,* s.v. "Theodore Stratelates," "Theodore Teron," "Euchaita"; *BHG,* 1750–53m, 1760–73; Delehaye, *Saints militaires,* 11–43; idem, "Euchaïta et la légende de S. Théodore," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, ed. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder (Manchester, 1923), 129–34; Kötting, *Peregrinatio,* 160–66; F. R. Trombley, "The Decline of the Seventh-Century Town: The Exception of Euchaita," in *Byzantine Studies in Honour of Milton V. Anastos,* ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu, Calif., 1985), 65–90; Oikonomides, as above, 327–35; A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 53 (1983), 544–45; idem, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9.2 (1988), 197–200.

[152] The Anatolikon (Ἀνατολικόν or Eastern) theme was the major administrative province, to the east and southeast of the Thrakesion theme in which Ephesus and Galesion were situated. One of the original and principal themes of Asia Minor in the 7th century, the Anatolikon had lost a great deal of territory by the first half of the 11th century, in particular to Cappadocia and Seleukia in the East.

[153] A journey of some 450 miles. On Chonai, see above, Chap. 6.

[154] On Lazaros' earlier experiences in this famous church, see above, Chaps. 7–8. Chap. 253 reveals that Lazaros was particularly devoted to the cult of the archangels throughout his life.

[155] It was about 135 miles from Chonai to Ephesus. On Ephesus and the surrounding area, see above, Chap. 2. The church of St. John the Theologian, which contained the saint's tomb beneath the high altar, was Ephesus' greatest attraction at this time, although there were other *loca sancta* there such as the cave of the Seven Sleepers, the tomb of Mary Magdalene, and the body of St. Timothy. There was a major procession to the church on 8 May, St. John's feast day, which was also the occasion of an annual miracle of healing dust or "manna," which issued from the tomb. The origins of the

were about to make the journey;[156] however, as he used to say, he was troubled by the idea (<which was> not bad, but indeed very good) of going to the vicinity of his own village and inquiring after his parents, not because he wanted to find out about them, but so that the thought of this would not <continue to> bother him afterward.[157] In fact, however, this action was <due> to the providence of God, in order that the ark (I mean Lazaros' country) might again receive the dove which had earlier flown away from it.[158] So, when he had decided <to do> this, Lazaros said to his companions, "Go on, and I will catch up with you shortly."

30. After they had gone, Lazaros went to Oroboi, to the chapel of George <the notary> who had once been his teacher.[159] He found <George's> son

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church go back as early as the beginning of the 4th century, but the church of Lazaros' day was basically that built by Justinian and completed in the middle of the 6th century. See *ODB,* s.v. "Ephesus"; Foss, *Ephesus,* 125–28; J. Keil and H. Hörmann, *Die Johanneskirche* [*Forschungen in Ephesos* 4.3] (Vienna, 1951); Kötting, *Peregrinatio,* 171–83.

[156] Lazaros had thus evidently kept to his plan of visiting Rome, which was first suggested in Chap. 20 when he was on the point of leaving Jerusalem.

[157] Gregory the Cellarer's rather awkward explanation here concerning Lazaros' return to his home is presumably intended to avoid the criticism that he had failed to obey the command made in the Gospels, and adhered to by Byzantine monastic tradition (in theory at least), that the true disciple must abandon home and relatives in order to follow the way of Christ; Mt. 19:27–29; Mk. 10:28–30; Lk. 18:28–30. This also offers an explanation for Lazaros' strenuous efforts to deny his identity in the following chapter. Compare, too, the attempts evidently made in Chaps. 18–19 above to counter criticisms of Lazaros' "instability" in leaving the Holy Land. For more on Byzantine tolerance of such "instability" among holy men, particularly in the 13th and 14th centuries, see Nicol, "*Instabilitas*"; and on the question of the monastic ideal of separation from family and its frequent circumvention in practice, see Talbot, "Family."

[158] This somewhat forced allusion is to Gen. 6:8–11, where Noah sends out a dove from the ark in search of dry land after the flood.

[159] For Oroboi, see above, Chap. 3; on the implications of the term "chapel" (*eukterion*) here, see above, Chap. 28. Although it was not specifically stated in Chap. 3 that George was associated with a monastic community during the three years Lazaros spent with him at Oroboi, this is apparently confirmed by the fact that he summons "the superior of the monastery" when he recognizes Lazaros/Leo; cf. the mention of such a monastery in the note there. Boulhol (*Anagnorismos,* 123–26) comments at length on this chapter and provides a French translation of it. On the theme of saints returning to their homes after a long absence ("the sons of Ulysses"), see also Malamut, *Route,* 119–21.

<there> and asked him about his parents and relatives, and also, of course, about his teacher, the boy's father. When the boy heard this from the father [Lazaros], he went to his own father and told him everything, and when he <in turn> heard this from his son, he guessed from his words who it was. He said to the boy, "It's the notary Leo, the son of Niketas and Irene, isn't it? Let's go so that I can see him myself!" <George> came and, when he saw him, recognized Lazaros at once. Lazaros denied it, but <George> put more faith in his own eyes than in the father's words and, without any delay, immediately sent for his relatives and also, of course, the superior of the monastery. They came and also recognized the holy man when they saw him, especially the superior of the monastery, in as much as he was Lazaros' maternal uncle.[160] Lazaros denied it again, but the superior, acting rather sensibly, shut him in a cell and sent for his mother, for she was still alive although his father had died.

When the mother arrived, the superior brought Lazaros out of the cell and stood the son in front of his mother. "Do you know who this is, woman?" he asked. She at first said no, for how could she recognize him [519] when twenty years had already passed since she lost him, especially when he was <so> wasted away by his asceticism and suffering?[161] After she had had a better look at him, however, she began dimly to recognize him[162] and finally realized

[160] Possibly the same uncle Elias who oversaw Lazaros' early education when he was a monk in the monastery of Kalathai, which was also apparently nearby; see above Chaps. 3–4. Even if it is not the same man, the presence of an uncle would nevertheless provide a likely explanation why Oroboi was chosen for Lazaros' first spell of education away from home when he was a boy.

[161] The figure of twenty years given here and also repeated below in Chap. 254 presents some problems for the chronology of Lazaros' life; these are discussed above in the Introduction, section B, n. 24. As is suggested there, Lazaros probably returned to Oroboi in late 1010 or early 1011 when he was about forty-four or forty-five; if my chronology is correct, at least twenty-five years, and possibly as many as twenty-eight, had in fact elapsed since he finally ran away from Strobelion. The fact that Lazaros' own mother found it hard to recognize him, while the others who met him quickly realized who he was, may perhaps be explained by the fact that she had probably seen little of him after he left his home around the age of nine (see above, Chap. 3), whereas they had had much more contact with him during his adolescence. Morris (*Monks,* 81) is mistaken in suggesting that Lazaros was "immediately recognized" by his mother.

[162] Boulhol (*Anagnorismos,* 124 [cf. 126]) sees a probable allusion here to the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 12:23.2 (ed. B. Rehm, *Die Pseudoklementinen* [Berlin, 1992], 1: 185.11–12).

that he was her most beloved <son>; then she ran to him at once and embraced him and kissed him and, with tears of joy welling from her eyes, said what one would expect a mother to say upon finding her dearest son. When Lazaros saw his mother clinging to him like this and was at a loss what to do, he admitted unwillingly that he was <indeed> her son. <News of> this spread rapidly among his relatives and friends and acquaintances, and they all gathered to see him and, at the same time, to share in his mother's joy and happiness over the discovery of her lost son.[163] They spent the whole day like this, and gave glory to God for having deemed them worthy to see a mother thus miraculously made happy by a child; then each of them went back to their homes. The superior invited Lazaros to stay there in the monastery with him because he refused to go home with his mother, even though she implored him a great deal to do so. So he yielded to the superior and remained in the monastery for some days before leaving again and going back to Ephesus.

31. Lazaros entered the town and then left <again> after praying in the church of the Theologian. Led by <God>, who was directing him, he traveled on, and came to a village called Malpadeas.[164] As the day was already <lengthening> into evening, he turned off the road and went into <the village>, where he was taken in by a priest called George.[165] After this man had generously entertained him, he was asked by Lazaros if there was a monastery in the area where he might take up residence.[166] <George> led him to the monastery of the most holy Theotokos, which is above the village of Kepion and is called <the monastery> of Appion.[167] Lazaros went into this <place>, but did not like living there <and so>, directed by the superior of the monastery, he came

[163] There seem to be several allusions here to the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the prodigal son, both in the final act of recognition by the mother and in the celebrations that follow; see Lk. 15, esp. vv. 6, 9, 20, 23, and 32.

[164] This place is otherwise unknown.

[165] This man evidently remained closely connected with Lazaros' community. He accompanied Lazaros when he first moved permanently onto Galesion from the monastery of St. Marina (Chap. 53).

[166] Lazaros' plan of rejoining his former companions on their journey to Rome has now evidently been forgotten and is not mentioned again.

[167] Or simply "Appionos." Nothing is known of this monastery, but the text would seem to imply that it was still in existence and known to the author of the *vita* later in the 11th century. The village of Kepion was only a short distance from Galesion; see below, Chaps. 55 and 241.

to the foothills of the mountain called Koumaron where there was a spring and also a small chapel <dedicated to> that victorious martyr for Christ, Marina.[168] Here two monks were living, brothers by birth called Hilarios and Leontios. These men took Lazaros in and they both decided that they should live together.[169] After a while, Lazaros persuaded the monks to construct a roofed pillar for him; he moved onto this and spent some time on it, but then decided to take the roof off and live in the open air on this <pillar>, in imitation of the wondrous Symeon.[170] And so he did.

32. Within a short time Lazaros' reputation spread almost everywhere and many people, rich and poor, began coming to him from the villages and towns nearby. He received these people kindly, <thus> fulfilling the vow to God that he had made earlier on;[171] for he would break up and distribute to them the bread that He sent him for his nourishment through the Christian faithful. The monks who were there before <him> saw this <happening> and that the people who lived there were showing more respect for Lazaros, who was a newcomer, a stranger, and unknown, than they were for them, who were locals and well known. So they went to Lazaros and said, "Either stop welcoming everyone and giving away to them in this reckless fashion the things God sends for our use, or else go away from here. If you won't, then we will have to leave ourselves!" The father replied to them, "It's impossible for me not to receive all these people and not to offer them <a share> of what God provides for us; nor am I going to leave here for such a reason. As for you, do

[168] On this sort of "chapel," see above, Chap. 28, n. 148. Marina was a late 3rd-century martyr whose legend describes her victories over Satan and a dragon; these feature prominently in representations of her. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Marina."

[169] The Greek here may allude to Ps. 131 (132):13: ὅτι ἐξελέξατο Κύριος τὴν Σιών, ᾑρετίσατο αὐτὴν εἰς κατοικίαν ἑαυτῷ; "*For the Lord hath chosen Zion; he hath desired it for his habitation.*"

[170] The reference could be to Symeon the Stylite the Elder (ca. 389–459), who established himself on a pillar at Qal'at Sem'ān (see further *ODB,* s.v. "Saint Symeon the Stylite the Elder"), but is more likely to be to Symeon the Stylite the Younger (see above, Chap. 25); the use of the adjective "wondrous" (θαυμαστός) here may suggest that Gregory the Cellarer has him in mind through association with his "wondrous mountain" near Antioch, which, of course, Lazaros had visited on his way back from Jerusalem.

[171] See above, Chap. 28.

whatever seems right to you!" When the monks heard this from the father, they considered <their position> carefully and then, after discussing it thoroughly with each other, left Lazaros there and went away. They went off to the hill called Hypselos,[172] above the village of Legos; they found a place where there was a spring, and there they built a monastery. It is still standing today and bears the name of the monk Hilarion.[173]

33. Not much time had elapsed after the departure of these men before some <others>, who had renounced the world and the things of the world, chose to live together <there> with Lazaros. Indeed, they received the monastic habit from him and were well shepherded by him. When a considerable number were gathered together there, it became necessary to build cells for their repose and <other> needs and also <to build> a house of prayer, for the church that was there before was much too small. As far as the construction of the cells went, some of the Christian faithful became the <monks'> fellow laborers, but the building of the church <was made possible by> a woman called Iouditta, who came from the country of Calabria and lived at "the Beloved" [Ephesus].[174] This woman was brought by her great faith to the father and built the church of St. Marina; she also adopted the father's brother as a son. <This was> Ignatios, who was then a child, but now, through the grace and favor of Christ, is our superior; when he was a boy of about eight, he ran

[172] That is, "High."

[173] Note that the form of the name here is different from that given in the previous chapter (Hilarios); this may be due to a simple error, but perhaps Gregory the Cellarer was mistaken in deriving the name of this monastery from Lazaros' former companion at St. Marina. Morris (*Monks,* 155) is evidently mistaken in suggesting that this Hilarion (Hilarios?) was a spiritual son of Lazaros and one of his successors on Galesion. Kaplan (*Les hommes,* 31) also mistakenly understands this passage to indicate that the monastery of Hilarion was the same place as St. Marina.

[174] It seems reasonable to follow Delehaye's argument here (p. 519 [2]) and take the expression "The Beloved" (ὁ Ἠγαπημένος) as referring to Ephesus. The city had been known as "[the city of] the Theologian" (τοῦ Θεολόγου), after St. John the Theologian, as early as the 9th century, and it would thus be natural for this other epithet of St. John to be applied to it as well (see Jn. 21:7, 20). This is certainly how Gregory of Cyprus understood the term here (chap. 25, *AASS,* Nov. 3:598D). The same expression is used again in Chaps. 56 and 60. See also here Foss, *Ephesus,* 117, 121 n. 21. Note that Gregory of Cyprus attributes to Iouditta the financing of the church of the Savior on Galesion, rather than that at St. Marina.

away from the maternal embrace and came to the father and chose to live together with him.[175] [520] So, by the consideration and favor of God who loves men, the place became a monastery with the building of the church and the cells.

34. <Most of> their food was provided by the faithful Christians who lived nearby, but the metropolitan of Ephesus (<this> was Theodore)[176] also granted them some land to work, because of the faith he had in the father; by working this they also produced quite a lot of food from it. Once, then, they sowed beans in one part, but after these had grown and produced a crop, everyone who passed by there went in and took some because this land was close to the road. When the monks saw how the <beans> were being gobbled up, so to speak, by everyone every day, they went to the father and said that either they should harvest them early, or else that some of the brothers should go and stand there to chase off the people when they were about to go into the <bean field>, "so that we don't lose them altogether," they said.[177] The father did not let them do either of these things, however, but said instead, "Leave them to be eaten by everyone like this, for God is able to make a lot

[175] Chap. 81, below, also reveals that Ignatios was able to report on the details of Lazaros' diet at St. Marina from a time three years prior to his move up onto Galesion; he must thus have been with him in the community there by then, but the implication is that he could not provide any information before that time. Ignatios thus either only ran away to join his brother toward the end of his seven-year period at St. Marina or else (and this seems more likely from what is said in the present chapter) ran away from home earlier, but then spent some time in the care of Iouditta before moving into the monastery. The fact that he accompanied Lazaros when he made his final move up to the cave at the site of the later monastery of the Savior (below, Chap. 53) might also support the idea that he spent some time in this woman's care, for such an undertaking would seem more appropriate to a youth of fourteen or fifteen than to a boy of eleven. Further on the problems of chronology raised by Ignatios' age here, see the Introduction, section B, n. 25.

[176] This Theodore should perhaps be identified with the Theodore II of Ephesus who is listed by M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris 1740; repr. Graz 1958), 1:686. Delehaye expresses doubts about the trustworthiness of Le Quien's source here, the *vita S. Sisinnii,* but if it correctly suggests that this Theodore was in office when Romanos (III Argyros) was ruling (1028–34), then he would have been the same metropolitan who opposed Lazaros' initial move onto Galesion in 1018 or 1019; see below, Chap. 53. Another, obviously later, metropolitan of Ephesus, Euthymios, is named in Chap. 114.

[177] On the need to protect fields of crops from theft, see also Chap. 243, below.

from a little, just as <He can also do> the opposite." When the time came for harvesting the <beans>, the brothers were urged by the father to go out and cut them, but they did not obey because, as it seemed to them and as it appeared to everyone <else>, there was no hope of getting anything from them. They were persuaded, however, although only with difficulty, and went out; after they had harvested <the beans> and taken them to the threshing floor and broken them up, <they discovered that> they were going to get double <the amount> they had grown.[178] When the brothers saw this miracle, they blamed and criticized themselves, but they extolled Lazaros in their amazement and gave glory to God for the grace[179] of such a marvel. Thus God knows how to glorify and send down His gifts in abundance on those who truly love Him and are eager to fulfill His commandments properly.

35. He persevered there for seven years,[180] standing on his pillar in the open air, burnt by the blazing heat of summer and chilled by the frost of winter.[181] As regards his clothing, he kept his body tightly bound with irons; these stretched from his shoulders to his loins, <which were enclosed> in another circular iron belt fastened to both sides;[182] under his armpits another girdle encircled him, and to this were fastened the middle parts of the irons, which

[178] There is evidently a small lacuna in the text at this point, although the sense is clear. Gregory of Cyprus' version of the *vita* here speaks of the harvested beans, which had previously seemed to be merely husks, overflowing the threshing floor (chap. 23, *AASS,* Nov. 3:597D). For other examples of the miraculous provision or multiplication of food in the *vita,* see below, Chaps. 209–14.

[179] The phrase "the grace" is not in the original manuscript but is supplied by Delehaye.

[180] The same figure is also given for Lazaros' stay at St. Marina in Chap. 254, below.

[181] This element of Lazaros' ascetic endurance is stressed below in Chaps. 111 and 235; cf. Chap. 59. Rather similar descriptions of the conditions in which various ascetics lived are found in Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.,* e.g., 18.1 (Eusebius of Asikha), 21.3 (James of Cyrrhestica), 26.28 (Symeon Stylites the Elder). Most of the present chapter, however, from "burnt by the blazing heat" to "the sacred scapular" is drawn almost word for word from the *vita* of St. Stephen the Younger, Chap. 20, PG 100:1104C; see now M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre* (Aldershot, 1997), 114.

[182] Perhaps to both of the shoulder "straps"; however the phrase ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν μερῶν might also be taken as "at front and back"; cf. Auzépy's translation of the *vita* of St. Stephen the Younger, chap. 20, p. 207.

came down from his shoulders.[183] He had a single tunic of leather,[184] but he also wore the holy cowl, the stole decorated with crosses, and likewise the sacred scapular.[185] He had a small <specially> constructed seat to rest on, and he would partake of a moment of sleep while sitting on this.[186] His food used to be barley bread and his drink water, but three years before[187] he had even given up eating the bread and <simply> ate pulses and vegetables, some raw and some cooked without oil.[188]

36. Because the father was living in this superior way and thus drew everyone to him like a beacon by the brilliant illumination of his lifestyle,[189] and

[183] Although the general picture is obvious, the precise configuration of the "irons" being described is not entirely clear and the punctuation of Delehaye's text has been emended to allow the present translation; generally such irons seem to have formed a symbolic cross shape, as they are said to have done in the *vita* of St. Stephen the Younger, although the author of the *vita* of Lazaros omits this element here, perhaps suggesting that his irons were slightly different from those described in the hagiographical model. For an illustration of ascetic equipment that would appear to approximate quite closely what is being described here, see Hackel, *Byz. Saint,* 125. For the use of such irons in the patristic tradition, see, e.g., Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.,* 21.8 (James of Cyrrhestica). There may be an indication in Chap. 179, below, that Lazaros' irons were kept as a relic in the monastic church after his death.

[184] Further on Lazaros' leather tunic, see below, Chaps. 82 and 112; he reportedly wore one such garment for twelve years, and he had evidently adopted this style of dress before settling in the region of Galesion; see above, Chap. 26. The *vita Danielis* (chap. 22) makes it clear that St. Symeon the Younger also wore a similar garment, which was allegedly inherited by Daniel. At the same time Gregory the Cellarer is making an allusion, which would also be understood by his audience, to the common use of this phrase to denote the mortal, natural, human body and all that goes with it, thus stressing Lazaros' exposure and "nakedness" on his pillar; see Lampe, *Lexicon,* s.v. χιτών, B.

[185] The word ἐπωμίς in this context indicates the scapular; a normal part of monastic dress, this consisted of a sleeveless outer garment resting on the shoulders and covering front and back. Cf. Talbot, *Holy Women,* 184, 200, 224, 230. See also below, Chaps. 57 and 160.

[186] See above, Chap. 17.

[187] Reading πρὸ for πρὸς. I am grateful to an anonymous reader for this suggestion.

[188] This tallies exactly with what Gregory the Cellarer says below in Chap. 81; he cites Lazaros' brother Ignatios as his source there. Kaplan (*Les hommes,* 31) refers to this description of Lazaros' diet.

[189] Similar images are used of Lazaros in Chaps. 111 and 128, below; cf. Chap. 2, above.

because the monastery was near the road, everyone that passed by there used to go up to him, one for spiritual help, another out of physical need, and another again due to some crisis in his life; but not one of those who went up to him was <ever> seen to return from there without having received the proper medicine for his sickness. For all who went up to him grieving over their particular misfortunes joyfully returned home from him, giving glory to God. When, however, Lazaros saw himself being mobbed in this way by everybody every day, and especially because the monastery, as has been mentioned, lay near the road, and his ears were thus ringing with the voices of travelers and overseers and farm workers in the fields, he began to seek a quiet place that would enable him to get away from the annoyance of this mass of people. Now Mt. Galesion stood right there, and it happened not only to be impassable and craggy and very rugged, but was in addition waterless, and for these reasons was able to offer much tranquility to the person who went there. Lazaros thus decided that it was just the right place for him and he knew that he had to go up onto it and make his home there, especially because he learned from many people that there was a cave on it in which, many years before, a monk called Paphnoutios had ended his days in asceticism. <Now> I have decided that it is appropriate to add the story of this holy man like some seasoning to the present work for the edification of my readers, just as I heard it from our holy father Lazaros himself.

37. This Paphnoutios came from an Athenian family, but left his homeland while he was still young and went off to Rome. He shut himself up somewhere there in a very confined cell and traversed the path of asceticism with success. Adding daily to the wonderful accumulation of his good works, he was raised to the pinnacle of the virtues and thenceforth he became abundantly rich in the grace of the spirit and was proven to be a most holy worker of miracles. Within a short time <Paphnoutios'> reputation spread everywhere and all those who had been stricken with incurable diseases and the attacks of demons started coming to him; through his entreaties to God each person was relieved from the disease afflicting him and returned to his home rejoicing. [521] But because this man was doing so well and his fame was spreading everywhere more <and more> obviously and making him well known to everyone, and because the Lord and God of all was being glorified through him, the situation became intolerable to the Evil One. He was beside himself with rage at <Paphnoutios> and started seeking to contrive some way in which he could trip him up and strike him down. And, as it happened, the Most Evil

One did have the strength, with God's permission, to trip <Paphnoutios> up, even though in the end he was unable to exult in his perdition.

38. For the Evil One took possession of a girl, who was the child of rich parents, and started to disturb her;[190] using her tongue he would shriek and say, "Unless you take me to Paphnoutios the servant of God, I won't come out." When the girl's parents heard this from the demon, they took the child and went to the holy man. As soon as they came near his cell the evil spirit convulsed her and screamed in a loud voice, "I'm coming out of the child, I'm coming out, servant of God," and it came out of her. The girl's parents praised God and thanked the holy man very much and then picked her up and started back toward their own house, rejoicing. But, when they had gone some distance from <Paphnoutios'> cell, the girl suddenly began to be disturbed by the demon again and to call for the holy man by name, just as before. So the parents took her up again and returned to the holy man and, as they were approaching the cell, the demon again let out the same cries as the first time and came out of her. The demon did this a third time and, when the girl's parents saw this, they left her there and went away. But now, when the demon saw that the parents had gone away and had left the girl alone with the holy man, it left off convulsing her and <instead> entered into <Paphnoutios> without being seen. It started to trouble him with illicit thoughts and then it attacked him more <and more> violently until, after it had broken down the strength of his resistance to the idea, it persuaded him to have sexual intercourse with the girl and then actually to murder her. However, when he, like David of old, had already been persuaded by the wicked demon to add murder to lust, God sent his conscience to him, just as <He sent> Nathan the prophet to <David>, and it began to reproach him and to point out more <and more>

[190] As Delehaye points out (n. 1, p. 521), there is a close parallel to this section of the story about Paphnoutios (Chaps. 38 and 39) in the *vita* of St. Jacob the Monk (*BHG* 770); he cites the *AASS,* Ian. 2:869–73 (see esp. 871–73), which gives the Latin text. The Greek text is edited by R. Trautmann and R. Klostermann, "Drei griechische Texte zum Codex Suprasliensis," *ZslPh* 12 (1935), 282–92 (chaps. 8–33); cf. PG 114:1220–30 (where the Greek text breaks off half way through). There is also a summary of it in the *SynaxCP,* 128–30; cf. Laiou, "Sex," 217. In this story the ascetic Jacob, who lives near Samaria, has the possessed daughter of rich and eminent parents brought to him to be cured. As with Paphnoutios, however, he is the ultimate object of the Devil's attack, to which he succumbs by raping and then murdering the girl who has been left in his charge. As an act of atonement he shuts himself up in a tomb, described (significantly, in view of Chap. 39 here) as σπηλιοειδές (Chap. 25, 1.14).

clearly the outrageousness of what he had done.[191] Then <Paphnoutios> began to weep and cry out, "*I have sinned against the Lord,*"[192] and he implored God that his crime might be disregarded and his sin forgiven him.

39. Then the merciful God, Who loves men and does not wish for the death of a sinner but rather that he may turn back and live,[193] saw that <Paphnoutios> was truly repentant, and He did not delay in <bringing about> his salvation. He sent an angel and told <Paphnoutios> to leave Rome and go to Asia, if he wanted to be forgiven his sin, and He gave him instructions concerning the location and the name of the mountain [Galesion]. <Paphnoutios> left Rome at once and came to Asia and, with the guidance of the angel, came up onto this mountain. He entered the cave and spent three years in it, never ever standing upright, never looking up, and never uttering the name of God with his lips, for he was trembling and afraid[194] and, in his extreme humility, thought himself unworthy of the invocation of such a name. <He found> his food from the plants which grew in front of the cave and his drink was the water that trickled down from the rock above it and was caught by that below, lying stagnant where it was hollowed out a little; and to this day the <cave> preserves the name it acquired from the holy man.[195] But when this three-year period came to an end, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and said, "Get up and stand on your feet, and give glory to God because He has forgiven you your sin." After the angel had said these words to him and had left him, the holy man got up, stood upright and offered praise to God according to the angel's instructions. Thereafter he went on living on the mountain, feeding himself on the plants that grew there and begging God that he might either be eaten by a wild animal or else be killed by someone, which <in fact is what> happened.

40. One day, then, <Paphnoutios> climbed up above the cave to a large

[191] See 2 Ki. 11–12. The reference is to the episode in which David makes Bathsheba pregnant and then contrives the death of her husband, Uriah, so that he may marry her. He is reproached for his actions by the prophet Nathan and, although David is forgiven, the child born to Bathsheba is killed by God as punishment.

[192] 2 Ki. 12:13; the statement was originally made by David.

[193] As was noted above, this loose quotation from Ezek. 33:11 appears in almost exactly the same form in Chap. 20.

[194] Cf. Mk. 5:33.

[195] Cf. below, Chap. 41; an icon of the holy man evidently hung inside it once the community of the Savior had developed (Chap. 45).

plant[196] (called the chickpea) in order to gather its fruit to sustain himself. While he was standing <there> collecting this, a shepherd passed opposite the cave with his flock and, seeing him, thought that he was a wild animal; he drew his bow and let fly at him with an arrow, striking him in the ribs. The saint took the blow without a moan and without making any untoward sound; instead he at once set his tongue to giving thanks. Then he twisted his hand round and pulled the arrow out of his ribs while praising God in a loud voice as best he could and climbed down from the plant. The shepherd heard the holy man's voice and went running to the cave; when he saw that he had struck a man, he wanted to kill himself. The holy man, however, restrained him from this impulse by summoning him in a gentle voice and, when he came, made him pick him up and carry him into the cave. After the shepherd had brought him into the cave, the holy man saw him sobbing and weeping bitterly and said to him, "Do not weep, do not grieve over me, brother, for it is not you who have murdered me, but I who have killed myself," and he related everything that had happened to him. <Paphnoutios> then instructed <the shepherd> to bury him, after his departure to God, in the right-hand part of the cave where he used to come in and rest while he was alive; <he also told> him to go away and, [522] when he had settled up his own affairs properly, return to the cave and make his home there. After he had given him these <instructions>, Paphnoutios was silent for a while and then, lifting up his hands, he quoted the <saying>, "Glory be to thee, O Lord my God, Who have thus arranged my affairs so well,"[197] and gave up his holy soul. The shepherd sprinkled <Paphnoutios'> holy corpse with many tears in place of hymns and chants and laid him to rest in the right-hand part of the cave; he went off and settled up his own affairs properly and then returned and entered the cave where he stayed until his death. He too lived a worthy life and received the kingdom of heaven in exchange for the many tears <he shed> over his accidental act of murder. They took the body of the holy Paphnoutios to Constantinople, but some pious people divided up the remains of the shepherd one way and another, and only his holy skull was left behind, which is preserved to this

[196] Lit. "tree" (δένδρον); it would seem, however, that this must be understood here, and shortly below, in the attested sense of a large plant (so the "mustard" [σίναπι] of Mt. 13.32; see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon,* s.v. for other examples), since Gregory the Cellarer must have been aware that chickpeas do not grow on trees.

[197] I have been unable to identify the source of this quotation.

day in a vessel, lying in the church of the Savior.[198] God thus knows how to wound the Enemy with his own arrows and, in His love for men, how to heal through repentance those wounded by that <Evil One>; and also how to send that Disgraced One to perdition. Anyway, that is the story of the holy Paphnoutios.

41. Since our father Lazaros, as has already been made clear, was contemplating the ascent of the mountain, he got up in the night without the knowledge of any of his companions and went up toward it. But as he began to climb up he decided that he ought first to go up and see the stylite who was on Petra above the village,[199] for he was ascending from there and had heard that this man wanted to leave his pillar. For this reason Lazaros was going up to him to ask if the place was suitable for his purpose so that, when <the stylite> left, he might move in himself. <Lengths of> wood had been fastened to the rock with other <slats> lying flat on top of them (indeed the peg which is still now to be seen fastened to Petra bears witness to this), and there was a rope tied at both ends on either side, which those going up used as a guide. The father, using the same method, thus started up toward the stylite, stepping on the <slats> of wood; but, when he had already reached the middle of the rock, the rope he was holding with his hand as a guide suddenly broke and he fell on his face onto the <slats> of wood. This was all the work of the Evil One and a contrivance <designed> to kill him by making him fall down from there. But the grace of God, which was always with him and kept him safe everywhere, rendered that <Evil> One's devices useless, for Lazaros stood up and, holding onto the rock with his hands and going little by little, set off <again> toward the stylite. When, <however>, he saw and spoke with the man, he

[198] The name of Lazaros' first community on Galesion, which grew up in the vicinity of the cave where Paphnoutios had lived.

[199] Although the Greek word (πέτρα) could be translated here simply as "the rock," Chaps. 159 and 175 refer to the place as (literally) "the pillar of the rock," in a way which would appear to indicate that the phrase was used as a proper name by the community, presumably to distinguish this natural pillar from Lazaros' constructed pillars elsewhere on the mountain. Delehaye certainly takes it in this way in the text (where the word is capitalized), as does Janin, *Églises centres,* 241. Elsewhere in the present chapter, however, I differ from Delehaye in taking the word as a common noun.

Chap. 159 makes it clear that the village to which reference is made is that of Galesion; mention is made there and in Chap. 175 of at least three other stylites from Lazaros' community who subsequently lived on the pillar. Chap. 175 also appears to indicate that there was a chapel dedicated to the Savior there.

learned from him that the place was unsuitable for spiritual peace, "For I myself," said <the stylite>, "am about to withdraw from this place for this <very> reason."[200] He advised Lazaros to set off for holy Paphnoutios' cave, and so, after he had come down from there, he started up the mountain, singing as he climbed. But when he reached the rock where there is the extremely narrow passage, he finished the office he was singing and, being about to say the prayer, stretched out his right hand and made the sign of the cross on the rock; he kissed it, said his prayer, and <then> passed the place. The cross is still visible now carved <in the rock>, for it was engraved afterward on the father's order as a phylactery for those passing by there.[201] When he reached the cave he went in and looked round and, since it was to his liking, he stayed in it for six months. He used to go out and wander around the mountain, but return to it again and go inside.

42. But who could describe the temptations from the demons which Lazaros experienced while he was living there alone? For, even after the mountain was made into a city and became another heaven, as one might say, with the ceaseless hymn singing and divine liturgies of the monks, some of our brothers experienced these <temptations>, and especially in the cave itself and in the gorge. So I am going to describe a few of the many such <incidents> as evidence for you, so that you may know from these <stories> what sort of temptations the holy Lazaros experienced, when he was alone on this mountain. When the church of the Savior was being built,[202] one of the workmen went out to the lower part of the monastery in order to cut wood for the construction of the church. After he had cut it and picked it up and was about to leave the place, he suddenly saw someone appear before him in the dress of an Ishmaelite [Arab] with wild eyes and <disheveled> hair on his head. This man tried to lure him to the highest point of the gorge by telling him that he would find there whatever wood he wanted, but <the workman> knew from

[200] Although, as Chap. 53 makes clear, he was still there six months later. In Chap. 159 a subsequent stylite is also said to have been bothered by noise from the village, which was evidently just below.

[201] Further on this spot, which is evidently to be identified with the region of Chalkos Halonios, see below, Chaps. 56, 77, 154, and 155; also, perhaps, Chap. 199. It was apparently much feared by the monks in the community.

[202] This is the only mention in the *vita* of the actual development of Lazaros' first community on the mountain, which came to be known as "the Savior" after the dedication of its church. The date is probably thus sometime in the early 1020s.

his dress who he was. When he invoked the father's blessing and made the sign of the cross, the man who was luring him immediately became invisible and he arrived back at the monastery with the wood without having suffered anything bad from the Evil One.[203]

43. A monk called Symeon began begging the father that he might go and live in the cave. The father would not allow him to do this because, as he said to him, he would be incapable of enduring the temptations of the demons. However, when the monk began to pressure the father, arguing forcibly to this end, Lazaros was won over and urged him to go off and live there. So <Symeon> went off and stayed there for some time without being tempted by the demons. But one night, as he stood praying, he saw, so he said, the whole cave filled with sparkling coals.[204] Straightaway then it seemed to him that some <demons> fell on him with a shout and, having laid hold of him, one of his head and the other of his feet, they suddenly hurled him to the ground; and they hit him so <hard> that he became unconscious from such a beating. After they had beaten him a great deal they lifted him up in the air and, taking him to the mouth of the cave, suspended him there until the *semantron* [205] of the church struck; [523] then, when the *semantron* was struck, they threw him to the ground there and went away. The monk came to himself after a little while, got up, and then went running to the <monastery of the> Savior.[206] When he entered the church he did not pray, nor make the sign of the cross on his face, nor prostrate himself to the brothers (as was the rule), but as soon as he entered he fell flat on his back on the floor in front of the icon of the Savior; he lifted up his right hand and <raised> his eyes, which were wild, and began

[203] Other stories of demonic apparitions in the form of ragged men appear in Chaps. 218 and 243; the latter also includes the theme of luring the victim over a cliff, one which appears in several other episodes in the *vita,* e.g., Chap. 47, 131–34. Cf. here also, Chap. 51.

[204] The word translated by "sparkling" here, σπινθηρακοειδής, is not in the standard lexica; it seems to be a mixture of σπινθηρακώδης (Lampe, *Lexicon,* s.v.) and σπινθηροειδής (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon;* Lampe, *Lexicon,* s.v.), both meaning "like a spark." Cf. the incident described below in Chap. 49, which refers back to this episode.

[205] The *semantron* was a long piece of metal or wood that was struck or hammered to summon the monks to church and to indicate other important moments in the monastic routine; the device is still in use today. See further *ODB,* s.v. "Semantron."

[206] The monastery of the Savior was evidently a short distance below the cave; see below, Chap. 52.

saying to the Savior things like: "Christ, do You find this good that You let us be tempted like this by the demons?" And, still lying on the ground, he went on saying other <such> things until church finished, as though he were crazy. After the end of the service the brothers stood him up and, after they had made inquiry, found out from him what he had suffered from the demons in the cave. Then they took <Symeon> up and led him off to the father (for the father was then alone on the pillar of the Theotokos),[207] and Symeon recounted to Lazaros everything that had happened to him. The father ordered that the holy Gospel should be read to him and, when one of the brothers had done this in accordance with the father's order, the monk was seen to be sober again and sound in mind as before.[208]

44. Another monk, called John, was praying at night while standing somewhere in the middle of the gorge; he had his eyes and his hands raised to heaven, when he suddenly discovered a sow with her piglets[209] moving about at his feet. This scared him so much and made him <so> afraid, that he gave up his prayer and quickly left the place and never went back there again. Another monk, called Antony, spent some time in the cave, and he too experienced many temptations from the demons there. Once, so he said, they threw stones at him, another time they fell on him and beat him mercilessly, and another time again they called him by name and showed him various illusions.

45. Then <there is> the monk Ignatios (the nephew of the monk Matthew)[210] who, when he was still a boy, went into the cave with another boy to

[207] This would suggest that the incident must have taken place shortly after Lazaros moved up from the monastery of the Savior to his second pillar on the mountain at what was to become the community of the Theotokos; see below, Chaps. 57–58. Chap. 50, which also uses the same phrase, must thus be roughly contemporary.

[208] Reading the Gospels over a victim of possession or demonic assault is a standard exorcistic or apotropaic practice employed by Lazaros on several occasions; see, e.g., Chaps. 47, 70, and 74. On Byzantine exorcism in general and for further references, see *ODB,* s.v. "Exorcism"; in the context of 11th-century hagiography, see Joannou, *Démonologie,* 21–27, 45–46; see also Greenfield, *Demonology,* 135–48, 264–65, 270–71.

[209] The word translated here as "piglets" (χοιρογρύλλιος) is used in the *LXX* for a coney; it seems that elsewhere it was also understood as meaning a hedgehog. It was regarded as unclean.

[210] The term ἀνεψιός is translated as "nephew" here, although the precise relationship it implies is not always easy to define. It may be nephew or cousin; see Laiou, "Sex," 175 n. 2.

draw water. While he was standing over the cistern[211] he saw a man with a terrifying appearance coming down from the part where the conduit is, holding in his hand a stick with an iron tip. <The man> immediately hit him with this. As soon as he had been struck by him, the boy fell to the ground as though dead.[212] When the boy who was with him saw <Ignatios> lying <there> like this, he began to cry and called out to the monk who was there. The <monk> came in and, seeing the boy lying there in this way as though he were dead, prostrated himself in front of the icon of the holy Paphnoutios and said the *trisagion,*[213] afterward he took oil from the lamp and anointed <Ignatios> and made him stand up.[214] <The monk> filled <the boy's> clay pot and led them out of the cave; then, when he had escorted them a little way, he turned back. <Ignatios>, however, was barely able to reach the <monastery of the> Theotokos (for it was from there that he had been sent), and he spent the next eighteen months lying <there> seriously ill. Indeed, his illness was so bad that he was unable to get out of his bed, and had to be lifted by other people and carried in order to relieve himself; this was because his calves were stuck to his thighs. Even worse, however, he was unable to take any food since he would vomit up again whatever he consumed. When the father heard this, he sent some of the brothers and made them carry <the boy> to him, for he was then on the pillar of the holy Resurrection.[215] <Lazaros> gave <Ignatios> some of his own food (it was boiled pulse that he gave him without oil) and persuaded him to eat from it even though he did not want to. Then he gave orders that

[211] The construction and renovation of this cistern is described below in Chap. 53; cf. Chap. 39, above.

[212] There is quite a close parallel to this apparition in the story of Ioannikios, recounted below in Chap. 233.

[213] The *trisagion* refers to the "thrice-holy" hymn, the *sanctus* or "Holy, Holy, Holy" acclamation of Is. 6:3, Rev. 4:8; (ἅγιος ὁ θεός· ἅγιος ἰσχυρός· ἅγιος ἀθάνατος· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς). It formed part of the eucharistic prayer but could also, as here, be used by itself. See *ODB,* s.v. "Trisagion." Cf. below, Chaps. 107 and 114.

[214] Anointing with various holy oils, often sanctified by proximity to or contact with other holy objects, forms another basic element in exorcistic rituals described in the *vita,* as in standard Byzantine practice; cf. Chaps. 71 and 76, below. Further see, *ODB,* s.v. "Healing," "Oil," "Unction"; also Joannou, *Démonologie,* 24.

[215] This reference to Lazaros' third and final foundation on the mountain dates the story to the last phase of his life, between 1042 and 1053.

<the boy> should be given *paximadia*[216] and wine and, after he had said a prayer for him, dismissed him. So, from then on, <Ignatios> gradually got over his illness and returned again to his former health.

46. The monk Neilos, while still a layman, was told by the cellarer[217] to go out from the <monastery of the> Savior and show the way <down> to some laymen who had come there for a blessing. After he had done this, he left them and started back. But when he was in the middle of the southern stream, suddenly, although it was clear weather and broad daylight, it seemed to get dark around him; indeed <it was> so <dark> that he could not even see himself. He gazed up at the sky and thought that he could see the stars; so, looking carefully at these, he worked out the way to the <monastery of the> Savior from their positions and went on. When he got near the monastery, he turned his eyes to the ground but saw nothing in front of him, for everything was completely dark; the only thing that he <could> see, so he said, was the dome of the church. He knew <then> where he was and began to call out the <usual>, "Bless <me>,[218] Kyris Ioannikios!"[219] (for this was the cellarer's name). When <Ioannikios> replied "Bless <you>!" the darkness left him at once and the stars were no longer shining in the sky, but it was light and day again. So he glorified God Who, through the appearance of the stars, had

[216] *Paximadia* are small pieces of bread baked twice to form hard rusks. See *ODB,* s.v. "Bread."

[217] He is identified below as Ioannikios. The office of cellarer, which was one of the more important in Byzantine monastic organization, primarily involved supervision of the material supplies required by the community and hence required close cooperation not only with the *hegoumenos,* but also with other leading officials such as the *oikonomos,* the sacristan, the guestmaster, etc. The author of the *vita,* Gregory, was himself cellarer at the monastery of the Resurrection (see esp. Chap. 170, below), and he mentions other holders of this office, as well as that of *parakellarios* (apparently the assistant cellarer).

[218] On this common form of greeting between ecclesiastics, see Lampe, *Lexicon,* s.v. εὐλογέω, VI; cf. also below, Chaps. 64, 91, and 208.

[219] The term "Kyris," a form of *kyrios* ("Lord"), is an honorific demonstrating the respect of the layman Neilos for the cellarer of the monastery. It is also used below of the superior, Ignatios (Chaps. 81 and 221); the distinguished lay visitor, Theophylact Sagopoulos (Chap. 107); Pachomios, the *ekklesiarches* of Limnai (Chap. 209); Lazaros himself (Chap. 235); and the visiting dignitary Nicholas (Chap. 238). Another variant, "Kyr," is used for the visiting superior Michael (Chap. 237), and also appears in the nickname "Kyr Eulogesos," used of the monk Nicholas (Chaps. 48 and 178).

miraculously rescued him from the illusion of darkness <caused> by the wicked demons, and went into the monastery.[220] [524]

47. And who can give an appropriate account of what happened to the monk Philippikos?[221] How first the wicked demons made him believe in their illusions and then led him into such conceit that he said, "Angels escort me in procession and bring me into the church."[222] <Later on, however,> when they saw that he had followed the advice of the holy father and had turned away from their deceit, they entrapped him in another way, for they abandoned such illusions and attacked him brazenly, clouding his mind and causing him to lose control of his actions and his speech. For, when he was standing in the church and singing with the other brothers, he suddenly bent his head and his knees and fell onto his face, and he lay there until the brothers made him stand up again. After they had raised him up, however, he stood there, rolling his eyes horribly this way and that. Another time when he was standing singing with the brothers, he was spun round like a bobbin,[223] and he did many other such things that made the brothers who saw them laugh. Once, when <Philippikos> had left the <monastery of the> Savior to go to the father at the <pillar of the> Theotokos and had already reached the middle of the gorge, the demons suddenly grabbed him by the hair and flung him to the ground; they <then> began dragging him toward the eastern part of the mountain. They had already dragged him a considerable distance and were starting to climb up, when the father, who was standing on his pillar, saw him. He sent the monk Meletios (called Mavros [Dark]), who happened to be standing there, to grab hold of him so that the demons would not take him up to the summit and hurl him off; for that was their intention. So the brother ran off very quickly toward him but, when he saw <Philippikos> going up <hill> like that, lying on his back and being dragged by invisible <demons>, he was astounded. He took courage in the holy father's blessing, however, and, invoking this for help, went up to him and stood him up; then, taking him with him, he returned

[220] Compare here stories of demonic blinding related below in Chaps. 52, 174, and 218.

[221] I am grateful to an anonymous reader for suggesting this translation.

[222] Compare the somewhat similar but more elaborate episode described below in Chap. 49 and the parallels cited there.

[223] The rare word ἀνέμη is evidently used of anything that spins round fast, such as a windlass, reel, spool, or bobbin. Cf. Trapp, *Lexikon,* s.v., where the meaning "Winde, Haspel, (Garn)spule" is given.

to the father. Another time again when he had been stupefied by the demons, <Philippikos> left the <monastery of the> Savior and ran to the steep <part> of the gorge, and if the brothers had not run more quickly and grabbed him, he would certainly have flung himself over <the edge>. Often, too, while the <demons> were walking about,[224] they would throw stones at him so that, as a result, he could not go out anywhere by himself. However, the Savior, as He is good, healed this man by the prayers of our blessed father, by the laying on of the holy cross (which had been made by his own hands), and by the reading of the holy Gospel.[225]

48. Another monk, called Sabas, was in his cell when he thought he saw thieves coming into the monastery.[226] He went out<side> and, as he <still> saw them, started summoning the brothers, but the <thieves> immediately became invisible. <Sabas>, realizing they were demons and not men, was terror-stricken and began to tremble. The monk Nicholas, whose other name was Kyr Eulogesos,[227] was also convinced by the illusions of the demons that he was seeing revelations, and, even though he was admonished many times by the father not to believe in them, was not dissuaded. So, since God did not want <Nicholas'> labors to be wasted because he had been led astray by illusions of this kind <caused> by the wicked demons, for he struggled to the best of his ability, He allowed him too to be tested physically by the demons. One night, as he was coming out of his cell, <Nicholas> saw an old man standing in front of him, wearing a tunic made of goat hair (which is usually called a *sthlavinikon*)[228] and carrying a bundle of wood on his shoulders. Just like the monk Sabas, <Nicholas> was also terror-stricken when he saw this man and

[224] An allusion to the activity of Satan as described in Job 1:7.

[225] The imposition of the cross, together with the reading of the Gospel and anointing with holy oil (as noted above, pp. 130, 131), forms the basic element of exorcistic rituals performed by Lazaros; cf. below, Chaps. 70, 74, and 219.

[226] Theft from the monastery was evidently a real threat, either by outsiders (cf. Chaps. 34, 144, and 245), ex-monks (Chaps. 66, 142, 240), or current brothers (Chaps. 108, 241).

[227] The sobriquet "Kyr Eulogesos" would seem to be a pun on the expression Κύριε εὐλόγησον (Lord bless <me>), a request made of the presiding minister by someone who was about to preach or to read from Scripture or the Lives of the saints; it was also written at the start of homilies and saints' Lives, etc. See Lampe, *Lexicon,* s.v. εὐλογέω, VI.

[228] On this word, see N. Oikonomides, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au X[e] siècle," *DOP* 26 (1972), 347.

started trembling, but the Savior also cured him through the prayers of our blessed father in the same way as Philippikos.

49. Before these three, the monk Gregory (the father of the monk Cyril who became our steward)[229] was also tricked by the illusions of the demons and arrived at the ultimate evil of conceit; indeed, he got so puffed up that he lost his wits. Now, he went into the cave to celebrate holy communion—for he was also priest to those engaged in the <ascetic> struggle,[230] and it was for this reason that the demons cleverly beguiled him—and saw the whole cave glowing like burning coals, just as the monk Symeon <had done>.[231] One time it <happened> like this, but another time, when he was about to elevate the holy <sacrament>, he saw fire descending from above and enveloping the whole cave as well as himself. When he saw these things, he started to be filled with conceit and he went to the father and told him about them with pride and a conceited attitude. The father warned <Gregory> not to believe in such demonic illusions, but his mind had been blinded by them and he began to argue with him. "This is not demonic deceit but an overshadowing of the Holy Spirit," he said. "For look, the Holy Spirit told me that I should go down to the <church of the> Theologian[232] to instruct the metropolitan and all the clergy not to mingle water with the unity of the holy mysteries, but to allow only unadulterated wine <to be used>.[233] And if you don't let me go straightaway, all the Jews are going to come up here. For God also revealed this to me through the Holy Spirit: that water will gush out in this gorge like a river in order to baptize the Jews who are coming to me."[234] After <Gregory> had

[229] The steward (οἰκονόμος) was responsible for managing the properties and estates of a monastery; as such he was a senior monk usually ranked second to the superior in the monastic hierarchy. There is an excellent description of the role of the *oikonomos* in the *typikon* of Kecharitomene (Gautier, "Kécharitôménè," 55–59), and a full discussion of the office in the 11th century, with further references, in Kaplan, "Evergetis," 114–22. See also *ODB,* s.v. "Oikonomos."

[230] A priest from the Savior is said to have ministered to Lazaros when he was alone on his column at the Theotokos (Chap. 64); it seems possible that the reference is to the same man.

[231] See above, Chap. 43.

[232] At Ephesus; see above, Chap. 33.

[233] This refers to the Byzantine practice of adding warm water to the wine during the celebration of the Eucharist; see further *ODB,* s.v. "Zeon."

[234] Quite apart from any other problems in the claims being made here, Galesion was notoriously short of water, as the *vita* makes clear on several occasions.

said these and other such words, the father warned him again and taught him, providing him with references from the holy Scriptures, that monks should not believe such things nor accept them at all.[235] When, however, Lazaros saw that he was not in the least persuaded by his soothing and gentle words, he began to speak more sharply, <using> harsher words like extremely bitter medicine; but <Gregory acted> exactly as those who are deranged by their illnesses often do, for he knocked this <medicine> aside and, getting up in the night without anybody seeing him, went down to the [525] <church of the> Theologian. As soon as the father learned about <Gregory's> escape, he sent some of the brothers to look for him. They went down and, when they found him, took hold of him, tied him up, and returned to the monastery. When he came in sight of the father, however, he started to use his conceited words again and to say to him: "Lazaros, why won't you let me preach the message with which I have been entrusted by God for the salvation of many people?" As the father saw that <Gregory> had been completely enslaved by the illusions of the demons, he gave orders that his feet should be shackled with iron fetters. He also gave him a basket and made him collect the stones from the middle of the courtyard and carry them outside the monastery. When <Gregory> had filled the basket with stones, he took it on his shoulders and went and stood in front of the pillar. Then he called <up> to the father, "Hey, Lazaros, look!" The father put his head out from the pillar and said to him, "What is it?" <Gregory> replied to the father, "Look closely and <you will> understand that it was about me that the prophet David wrote all those years ago under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; and today indeed his prophecy has reached its fulfillment. For has he not written thus?" <Here> he reached down to his feet with his hand and said, "*They hurt his feet with fetters*";[236] and

[235] Cf. a similar episode in Palladius, *Lausiaca,* chap. 25, where the monk Valens is deceived by demons into thinking he is in league with angels; he then sees a vision in which the Devil appears to him as the Savior in a fiery disk surrounded by a thousand angels carrying lamps. His consequent conceit makes him refuse to receive communion and as punishment he is put into irons for a year. Compare here, too, the somewhat similar episode in the *vita* of St. Martin of Tours concerning the monk Anatolius: *vita S. Martini,* 23, ed. and trans. J. Fontaine, *Sulpice Sévère, Vie de Saint Martin,* (Paris, 1967); this man is also deceived by demons into thinking he has direct contact with heavenly powers, while the story also mentions flashing lights. Given the uneasy relations with the church authorities in Ephesus that are apparent at various points in the *vita,* it is understandable why Lazaros was so keen that this man, with his extreme views, should not be allowed to go and preach there.

[236] Ps. 104 (105):18.

then reaching back with <his hand> to his shoulder, he added, "*his hands slaved in making the baskets.*"[237] The father gave a solemn little smile, however, and said to him, "Very good, and since, as you say, the prophet foretold these things about you long ago, go off eagerly and perform your preordained task with care." So he sent <Gregory> off to work in fetters and gave orders that he should be fed the strictest diet until such time as he forced him to acknowledge <his error> and say with his own mouth, "I was deceived by demons."

50. On one occasion, while the father was still alone on the pillar of the Theotokos,[238] the aforementioned monk Meletios[239] had gone up <to see him>. When he was about to go down from the pillar, and asked permission to descend to the <monastery of the> Savior, he heard the father say this to him: "Aren't you afraid at all when you travel alone at night?" For it was night time then. "No, father," <Meletios> replied, "because of your holy prayers." "<All right>," the father said to him, "but just be careful that you aren't overcome by fear when you reach the point where the two streams join." The brother prostrated himself and said, "Your prayers will help me and I will not be afraid"; and he went down from the pillar. When he reached the spot mentioned by the father, <Meletios> suddenly heard from both parts of the mountain <what sounded> like a lot of horses coming down and the voices of men who were apparently riding the horses. The brother was not frightened at all, for he had been prepared for this by the father's words; so, using the same words, he called back to them, repeating, "I am not scared by your illusory voices because the prayers of my holy <father> are with me." When he said this, they disappeared like smoke. <Meletios> passed the place without being afraid and went <on> down to the <monastery of the> Savior, praising God and being utterly amazed by the father's foresight.[240]

51. <Meletios> was going back to the father on another occasion when he met a man dressed in rags and wearing a sort of little head cloth on his

[237] Ps. 80 (81):6. I follow Brenton, *LXX,* although the Greek could be simply rendered "in the basket," making the quotation more appropriate here.

[238] See above, Chap. 43, where the same statement is made.

[239] If this man is to be identified with the Meletios of Chap. 142, his activities in this and the following chapter may perhaps be explained by the fact that he was in charge of the monastery's horses at some point in his career.

[240] A similar incident is recorded in Chap. 155, below, although that refers to *two* monks traveling at night and no mention is made of Meletios; the passages are so similar, however, that they may be recalling the same episode. Cf. also the story recounted in Chap. 154.

head, which was also ragged and filthy dirty. This person passed him by on the other side <of the path>[241] and then turned off the beaten track, going on foot toward the western part <of the mountain>. The monk assumed that he wanted to go to the father and had lost his way, and called out to him, "Brother, the path that leads to the father is over here." But the man replied, "May God not see him!"[242] When the brother got to the father he told him about the old man. In reply the father said, "In a little while you will learn all about this old man." Toward evening he heard that a shepherd had died after falling from the southern part of the mountain.[243]

52. After the father's death,[244] Cornelius the one-handed was sleeping at noon one day in his cell, which was in front of the cave, when, in a dream, he saw two <demons>[245] come and stand in front of him. One said to the other, "What a young man to be about to lose his eyes." After he had said this, they disappeared from sight, but when <Cornelius> woke up and opened his eyes he found that he could not see anything at all.[246] So he stood in the doorway

[241] The verb in Greek, ἀντιπαρέρχομαι, is used in Lk. 10:31–32 of the actions of the priest and the Levite who ignore the victim in the parable of the Good Samaritan. Some connotations of this story are probably intended here; the man did not simply pass Meletios but actually avoided him. The same allusion is made in Chap. 243, below (see the following note).

[242] The precise point of this negative comment is unclear. Perhaps the hope is that Lazaros will never join the ranks of the blessed in heaven; "May he go to hell!" in other words.

[243] The story, as it stands here, does not make clear the identity of the ragged old man encountered by Meletios. He may simply be the shepherd, whose rather strange actions are to be explained by the fact that he is going to commit suicide. A more likely interpretation, however, is that the author understands him as a demon who is on his way to lure the shepherd to his death; compare especially the demonic apparitions of Chaps. 42, 132, and 243 (cf. Chap. 218) and note that the same allusion found here to the parable of the Good Samaritan is made in the elaborate episode recounted in Chap. 243.

[244] The reference at the end of this chapter to Lazaros' brother Ignatios still being at Bessai when this incident occurred would suggest that it must have taken place not long after Lazaros' death in late 1053; although there were evidently problems concerning his succession to the position of superior, Chap. 100 indicates that only a short space of time elapsed before Ignatios took charge.

[245] Although it is not specified in the text, these are presumably to be understood as demons from the general context of this story.

[246] Compare other stories of blinding by demons in the *vita* in Chaps. 46, 174, and 218.

and called the brothers <out> from the <monastery of the> Savior. When they came up and saw that he was blind, they questioned him and so discovered from him how it was that he had come to suffer this; <then> they took him by the hand and guided him down to the Savior. They led him into a cell and went off and left him. After the brothers had gone, however, the <demons> he had seen before in the cell at the cave came and stood in front of him again and started to tease him, saying, "Is it good sleeping at the cave? Come on then, follow us, and we will lead you back there again and you will get your sight back." They did this for three days and would not let him rest. Then he asked the brothers to take him to the holy Resurrection, but after living on for some days, he died, <still> in this condition. The superior, the brother of our holy father,[247] who was then at Bessai,[248] saw a star burst forth from the mountain and rise up to heaven in a night vision; and he also seemed to hear a voice saying, "Behold, the star of Constantine," for that is what <Cornelius> was called when <he lived> in the outside world. [526]

I have told you these <stories, about> things which happened at various times both in the gorge and in the cave, in a group here so that, as I said before, we may understand the type and number of temptations the father had to endure when he was alone on the mountain, even if he <himself> recounted nothing because of the great humility that he possessed. And indeed, I have told these <stories here>, not all of them <it is true>, but a few among the many . . . in the cave . . . some of them happened in the <monastery of the> holy Resurrection.[249]

[247] This is Ignatios.

[248] On the monastic foundation at this place, mentioned several times in the *vita,* see the Introduction, sections E and F, pp. 31–41. See also Malamut, "Bessai," although the mention of Bessai in this particular chapter of the *vita* apparently escaped her notice (244 n. 8). Chap. 221 explains the circumstances that took Ignatios to Bessai.

[249] This passage is difficult for two reasons: the text is evidently corrupt and, as it stands in Delehaye's edition, there is a problem with the mention of the monastery of the Resurrection. The manuscript contains blank spaces at the end of the first line and the beginning and end of the second line on f. 122v; one must assume that the copyist was either unable to read the original or was perhaps indicating that there was something missing in it. Delehaye mentions the blanks in his apparatus, but does not indicate them in the text. It *is* possible to ignore the gaps and make some sense of the passage as it stands (which is evidently what Delehaye intends), and a possible translation would thus be: "I have recounted these <stories>, although they are not all of them, but <only> a few among the many, <and> some of them occurred in the cave in the <monas-

53. The father spent six months alone on the mountain, as has already been made clear,[250] but, when the metropolitan of Ephesus learned of it,[251] he made him leave the mountain by means of a personal letter and go down again to the <monastery of the> holy Marina, even though Lazaros did not want to <do this>. A little while later, however, when the metropolitan went to Constantinople, the father sent a builder and a monk to renovate the small cistern associated with the cave.[252] The <same> man who <built> the church of the Prodromos, which is called "Marmastos,"[253] constructed this <cistern> long ago. As the story goes, the old man built this <cistern> earlier so that he might live in the cave, and indeed he did live there for some time; <but then>, either because he got discouraged or because God moved him to do this, he left the cave and went down to the aforesaid church of the Prodromos, which, as has been said, he built; and there he died. When this <cistern> had been rebuilt and the winter season began and it was filled by the water that ran down the mountain, the father left the <monastery of the> holy Marina one night; he took with him the priest George (who was mentioned above),[254] his own

tery of the> Holy Resurrection." The problem here is, however, that nowhere in the *vita* is a cave associated with Lazaros' final foundation on Galesion, the Resurrection, whereas the cave of Paphnoutios at the monastery of the Savior is well attested and, indeed, its fearsome reputation is precisely what has set the author off on this particular sequence of stories. It would seem obvious from the context that this is what is being discussed, and Delehaye's reading of the text must thus be dismissed. Instead one may perhaps suggest a reconstruction of the passage along the following lines, taking into account the sections which may have been lost: "And indeed, I have told these stories <here, although they are> not all of the <possible ones, it is true,> but <only> a few among the many; <I have thus only included those that occurred> in the cave <at the monastery of the Savior, together with>, some of the ones <which> happened <in the gorge when Lazaros was living on the pillar of the Theotokos or when he was on his pillar> at the <monastery of the> Holy Resurrection."

[250] See above, Chap. 41.

[251] See above, Chap. 34, on the possible identification of this man as Theodore II of Ephesus.

[252] Chap. 45 makes it clear that this cistern and, apparently, the conduit that fed it, were inside Paphnoutios' cave; presumably it was designed to collect water from the natural source mentioned in Chap. 39. Given the notorious lack of water on the mountain, even this meager supply was important; Chap. 45 reveals that water was carried up from here to the monastery of the Theotokos.

[253] Lit. "marble breast."

[254] See Chap. 31.

brother Ignatios, and three other monks, and went up toward the mountain. Because the river was then in spate,[255] they went down. . . . [256] They crossed <it> by means of the boat. I don't know how he found out <about this>, but he had anticipated it, and was standing on the other side with a <pack> animal as well so that the father might ride it and go up in this fashion as far as the lower slopes of the mountain. He had labored in vain, however, for the father was not persuaded to do this and instead traveled on foot with his companions; he sang the psalms of David <as he went> and <only> reached the place after completing the whole psalter. <On the way> he went up and saw the stylite again,[257] and then, coming down from there, went up onto the mountain. When they got close to the cave they began trying to find it, because it was still dark; but then, while they were searching for it like this, the father <himself> happened to find it. He called out and made them go there too; then he went inside the cave with them and stood there singing psalms until day came. Lazaros blessed his <companions> and then dismissed them, but he asked them <to make sure> that one of the brothers came up once a week to bring him a pot full of water and a few pulses <soaked> in water.[258] So the <others> did obeisance and went down from the cave, but Lazaros stayed on in it until the brothers built him a pillar in the middle of the dry stream bed, open to the air, as he wished.[259] He then went onto this and was *as a sparrow*

[255] This river is probably to be identified with the Caystros; see Malamut, "Bessai," 245.

[256] There is again a problem with the text at this point. As in the previous chapter part of a line has been left blank in the manuscript, presumably indicating a break in the text in the original. Delehaye mentions the break in his apparatus but once again makes no allowance for it in his reading of the text; this causes no difficulties in the present passage, which could be translated "they went down and crossed <it> by means of the boat." It becomes obvious shortly below, however, that some material has fallen out of the text here, for the person who is said to have brought the pack animal to meet Lazaros on the other side of the river appears in the narrative without introduction or identification.

[257] See above, Chap. 41.

[258] This instruction seems to make the renovation of the cistern in the cave, which was described earlier in the chapter, rather pointless, unless it refers to a time, later in the year, when the cistern was already empty. Perhaps Gregory the Cellarer is confusing Lazaros' instructions at this point with those he must have issued when he went up onto his pillar; see below, Chap. 55.

[259] This is the pillar of the Savior.

dwelling alone on a roof,[260] although he kept company with God through his unceasing songs of praise, vigils, and prayers.

54. The Devil, however, who is the enemy of righteous men and the inventor of evil things, could not keep quiet when he saw what <was happening>, and started attacking Lazaros severely with the great variety of his evil contrivances. Once, he gathered his dogs together and attacked Lazaros, with them acting as an armed multitude of soldiers; for the most wicked one thought he would scare him by such an illusion. But his hopes turned out to be futile and in vain, for they discovered that Lazaros was fortified on every side with prayers, armored by his hope in God, carrying the sword of the spirit (which is the word of God) on his tongue, and holding the weapon of the cross in his right hand; so all at once they turned their backs, sought <a way to> escape, and went off howling to report their defeat to the one who had sent them. Another time, they stood on both parts of the mountain at night and threw stones at him, but Lazaros stood <there> again, as though his pillar was an emplacement for a catapult, and hurled prayers at them instead of stones <until> he put them to flight once more.

55. As the most Evil One was unable to trip Lazaros up by using these many various devices, he tried something else. The brother went up as usual and took Lazaros his water with the pulse but, after he had gone, <the Devil> made a scorpion come out and sting the father on the foot. Lazaros jerked his foot at the sudden blow and broke the pot that was standing there, <thus> spilling the water. When the father saw this, he decided not to eat the pulses, preferring not eating at all to eating without drinking. He remained in this state until the Friday without tasting anything at all.[261] But God, Who loves men and does not abandon His own servants in the end, even though He does allow them to be tested for a time, revealed Himself by means of an angel to a layman called Loukianos who lived in the village of Kepion;[262] because of his faith in the father and because he used to entrust his thoughts to him, he was Lazaros' spiritual son. <The angel> said, "You are sleeping without a care, but your father Lazaros is even now on the point of dying from thirst."

[260] Ps. 101 (102):7. The same passage is applied to Lazaros in Chap. 58, below.

[261] Cf. Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.,* 21.24, where a somewhat similar story of the Devil depriving James of Cyrrhestica of water is recounted.

[262] This village has already been mentioned above, Chap. 31, and it is mentioned again in Chap. 241, below.

The brother woke up and knew from the vision in his sleep what had happened to the father; so he got up, took a jar full of water, and went running up to him. When he got <there> he found Lazaros just about to die from thirst, for it was summer time. The father took the water and drank, and when he had recovered [527] he gave glory to God who had thus miraculously sent him the water by means of this brother, just as of old he sent food to Daniel in the <lions'> den by Abbakoum.[263] From that time on God gave Lazaros the grace of controlling and binding scorpions with his own hands[264] and, by stretching out his hand from the pillar to the hands <of others>, of passing it on to those outside. As a result <of this incident> he yielded to the entreaties of the brothers that one of them should go up and live in the cave to assist him because of the obstacles <put in his way> by the Evil One; and so one of them, called Kosmas, went up <there>.

56. After a short time, as Lazaros' fame had again spread among the surrounding places, some people began going up to him. A woman, called Irene, who lived at "the Beloved" [Ephesus] and who had just lost her husband, heard all about Lazaros and went up to him herself. When the woman saw him like that, persevering in that place alone and in the open air on his pillar, she was immediately struck in the heart by the arrow of salvation <and got the idea> that she herself should leave everything,[265] take the holy habit, and, if the father agreed, construct a cell for herself near him and live there with him. However, when the father had heard her <plans>, he would not let her do this right away but <instead> counseled her, gave her a rule for the conduct of her life, and then dismissed her with a blessing.[266] But she really was a disciple of Christ and another Magdalene; she did not want to be separated from the father even for an hour, and kept on going up to him day and night and provided him with anything he might need out of her own resources. But, because the wicked Devil, who does not want to see someone receiving

[263] That is, Habakkuk. For this episode, see Bel and the Dragon, 31–39.

[264] Cf. Lk. 10:19; see below, Chaps. 59 and 67, for examples of Lazaros' use of this power. For another saint who specialized in getting rid of snakes, see the Life of Ioannikios, in *Byzantine Defenders of Images,* ed. A.-M. Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1998), 255–351.

[265] Cf. Lk. 5:28.

[266] Cf. here Talbot, "Comparison," 16–17. The implication is that she now became a nun; see the following chapter.

help from another person, saw this remarkable woman properly organizing her life in accordance with our holy father's honeyed words, he did not want to keep quiet. He therefore beguiled those who lived in the village of Galesion, and especially the one who was their headman in evil rather than in office,[267] and engineered many malicious devices against her and against our holy father in order to prevent her from <following> the way up to Lazaros,[268] and, at the same time if possible, to drive him from the mountain altogether. When he[269] saw her going up to the father every day, he began to slander him to people and say, "She isn't going up to him for spiritual benefit but for sinful and shameful love-making." This is what that unholy and accursed one thought and said about those pure and blameless people. However, when he saw that his words were not achieving the desired effect because of the faith that everyone had in the father,[270] what did he do? He summoned some young men and sent them to sit by the road where the woman of God was going to pass with two other pious women; for she never went up to the father alone. He had instructed them that they should grab the women when they were about to pass by there and do to them that which it is not right to hear. <The men> went off and lay down on the rock where the passage is narrowest,[271] but they fell asleep, and so the women passed by unharmed, while the would-be rapists[272] were seen to be nothing but bad.

[267] The Greek term translated here as "headman" is πρωτεύων. For the significance of this passage in the context of understanding Byzantine village administration, see Kaplan, *Les hommes,* 200; he compares it with the passage in Chap. 63, below, which refers to village *archontes.*

[268] The original audience would undoubtedly detect a word play in the phrase "the way up" (ἄνοδος) here; superficially it indicates the physical path up the mountain, but it also alludes to the woman's spiritual ascent as a result of her visits to Lazaros.

[269] It is not clear whether this refers to the Devil himself or the headman of the village.

[270] Gregory the Cellarer apparently wishes to exonerate the villagers from any hostility toward Lazaros and place as much blame as possible on the headman and his associates; compare also the claim, expressed by Lazaros near the end of his life, that people from the "neighboring villages" would do anything for the monks of his community if they ever needed their help (below, Chap. 245).

[271] Presumably the place referred to in Chap. 41, above; see also Chaps. 77, 154, and 155.

[272] The Greek word used here is φθορεῖς; on the implications of the terms φθορά and φθορεύς, see Laiou, "Sex," 111, 119–20, 127–28, 160, 162, and 169.

57. After the father had spent twelve years at the <monastery of the> Savior, he left there and went up to the higher part of the gorge.[273] I must speak about this matter <now, and explain> the reason why he came to leave the <monastery of the> Savior and go off there, as I have learned it from those who know.[274] The aforementioned blessed woman [Irene] used to go up to Lazaros <even> more frequently after she had been tonsured. One day, when she was there and was standing in the church, the father was standing up on his pillar with the brothers standing round it, and he was rebuking one of them for some fault; this was that, when he was eating a piece of fruit, he had peeled off the skin and thrown it away as no good. But this man, instead of humbling himself as he should have done and prostrating himself so that he might receive forgiveness, dashed off brazenly from the place where he had been standing and went running into the church; there he seized the nun by her scapular[275] and led her out of the church. He brought her before the father and said, "It is this woman who is hurting me and these <others>," indicating to Lazaros the brothers who were standing there, "and not the things for which you are apparently rebuking me." The other brothers backed him up <and confirmed> that this was the case. The father was not upset by that brazen fellow's shameless outspokenness, but grew a little sad, and replied to them calmly and coolly in a sad voice, "It is not this woman who is hurting you, but I, for she only comes up here on my account." After saying this to them, he turned to the nun and said, "Go back to your cell and don't come up here any more." She prostrated herself and then went down the mountain, weeping and wailing at being deprived of the father.[276]

[273] Lazaros now moves to his second pillar, that of the Theotokos. This episode, with its theme of the abandonment by a holy man of one site for another because of pressure from visitors, is mentioned by C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint* (Cambridge, 1991), 79, (although she suggests that Lazaros had spent only eleven years at the Savior and cites Chap. 43 of the *vita*).

[274] The implication is that Gregory the Cellarer did not join the community until after Lazaros had moved to the Theotokos.

[275] On this garment, see above, Chap. 35; cf. below, Chap. 160.

[276] For discussion of the incident described in this chapter, together with other cases of holy men and monks fleeing to the "desert" to escape "the crowd" and scandals, see Malamut, *Route,* 173–80.