MOVING MONKS

Discourses on (im)mobility
in middle-Byzantine saints' *Lives*

Irene Jacobs

MOVING MONKS

Discourses on (im)mobility
in middle-Byzantine saints' *Lives*

Irene Jacobs

Colofon

ISBN: 978-94-6483-678-3
Copyright 2023 © Irene Jacobs
The Netherlands. All rights reserved. No parts of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means without permission of the author.

Cover images:
Icon of The Dormition of Saint Ephraim the Syrian (mid-15th century), Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.
© ebyzantinemuseum;
Folio 1r of Gr. 5 (Ascetic Miscellany, late 10th century), Uppsala University Library, Uppsala.

Provided by thesis specialist Ridderprint, ridderprint.nl
Printing: Ridderprint
Layout and design: Anna Bleeker, persoonlijkproefschrift.nl

MOVING MONKS

Discourses on (Im)mobility in Middle-Byzantine Saints' *Lives*

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. dr. J.M. Sanders,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
in het openbaar te verdedigen op

woensdag 7 februari 2024
om 14.30 uur precies

door

Irene Maria Elisabeth Jacobs
geboren op 19 juli 1992
te Helmond

Promotoren:

Prof. dr. O.J. Hekster

Prof. dr. D. Slootjes (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Copromotor:

Dr. L. Foubert

Manuscriptcommissie:

Prof. dr. A.P.M.H. Lardinois

Prof. dr. J. Hahn (Universität Münster, Duitsland)

Dr. K. Ihnat

Prof. dr. K. de Temmerman (Universiteit Gent, België)

Dr. M.E.S. Whiting (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the result of almost five years of research, and several years of academic training before that. Many people and institutions contributed to the completion of the project. I wish to acknowledge them here.

The research project was funded and thus made possible by the HLCS research institute (later RICH) of the Faculty of Arts of Radboud University. Further financial support was provided through the Tsiter-Kontopoulou stipend for a research stay at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at Universität Wien, the Erasmus+ programme of the European Commission, the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome (KNIR) and OIKOS, the National Research School in Classical Studies in the Netherlands.

The first people I owe my gratitude to are my supervisors, Olivier Hekster, Daniëlle Slootjes and Lien Foubert. I am immensely grateful for their trust in me to carry out this research in the first place and for their continued trust and encouragement along the way. They were surprisingly often of the same mind, while each of them also added a unique perspective. Together they formed the perfect supervising team and I always enjoyed our discussions together. They read many (!) drafts of chapters, provided essential constructive feedback, asked me critical questions, helped me move forward whenever I got stuck again, made suggestions to improve my (too) long sentences such as this one. In other words, they did everything and more that you would hope from good supervisors. Not only did they do that – they were also incredibly supportive whenever other aspects of life were demanding my attention instead. I am truly grateful for all that.

When I made my first steps in academia I had never even heard of Byzantium, let alone dreamed spending many years trying to understand this society. Two outstanding teachers during my Bachelor's degree, Helle Hochscheid and Hans Bloemsma, planted the seeds for my fascination with Byzantium and inspired an enthusiasm for academic research. Without them I might have never landed on this path.

It is difficult to know whether the monks I studied actually enjoyed moving to many different places, but I certainly did, while trying to understand their world. I always gained much inspiration from research stays, visiting conferences, and taking courses. Fortunately, this required regular travels. Apart from the interaction with the hagiographical sources themselves, interactions with fellow researchers from all over the world inspired me the most. There are many individuals whom I had the pleasure to meet and exchange ideas with, but I would like to specifically mention the following people: the many Byzantinists I met during my research stay in Vienna, especially Claudia Rapp and Ewald Kislinger for generously sharing their expertise and the fellow PhDs for making me feel very welcome and socially imbedded in the department, the inspiring teachers who helped me improve my medieval Greek, especially Niels Gaul at the Boğaziçi summer school and Alexander Alexakis and Stratis Papaioannou at the Dumbarton Oaks one, and finally the organisers

and participants of the OIKOS 2021 Masterclass in Athens. Each of these experiences proved to be turning points in my research. Moreover, I am very grateful for the global network of friends and colleagues for helping each other gain access to literature, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

There were many platforms on which I shared my research ideas, but discussing my ideas with peers was certainly among the most beneficial. Thanks to Nadine Riegler for our monthly digital research talks, and thanks to our writing support group – Adriaan, Mirte, Lidewij, Joost, Aomi and Maartje – for giving feedback on some of my chapters in its early stages. Running through arguments and research ideas with Melanie, during runs in the forest around our Nijmegen office, helped refine my ideas and combined 'het nuttige met het aangename'. The same goes for bike rides with Daniel. I furthermore thank Oliver, Melanie, Daniel, Ketty and Joost for proofreading chapters, and Marije, Bart, Mark and Janric for checking some of my Greek translations and thinking along with me on specific passages. Many thanks to Thijs Hermsen of the Humanities Lab of the Faculty of Arts of Radboud University for creating the maps at the end of this thesis.

As to get the actual writing done, I greatly benefitted from writing weeks (thank you Mirte and Ketty), home-office mates (thank you again Mirte, but also Stephan, Mirna and Kirsten), and the digital GSH writing support set up by Mirte during the COVID-19 pandemic. Of course also thank you, Joost and Aurora, for being great office mates at the Erasmus building. Many other colleagues in this concrete (not ivory) tower, especially at the fifth, ninth, tenth and eleventh floors, contributed to a warm and social research environment, with many chats and essential coffee breaks. I always looked forward to go to the office again on Mondays and I only hope that I will continue to find such welcoming work environments.

I was very lucky to be able to stay over at friends' places regularly, thereby reducing my commuting time on a train from Utrecht to Nijmegen: thank you Daphne, Simon and Soren for always welcoming me in your home, and Ketty, for doing the same. To all my friends and family, thank you for simply being there. The very first seed for my interest in culture and history must have been planted by my parents, who took us to museums as an integral part of our upbringing. Over the last few years, I gladly took my parents with me. My dear sister kept me sharp by always asking (or was it protesting?) what was so special about all these 'stones' or other historical monuments.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife, who has always been supportive of all my endeavours and who means the world to me.

Introduction

The movement of individuals from one place to another sets more things in motion than the mere movement itself. It affects the places and people left behind and it triggers experiences, interactions and confrontations with people and places along the way and at the destinations. Moreover, mobility generates discourses. Movement is not perceived as a neutral action, but often has positive or negative associations. Depending on the type of mobility, people will have ideas about whether that type of mobility is desirable or undesirable.

Contemporary discourses often relate to the (perceived) effects of mobility, rather than to the act of moving itself. For example, favourable or unfavourable ideas on 'migration' focus on the economic, social, demographic or cultural effects of the settling of new people in a land that the representatives of the discourse perceive as their own. Whenever discourses on a type of mobility are unfavourable, they imply that the discourse community thinks that people should to stay in the same place. In other words, discourses on mobility, also imply value judgements on immobility. These discourses reflect values, ideals and fears that people feel strongly about and which are deeply ingrained in the way people think. They reflect, for example, ideas about the perceived connection between place and identity, ideals of economic prosperity (and ideas on how to achieve this) or concerns for human rights. In these discourses, it matters who travels, for what purposes, and how long people will stay in particular places.

Aside from prevalent discourses on migration, recent health and climate concerns have prompted new discourses on mobility. A heightened concern for the causes and effects of climate change gave rise to heated debates on the desirability or undesirability of particular means of transport, such as travelling by train versus plane or car. Discourses reflecting environmental and climate concerns exist alongside opposing discourses on the same means of transport, but reflecting the prioritisation of leisure or speed, economic concerns, or the denial or playing down of climate concerns. Mobility became even more a topic of controversy in the COVID-19 pandemic, during which this thesis was largely written. One view that was prominent around the globe was that people should not leave their country of residence, their cities, neighbourhoods or even homes. In this context, discourses on the desirability or undesirability of (im)mobility reflected (global) health concerns.[1]

These reflections on contemporary discourses on mobility and immobility teach us multiple things that will inform the inquiry in this dissertation:

1) The movement of people and its effects are often not perceived as a neutral phenomenon; conversely, this is also true for its opposite, immobility
2) There exists a plurality of discourses on mobility
3) Many factors of mobility play a part in these discourses: it matters, for example, who moves, why they move, how they move, what they do at their destination and how long they (intend to) stay at a new place

1 For a discussing of discourses on mobility in this context, see e.g., Cresswell (2021).

4) Discourses on mobility and immobility reflect societal concerns.

It is my contention that this complexity and multivocality in the present should also be expected in the past. The past that takes centre stage in this study is the ninth- and early tenth-century Eastern Roman Empire.[2] Discourses on mobility in the Eastern Roman Empire after late antiquity so far have been little studied.[3] The few studies on the topic represent attitudes to mobility as singular, rather than stressing diversity and complexity. The present study aims to re-assess perceptions of travel in the ninth- and tenth-century Eastern Roman Empire, by studying perceptions of particular societal groups (hagiographers and their audiences) on mobility by a particular type of travellers (monks). In doing so, the lessons from contemporary discourses will be taken into account, and thus the study aims to:

1) Assess whether mobility and immobility were perceived as neutral, or whether people had value judgements (and which ones)
2) Be attuned to the possibility of a plurality of discourses, rather than trying to construct a single pervasive discourse
3) Ask which factors contribute to particular views on mobility and immobility (did it matter who moved, why they moved, where they moved to or where they came from)
4) Ask whether discourses on mobility and immobility reveal deeper societal concerns

Asking these questions presents us an opportunity to nuance our understanding of the thought world of the ninth- and early tenth-century Eastern Roman Empire, particularly in

2 In this thesis Eastern Roman and Byzantine will be used interchangeably, as there are merits and cons for each term. 'Eastern Roman' recognises the direct continuity of the ancient Roman Empire, after its division between an Eastern and a Western part (a continuation that has historically been played down). Moreover, using the term 'Roman' recognises the Roman identity that the citizens of the Empire themselves expressed and the political entity that they themselves considered to be Roman ('*Romania*'). Using the qualifier 'Eastern' has disadvantages as well, as it suggests an opposition to a 'Western' part, but by the ninth and tenth centuries, the Western Roman Empire did not exist anymore. The term 'Byzantine Empire', if used to mean the Empire from the foundation of Constantinople by Constantine until the eventual fall of the Empire in 1453, has been considered a neutral (albeit modern) term. This term, however, was introduced in the context of politically charged relations between 'Western' powers and the emerging modern nation state of Greece, and was used to serve nineteenth-century political ideological aims. Nonetheless, 'Byzantium' could serve as a useful term that makes clear which political entity we are talking about. Moreover, the self-defined field of 'Byzantine Studies' has claimed this term and standard periodisations are based on it. For a discussion of the emergence of the term 'Byzantium', a history of 'denialism' of the Empire's Roman identity in Latin-speaking Europe from the ninth century onwards, and a plea for recognising this identity, see Kaldellis (2019).

3 I use the term 'late antiquity' to refer to the period from approximately the fourth until the mid-seventh century. If referring to literature produced within the Eastern Roman/Byzantine Empire, late antiquity essentially equals the 'early Byzantine period' in the periodisation that is standard in Byzantine Studies. In the development of Greek-language Christian literature, which is the focus of this thesis, it made sense to distinguish from later periods the period since the official recognition of Christianity by the state in the early fourth century up to the mid-seventh century. The period from c. 650 to 800 has been characterised by a relatively low (surviving) literary output, sometimes called the 'Byzantine Dark Age', and thus is taken as a transition period in our modern period categorisation. See e.g., Efthymiadis (2011a).

the context of monastic culture.[4] More generally, the inquiry may contribute to our view of possible responses to mobility in the history of humankind. In the field of Byzantine Studies, but not unique to this field, we come across descriptions of how 'the Byzantine' would have perceived mobility.[5] The present study is itself not free of the urge to classify and categorise, which will inevitably somewhat simplify the past in order to make sense of the endless complexity of humans interacting with their environments. This study will search for patterns in an attempt to reconstruct particular discourses that may have been prevailing among particular societal groups. However, by examining one type of text (saints' *Lives*), focussing on one type of movers (monks), written in the same political entity (Eastern Roman Empire), in the same language (Greek) at approximately the same time (ninth- early tenth century), the inquiry provides an opportunity to ask: between such comparable sources, and even within one text, do we still observe diversity? Or do we indeed see the same discourses and the same ideals reflected in these texts? And if so, what does that mean? These questions may thus invite us to examine whether we can observe a diversity of discourses on mobility. This effort may therefore balance a monolithic view of past perceptions and contribute to our understanding of the complexity of human societies.

In sum, the main research question of this study is (how) can we learn about perceptions of monastic mobility by studying hagiography? Hagiography is chosen as the main focus for studying perceptions because the genre represents the richest body of narrative texts surviving for the period. A few hagiographical texts represent frequent-travelling monks. Since scholars have long perceived a tension between mobility and immobility in Byzantine monasticism, monks are a particularly interesting social group of movers.[6] Studying perceptions as reflected in a literary genre inevitably needs to deal with representation. Therefore, this study also seeks to address a consecutive question: how did hagiographers represent monastic mobility and to what end?

Mobility

The Eastern Roman Empire, especially the middle-Byzantine period, has traditionally been characterised as witnessing low levels of mobility combined with a pervasive negative attitude towards travel.[7] People would have valued immobility as an ideal and in practice. No one would deny that individuals travelled, but they would have been exceptions.[8] This view of the past is perhaps reflective of a more general focus on the importance of places, rather

4 The middle-Byzantine period refers broadly to ninth to twelfth centuries. In this thesis, the focus lies on the ninth and early tenth centuries.

5 See pp. 14-18.

6 See the discussion below in the section 'mobility' of this introduction, and chapter 1.

7 The view that (long-distance) travel declined in the middle-Byzantine period compared to earlier and later periods is current in studies on the topic, e.g., in Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991); Kislinger (1997); Lilie (2009); Kislinger (2011). For studies that emphasise negative Byzantine attitudes towards mobility, see footnotes 19 and 21.

8 Ralph-Johannes Lilie, for example, expressed that 'die Byzantiner in ihrer Gesamtheit kein mobiles Volk waren, was wohl auch für das Mittelalter als Epoche überhaupt gilt'. Lilie (2009), p. 32.

than mobility, in historical research of the previous century.[9] Currently this is changing. Scholars advancing the 'mobility turn' have questioned the focus on fixity, location and space and argued that it has obscured the importance of mobility in understanding human societies.[10] Originally the 'mobility turn' stressed that mobility was essential to understand *contemporary* societies, demonstrating that mobility organises and transforms contemporary societies.[11] Certainly, today it is possible to cover vast distances in very little time that are unparalleled in earlier human history, and the current high degree of mobility of people and goods is evidently shaping and transforming societies. The ease and affordability of covering vast distances is not to be compared with mobility in pre-modern societies. Nevertheless, in past societies people moved too, albeit for different reasons, at different speed and in different circumstances.

While aspects of travel and the role of mobility in the Eastern Roman Empire have not been ignored completely in earlier research, a resurge of interest may be seen since the early 2000s.[12] In these efforts the assumption of low levels of mobility for pre-modern societies has been questioned.[13] Additionally, corresponding to insights from the mobility turn, more attention is given to the essential role of mobility in structuring and transforming society in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean.[14] In the early scholarly efforts to re-evaluate the role of mobility, mobility has been claimed as a defining characteristic of the Mediterranean, or for particular regions within it.[15]

---

9 Leary (2014), p. 4; For the same shift in focus from fixity to mobility in anthropology, see Adey et al. (2014), p. 3.

10 The 'mobility turn' was identified in 2006 in the first issue of the journal *Mobilities,* which seeks to 'address this emerging attention to many different kinds of mobility'. Hannam et al. (2006), p. 2.

11 For example, on the structuring role of mobility for a 'network society', the editors of the first issue of *Mobilities* note: 'mobilities seem to produce a more 'networked' patterning of economic and social life, even for those who have not moved'. They also identify various societal and environmental changes that are greatly influenced by increased mobility, illustrating the transformative potential of mobility. Ibid., p. 2. The (critical) observation that the mobility turn is 'the newest effort in diagnostic descriptions of modern society' is made in Faist (2013).

12 Studies that have mobility as the central concern of the previous century include for example Dimitroukas (1997); Kislinger (1997); Malamut (1993). The beginning of the second millennium was hallmarked with two impressively extensive publications that have inspired further scholarship on mobility, trade and interconnectedness in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean: Horden and Purcell' *Corrupting Sea* and McCormick's *Origins of European Economy.* Moreover, in 2000 a conference on 'travel in the Byzantine world' reflected contemporary interest in the topic in the field of Byzantine Studies. Horden and Purcell (2000); McCormick (2001); Macrides (2002).

13 Following the publication of the *Corrupting Sea,* this debate has especially advanced for earlier Roman history, both furthering and nuancing the conclusions made by Horden and Purcell. For discussions on the prevalence of mobility in antiquity, see e.g., Tacoma (2016); Isayev (2017); Moatti (2019). Also for the medieval period, Peregrine Horden proposes to 'assume mobility in the medieval past unless or until the evidence invalidates this null hypothesis and demonstrates stasis'. Horden (2007), p. xxxiv.

14 E.g., McCormick (2001); Hoerder (2002), pp. 1–134; Preiser-Kapeller and Mitsiou (2019).

15 Schlesier and Zellmann, for example, note with regard to the Mediterranean world that '[f]or ancient Greek culture, mobility seems to be a specific characteristic. The same can be said for the Christian, Judaic and Islamic Middle Ages, but under different or changed circumstances'. Constable, working on fondaco's or travel hostels from late antiquity until the early modern period, observes how the Mediterranean has always been the 'realm of travelers'. Paul Oldfield focussed instead on a particular region, southern Italy, and argued that due to its position bordering multiple political entities and the changing borders, this region in particular was characterised by a high degree of mobility. Although his main focus in on later centuries (11th-15th centuries), Pietro Dalena also highlights the many travel movements and facilities in southern Italy. Schlesier and Zellmann (2004), p. 7; Constable (2003), p. 2; Oldfield (2016); Dalena (2003).

Currently, the claim that mobility was important in pre-modern societies is hardly controversial anymore, as we begin to realise that mobility is a constant in human history, rather than particularly characteristic for any one area or period.[16] Obviously, human history includes the history of Byzantium, and this insight is now finally gaining ground in this field as well: from an Empire once characterised as stiff, immobile and obsessed with fixity, evidence for mobility of different societal groups, its causes and its effects and many other aspects of mobility are starting to reshape our image of the Empire. Especially in the last five years, this 'emancipatory movement' re-evaluating mobility has taken off in the field of 'Byzantine Studies'.[17]

However, in these attempts to adjust our image of the Empire, one aspect of the traditional view of Byzantium with regard to mobility still needs to be re-evaluated: that is, the idea that the Eastern Roman attitude towards mobility is one of aversion. While major steps have been made in studying discourses on mobility in ancient Roman history,[18] analyses of discourses on mobility in the later Eastern Roman Empire so far have been lacking in the recent resurgence of interest in mobility. Earlier studies mostly stressed negative associations with mobility and mostly present a dominant singular view on mobility.[19] Although scholarship now recognises that there would have been plenty of people on the move, and that these movements were significant in the shaping and functioning of this past society, we have not yet addressed whether the traditional image of a deeply negative view of mobility in the minds of Roman subjects still holds. Conversely, a re-evaluation on views on mobility should also consider views on immobility: as two sides of the same coin, they are intertwined.[20]

Let me briefly illustrate the 'traditional' image of Eastern Roman views on mobility. Previous studies on attitudes to mobility stress a negative perception on mobility, particularly as being dangerous.[21] These studies are not necessarily wrong. There were

16 See e.g., Leary (2014). Also observed by Woolf (2016), p. 439. Of course, fluctuations in the prevalence of mobility throughout history will have happened, although it is difficult as of yet to study these (as the conundrum 'absence of evidence is no evidence of absence' elucidates).

17 Most notably, but not exclusively, advanced by Vienna-based researchers in the context of the research project *Moving Byzantium: Mobility, Microstructures and Personal Agency in Byzantium* led by Claudia Rapp (from 2015-2021). The main output of the project is a sourcebook that, at the time of writing, has only just appeared: Rapp et al. (2023). Many publications of affiliated and other researchers have preceded it, focussing on various aspects of mobility in the Eastern Roman Empire (and beyond). See e.g., Preiser-Kapeller and Mitsiou (2018); Preiser-Kapeller and Mitsiou (2019); Delouis et al. (2019a); Preiser-Kapeller et al. (2020b); Papavarnavas (2021a); Durak (2022).

18 See e.g., Isayev (2017); Foubert (2016); Foubert (2020); Foubert (2023).

19 For example, focussing on four 12th- and 13th-century Eastern Roman travel accounts, Catia Galatariotou discussed their xenophobia, their sense of cultural alienation when they were away from their immediate familiar milieu and their fear of dangers. Ewald Kislinger expressed in a 1997 publication that from the ninth until the mid-eleventh century generally Byzantines did not like to travel. He repeated this view in 2011. See also footnote 21. Galatariotou (1993); Kislinger (1997), p. 22; Kislinger (2011), p. 387.

20 Franquesa, for example, has argued that a one-sided focus on mobility in the 'mobility turn' is problematic, for in prioritizing one aspect – mobility – it obscures other factors relevant to understanding human societies, including immobility; he argues therefore that they should be studied in tandem, particularly the relations between them. Franquesa (2011).

21 For example in Kazhdan and Franklin (1984); Brubaker (2002).

plenty of dangers to be worried about when travelling in the Mediterranean: natural dangers, such as storms at sea, but also dangers due to political instability or the lack of law and order enforcement, such as danger from robbers or pirates.[22] A medieval Greek prayer copied in multiple manuscripts, including an early tenth-century version copied in southern Italy, illustrates that these dangers were indeed on travellers' minds.[23] This prayer may thus illustrate the negative perception of mobility that has been taken as the dominant Byzantine view in scholarship so far.

> Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀποδημούντων[24]
> Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ συνοδεύσας τῷ θεράποντί σου Ἰακώβ, καὶ συγξενιτεύσας τῷ δούλῳ σου Ἰωσήφ, συνόδευσον καὶ τῷ δούλῳ σου τούτῳ, Δέσποτα, καὶ ῥῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πειρατηρίων καὶ ληστηρίων καὶ πάσης χειμασίας καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐρωστείᾳ ἀποκατάστησον πάσης δικαιοσύνης πρόνοιαν ποιούμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς σου καὶ πλήρης τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν εὐδόκησον. Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις.[25]
>
> A prayer for those setting off to travel
> God, our God, who travelled together with your servant Jacob, and who shared exile abroad with your servant Joseph, travel along also with your servant here, Lord, and save him from pirates and robbers and from every storm and let him return in peace and with strength, provided that he [your servant] is mindful of every [act of] righteousness according to your commandments, and be pleased that he [your servant] will return again, full of your worldly and heavenly goods. For yours is the kingdom and the power.[26]

This prayer confirms that a perception of travel as dangerous was one of the responses to mobility. Storms and piracy were on travellers' minds and prayers were uttered to call upon

22 For a study on banditry in the ninth- to fifteenth century Balkans, see Sophoulis (2020).

23 The prayer has survived in multiple manuscripts, including a southern Italian one (see footnote 25 below). Throughout the dissertation I use the term 'medieval Greek' only to refer to the language in which the texts studied were written ('medieval' is used to distinguish the language from 'ancient' and 'modern' Greek, while recognising that there was great variety between registers, genres, written and spoken 'medieval Greek'). The term does not refer to notions of identity or ethnicity.

24 For all Greek citations I will provide the edition used in the footnotes when discussing the text for the first time and indicate how I will refer to the texts thereafter. I will render the citations as presented in the editions, with the exceptions of capitals and iota adscript: for consistency reasons, I will use capitals at the beginning of a sentence, even if they are not represented as such in the editions (e.g., in the edition of Schwartz (1933) of the *Canons* of the Council of Chalcedon and the edition of Schöll and Kroll (1959) of Justinian's *Novels*), and I have changed an occasional iota adscript (also in the edition of Schwartz) to the more conventional rendering of the dative with iota subscript.

25 Prayer 199 in the Ms. Crypt. Γ.β.VII (=gr. 16), in Passarelli (1982), p. 128. My gratitude goes to Claudia Rapp for pointing out these prayers as sources that reveal what aspects of daily life Romans were occupied with. For the team project 'Daily Life and Religion: Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History', see Rapp et al. (2017).

26 Translations throughout this thesis are my own unless otherwise indicated. The translations are as close to the Greek as possible, rather than prioritizing idiomatic English.

God's protection. At the same time, the prayer also leaves room for the exploration of other responses and views on mobility in the Eastern Roman Empire. From prayers such as these we also learn that the potential prospect of danger did not withhold people from setting sail, for otherwise there would be no need to include this prayer in a prayer book, nor do we find any principle or ideological objections towards mobility reflected in this prayer. Moreover, the prayer expresses hopes that travel may result in acquiring 'good things', both earthly and heavenly.[27] While many people may have uttered prayers such as these to ward off dangers on the road, and while people may have felt genuine fear for all possible dangers that could come along with travel, fear surely was not the *only* reaction to mobility that people would have had, and indeed not the only response that we can find in the sources.

In order to examine discourses on mobility and immobility, this thesis will focus on a particular type of mobility: male monastic mobility. Monks are one of the social groups whom we know were among the 'movers' in the Eastern Roman Empire. Monasticism in the Eastern Roman Empire has often been characterised by its diversity and flexibility of forms.[28] Scholars generally divide monastic practice between cenobitism and eremitism.[29] Cenobitic monasteries are communal monasteries, headed by an abbot and with its own rules.[30] Hermits are monks who lived a solitary life. An in-between form is recognised in lavrae: monastic communities consisting of monks who lived alone and at some distance from each other in their own individual cells for most of the time, but came together in the weekends to celebrate the liturgy an dine together, etc.[31] The distinction between these three forms was not strict, as monks could change from one form to another. Moreover, there were forms in between as well and monastic expressions that did not fit into these categories at all.[32]

Some of the monastic ways of life included expressions of extreme immobility – most notably stylites who sat on top of a column, sometimes for years – while there were also monks who were known to be continuously on the move.[33] Monks could alternate between

27 From the prayer: πλήρης τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου ἀγαθῶν.

28 See e.g., Talbot (2019), p. 2.

29 As is well known, but worth repeating in case of any doubt, there were no orders in orthodox monasticism like those arising in the Latin tradition (e.g. Benedictine monasticism, or much later Franciscans or Dominicans). Rather, each monastic community could have its own set of rules, laid down in *typika.* For an introduction on Byzantine monasticism, see e.g., Morris (1995); Hatlie (2007); Talbot (2019); Oltean (2020).

30 On how to enter a communal monastic foundation (including a discussion of varying practices in the Eastern Roman Empire), see Oltean (2020).

31 Talbot (2019), p. 3.

32 E.g., 'domestic' monastic expressions, particularly attested for female monasticism, who were considered to live a monastic life in their own homes, or wandering monks. An expression in between eremitism and cenobitism are recluses within communal monasteries. For a discussion of the various monastic expressions, see Talbot (2019).

33 Individual wandering monks, such as the fifth-century Syrian monk Barsauma, and the phenomenon of wandering monks so far have been mostly studied for the early centuries of the Eastern Roman Empire, although – as this thesis also illustrates – in later periods, including the ninth and tenth centuries, we continue to find examples of frequent travelling monks. See Hahn and Menze (2020); Caner (2002).

various forms of monastic life, and this also entailed that monks could both have periods in their lives of extreme immobility and periods of mobility.[34]

Mobile monks are an especially interesting group to study because in current scholarship monastic mobility is often discussed in the context of why they were not supposed to travel. There would be a tension between monastic mobility and a monastic ideal of physical stability (also referred to as *stabilitas loci*).[35] The evidence of monastic mobility in this light is either interpreted as monastic defiance of the rules, or as exceptional.[36] Chapter 1 will discuss the evidence for this ideal in more detail. As we will see, ideological objections or legal limitations for monastic mobility were not as definitive nor as pervasive as sometimes has been presented in the scholarly literature. Moreover, as we will see in the rest of this thesis, there was more diversity in perceptions of mobility, also from ideological or moral perspectives.

The present study focusses particularly on male monastic mobility. The reasons for focussing only on one gender are twofold: firstly, there are hardly any middle-Byzantine texts in which (historical) female monastic saints travelled extensively.[37] Secondly, the current historiography stresses that women, not only nuns, in general were less free to move than men in the middle-Byzantine period, so gender norms will have intersected with perceptions on monastic mobility. We most likely will find different discourses on female monastic mobility compared to male monastic mobility, which merits a study of its own. The present study, aiming to untangle perceptions on monastic mobility and immobility, however, might provide ground for further research exploring how discourses on female mobility intersected with discourses on (male and female) monastic mobility.

Apart from the tendency to observe a discrepancy between norms and practice,[38] there are some studies that do aim to nuance and diversify our picture of the landscape of Eastern Roman mentalities with regard to monastic mobility, particularly the work of Daniel Caner. In a 2002 monograph Caner presents a complex picture of normative and

---

34 E.g., Stylites alternating their immobility with moments of mobility. For example, Symeon the Stylite the Younger (d. 592) moved from one column to the next, increasingly taller, or Daniel the Stylite (d. 493), who first travelled before settling on a column in Constantinople, or Lazarus of Mount Galesion (d. 1053), who travelled extensively during his life, but spent the last forty years of his life on top of a column. See a discussion on the mobility and immobility of Symeon and Daniel in Frank (2019). For Lazarus, see Greenfield (2000). For a discussion of the significance of (the alternation of types of) space in Lazarus' *Life,* see Veikou (2016).

35 The two main studies dedicated to objections and limitations of monastic mobility are: Herman (1955); Auzépy (2009). Subsequent studies almost without exception mention an ideal of stability as providing a tension with monastic mobility, for example recently in Mitrea (2023a), pp. 3–4.

36 See a discussion of this historiography in chapter 1, section 1.1.

37 The great majority of saints' *Lives* for new saints of the ninth and tenth century are celebrating male monastic saints. The female monastic saints whose *Lives* have survived are not portrayed as frequently undertaking long-distance travel. One of the saints' *Lives* in which travel plays a role in the life of a nun is the *Life of Theoktiste of Lesbos,* but in modern scholarship she is considered to be a legendary figure. Nikolaou identifies a few female saints, including nuns, who travelled according to their saints' *Lives:* e.g., women who travel to enter into a monastic community, sometimes cross-dressed as a man (e.g., Euphrosyne and Anna/Euphemianos), and women fleeing for Arab raids (e.g., Theodora of Thessaloniki and Theoktiste of Lesbos). See Nikolaou (2019).

38 Cf. chapter 1, section 1.1. A discrepancy between norms and practice is observed both in studies on Eastern and Western monasticism. See e.g., Luckhardt's monograph, which draws mainly from Merovingian and Carolingian sources. Luckhardt (2020), p. 15.

alternative discourses on monastic mobility, both positive and negative, showing a plurality of discourses in the fourth and fifth centuries in the Mediterranean.[39] For later periods in the Eastern Roman Empire such efforts have mostly been lacking. A most welcome observation is made by Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert and Annick Peters-Custot in their introduction to a 2019 edited volume dedicated to monastic mobility. There they note that monastic mobility was perceived both negatively and positively in different contexts (in both Eastern and Western monasticism from late antiquity until the Middle Ages).[40] However, none of the contributions to the volume has mentalities on monastic travel in the Eastern Roman Empire as its central topic, so unfortunately the volume does not delve deeper into where we might see these diverse perceptions and what underlying ideals or circumstances these reflect. Moreover, while first pointing out diversity, the editors also propose that by the ninth century at the latest monastic travel was hardly justifiable anymore as a form of religious life in the Eastern Mediterranean, except for a few particular reasons (economic necessity, involuntary mobility or the need to solicit the emperor), and that '[e]n dehors de ces cadres, comme en Occident, toute errance monastique est suspectée de vagabondage et tout vagabondage d'erreur doctrinale'.[41] In other words, the authors still see a single or at least dominant negative discourse on monastic mobility from the ninth century onwards in the Eastern Roman Empire, except for a few specific justifications for monastic mobility.

The study of Caner aside, in the current historiography on monastic travel three main issues are debated: its prevalence,[42] how the mobility of monks does or does not align with their religious vocation,[43] and the role of travel as a literary theme in hagiography.[44] In addition to its contribution to the understanding of perceptions and discourses on monastic mobility, this dissertation will also contribute to our understanding of the last two themes.[45]

---

39 Caner (2002).

40 Delouis et al. (2019b), par. 5; par. 8.

41 Ibid., par. 6.

42 E.g., Kaplan for monastic travel and pilgrimage (Kaplan argues that monastic travellers were exceptions) or Nikolaou for the mobility of women, including nuns (Nikolaou's focus is to demonstrate that there were women who travelled, although perhaps less than men). Kaplan (2002); Nikolaou (2019).

43 E.g., Maribel Dietz, who focussed on western travellers from the period of 300-800, argued that travel and homelessness itself gained a religious meaning as a spiritual practice (this view has been critiqued by Richard Goodrich). Dietz (2005); Goodrich (2006).

44 E.g., Mullett (2002); Papavarnavas (2021a); Mitrea (2023b).

45 While this thesis does not explicitly engage with narratology, it touches upon roles of (im)mobility in the narratives in order to see how travel is or is not used for discursive aims, particularly for the construction of sainthood.

Hagiography

In order to examine perceptions of monastic mobility and immobility this study turns to one particular genre: hagiography, more particularly medieval Greek saints' *Lives*.[46] Hagiography is perhaps the richest corpus of literary medieval Greek texts surviving for the ninth and tenth centuries.[47] Especially when it concerns monks and monasticism, including travelling monks, saints' *Lives* are probably the most extensive narrative sources that have survived for the period. The research will be centred on three saints' *Lives* written in the ninth and early tenth centuries: the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis,* the *Life of Euthymius the Younger* and the *Life of Elias the Younger.*[48] These saints were all historical persons who lived in the ninth century and their *Lives* were most likely written within a generation.[49] They are thus 'new' saints.[50]

Saints' *Lives* detail the life and deeds of individuals considered saints.[51] In the surviving manuscripts they are often titled 'βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ θαύματα of saint x' ('life and way of life and miracles').[52] They narrate just that: the biography from birth to death, including miracles, and character traits of the saint (notably their virtues). They sometimes also include events after the saint's death, particularly posthumous miracles or the translation of relics. Medieval Greek saints' *Lives* are literary texts written in a particular form: they start with a prologue, subsequently include a biography, and end with an epilogue. In the prologue the hagiographer typically uses more figurative language (compared to the main narrative) and often compares the saint to biblical models or addresses a biblical theme which the author connects to the life of the individual. The following 'biography' treats events mostly in chronological order and is divided in short 'chapters'.[53] These thematic

46 Since I particularly focus on saints' *Lives*, a literary genre narrating a biography of individuals considered saints, whenever I use hagiography, I refer to saints' *Lives.* I am aware that there has been critique to use the term 'hagiography' or even to see it as a genre, because as a term it is introduced only in the nineteenth century and medieval authors would not be making a distinction between hagiography and historiography. Since I use it in a narrow way to refer here to saints' *Lives,* which I do think can be considered as a genre, I think it is still possible to use the term, and thereby place this research in dialogue with other studies on hagiography, particularly in the field of Byzantine Studies. See Lifshitz (1994).

47 See also the comments in Kazhdan and Talbot (1998) 'Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database: Introduction', https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography-database/hagiointro.pdf, p. 3.

48 I used the following editions for the texts of these *Lives*: Makris (1997); Alexakis (2016); Rossi Taibbi (1962). In these editions the *Lives* are divided into numbered 'chapters', corresponding to the tradition in medieval manuscripts to divide a text in small blocks (see footnote 53). Hereafter I will cite from these *Lives* by indicating the *Life* (e.g., *Life of Elias the Younger*) and the relevant 'chapter' in the *Life* as corresponding to the edition.

49 The criteria for selecting these specific *Lives* is elaborated on below, see pp. 29-31.

50 A large part of the hagiographical production during the ninth and tenth centuries included also the writing or rewriting of *Lives* of saints that would have lived centuries earlier, particularly early Christian martyrs. Efthymiadis (2011a), p. 96.

51 In the Byzantine tradition there was no official canonisation process for the recognition of saints similar to processes of pontifical canonisation that evolved in the western tradition and currently still in place in Catholicism (however, in the ninth and tenth centuries, these processes were also not yet established in the western tradition). On the development of official canonisation processes in western Europe, see Vauchez (1997).

52 And variations, sometimes leaving out πολιτεία or θαύματα.

53 These blocks are often referred to as 'chapters' in the editions, but they sometimes consist only of a few lines. In the surviving manuscripts such divisions are visible, such as in the oldest manuscript containing the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* (from the ninth or tenth century), Vat.gr.807. In this manuscript the start of a new chapter is indicated by the placing of the first letter of the section, capitalised, in front of the main text column.

blocks generally each treat one episode or one aspect of the saint's life. The epilogue concludes the narrative and often includes an invocation to the saint.

It has often been observed that hagiographical texts display a great deal of overlap in the themes and particular episodes they narrate. Such 'standard' elements that are typical of the genre are called *topoi*.[54] The authors of the texts discussed in this thesis employed many of these *topoi,* but as this thesis will demonstrate, also made their own narrative choices that distinguish each *Life.* Moreover, not all themes discussed in the *Lives* are *topoi.* For example, the high number of journeys and the prominence of the travel theme in the three *Lives* discussed is in fact not very typical for ninth- and tenth-century saints' *Lives*.[55] This is perhaps surprising, as travel did play an essential role in some of the most influential texts in the history of literary culture in the Eastern Roman Empire. These include, for example, the *Odyssey*, which continued to be read, commented on and alluded to,[56] and *Acts* in the New Testament, which is structured by the missionary travels of Paul.[57] Also in hagiographical and related genres there are several examples from late antiquity in which travel plays a prominent role, such as the *Life of Barsauma,* John Moschus' *Spiritual Meadow,* the *Life of Mary of Egypt* and the *Life of Matrona of Perge*.[58] However, these earlier examples and influential texts did not result in a prominent tradition of frequent travelling protagonists in ninth- and tenth-century hagiography. Although a degree of travel is common in most hagiographies, the number and geographical extent of journeys narrated in the *Lives* of Elias the Younger, Euthymius the Younger and Gregory of Decapolis are exceptional. Each narrative includes about 15 to 20 journeys made by the respective saint, which does not find a parallel or approximation in other *Lives* of new saints written in the ninth or tenth century.[59] In other words, the prevalence of travel in a hagiographical text written in the ninth and tenth centuries does not reflect a literary *topos*.

Nevertheless, certain *types* of journeys are *topoi*. For example, at the start of a monastic *Life,* the monk-to-be usually removes himself from his familiar surroundings. This can take the form of a journey to a monastery or to a spiritual father in a different place. This initial journey is the first step of taking up a monastic life. It not only serves the purpose of finding a monastery or a spiritual father in order to receive instruction, it also removes the saint

54 For an overview of *topoi* in middle-Byzantine hagiography, see Pratsch (2005).

55 Also observed in Kaplan (2002), p. 127.

56 Homer was essential reading in Byzantine education and was appreciated highly, at least in intellectual literary circles. Robert Browning e.g., identified various citations and references to the *Odyssey* in Byzantine texts (e.g., by John Cameniates in the tenth century, by Eustathius of Thessaloniki (1115-1198), who wrote a commentary on the *Odyssey,* and by Nicetas Choniates (c.1155-c.1216)); a search on the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for the lemma 'Ὀδυσσεύς, -έως, ὁ' learns that numerous well-known Eastern Roman authors referred to the hero of the Odyssey (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus (329-390) and Basil of Caesarea (330-379), monastic authors such as Theodore the Studite (759-826) and many entries in the late tenth or early eleventh-century Byzantine lexicon the *Suda*). Browning (1975).

57 For the reception and transmissions of the New Testament in Byzantium see Krueger and Nelson (2016).

58 See e.g., Talbot (1996), pp. 13–93; Flusin (2011), pp. 212–214; Drijvers (2018), pp. 368–369; Hahn and Menze (2020).

59 A total of 119 surviving Byzantine hagiographies of new saints from the eight until the tenth century are listed in the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database.

physically from his family and from his previous physical and social environment. The move thereby symbolises the breach with the 'world', which was considered a precondition for a life completely devoted to the spiritual.[60] Another *topos* for monastic saints' *Lives* is the founding of a new monastery, which could involve travel to an ideal site assigned by God. The element of choosing a site which is designated by God is already found in one of the earliest late-antique Greek hagiographical dossiers, that of saint Pachomius (292-326). That element would become a shared characteristic for later foundation narratives in Byzantine hagiography, in addition to other elements in the foundation story in the *Life of Pachomius*.[61] So although not free from *topoi*, the centrality of the travel-theme seems to be a distinguishing feature only of a handful of hagiographical texts.[62] The decisions of the hagiographers on how and how much to incorporate journeys in their narratives, apart from these *topoi*, therefore do not seem to be predefined by traditions of the genre, so we might be able to observe a greater degree of creativity on the hagiographers' part.

Studies on Byzantine hagiography have a long and continuous tradition. Since the seventeenth century, the Bollandists studied saints' *Lives* with the aim of evaluating the historicity of the cults of saints and to publish hagiographical texts.[63] New editions and especially translations of Byzantine hagiographies continue to be made.[64] Currently, hagiography is mostly studied either as evidence for social history, or from literary

60 See for a discussion of breaking with family ties to enter upon a monastic life Oltean (2020), pp. 146–151. The move away from the individual's home or familiar surroundings is considered to correspond to a monastic ideal, *xeniteia*. See e.g., Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), pp. 146–158; Mitrea (2023a), p. 3. For a discussion of the *topos* in hagiography of a physical withdrawal and renunciation from the 'world' see Pratsch (2005), pp. 117–146.

61 The elements in the *Life of Pachomius* which would shape later foundation stories in Byzantine hagiographies as well, are listed in Efthymiadis et al.: 'the choice of an ideal site designated by God, reception of the first disciples, the building of an enclosure wall, the redaction of a monastic rule, the institution of a hierarchy inside the monastery and the organisation of duties, and, finally, the building of a church and the recognition of the monastic institution by the Church hierarchy'. Efthymiadis et al. (2011), p. 42.

62 Other *Lives* of monastic saints who travelled frequently include Nikon the Metanoite (*Life* written in the mid-eleventh or twelfth century) or Lazarus of Mount Galesion (*Life* written in the mid- to late eleventh century). These were written at a later date than the selection criteria for this project, and therefore were not selected as case studies (see discussion of the criteria on pp. 29-31). Saints' *Lives* written in the ninth or tenth century of monastic saints who would have made multiple long distance journeys, but less frequently than the chosen case studies, include the *Lives* of Anthony the Younger, Blasius of Amorion, Christopher and Makarius and Sabas the Younger, the (most likely) fictional Constantine the Jew, David and Symeon and Gregory of Lesbos, Elias Spelaiotes, Euthymius of Sardis, Evaristus, Joseph the Hymnographer, Luke the Younger of Steiris, Michael Synkellos and Phantinus the Younger (about a dozen of *Lives* out of a surviving corpus of 119 saints' *Lives,* as listed in the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database*).

63 See a discussion of their long-lasting project in e.g., Efthymiadis (2011b), pp. 2–4.

64 The Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, launched in 2010, is an example of a series with (mainly) Old English and Byzantine texts with facing English translation, among which Byzantine hagiographical texts are strongly represented – an initiative akin to the long-established Loeb Classical Library, which originally aimed to include Byzantine literature as well. For the early history of the Loeb Classical Library, see the forthcoming dissertation *Behind the Red and the Green: Unraveling the History of the Loeb Classical Library (1911-1939)* by Mirte Liebregts (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).

perspectives. Especially the latter has taken off in recent years.[65] However, despite this long tradition and the advances made in the field, to my knowledge there is up to this date no comprehensive study on the social and ideological functions and aims of Byzantine saints' *Lives*. Questions that still largely need to be addressed in a systematic way include the following: in which contexts were hagiographical texts read or heard?[66] With what aims in mind did hagiographers write their texts? What were the societal effects of these stories? In other words, how did hagiography function in Byzantine society? However, in order to understand why hagiographers represented any given theme, including travel, in their texts in their particular way and what the effects were of such representation, it is necessary to take into account the aims the authors might have had when writing the texts and the potential societal functions of hagiography. In addition, we should have an idea of the performance context of hagiography, which would also be in the minds of the authors. Although there is no systematic study of this topic to date, previous studies have proposed or assumed particular functions. Therefore, what follows here is a brief overview of what we know about the performance context and audiences of hagiography and secondly a non-comprehensive overview of the main functions hagiography most likely would have had based on the insights of previous studies.[67]

Performance context

Saints' *Lives,* like many other products of medieval Greek literature, were intended to be read aloud in front of an audience.[68] Although we do not know much about the particularities of these performances, we do know of some contexts in which it was read. This concerns particularly liturgical contexts. Depending on the church (and possibly on the saint), a full version of the saints' *Life* may have been performed or instead, perhaps more commonly, a summary version of the *Life*, called a synaxarion, may have been read. For some Constantinopolitan churches we have evidence that saints' *Lives* were read aloud by a professional reader, particularly during the Friday vigil. During these services, an urban audience could thus become acquainted with the stories of saints, although it is not clear how widespread such readings were in other churches and other places.[69] In the

65 The publication of a two-volume companion dealing with the development of the production and genre of Byzantine hagiography in various periods and geographical contexts (volume 1) and with various (literary) themes and subgenres (volume 2) in 2011 and 2014 further stimulated the maturing of the field. Efthymiadis (2011c); Efthymiadis (2014). Two recent publications that illustrate the current attention to literary aspects, informed by narratology, of late-antique and Byzantine literature, and hagiography in particular are Corke-Webster (2020) and Messis et al. (2018). At the time of writing, a volume on the narrative construction of saints has only just appeared (which could not be incorporated systematically anymore in this thesis, but which might corroborate and expand on its insights): De Temmerman et al. (2023).

66 Stratis Papaioannou has made a valuable contribution to this issue by examining what we know about types of readership for Byzantine literature in general. Papaioannou (2021).

67 What we know specifically about the creation of the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis, Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3, see sections 3.3.1, 3.4.1 and 3.5.1.

68 Silent and/or private reading happened as well, but most readers/listeners would become acquainted with texts through oral performance. See Papaioannou (2021); Messis and Papaioannou (2021).

69 Papaioannou (2021), p. 539.

liturgy of the Hagia Sophia, on the other hand, saints would be commemorated by biblical readings and the reading of a synaxarion only, instead of the reading of a full *Life*.[70] Saints' *Lives* may have been read or heard more commonly in monastic contexts.[71] They could be read during liturgical services in church, but also during mealtimes in the refectory. At least for cenobitic – that is communal – monasteries, we know from monastic foundation documents (*typika*) that readings were done during mealtime, mostly from Scripture and from popular monastic texts (e.g., works by Basil of Caesarea or the *Divine Ladder* by John Climacus). On particular feast days, especially if the founder was celebrated as a saint, these readings included (selections from) saints' *Lives*.[72] On the feast days of an important saint for the monastery, monasteries could also organise a *panegyris*, a festival in honour of a saint with both religious and commercial activities.[73] These could attract people from outside the monastery as well. The saint's *Life* of the celebrated saint could have been read during such occasions as well.[74]

The main performance contexts from which we know saints' *Lives* were recited are thus the following: during monastic and non-monastic liturgies in churches, during mealtimes in refectories and, probably, during saints' festivals. However, other contexts are imaginable as well: more research needs to be done to get a more comprehensive appreciation of performance contexts and types of readership of medieval Greek hagiography.

Types of audiences and readership

We may distinguish at least three types of audiences for saints' *Lives* that the author would have in mind when writing his text: the audience at the intended occasion or performance context, future scribes copying the text in new manuscripts, and the saint to whom the *Life* is dedicated.[75] The first and the latter type of audience are often addressed in saints' *Lives.* The immediate audience is often addressed in the prologues and/or epilogues in a general way as 'listeners', which underscores the oral performance contexts of these texts.[76] The saint is often addressed in the epilogues: the narrator often ends his narrative with a plea to the saint for intercession before God on his and/or the earthly audiences' behalf. Some indication of the popularity and spread of hagiographical texts may be gained from the number of surviving manuscripts.

---

70 Ševčenko (1998), p. 112.
71 Papaioannou (2021), p. 540.
72 Talbot (2017), p. 120.
73 On the markets held during such *panegyreis* (which may also be non-monastic), see Ritter (2019a), pp. 139–152.
74 Cf. chapter 3, section 3.5.1.
75 Two of the few studies that ask what we can know about (types of) authors and audiences of hagiography specifically, are Efthymiadis (1996); Efthymiadis and Kalogeras (2014). Possibly the 2020 dissertation by Julian Yang may advance our knowledge of audiences of hagiography, but I have not been able to consult this work due to an embargo restricting access until 2025. Yang (2020).
76 τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς in the *Life of Gregory,* τῶν ἀκουόντων in the *Life of Euthymius,* ἀκροατὰς in the *Life of Elias; Life of Gregory of Decapolis* epilogue; *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 2.3; *Life of Elias the Younger* 76, line 1656.

Aims and social functions of hagiography

The specific way in which themes are represented in saints' *Lives,* including monastic mobility, would have been the result of various aims and social functions that the author consciously or unconsciously had in mind, in addition to the literary conventions of the genre which to a degree dictate its form. The main aims and social functions of hagiography may be described as following: hagiography as devotion, as commemoration, as providing exempla, as entertainment and as persuasion.[77]

Hagiography should first be understood as literature to honour saints. By writing up a biography of a saint, the authors may have hoped to increase devotion to the saint and spread his/her cult.[78] Additionally, the writing of the texts themselves could also be considered as an act of piety by the author (and future copyists).[79] This act of veneration often included a direct address to the saint for supplication. Hagiography could thus function as a literary vehicle for veneration and for communication to the saints themselves.

To a varying degree, saints' *Lives* could also be considered historiography: hagiography aimed to record and preserve for the memory of future generations the deeds of the celebrated individuals.[80] The degree of historicity, that may result from a desire to commemorate past events, however, greatly varies from *Life* to *Life* and may not have been of central concern to the authors. The representation of events involved selection, and interpretations of events would have been coloured by other authorial aims. Moreover, authors were restricted by the information gained from informants and their familiarity with the acts of their subjects. Authors possibly freely added imagined or invented information as well.[81] Some hagiographies were written down only after a long oral tradition of passing down stories and legends.[82] The particular saints' *Lives* studied, however, were written soon after the deaths of the saints. Some contemporaries will have known the saints personally, so the authors could not divert too much from accepted information about the lives of the saints if they wanted to create a credible story. Moreover, the *Lives* studied all include events and mention individuals known from other sources. It is therefore assumed here that the case studies, to a degree, are broadly reflective of historical reality.

---

77 This is a non-comprehensive overview, and other aims and social functions may be applicable as well. In this study, less attention is paid for example to potential political aims of hagiographers, which may be relevant in certain cases as well. Another social function that hagiography may have is community-building (which overlaps with hagiography as devotion, as providing exempla and as persuasion), by connecting the celebrated saint to group identity and by providing norms of ideal behaviour, which could contribute to a sense of shared values and thus contribute to a sense of a common identity for a particular community. For hagiography's contribution to processes of community building, see e.g., Kramer and Novokhatko (2022).

78 This was the understanding of Delehaye of hagiography: 'writings inspired by religious devotion to the saints and intended to increase that devotion' (this definition has been critiqued, e.g., by Lifshitz (1994), see footnote 80 below). Delehaye (1962), p. 3.

79 See the chapter on hagiography as devotion in Krueger (2004), pp. 63–93.

80 The desire to record the past and the interpretation of saints' *Lives* as historiography has been discussed by scholars working on Greek and Latin saints' *Lives* alike, see e.g., Kreiner (2014), p. 3; Tounta (2016), p. 433, note 10; Lifshitz thinks we cannot distinguish between historiography and hagiography at all as separate genres. Lifshitz (1994).

81 For fiction in hagiography, see Messis (2014).

82 E.g., the (probable) varied oral traditions of the popular saint George resulted in many different written versions of his *Life*.

Another social function of saints' *Lives* that authors themselves often address is to inspire the audience to imitate the virtuous life of the saint.[83] In saints' *Lives* the celebrated individuals are presented as exemplars, as the ideal Christians *par excellence*. This (envisioned) social function of hagiography connects to a type of ideal reader in Byzantine literary culture, identified by Stratis Papaioannou as the ritual reader. As attested by various stories featuring reading in Byzantine literature, one of the (ideal or appropriate) responses to reading or listening was a 'fundamental moral or ontological change in its recipients'.[84] As normative texts, by providing a model for what was considered an ideal Christian life, hagiography could, and perhaps in the minds of hagiographers ideally would, inspire such a moral change in the listeners/readers of saints' *Lives*.

For any literary piece of writing, one of the authorial aims most likely was also to write a compelling story, both in order to retain the attention of the audience and equally to appeal to an appreciation of beautiful language.[85] Aesthetics and entertainment should thus also be considered as aims (and effects) of writing and performing hagiography. Indeed, a *topos* in hagiography is an expression of concern regarding the (lack of) beauty of the author's language, indicating that beautiful language use was appreciated. Moreover, some hagiographical texts include aspects of the ancient novel and the many adventures and dangers in the narratives create a sense of drama and suspense.[86] Entertainment should therefore be considered as one of the potential functions and one of the authorial aims of hagiography as well.

Finally, hagiography has been recognised as literature of persuasion.[87] Hagiographers argue for ideals and principles that the saint represents, for example promoting an ideal of asceticism, or advancing the correctness of particular theological positions (e.g., icon veneration during and in the immediate aftermath of iconoclasm).[88] Apart from aiming to shape their own society, hagiographers of new saints also had a more immediate task

83 Expressions of the hagiographer that he/she hopes to inspire towards a virtuous life (through the example of the saint), are found e.g., in the epilogues of the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis and Elias the Younger. This social function of hagiography, in which hagiography is thus understood as a normative text by providing a model for what is considered an ideal way of life, is commonly recognised in scholarship, see e.g., Rapp (2015), p. 129; Isaïa (2014), p. 17.

84 Papaioannou (2021), p. 533.

85 The other type a model reader in Byzantine literary culture identified by Papaioannou is the aesthetic reader, corresponding to reading practices centring the beauty of language, entertainment and pleasure of the senses. While there could be a tension between ideals of ritual versus aesthetic readership, as Papaioannou recognises, they did not exclude each other: 'ritual' texts could also be appreciated for their beauty or compelling narrative. See Ibid., pp. 534–538.

86 See Messis (2014); Mullett (2002).

87 E.g., Jamie Kreiner sees (Merovingian) hagiography as having the dual objective of 'truth-telling' and persuasion. By truth-telling she means a version of truth that made sense to the authors and audiences, rather than a contemporary historian's idea of truth. Together these objectives would determine how the narratives are shaped. The argument that Merovingian hagiographies were making, according to Kreiner, is to help shape and transform the social order of the Merovingian society based on 'new [Christian] concepts of authority, group identity, political responsibility, and economic value'. The saints would represent the principles argued for. Kreiner (2014), p. 7.

88 Exemplary and persuasion as social functions of hagiography could in this context be used interchangeably: hagiography in this sense is understood as promoting particular ideologies of behaviour or ideas.

of persuasion. That is, to convince all members of the audience of the sainthood of the individual they were celebrating.[89] Promoting saints could be (partially) motivated by economic or political interests, for example, aiming to attract pilgrims to the relics of the saint or aiming to increase the spiritual standing of the monastery, by boasting a saintly founder, and hoping to attract donations to the monastery. In the middle-Byzantine period, the liturgical calendar was already full of established saints, so an author presumably would have hoped to compete with other hagiographies as well in an attempt to insert their saint into the canon. In the few years between their deaths and the writing of the saints' *Lives*, the cults may not have been widely recognised or spread. Moreover, for new saints the recognition of their sainthood was not a given. As Anthony Kaldellis has convincingly argued, the genre of hagiography frequently reveals that (some) Eastern Romans were sceptical of the sainthood of their fellow humans on earth, especially of their miraculous powers.[90] By including episodes of doubt and scepticism in the narratives, the hagiographers aimed to forestall potential scepticism from the audiences.[91]

In order to convince the audience of the celebrated individual's sainthood, the narrative had to be credible. A degree of historicity, or at least plausibility, might thus also be in the interest of the persuasive aims of the text. Additionally, the *Life* had to present the individual as embodying a recognised model of sainthood. What sainthood constitutes, however, is not a stable given. Different types of saints illustrate that there is variety in concurrent, and sometimes competing, conceptions of sainthood.[92] Hagiography could also contribute in constructing these very conceptions of sainthood. Saints' *Lives* could therefore be seen as carefully crafted texts that balance between anchoring individuals in already excepted and valued models of sainthood and potentially arguing for or promoting new conceptions.

Hagiography could thus argue for many things all at once: for a particular organisation of society, for particular ideals of behaviour, for the establishing of the celebrated individual's sainthood, and for particular conceptions of sainthood. The construction of sainthood of the protagonists in the case studies will be a main theme throughout this thesis, especially how it is connected in various ways to the monks' mobility and immobility.

---

89 With regard to aims of hagiographers, persuasion is thus very close to devotion. That is, by convincing others of the sainthood of the celebrated hero, the hagiographers probably would have hoped to increase devotion to the saint, and to promote his or her cult.

90 Kaldellis (2014). This is also the view expressed by Douglas Whalin on the purpose of hagiography: 'Hagiographies were written with the specific agenda of establishing and memorializing the sanctity of their protagonists. Their purpose was not just to reassure believers but to convince sceptics'. Whalin (2021), p. 95. On scepticism and incredulity with regard to saints in late antiquity, see also Dal Santo (2012).

91 The narratives often include episodes that (aim to) prove the wrongness of sceptics, who may be fellow 'orthodox' Christians, but also heretics, Jews or even demons.

92 Two main models of sainthood are often recognised in scholarship: martyrs and confessor saints, those who were considered holy due to their deaths and those who were considered holy because of their lives. There is great diversity in the category of confessor saints, but they have in common a combination of an appreciation of their way of life as an ideal Christian way of life and the possession of supernatural powers. See e.g., the lucid discussion of models of sainthood in Klaniczay (2014).

Corpus

This research has adopted a text-centred case-study approach. It has selected three medieval Greek saints' *Lives* written from the mid-ninth to the early tenth century: the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis (c. 797 – c. 842), Euthymius the Younger (c. 820 – 898) and Elias the Younger (c. 823 – 903). These are all *Lives* of (male) monastic saints who lived in the ninth century and who travelled extensively in the Mediterranean (see the maps at pp. 236-238). The three *Lives* were all written in the Eastern Roman Empire, but in different geographical regions. The *Life* of Gregory is most likely written in Constantinople by Ignatius the Deacon, the *Life* of Euthymius Younger is written by an otherwise unknown bishop, named Basil, in the region of Thessaloniki and the *Life* of Elias by an anonymous author who most likely came from the southern Italian Calabrian monastery at Salinas. All of these *Lives* were written within a generation after the death of the saints.[93]

The reason for selecting case studies rather than an analysis of a large corpus is that this case-study approach allows for an in-depth analysis of the selected texts and allows for the study of these texts from multiple angles. Using various methodological approaches to the same texts, this thesis also presents an example of how these texts can be studied from multiple perspectives and what we can learn from each approach.

In the corpus of surviving texts of middle-Byzantine hagiography of new saints, the great majority regard monastic saints.[94] Only a handful of these are monks who would have made frequent long-distance travels.[95] The saints' *Lives* selected concern three of the most frequent-travelling monks, according to their *Lives.* Although we do not know how many texts have been lost, if the surviving corpus is somewhat representative of the entire hagiographical output, the degree of travel of these monks would thus have been exceptional in the corpus. This, I think, makes them particularly interesting texts for an analysis of the representation of mobility: in a genre known for the use of *topoi,* the atypical travel theme may have given the authors more artistic freedom of representation, and perhaps allows us more readily to perceive authorial stances on monastic mobility. Moreover, these texts allow us to ask how the authors used the travel theme to portray a certain image of the saints.

Other *Lives* of frequent travelling saints could have been selected as well, such as that of Lazarus of Mount Galesion (d. 1053) or Nikon the Metanoite (d. late tenth or early eleventh century).[96] However, this study chose to focus on saints' *Lives* written from the

93 For a more detailed discussion of the dates and circumstances of the creation of the hagiographies, see chapter 3, sections 3.3.1, 3.4.1 and 3.5.1.

94 C. 70 out of 119 based on a count of texts incorporated in the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Hagiography Database, consisting of saints who lived from the eight until the tenth centuries. Kazhdan and Talbot (1998) 'Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database: Introduction', https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography-database/hagiointro.pdf.

95 That most saints are only described to go on one or two (long-distance) journeys in their *Lives* is also observed by Kaplan, who concludes from that that this may be explained that travel was too much against the ideal of *stabilitas loci*. Kaplan (2002). However, see chapter 1.

96 Sullivan (1987); Greenfield (2000).

mid-ninth century to the early tenth century. The *Lives* of these other candidates were written later. The choice for these temporal boundaries was motivated by developments in the cultural history and literary production of the Eastern Roman Empire. Hardly any saints' *Lives* written between the seventh and eight centuries have survived, reflecting a general lack of (surviving) literary output from this period.[97] From the end of the iconoclastic controversy in 843 onwards we have again many saints' *Lives* celebrating new saints, many of them considered martyrs or at least fighters for the iconophile cause.[98] The *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis is written most likely in these early years of heightened literary production since the official end of iconoclasm,[99] although his hagiography does not present Gregory as playing an active role in the controversy.[100] The mid-ninth century, with this surge of surviving texts, is thus a natural starting point for a temporal demarcation of the selected case studies. In the course of the tenth century, another cultural development had a great impact on hagiographical production: that is, towards the end of tenth century there were (most likely) centralised efforts to standardise the canon of celebrated saints and saints' *Lives.* Saints' *Lives* were selected and rewritten, particularly by Symeon Metaphrasis. Summary versions of saints' *Lives* were created and bundled in liturgical collections (*synaxaria*). These developments, probably on imperial initiative, eventually led to a decrease of the writing of new saints' *Lives*.[101] Moreover, the new saints that were being promoted must have had much stronger competition from the saints that were already incorporated in these standardised collections. This may have influenced the authorial techniques the authors used to promote the saints and therefore changed the genre.[102] Unlike the cases of Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger, the advocates of Gregory of Decapolis were successful in spreading his cult to the right places and the right people so that a summary version of his *Life* was incorporated in a famous and lavishly illuminated collection of synaxaria created approximately 150 years after his death, around the year 1000 for the Emperor Basil II (the *Menologion of Basil II*).[103] However, many new saints did not succeed in being incorporated into these new collections: the majority of celebrated saints included in these were from the early Christian period, particularly martyrs.[104] Because of the changing context of hagiographical production in the mid-tenth century, this study chose to focus on saints' *Lives* written in the ninth or early tenth century,

97 Efthymiadis (2011a).
98 Ibid.
99 We are of course uncertain if the surviving post-iconoclastic corpus is representative and whether there was an actual boost in literary hagiographical production, or whether particularly iconophile hagiography produced in this period was selected to copy and earlier works were not.
100 See footnote 398.
101 Efthymiadis (2011a), p. 130.
102 The effects of the metaphrastic developments on the contexts for the creation of *Lives* of new saints still requires more research, but see Høgel (2002); Høgel (2014); Constantinou and Høgel (2020).
103 Vat.gr.1613, digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613.
104 See e.g., the same manuscript (Vat.gr.1613).

and to consider *Lives* written in the mid-tenth century and especially from the eleventh century onwards as a new phase for the hagiographical genre.[105]

Methodology and structure

One of the reasons why scholars have not yet reconsidered views on (monastic) mobility and immobility is perhaps because it is notoriously difficult to establish what people in the past were actually thinking, and to look beyond the particular discursive aims of the texts of our authors, especially when using hagiography. This thesis therefore may also be seen as a methodological experiment: chapters 2 to 4 will each approach the three saints' *Lives* using a different approach, and will ask what we can and cannot learn about mentalities on monastic mobility from each of these approaches. As each chapter takes a different approach, these approaches will be elaborated on in the individual chapters. They all have in common that they are based on a close reading of case studies and they are informed by discourse analysis.

Language takes central stage in this thesis. Language enables, structures, and limits our thinking, so one of the ways in which we may attempt to get into the minds of historical people is through the language they used. Particular aspects of medieval Greek language used by the authors are notably on the forefront of chapters 2 and 4. These chapters investigate which language of mobility and immobility was used, what words mean in their narrative contexts, how particular words are used, how we can see patterns of language use and what this tells us about how these medieval Greek language users thought.

The other main perspective explored as a way into past mentalities is through representation. By focussing on representation, while recognising the discursive aims of the authors and taking into account what we know about the contexts of the creation and performance of these texts, chapter 3 asks what we can learn about perceptions by the way in which monastic travel is represented in the narratives.

Unlike the other three chapters, **chapter 1** does not deal with hagiography. Rather, it reconsiders a societal ideal of immobility in relation to which the current historiography discusses and interprets Eastern Roman monastic mobility, that of *stabilitas loci.* In order to verify the historical foundation of this ideal and to find out what it actually meant, the chapter analyses the key sources on which previous scholars have based this ideal: the *Long Rules* of Basil of Caesarea, the canons of the Council of Chalcedon and the *Novels* of Justinian.

Subsequently chapters 2 to 4 turn towards the *Lives* of Gregory, Euthymius and Elias. They all revolve around the question what we can learn about Eastern Roman attitudes towards monastic mobility. **Chapter 2** examines what we can learn about past perceptions

105 Efthymiadis similarly considered the period for hagiographical production of the ninth and early tenth century as 'between two cultural borderlines in Byzantine history, namely the literary and artistic eclipse of the years c. 650-800 sometimes known as the Byzantine 'Dark Age' and the composition of such collections as the Metaphrastic *Menologion* and the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople', see Efthymiadis (2011a).

by studying an emic term in its narrative contexts.[106] More specifically, it will ask what we can (and cannot) learn about Byzantine attitudes towards monastic mobility by studying a spiritually significant term for (inner) rest – *hesychia* – in the *Lives* of Gregory, Euthymius and Elias. **Chapter 3** will focus on the authors' interpretation of the saints' journeys. It will ask how their motivations to set on a journey are represented. In addition, it will ask what these representations may teach us on perceptions of monastic travel. The final chapter, **chapter 4**, takes a cognitive linguistic approach and explores the potential of studying conceptual metaphors to uncover underlying thought patterns regarding movement and stability.

In addition to learning about discourses and perceptions of monastic (im)mobility, this study presents an opportunity to examine how Eastern Romans promoted particular contemporary individuals as more special than others, worthy of veneration, in an attempt to incorporate them in the ever filling calendar of saints' feasts. For late antiquity, there has been plenty of research investigating the origins, the functions, typologies and other aspects of saints' cults ever since Peter Brown.[107] Medieval Greek hagiography from all periods has received considerable scholarly attention as well. However, a question that has not often been asked explicitly, especially for the middle-Byzantine period, is exactly how authors tried to present their fellow-contemporaries as new saints and how they tried to communicate their sanctity to the audiences. In this dissertation, this question will be asked with regard to the topic of (im)mobility: how did authors use, or not use, the celebrated individuals' (im)mobility in their narrative strategies to construct sainthood? Were these monks promoted as saints despite, indifferent to or because of their travels?

106 I use emic to refer to a term originating from within the medieval Greek hagiographical tradition itself, rather than a term originating from another (etic) context, such as modern categories of analysis. For the distinction between emic/etic, see e.g., Agar (2007); Flemming (2010).

107 Brown (1971); Brown (1981); Brown (1983).

1

A reconsideration of the ideal of stability in Byzantine monasticism

1.1 Introduction

No one would deny that Eastern Roman monks travelled. However, scholars have often referred to a tension between monastic mobility and an ideal of stability. The prescription that monks should stay within the same monastery and not leave it is known in the scholarly literature as *stabilitas loci*. This prescription is mostly associated with Benedict of Nursia (c. 480 – c.547), who introduced stability as one of the three vows that monks would have to take before entering a monastery.[108] Scholars have pointed out that monks in the Eastern Roman Empire were freer to move than their western counterparts.[109] Nonetheless, even Byzantine monastic travel is usually framed in relation to an ideal of stability. Byzantine monks have been described to travel 'regardless of the ideal of *stabilitas loci*',[110] and to have ignored or adapted the rules.[111] Saints were not any monks, so the idea of travelling monastic saints might sound paradoxical: how could the embodiments of a perfect Christian life be presented as frequent travellers, if this was contrary to monastic and societal ideals and legislation? The representation of travel in monastic saints' *Lives* will be discussed in the next chapters, but first a re-evaluation of the ideal of stability will be offered through a close reading of a selection of sources. The present chapter will specifically review late-antique texts that scholars have used as evidence for the existence of an ideal of *stabilitas loci* in the Eastern Roman world. It will inquire what aspects of monastic movement were considered problematic and why. It will be argued that the term and concept of *stabilitas loci* should be abolished as a reference point for Eastern Roman monastic mobility.

In order to show that Byzantine monastic mobility is indeed habitually discussed in relation to an ideal of *stabilitas loci* in the current scholarly debate, some examples will be given below. In 1955, Emil Herman published an article titled 'La 'stabilitas loci' nel monachismo bizantino'. This became the standard reference work on the topic. Herman asked himself whether the Benedictine ideal of *stabilitas loci* could also be observed in a Byzantine context. For this purpose, he turned to various normative sources, such as the *Long Rules* of Basil, the canons of the Council of Chalcedon and several *Novels* of Justinian. In the analysis of these sources, Herman indeed perceived a norm of physical stability, according to which monks should not leave their monasteries. Since ideology does not necessarily match observance, Herman examined monastic foundation documents (*typika*) and saints' *Lives* to see to what degree the ideal of *stabilitas loci* was complied with. He observed that some *typika* did regulate monastic (im)mobility, but many others did not deal with it at all. After discussing examples of monastic mobility in saints' *Lives* as well,

108 The other two are conversion and obedience. *Rule of Benedict* 58.17 in Venarde (2011).
109 Herman (1955), p. 116.
110 Ritter (2019b), par. 1. See also Maladakis (2018) ('Malgré l'idéal monastique de la stabilitas loci, [...]'), Maladakis (2018), p. 373.
111 Nicol (1985), p. 195; Talbot (2019), p. 135.

he concluded that while the norm of *stabilitas loci* theoretically remained in place in the Byzantine world, in practice, it was not always observed.[112]

Later scholars have followed the main conclusion of Herman that *stabilitas loci* as an ideal remained in place throughout the history of Eastern Roman monasticism. The reality of monastic mobility has consequently been interpreted in this light. According to Donald Nicol in 1985, discussing late-Byzantine wandering monks, '[i]n the Byzantine world these rules [of stability] were often bent or ignored'.[113] Nicol did not dismiss the idea that *stabilitas loci* was a pervasive ideal in Byzantine monasticism, but saw wandering monks as exceptions that proved and re-established the rule.[114]

Equally, in more recent studies *stabilitas loci* is assumed to have been a rule or ideal that Byzantine monks somehow had to relate to: it is either used as explanation for why monks would not have travelled frequently, or – in a similar vein as Nicol's position – monks are seen as having ignored the rules. Michel Kaplan, for example, argued that middle-Byzantine saints that went on pilgrimage were exceptional, for '[l]e pèlerinage est par trop contraire à l'idéal de stabilité du moine'.[115] According to Marie-France Auzépy, travelling monks ignored norms imposed by canon and civil law and also in eastern monastic literature wandering was not valued positively.[116] Vangelis Maladakis, on the other hand, observed that the monks of Mount Athos and of other monastic centres travelled frequently, 'malgré d'idéal monastique de la stabilitas loci'.[117] Similarly, Alice-Mary Talbot stated that '[a]lthough this principle [of monastic stability] was well established in both Byzantine canon and civil law, it was frequently ignored in practice, especially by male monastics'.[118] Max Ritter wrote that 'Byzantine monks of the mid-Byzantine period (8th-11th c.) travelled quite often [...] regardless of the ideal of *stabilitas loci*'.[119] And most recently, in 2023, Mihail Mitrea perceived an

112 'Sia I tipici che le 'Vite' dimostrano che I canoni non erano semplicemente caduti in disuso; essi teoricamente rimanevano in vigore. Ma mentre gli uni li consideravano ancora come norme obbligatorie, gli altri nella pratica non li osservavno più, specialmente in determinate circostanze, come abbiamo mostrato più sopra'. Herman (1955), p. 140.

113 Nicol (1985), p. 195.

114 Nicol described wandering monks of the thirteenth and fourteenth century as an 'extreme example' which eventually led to a 'reform and revival of more ordered, coenobitic monasticism in the Orthodox world'. Ibid., p. 202.

115 Kaplan (2002), p. 127.

116 Auzépy (2009). Auzépy did observe diverse discourses on monastic mobility in the fifth-century compilations of sayings of 'desert fathers and mothers', the *Apophthegmata Patrum,* which she related to the distinction between communal monasticism ('par definition stable') and eremitism ('souvent errant'). Auzépy (2009), par. 3. However, such a distinction can often not be made clearly in the lives of individual monks (cf. Introduction, p. 18), which would complicate connecting positions on mobility to either cenobitic of eremitic ideals. The travelling saints discussed in the next chapters equally alternated between communal and solitary forms of monasticism. Auzépy notes that travelling hermits were not valued positively in eastern monastic literature, and pointed out that wandering monks did not attain the same celebrity status as hermits with an opposite practice, the stylites (Auzépy (2009), par. 12) (in fact, many stylite saints travelled too, see Frank (2019). Auzépy concludes that wandering monks existed, but they were never encouraged. Auzépy (2009), par. 22.

117 Maladakis (2018), p. 373.

118 Talbot (2019), p. 135.

119 Ritter (2019b), par. 1. In the same publication, Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert and Annick Peters-Custot refer to an ideal of stability. Although they do recognise a diversity of attitudes on mobility, they also pose that monastic travel was considered only legit in certain circumstances, but otherwise not deemed justifiable from the ninth century onwards. Delouis et al. (2019b).

'inherent tension between monasticism and geographical mobility', which he connects (among other things) to the 'ideal of *stabilitas loci*'.[120]

On one side of the scholarly debate, *stabilitas loci* is thus used as an explanation for little monastic mobility. These scholars see monastic mobility as exceptional and *stabilitas loci* as an ideal that is enforced in Byzantine society (e.g., Nicol and Kaplan). On the other end of the debate on the prevalence of mobility in Byzantine society, there are scholars who stress the mobile character of Byzantine monks (e.g., Maladakis, Talbot and Ritter). The latter scholars as well assume that *stabilitas loci* was an ideal articulated in legislation and therefore they still feel the need to frame monastic mobility in relation to stability, but they also indicate that, in practice, monks ignored this ideal.

The next section (1.2) will make some general comments on why using the term *stabilitas loci* is problematic. The subsequent section (1.3) will illustrate that also the sources themselves, on which scholars have based this ideal, do not sufficiently justify using the concept in an Eastern Roman context.

1.2 *Stabilitas loci*: the term

The idea or a principle of stability is taken from an understanding of western medieval monasticism, especially with reference to the *Rule of Benedict*.[121] The basis for the principle of *stabilitas loci* in Benedict's *Rule* is found in chapter 58, where the text indicates that people desiring to enter a monastery should vow stability, conversion of his way of life and obedience.[122] In addition, the *Rule* voices a clear aversion to monks who travel frequently. The *Rule of Benedict* starts with a categorisation of four groups of monks: cenobites, hermits, Sarabaites and 'gyrovagues'. The first two categories are presented as venerable, while the third and fourth are not. The gyrovagues in particular are considered the worst, according to the *Rule*: they wander from province to province, they are never settled (*stabiles*), and they are 'worse than Sarabaites in every way'.[123]

The Latin term *stabilitas loci* is not an emic term, since it is not used in the Greek Eastern Roman sources themselves, nor is there an equivalent medieval Greek term that expresses

120 Mitrea (2023a), pp. 3–4. The preceding list of studies in the field of Byzantine Studies referring to *stabilitas loci* is not exhaustive, but it gives an indication that Eastern Roman monastic mobility is habitually framed in relation to this concept (others include e.g., Prieto Domínguez (2021), p. 171).

121 Currently many ideas on early western monasticism are also being revised, including the importance monastic 'rules' in general, and the *Rule of Benedict* in particular, would have had in a western monastic tradition. According to Albrecht Diem and Philip Rousseau, the *Rule of Benedict* was only pushed as a standard rule for monasteries during Carolingian monastic reforms in the eight century and culminating in councils of 813 and 816/17, and even this process was messier and more diverse than hitherto thought. According to this view, the standardisation of Benedictine Rule for (western) monastic life may be seen as a Carolingian ideological invention (with limited success in practice), rather than reflecting earlier practices. Diem and Rousseau (2020).

122 Suscipiendus autem in oratorio coram omnibus promittat de *stavilitate sua et conversatione morum suorum et oboedientiam*. *Rule of Benedict* 58.17 in Venarde (2011).

123 *Rule of Benedict* 1, translated in Venarde (2011), p. 19.

a principle or ideal that monks should stay within the confines of their monastery.[124] The etic nature of the term is not necessarily problematic.[125] Nonetheless, if *stabilitas loci* – or a direct equivalent – was not used in Eastern Roman contexts we should (a) be careful in using it and (b) we should be aware why this term was introduced and the possible ramifications this has had on the interpretation of the Eastern Roman sources.

The risk involved in using a term that is supposed to be an important Eastern Roman concept, but not used by the Byzantines themselves, is that we may apply ideas from one context to another. That is, the interpretation of the Eastern Roman context could be coloured by the interpretation of a western context. This may eventually inhibit rather than help understand aspects of Eastern Roman culture. Therefore, if we want to use terms like *stabilitas loci,* we need to explicitly justify why it *is* a term and concept that is helpful in understanding Byzantine society. Such clear justification is lacking in the scholarly literature. Instead, since the cited article by Herman, who even uses 'stabilitas loci' in its title but does not elaborate on the term itself, the term and concept are treated as a given.[126] As the examples above have illustrated, an ideal of stability is referred to as if it were a pervasive ideal throughout the existence of the Eastern Roman Empire (although possibly deviating from practice). In my view, especially in cases in which a phenomenon or concept is assumed to be applicable for a long period of time and a large geographical area – during which there were many changes and there was much diversity – an explicit justification of an etic term and concept is necessary to prove it is a helpful one rather than an oversimplification or distortion of the time periods, concepts and places involved. Up to this point, scholarship has failed to do so.

Secondly, if there is no Byzantine equivalent for the term, it is good to be aware why it was originally used for an Eastern Roman context and from which context the term derives, so that it is possible to judge whether this context has influenced the interpretation of the Eastern Roman sources, and to assess whether this interpretation is helpful or problematic. Apart from a general recognition of the association of the term *stabilitas loci*

---

124 Originating in linguistics in the 1960s, the distinction between etic and emic has been used to mean different things in different disciplines. Such distinction is generally used in cultural anthropology to refer to an outsider perspective (etic) versus an insider perspective (emic) when understanding a particular culture. See e.g., Agar (2007); Flemming (2010). In line with an anthropological understanding of emic/etic, in this study I use emic to refer to terminology as originating from within the medieval Greek hagiographical tradition itself, and etic as terminology originating from another outsider context, such as modern categories of analysis.

125 If the Byzantines did not name a phenomenon – perhaps even *because* it is so wrapped up in their culture that there would be no need to name it – it does not mean it was not there. If we use the criterion of only using emic terminology it would also mean that we could not use any modern terminology or concepts at all in discussing the past. Besides being unpractical if not impossible, this would also deprive us of many valuable insights and scholarship.

126 Variant derivative terminology is also used in scholarship, such as 'the principle of stability', 'the ideal of stability', or 'monastic stability', in addition to *stabilitas loci*. 'Stabilitas loci' is used e.g., in Nicol (1985); Maladakis (2018), p. 373; Delouis et al. (2019b); Mitrea (2023a), pp. 3–4; Prieto Domínguez (2021), p. 171. For 'ideal of stability', see eg., Kaplan (2002). Mary-Alice Talbot uses both 'ideal of monastic stability', 'stabilitas loci' as well as 'the monastic principle of stability' in Talbot (2019), pp. 113; 135; 156.

with the three vows in Benedict's *Rule*,[127] a reflection on the ramifications of the origin on the interpretation of the Byzantine context is missing in the scholarly literature. This contributes to an uncritical usage of the term, while there is every reason to be critical.

The origin of the term *stabilitas loci,* and why Herman (and others) came to use it, will not be discussed in more detail here, although as part of a general critical evaluation of historiographical developments in Byzantine Studies such discussion would be a desideratum.[128] For the scope of this dissertation, another case will suffice to make the point clear. In the historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Byzantine monasticism was often referred to as the 'Basilian Order'.[129] The interpretation of Eastern Roman monasticism was made in analogy of understandings on monastic orders in western Europe. However, it has now long been clear that there were no orders in the Byzantine orthodox Christian tradition, also no Basilian one.[130] Instead, every communal monastery could have its own set of rules and generally there was great variety and flexibility of monastic practices.[131] Without ideas of western monastic orders in mind, the idea of a 'Basilian Order' would most likely also not have arisen. The issue of monastic orders therefore illustrates well why using a western concept unto an Eastern Roman context can be problematic. Without the interpretation of Benedictine monasticism in mind, Herman and later scholars would mostly likely never have applied the term and concept of *stabilitas loci* to an Eastern Roman context. The following re-evaluation therefore stands in a tradition of re-examining ideas taken from western medieval context and applied to another.

1.3 *Stabilitas loci:* the concept

Issues concerning the term aside, the concept of *stabilitas loci* is problematic when considering the late-antique Eastern Roman sources. The remainder of this chapter will

127 Herman at least recognises this, as he started his article by asking whether a comparable ideal is found in an Eastern Roman context. Herman (1955), p. 115. Subsequent scholarship often does not reflect on the origin of the term as associated with the *Rule of Benedict* (e.g., no such recognition or reflection is found in Auzépy (2009), which in addition to Herman is one of the few studies that has an examination of evidence for norms and ideals related to monastic mobility as its focus, nor in the recent publication of Mitrea (2023b), while both are using the terms *stabilitas* or *stabilitas loci*).

128 As Kaldellis has noted, investigations into the origins and development of our field, and particularly the (political) ideologies that have shaped our current understanding of the Eastern Roman Empire, have been relatively few compared to other fields (such as Classics), and this is a lacuna that we should further delve into. Kaldellis (2019), p. 29. When investigating why Herman asked the question whether the Benedictine concept of *stabilitas loci* could also be applied to Byzantium, we might start with the work of De Meester (1942). Besides ancient texts, Herman referred to De Meester in his article. Perhaps not coincidentally, De Meester was a Benedictine monk. He collected what he thought were the 'Rules' of Byzantine monasticism; one of the 'regulations' he wrote down was a list of circumstances under which it would have been justified for a monk to leave a monastery. De Meester (1942), pp. 53-54; 393-396.

129 See the historiographic reflections in Talbot (2019), p. 5.

130 John Thomas proved that although some of Basil's ideas were influential in Byzantine monastic foundation documents, these *typika* did not follow one-on-one Basil's *Rules*. Moreover the diverse monastic practices (also between communal monasteries) has now sufficiently been explored to discredit the idea of orders in a Byzantine orthodox Christian context. See Thomas and Hero (2000), pp. 21–29; Talbot (2019).

131 See the general reflections on Eastern Roman monasticism in the Introduction, p. 18

consider a selection of these sources: it will turn, in chronological order, to the fourth-century *Long Rules* of Basil of Caesarea (330-379), the fifth-century canons of the Council of Chalcedon, and lastly to the sixth-century *Novels* of Justinian (r. 527-565). These sources are three of the most cited texts in support of an ideal or rule of monastic stability, and they are the main sources referred to by Herman in his 1955 article, which, as said, had a great impact on subsequent scholarship and which still serves as a standard reference.[132] Since these texts are the scholarly foundation on which the existence of an ideal of stability is built, it is relevant to examine critically what these texts actually say and evaluate if they justify the use of *stabilitas loci* (if not as a term, then as a comparable concept).

This historiographical legacy aside, there are also intrinsic reasons why these texts could serve as interesting case studies for a re-evaluation of the concept of *stabilitas loci* in an Eastern Roman context: they represent different levels of authority, they enjoyed considerable authority in Byzantium throughout its history and they represent key moments at various stages in the development of Eastern Roman monasticism. Each of these sources has extensive bibliographical traditions, so in the following their relevance in the history of monasticism will just briefly be touched upon.[133]

Basil of Caesarea (330 – 379) is regarded an important player in the early development of communal monasticism, both when concerning the communities he spiritually guided, but also concerning the legacy of his ideas that he put in writing, especially his *Rules*.[134] At a moment when there was not yet a dominant model for monastic life in Anatolia he came to promote a communal, rather than solitary, model. Some of Basil's ideas on monasticism as reflected in his *Rules* have been influential for later Byzantine monasticism, with principles in Basil's *Rules* reflected in foundation documents of Byzantine communal monasteries.[135] Moreover, Basil's *Rules* would be one of the texts that were popular to read at mealtime in communal monasteries.[136]

The council of Chalcedon (451), the second case study that will be analysed, represents another key moment in the development of Byzantine (and western) monasticism.

---

132 E.g., still cited by Mitrea (2023a), p. 10, note 11.

133 For an introduction to these texts and their cultural contexts, and for further bibliography, see, for Basil of Caesarea: Rousseau (1998); Rapp (2013); Silvas (2005); Dunn (2003), pp. 34–41; Sterk (2004); Hildebrand (2018). For the Council of Chalcedon: Van Oort and Roldanus (1997); Price (2009); Price and Whitby (2009); Hartmann and Pennington (2012); Amirav (2015); Wagschal (2015); Wipszycka (2018); Graumann (2021). For the Justinian *Novels* and (the role of the Emperor in) legal culture: Frazee (1982); Lanata (1984); Humfress (2005); Troianos (2017); Chitwood (2017); Stolte (2019).

134 The early history of monasticism is often narrated as a history of successive influential 'great men', starting with the 'first' known monk, Anthony, then the monk Pachomius as the 'founder' of communal monasticism, followed by Basil, as a further promotor of communal monasticism, known as an advocate for a 'moderate ascetic' type of monasticism, combining contemplative life with charitable service to society. This narrative is found e.g., in Dunn (2003), pp. 1–41 and Talbot (2008), p. 257; such a narrative is currently being critiqued and revised. See e.g., Diem and Rapp (2020).

135 Although, as stressed above, there was diversity among communal monasteries (and between others forms of monastic practices). For comments on both similarities and differences between Basil's *Rules* and later *typika*, see Thomas and Hero (2000), pp. 21–31.

136 Cf. Introduction, p. 25.

Monasticism by now was an established phenomenon and the influence of monks could be felt in many layers of society, including at the imperial court and in church politics, notoriously at the recent 'Robber' council of Ephesus II (449). The council of Chalcedon represents the first effort of bishops to impose control and authority over monks.

In the following century, Justinian issued his *Novels* (534-565), which form the final case study. *Novels* 5, 123 and 133 represent a new phase in the development of Byzantine monasticism. By the sixth century, monks had a consolidated position in society and could count on the respect and reverence of many, including the Emperor. While respecting the monks, Justinian also aimed to steer the monastic movement in particular ways. His reign has therefore been considered as one of many phases of reform in monastic culture. The significance of the Emperor's attempts to reform monasticism (and religious life in general) lies in its unprecedented comprehensive scale.[137] His legislation, including the *Novels,* is perhaps the most important output of his endeavours to leave a mark on the development of monasticism.

The texts of Basil, the council of Chalcedon and the *Novels* of Justinian are thus valuable as case studies, since they offer insight in diverse contexts. Establishing whether an ideal of stability is reflected in these late-antique contexts is one thing; how these texts were interpreted in the ninth and tenth centuries is another. However, since these are the principle normative sources that previous scholarship has based this ideal on, a re-evaluation of the ideal should start there. Which ideals and value judgements are reflected in ninth- and tenth-century saints' *Lives* will be explored in the next chapters.

1.3.1 Basil of Caesarea

Herman has suggested that Basil introduced a 'discipline' or 'legislation' of stability in his monasteries.[138] Later scholars have continued to recognise Basil as one of the bases for an ideal of stability in late antiquity.[139] From the *Long Rules,* a text in the form of questions and answers, Herman cites question 36, concerning 'those who leave the brotherhood'. Basil's answer to this question may at first sight indeed suggest a prescription for monks to stay in their respective monasteries. However, as we shall see, it is questionable whether an ideal of stability or a rule imposed on monasteries should be seen reflected in this passage. This becomes clear both when considering the intended audience and when analysing the passage by close reading.

137 As argued by Hatlie (2007), p. 28.
138 Herman (1955), p. 116.
139 E.g., Stammler (2014); Talbot (2019), p. 157. Many others have cited the article by Herman (1955) to support the existence of an ideal of *stabilitas loci*.

The creation of the text: Basil's 'Rule' was not a rule

Looking at the context of the creation of Basil's prescriptions it soon becomes clear that the text has a complex history. From scholia made by a sixth-century compiler we learn that there were several early manuscript traditions with already great variations between them.[140] Several phases of the history of the text have been reconstructed on the basis of these scholia and on the basis of overlap and variations between an early Latin translation by Rufinus (c. 400) and the Greek *Short Rules* and *Long Rules*.[141]

There were multiple phases in the development of the corpus, first in Pontus – were Basil resided in the 350s - subsequently at Caesarea – where Basil lived since 365 and became bishop in 370.[142] The translation by Rufinus represents an earlier stage of the development, but Basil reworked and added to the collection of questions and answers. These reworkings eventually resulted in the tradition of two versions, now called the *Short Rules* and *Long Rules*. The sections in these versions that have no equivalent in Rufinus' Latin translation are therefore thought to represent later additions to an earlier core. These later additions concern question 24 onwards of the *Long Rules,* so including question 36.[143]

The most important conclusions of the analysis of the relation between the scholia and the different versions are twofold. Firstly, Basil never called his prescriptions '*Rules*' by which they became known later. Secondly, the texts reflects questions from multiple individuals and groups at different places – mostly in the region of Pontus and at Caesarea.[144] The 'rules' were therefore not targeted at a single community. Additionally, it is even doubtful whether Basil had a specifically monastic audience in mind.

The latter point requires some elaboration. It has been argued that Basil envisioned an ascetical life as the ideal life for *any* Christian, not just for monks.[145] Evidence for this is reflected in his homilies, which are meant for a wider audience of church congregants and which equally promote ascetic ideals.[146] It is therefore doubtful whether Basil considered people who took up an ascetic lifestyle of renunciation as a separate group from other Christians.[147] This might not surprise us, as, after all, monasticism was still in its formative period: Pachomius, who is regarded as the founder of organised communal monastic life (cenobitism), just died in 346 or 347 and it is not clear how far the Pachomian monastic movement had already spread beyond its origins in Egypt by the 360s and 370s (at the

140 See Silvas (2005), pp. 4–8.
141 Rousseau (1998), pp. 354–359.
142 Ibid., pp. 354–359; Dunn (2003), p. 35.
143 These thus represent a later stage of addition and revision to an earlier core text, as Basil gradually expanded and revised the text. Rousseau (1998), p. 358. This later stage also includes questions 38, 39 and 44 which will also be discussed below: they are not cited by Herman, but they illustrate that Basil expected a degree of travel in the day-to-day operations of religious communities.
144 Ibid., p. 357.
145 Ibid., p. 191.
146 Ibid., p. 199.
147 See Ibid., pp. 196–201; Sterk (2004), p. 49.

time of Basil's writings).[148] That being said, it should be noted that some questions and answers do suppose a more organised community of people living together for spiritual purposes, including the people who asked question 36 in the *Long Rules*. The communal aspect will be elaborated on below. For now suffice to say that Herman's statement that Basil introduced a principle of stability in 'his' monasteries is misleading, considering the gradual development of the text, the multiplicity of groups for whom Basil formulated his answers and the context of a formative period of monasticism, in which the boundaries between monks and other Christians were not yet clearly delineated.

The so-called *Rules* were therefore not a rule: they were not designed to form the basic guidelines for a specific monastic community, such as later *typika*. Nor were they ever interpreted in this way in the later history of monasticism in the Eastern Roman Empire.[149] As the texts take the form of answers to specific questions, they are closer, in terms of genre, to the collections of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* ('Sayings of the Fathers') than to the *Rule* of Benedict.[150] It is therefore misleading to call Basil's prescriptions 'legislation' as Herman did.[151] Rather, the collection of texts seems to reflect a practice of in-person instruction and advice in different places to different people, which Basil later redacted and wrote down in various stages.

Basil's prescriptions concern community building rather than a spiritual ideal of stability

Having briefly considered the context of the text's creation and thereby established that Basil's *Long* and *Short Rules* cannot be considered a monastic rule for a specific community, the analysis will now turn to the text itself. Although not a rule, in the so-called *Long Rules* Basil gives his view on how the petitioners should organise their life and the text is therefore prescriptive. While in an earlier phase of his life, Basil himself sought to live an ascetic life in (relative) solitude, over time he started to promote living in a community of likeminded spiritually oriented persons as the best form of ascetic life.[152] When he came to write his answers that became part of the *Long Rules,* advocacy for communal living was part of it. Examples of this advocacy are his answers to questions 6 and 7, where he explains why, for devout Christians, it is necessary to live in seclusion from ordinary society (Q6) and why one should live in seclusion together with others who strive for the same goal of piety

148 The communal monastery of Pachomius was probably founded around the 320s and in the next decades others were founded as well in Egypt. Dunn (2003), pp. 25–33; Rousseau (1998), p. 196; The primacy of Pachomius and Anthony (traditionally regarded as the 'first monk', but this claim has now frequently been refuted) in the development of monasticism is currently being revised. A messier and more diverse picture is arising. One of the suggestions is that monastic communities may also have independently developed in Caesarea and Egypt, and influence from monastic developments in Syria might have been influential as well. Sterk (2004), pp. 42–43. Generally, the history of monasticism is a topic of debate and much is still unclear: on historiographical reflections and the current state of research, see e.g., Diem and Rapp (2020).

149 See footnote 130 above.

150 Rousseau (1998), p. 354.

151 'Per regione della grande autorità del Santo e dell'equilibrio delle sue prescrizioni, la sua legislazione fu praticamente ricevuta in tutta la Chiesa bizantina'. Herman (1955), p. 116.

152 Dunn (2003), pp. 34–41.

and devotion (Q7). Many other questions, especially from question 24 onwards – part of the later additions (probably) made in Caesarea – do not necessarily advocate for communal life, but already assume a religious community as the audience. In these answers, Basil provides prescriptions on how to organise the communal life.

Question 36 is such a question that already presupposes an organised religious community: question 36 concerns 'those who leave the brotherhood'.[153] Basil starts his answer with saying that those who promised to live together should in principle not leave the community, except under certain circumstances. These circumstances are either 'harm suffered in living the common life' or 'unsteadiness of resolution in him who is changing his course'. What exactly this 'harm' (βλάβη) could entail is not specified, but it seems to refer to sin and to refer to 'harm' done by another brother, as the advice indicates that the one being injured should 'expose the harm' and should follow Christ's command, citing Matthew 18:15: 'if your brother sins against you, go, and reprove him between you and him alone'.[154] The question is thus mainly concerned with practical and spiritual difficulties that may arise in a community: discord and irresolution.[155] Discord could threaten the continuing existence of the community, while irresolution of one member could threaten the unity of common purpose, which Basil advocated for earlier (Q7).[156] In addressing these difficulties, the aim of Basil's advice, I belief, was not so much to keep *all* members within a community, but to establish and maintain a righteous community.

The latter is reflected in Basil's emphasis on each member's responsibility for the righteousness of the community by means of mutual control and individual responsibility. In addressing the first difficulty, discord, Basil prescribes to first address the injury suffered to the one who caused the harm. In other words, the one who is harmed should take the responsibility to correct his fellow community-member(s) (mutual control). If the desired correction is accomplished, according to Basil, then 'he has gained his brothers' and 'he did not dishonour their communion (τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν)' – the righteousness of the offender(s) is restored and that of the community maintained.[157] If however, they 'persist in evil' (ἐπιμένοντας αὐτοὺς τῷ κακῷ) and they do not accept the correction, then after reporting to people who are 'qualified to judge such things' and having the testimony

153 Περὶ τῶν ἀναχωρούντων ἀπὸ ἀδελφότητος, Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36; translation by Wagner (1950), p. 305. Edition for the *Long Rules*: Migne (1857) = *PG* 31, pp. 901-1052.

154 Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36 (*PG* 31, p. 1008).

155 Basil in general has been perceived to have much concerns on dissent and perceived heresy in the church, such as his condemnations of fighting between bishops and his judgement that only few people were fit for the episcopate. Sterk (2004), pp. 43–48. Andrea Sterk saw focus on unity and harmony as characteristic of his ascetical writings (including the *Long Rule*). Ibid., pp. 50–51.

156 According to Basil, it would be harmful to live among 'those who are fearless and disdainful in their attitude toward an exact observance of the commandments' (Q6) and therefore it is necessary to live in seclusion, but in the company of those who 'have set before themselves the same goal of piety' (Q7). (Translation by Wagner (1950), slightly altered by the present author). Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 6-7 (*PG* 31, pp. 925; 928).

157 Note the change to plural (τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς ἐκέρδησε): either Basil included the possibility of multiple wrong-doers, or the harm done by one brother is reflected on the others as well, so that multiple or all brothers are 'gained', that is back on the right (pious) track, when the fault is restored. Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36 (*PG* 31, p. 1008).

of others as well, the individual can and should leave. According to Basil, he would not leave his brothers, but he would leave them as strangers (ἀλλοτρίων), who are likened to 'pagans and tax-collectors' (ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης). Apart from noting that the advice and procedure on how to deal with discord closely follows Matthew 18:15-17, and therefore uses the Gospel as inspiration and authority for his advice, it can be noted that Basil's concern is not so much to restrict movement, nor to keep all members within the community, but to maintain a community that is pious and strives to correct sin(ners). The mechanism that Basil promotes to this end is mutual control: a brother should correct his fellow brother. If this fails to achieve the desired end, however, the brother who was harmed should not see himself as part of the community anymore, for he would leave them as strangers. The community in such case fails to be a righteous, pious and ascetic one, for they are like pagans and tax-collectors, disqualifying them to be Christians and people removed from worldly affairs.

The second difficulty Basil addresses is irresolution. He stresses the individual responsibility for one's own resolution to live a communal life of piety. In case of irresolution as reason for leaving the community ('unsteadiness of resolution' and 'by reason of the fickleness of his nature, he leaves the society of his brethren') the individual should 'cure his own weakness'.[158] However, if the person does not do that, then the 'brotherhoods' (ταῖς ἀδελφότησιν) should not accept him. Similar to the advice on discord, Basil propagates an ideal of a community solely comprised of pious members with a common purpose. The members do not have to be perfect ascetics without any (moral or spiritual) fault, but they should correct their own faults or irresolution and in addition should correct others to do so. However, without restoring his resolution or fault, there is no place for such a person in the community, according to Basil. And vice versa, if members in the community do not want to restore their fault, then one should leave the community, for the community ceases to be a righteous one.

Hence only if mutual control and individual responsibility for one's own perseverance fail to ensure the righteousness of the community, a member should leave the community. The one exception to this rule is God's will, which stands above individual (human) responsibility, and which may be a reason for a member to go from one community to another. According to Basil, there is no other reason that legits a member to leave the brotherhood. Apart from dishonouring Christ in whose name they form a brotherhood, as Basil sees it, the reason for not legitimising withdrawal from the community has to do with avoiding friction and

158 Translation by Wagner (1950), p. 305.

resolving disputes.[159] If brothers would leave the community, this could lead to suspicions, according to Basil. These suspicions presumably concern whether the leaver had a problem with any other brother, as Basil ends his advice with Christ's words from the Sermon of the Mount, according to the Gospel of Matthew:

> if you bring your gift to the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar, and go your way. First be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift.[160]

The brothers should thus resolve disputes instead of moving away. This would benefit the preservation of the community, as leaving might cause suspicions and friction in the remaining community.

Basil's advice therefore prescribes mechanisms (mutual control, individual responsibility and peace-making) to establish and maintain a righteous spiritual community. The ideals reflected in this passage thus do not so much relate to monastic travel, but rather to ideals of a community building, to stability of community rather than a stability of place.

Other questions in the *Long Rules*, not cited by Herman, imply that a degree of mobility was to be expected in the day-to-day operations of religious communities. In these questions Basil expressed some reservations concerning these journeys, but these do not concern movement itself, but the (spiritual) dangers in leaving the community.[161]

Questions 38, 39, 44 and 45 all imply that members of ascetic communities might make journeys, although questions 38 and 39 suggest that Basil thought it preferable not to travel. Question 38 concerns permissible occupations and recommends farming as the best option, for 'farmers are not obliged to do much traveling or running about hither and thither'.[162] In question 39, Basil advises to avoid travelling to distant markets for selling products. He indicates that staying in one place is more suitable (εὐπρεπεστέρα) and more beneficial (ὠφελιμωτέρα).[163] The perceived problem with travel, for Basil, in question 38 is the potential disruption of their ascetic lifestyle and the potentially harmful interaction with people outside the spiritual community. In question 39, he also stresses the importance

159 Resolving disputes and keeping the peace in a community is also reflected in question 47 and 49. Question 47: 'Anyone who does not approve of the superior's prescriptions should take up the matter with him either publicly or in private, if his objection is a sound one and consonant with the Scriptures; if not, he should hold his peace and do the thing that was enjoined'. And question 49: 'Now, with regard to disputes which arise among the brethren: Whenever certain individuals are in disagreement on any matter, they should not contend with one another in a wrangling spirit, but refer the settlement to those who are more competent than they'. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 47, 49 (*PG* 31, pp. 1036-1040; translations by Wagner (1950), p. 325-327).

160 Matt 5:23-24, *NKJV*.

161 E.g., danger of occupation with worldly affairs, of distraction, and of the lack of social control. See questions 38 (avoid too much travel as to not to cause distraction), 39 (preferably not distant journeys, staying in one place beneficial for mutual edification and for keeping to the daily routine), question 44 (only 'spiritually fit' brothers should go on a journey, fear of interaction with the world, lack of social control), question 45 (implies occasional journeys of superiors of the community are to be expected).

162 Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 38 (*PG* 31, pp. 1016-1017). Translated in Wagner (1950), p. 312.

163 Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 39 (*PG* 31, p. 1017).

to not disrupt the daily routine.[164] In addition, mutual control is an argument to stay in one place rather than travel to faraway markets for Basil.

In these passages Basil does not forbid travel *per se*, and he gives advice to counter possible dangers in case people do need to travel. Namely, they should travel in groups, as mutual control will prevent them from missing any prayers, and a group will provide some protection from violence and extortion. While travel is seen as potentially disrupting the spiritual way of life, and therefore endangering the spiritual integrity of the individual brother, brothers might still travel, but in groups.

In question 44, Basil more explicitly addresses the spiritual danger of travel due to interactions with other people in society.[165] In case a brother should make a journey, Basil writes, this should only be undertaken by a 'spiritually fit' brother, who at his return should be examined to determine whether no harm to his soul was done, or whether he went astray from the monastic life.

In conclusion, the preceding discussion has problematised Herman's claim on multiple grounds. First of all, the so-called *Long Rules* should not be seen as a monastic rule, but rather as a compilation of various manuscript traditions that contained Basil's written (revised) versions of advice given to multiple communities over a longer period of time. Moreover, it is doubtful whether Basil directed his advice specifically or exclusively to existing monasteries. Secondly, Herman's claim has been problematised on the ground that Basil's answer to question 36 should be seen as instructions aimed at the preservation of a righteous religious community. Basil did not introduce an ideal of stability of place, but rather an ideal of communal ascetic living.

So according to Basil, some scenarios of brothers leaving the brotherhood are advisable and others are not, but Basil's concern does not seem to be so much the movement away from a place. Furthermore, other questions imply that journeys were to be expected in the day-to-day operations of religious communities. Although Basil expressed some concerns with these journeys, these again are not related to the movement (or staying) itself, but to the (spiritual dangers in) leaving the community.[166] Instead of reflecting *stabilitas loci,* these prescriptions should be seen as advocacy for the communal ascetic life, and as one voice in the late-antique debate on how to best organise Christian religious (ascetic) life in a formative period of monasticism.

---

164 Probably especially concerning prayer, as later in the passage Basil indicates that monks on the road should not miss any prayers. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 39 (*PG* 31, p. 1020).

165 Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 44 (*PG* 31, pp. 1029-1032).

166 E.g., danger of occupation with worldly affairs, of distraction, and of the lack of social control. See questions 38 (avoid too much travel as to not to cause distraction), 39 (preferably not distant journeys, staying in one place beneficial for mutual edification and for keeping to the daily routine), question 44 (only 'spiritually fit' brothers should go on a journey, fear of interaction with the world, lack of social control), question 45 (implies occasional journeys of superiors of the community are to be expected).

1.3.2 Council of Chalcedon (451)

In addition to the *Long Rules* of Basil, Herman and later scholars refer to the Council of Chalcedon as evidence for regulations of monastic stability.[167] This ecumenical council was held in Chalcedon in 451. Emperor Marcian (r. 450 – 457) summoned the council, probably under the influence of Pope Leo I and Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople. The council is mainly famous for its statement of the correct faith, formulating the relation between the divine and human natures of Christ. Although aiming for compromise, eventually the council led to a break between Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian churches.[168] The canons that were issued in the name of the council deal mostly with matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and hierarchy concerning bishops, other clergy and monks. Canon 4 has been interpreted as a regulation curbing monastic mobility, and prescribing monastic stability. This canon indeed deals (in part) with monastic mobility, but like the *Long Rules* of Basil, it mainly reflects contemporary concerns other than the mobility of monks.

In contrast to previous councils, we have quite a detailed picture of the Council of Chalcedon due to the survival of its *Acts* – recordings of the sessions of the council. From these *Acts* we know that the main issues dealt with during the council were a trial of Dioscorus (patriarch of Alexandria, 444-451) and of others for their role at the council of Ephesus II (the 'robber council'), the acceptance of the *Tome* of Leo I (pope 440-461), and, most significantly, as said, a new formulation of a definition of faith based on a two-nature Christology. After the discussions over these issues, dealt with during the first six sessions of the council (between October 8 to October 25, 451), the council proceeded in sessions 7 to 15 (October 26 – October 31, 451) to restorations of bishops and disputes over rival claims to episcopal sees after the many depositions and new instatements of bishops at the Council of Ephesus II in 449. A final session debated the status of the see of Constantinople.[169]

Not all decisions during the council were made during these recorded official sessions. Many discussions seem to have taken place during informal sessions that were not recorded. A notable example of this is the drafting of the new definition of faith: only the final result of the committee that was set this task was to be approved (or rejected) during the official session.[170] Furthermore, during the last session a decree on the jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan see was discussed, which had been formulated earlier during an informal meeting.[171]

The canons of the council of Chalcedon are also included in the *Acts*. It consists of a list of 27 canons. The absence of a date and a list of participants or signatories suggests that these canons were never discussed or debated during a formal session of the council,

167 Herman (1955), pp. 116–117; Nicol (1985), p. 194; Auzépy (2009), par. 4; Stammler (2014), p.135; Talbot (2019), p. 157.
168 For further bibliographies on the importance of Chalcedon, see the references in footnote 133.
169 The acts appear to be a more or less faithful recording of the official sessions of the council, with scribes carefully making minutes of the council for future reference. See Price and Gaddis (2007a); Price and Gaddis (2007b); Price and Gaddis (2007c); Graumann (2021).
170 Price and Gaddis (2007a), p. 78.
171 Price and Gaddis (2007c), p. 18.

so they probably do not reflect the recordings of a session like the rest of the *Acts*.[172] The canons might have been debated over during an informal session, but the absence of names of bishops who participated or signed leaves open the option that they were drafted later (in that case, probably by Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople).[173]

For only three canons we know that a previous version *was* actually discussed during the official sessions of the council. This happens to include canon 4, in addition to canon 3 and canon 20. During session 6 at 25 October 451, right after the acceptance of the new definition of faith by the delegates, Emperor Marcian (r. 450-457) proposes three decrees which, he indicates, he would like to have the council decide on as canons, rather than issuing them as (civil) laws.[174] The canon nearly reproduces the proposal by Marcian word by word, except for some alterations. Canons 3, 4 and 20 thus mostly reflect Marcian's proposals, while the alterations reflect the wording of the bishops, in particular of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anatolius.

The canon is as follows:

> Οἱ ἀληθῶς καὶ εἰλικρινῶς τὸν μονήρη μετιόντες βίον τῆς προσηκούσης ἀξιούσθωσαν τιμῆς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινὲς τῷ μοναχικῷ κεχρημένοι προσχήματι τάς τε ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ διαταράττουσι πράγματα περιιόντες ἀδιαφόρως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μοναστήρια ἑαυτοῖς συνιστᾶν ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἔδοξεν μηδένα μὲν μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου, τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν μόνῃ τῇ νηστείαι καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ, ἐν οἷς τόποις ἀπετάξαντο, προσκαρτεροῦντας, μήτε δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν καταλιμπάνοντας τὰ ἴδια μοναστήρια, εἰ μή ποτε ἄρα ἐπιτραπεῖεν διὰ χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου. Μηδένα δὲ προσδέχεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις δοῦλον ἐπὶ τῷ μονάσαι παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου. Τὸν δὲ παραβαίνοντα τοῦτον ἡμῶν τὸν ὅρον ὡρίσαμεν ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημῆται, τὸν μέντοι ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πόλεως χρὴ τὴν δέουσαν πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μοναστηρίων.[175]

> Those who truly and sincerely enter on the solitary life are to be accorded due honour. But since some people use a cloak of monasticism to disrupt both the churches and civil affairs, while they move around the cities indiscriminately and even try to set up monasteries for themselves, it is decreed that no one is to build or found a monastery or oratory anywhere contrary to the will of the bishop of the

172 As is suggested in Ibid., pp. 92–94.
173 Which is the view of Price and Gaddis in Ibid., pp. 92–94.
174 *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, session 6, 25 October, 16-19. See Price and Gaddis (2007b), pp. 241–242.
175 In Schwartz (1933), p. 159.

> city. Those who practise monasticism in each city and territory are to be subject to the bishop, and are to embrace silence and devote themselves to fasting and prayer alone, persevering in the places where they renounced the world; they are not to cause annoyance in either ecclesiastical or secular affairs, or take part in them, leaving their own monasteries, unless indeed for some compelling need they be permitted to do so by the bishop of the city. No slave is to be accepted into a monastery as a monk contrary to the will of his master; we have decreed that the infringer of this our regulation is excommunicate, lest the name of God be brought into disrepute. The due care of the monasteries must be exercised by the bishop of the city.[176]

This canon has often been seen as the Byzantine regulation of *stabilitas loci*.[177] The phrase on which this is based, ἐν οἷς τόποις ἀπετάξαντο προσκαρτεροῦντας ('persevering in the places where they renounced [the world]'), is only a small part of the canon, and, as I will argue, does not seem to be the main concern of the canon. When carefully reading the canon, the canon in my view, seems not primarily concerned with keeping monks in monasteries. The main incentive for the canon seems to be the yet undefined and unregulated position of monks in Byzantine society, especially their relation to church hierarchy and civil affairs.

The two main issues that the canon decrees are, on the one hand, a delineation of monastic life by excluding them from church and civil affairs, and, on the other hand, placing monks under episcopal control. The first issue is addressed at the start of the canon: it starts with identifying a perceived problem. It recognises the honourability of some monks ('who truly and sincerely enter on the solitary life'), but others – who by contrast are not perceived as sincerely choosing monastic life – are considered problematic. The problem, as indicated, is that these 'insincere' monks 'disrupt' church and civil affairs (τάς τε ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ διαταράττουσι πράγματα). Therefore, the canon prescribes what monastic life should consist of, namely a life only of prayer and fasting.

In addition to circumscribing the activities of monks, which in itself already implies a segregation from other spheres of influence, the canon specifically emphasises that monks should not mingle in ecclesiastical or secular affairs.[178] Here, the mobility of monks is addressed in the canon: it is specified that leaving the monastery to engage with ecclesiastical or civil affairs is prohibited, although the canon leaves room for exceptions. These exceptions are allowed when the bishop gives permission, which relates to the next point.

The second issue that the canon deals with is placing monks under episcopal control. Whereas in the third and fourth century, gradually various forms of monasticism were

176 Translated by Price and Gaddis (2007c), pp. 95–96.
177 Herman (1955), pp. 116–117; Nicol (1985), p. 194; Auzépy (2009), par. 4; Stammler (2014), p.135; Talbot (2019), p. 157.
178 μήτε δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν (they are not to cause annoyance in either ecclesiastical or secular affairs, or take part in them).

developing, by the fifth century, monks of various modes of life – in monasteries in the city or as hermits on mountains – would have been a familiar and more established social group in the Christian world. At the same time, the hierarchy and organisation of the church started to consolidate. However, during these processes of transformation, there was not yet a (formalised) demarcation of the relation between monks and the organisation of the church, nor for the place of monks in society at large. Monks already yielded much influence as spiritual advisors in the fifth century, being able to attract many visitors seeking council, and sometimes having a great influence on people in power.[179] While some monks enjoyed such spiritual authority, they were not yet officially embedded in the church hierarchy. The Council of Chalcedon has been seen in the context of a conflict on religious leadership and spiritual authority between monks and bishops, and could be seen as an attempt to define the relation between monks, church hierarchy and broader society.[180] In this view, the first issue of the council, delineating the activities of monks, aims to curb the influence of monks. The second issue is to place monks under the control of bishops. When Emperor Marcian proposed the canon to the council (consisting, primarily, of bishops), he could thus expect to find a willing audience. The canon aims to grant bishops the authority to define where a monastery is allowed to be established, monks are to be subordinate to the bishop of the respective city or area and, lastly, the bishop is to control the movement of monks to some degree. Depriving monks of the right to interact with ecclesiastical and secular affairs, and prescribing a life of prayer and fasting, the canon, at least in theory, also deprives monks of their economic autonomy and self-sufficiency and limits their possibility for obtaining (imperial) patronage. Perhaps in order to take away the stimulus to solicit wealthy and powerful elite for acquiring resources (which simultaneously would leave room for monastic influence), bishop Anatolius added to the proposal of Marcian that bishops are responsible for the care of monasteries.

While subordinate to these broader issues on the relation between monks and church hierarchy, the canon also addresses the movement of monks. However, moving itself does not seem to be a problem, according to the canon, but moving in cities and 'indiscriminately' (περιιόντες ἀδιαφόρως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν). The unregulated nature as well as the urban context for movement seem to be considered problematic. The decree prescribes that monks should not found a monastery or prayer house without the permission of the bishop: the canon therefore imposes episcopal control and authority over the yet unregulated and autonomous monks. The phrase 'while they move around the cities indiscriminately and even try to set up monasteries for themselves' is one of the additions in the canon

179 Such as the example of Eutyches (c.380 – c.456) shows, who led a monastic community at the edges of Constantinople and who was a spiritual advisor of Emperor Theodosius II (r.402-450), but who later was considered to be heretical for his Christological views (as opponents perceived him as denying the humanity of Christ; he was condemned in the 'Home Synod' at Constantinople in 448, redeemed at the Council of Ephesus II in 449 and condemned again, after Theodosius' death, at the Council of Chalcedon). See Price and Gaddis (2007a), pp. 25-29.

180 See e.g., Price and Gaddis (2007a), pp. 47-48.

not found in Marcian's proposal. These words therefore reflects the concerns of the bishops (specifically Anatolius), who added them to the Emperor's draft. The phrasing reveals that Anatolius mainly targeted monks in an urban setting, most likely, specifically Constantinople.[181]

If the canon mainly aims to regulate monasticism by circumscribing the actions of monks and incorporating them in official church hierarchy, why is it used as evidence for purporting an ideal of *stabilitas loci*? One could see a principle of *stabilitas loci* reflected in the phrases related to the movement of monks in canon 4, although they are in support of something else (separation of monks from civic and church affairs; and placing monks under episcopal control). A closer look at the vocabulary, in my view, shows that the ground for this is not as stable as Herman and others might have us believe. The first phrase touching upon movement is right at the start of the canon, where we observed that the canon introduces a problem with insincere monks moving around cities. As noted above, the problem was not so much the moving itself, but the unregulated nature of it and the founding of new monasteries at will, without permission of the bishop of the city. Another phrase in the canon could be, and has been, interpreted to advocate monastic confinement to the monastery they entered: namely, monks should only fast and pray while 'persevering in the places where they renounced [the world]' (ἐν οἷς τόποις ἀπετάξαντο προσκαρτεροῦντας). Also this phrasing is not unequivocal. The term προσκαρτεροῦντας, translated as 'persevering' by both Caner and by Price and Gaddis,[182] in the phrase 'persevering in the places where they renounced [the world]', does not necessarily literally have to mean staying at a place. In the meaning of 'devote oneself to', 'be faithful to' or 'adhere firmly to', the participle might also be meant to refer to where the monks' loyalty and subordination was supposed to lie. So, the prescription may convey that monks should not necessarily stay at the same place at all times, but that they should not move (unregulated) to a different monastery. Instead, they should keep coming back and be loyal to the monastery where they became a monk.[183]

The next sentence in the canon equally leaves open the possibility that monks could actually leave their monastery. According to the canon, monks are not to cause annoyance or take part in ecclesiastical or temporal affairs *by* leaving their own monastery (μήτε δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν καταλιμπάνοντας

181 Also other canons are targeted specifically to monks in Constantinople. E.g., canon 23 refers to monks who come to Constantinople without permission of their bishop 'causing disorder, disrupting the state of the church, and upsetting the households of certain persons'. Schwartz (1933), p. 162. Translation in Price and Gaddis (2007c), p. 101. These canons were probably specifically targeted at monks like Barsauma, who has gone down in history as notorious for his violence in the context of the Council of Ephesus II, and at followers of Eutyches, whose Christological views were considered heretical by some and who was anathemized in the Council of Chalcedon. For Eutyches' views, his condemnation and the theological controversies leading up to the Council of Chalcedon, see Price and Gaddis (2007a), p.48 and pp. 115-118.

182 Caner (2002), p. 206; Price and Gaddis (2007c), p. 95.

183 Note that the canon does not necessarily specify this place as a communal monastic establishment – so perhaps it also aimed to target hermits or other non-cenobitic monastic practices as well.

τὰ ἴδια μοναστήρια). So again the issue is the potential interference of monks with ecclesiastical or worldly affairs by going out of their monastery, but mobility as such is not forbidden. Even here, the canon leaves room for exceptions of monastic interaction with non-monastic affairs. When the bishop decides to, he could give permission to monks to leave their monastery for interactions with church or civil affairs in case of pressing need.

The conditional and equivocal phrasing of the clauses relating to mobility support the idea that curbing monastic mobility itself was not the main issue of the canon, but that they are to be understood as means to an end, to undermine the autonomy and influence of monks and to segregate them from the rest of society.

In the original proposal, mobility was not an issue at all, as all phrases relating to mobility or immobility are added in the canon by the bishops compared to the imperial proposal. At least where the Emperor was concerned, this strengthens the idea that the main concerns had nothing to do with monastic mobility. On the other hand, this also shows that the bishop(s), in drafting the canon, found the formulations by the Emperor unsatisfactory or insufficient and felt that these phrases should be added. If unregulated, clearly mobility could be undesirable in the eyes of the bishops. As discussed above, the circumstances, under which bishops considered mobility undesirable, were when mobility leads to a convergence of monastic life and ecclesiastical or worldly spheres. The bishops may have reasoned that segregating monastic life from other spheres of influence is more easily accomplished when monks are physically constrained and separated from other people. This being said, the canon does not prohibit monastic mobility completely.

1.3.3 Justinian's *Novels* (534-565)

Nearly a century after the Council of Chalcedon, Emperor Justinian (r. 527- 565) issued several laws that Herman and others cite in support of a Byzantine equivalent of monastic *stabilitas loci*.[184] These new laws, the *Novels*, present us with a third type of normative texts, reflecting another type of authority than the writings of church father Basil of Caesarea or the canons of the Council of Chalcedon.

When canons 3, 4 and 20 were proposed, the Emperor Marcian thought it more fitting that the laws concerning monks and clergy were issued by bishops at a church council. In the next century, however, Justinian apparently considered that the emperor himself could legislate on monks and clergy.[185] The *Novels* of Justinian are the new laws that he

184 Herman (1955); Nicol (1985); Auzépy (2009), par. 4; Booth (2014); Talbot (2019).

185 It is well known that Justinian interfered, sponsored and attempted to reform many aspects of religious life, of which the *Novels* only represent one (important) example. The interconnectedness and inseparability of Church and State in Byzantium is another truism, so, as Bernard Stolte observed, it should not come much as a surprise that Justinian also legislated on ecclesiastical and monastic affairs. Stolte (2009), p. 87; also Penna and Meijering (2022), p. 191.

made after the completion of the second recension of the *Codex Justinianus* in 534.[186] That the *Novels* and the *Codex* were still known and referred to in the ninth and tenth centuries is evinced by another large legal project in the history of Byzantine law. Under Emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912), a project of imposing order in the existing translations, commentaries and summaries of Justinianic law that were circulating up to that point was undertaken.[187] Around 900, this project resulted in the *Basilica*.[188] The *Basilica* collected Justinianic law, and translated the Latin laws into Greek. Many of the *Novels* issued by Justinian (most of which were written in Greek already) were also included, including the ones that will be discussed below.[189]

Justinian's Novels and the diversity of monastic practices

Philip Booth observed that a major difference between the canons and the *Novels* is that the canons did not distinguish between different forms of monastic life, while the *Novels* specifically legislate for a communal form of monasticism in a monastery.[190] Indeed, *Novel* 5, which will be discussed in more detail below, legislates on organised groups of monks living together in monasteries. However, it is clear that the *Novel* does not assume a communal form of monasticism as the only way of monastic life. A more inclusive understanding of monastic practices could, for example, already be read into the preamble. There, Justinian does not specify that his respect for monks is only for those in monasteries. Miller and Sarris translate ὁ ἐν ἀσκήσει μοναχικῇ βίος with 'the ascetic life of the monastery', but literally the Greek just reads 'the life in monastic ascesis' (or as a variant in another manuscript: 'the monastic life in ascesis').[191] Possibly, Justinian's respect expressed for monks in the preamble also included monks who did not live in monasteries, although the *Novel* regulates mostly for the communal monasteries. In chapter 3, monks who live on their own, 'anchorites' or 'hesychasts', are specifically recognised as 'exempted from the

186 From then onwards the *Codex Justinianus* was to be the authoritative version of imperial law and was to be used for all future reference: one was not allowed anymore to cite from earlier collections, such as the *Codex Theodosianus*. The *Codex* was part of a larger legal project, also consisting of a legal textbook for law students (*Institutes*), and a collection of writing of legal scholars (*Digest*). Together the *Codex, Institutes* and *Digest* are known as the *Corpus Iuris Civilis.* Any new legislation was not part of the *Codex* and therefore 'new' law (*Novellae Constitutiones*, or *Novels*). For an introduction to Byzantine law, see (especially on the *CIC*) Penna and Meijering (2022), pp. 22–83.

187 Ibid., p. 116.

188 Ibid., pp. 123–129. The *Basilica* (and its scholia) has been edited and published in 17 volumes between 1945-1988 by H.J. Scheltema, D. Holwerda and N. van der Wal, and is now available online: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/basilica-online. On the political context in which the *Basilica* emerged and the imperial ideological aims that it aimed to achieve ('directed at the recovery of 'Romanness' or *Romanitas* in the face of new threats to imperial legitimacy, represented in the West by the rising power of the Carolingians and the Papacy and in the Balkans by the First Bulgarian Empire'), see Chitwood (2017), pp. 16–44.

189 *Novel* 3 (*Basilica* III.2), *Novel* 5 (*Basilica* IV.1); *Novel* 133 (*Basilica* IV.1); *Novel* 123, which will also be mentioned below, is incorporated in various parts of the *Basilica* (*Basilica* III.1, *Basilica* IV.1, *Basilica* XXVIII.2), but a *Novel* issued by Leo VI, changes it (see the scholia of the *Basilica* III.1 and *Basilica* IV.1).

190 Booth (2014), p. 17.

191 A variance in Ms *A*: ὁ ἐν ἀσκήσει μοναχικὸς βίος. Justinian, *Novel* 5 preamble.

common life in pursuit of something higher'.[192] The rules on communal living therefore do not apply to them.

Additionally, *Novel* 123.36 mentions the possibility for monks and nuns to live separately in individual cells. Contrary to *Novel* 5, this *Novel* departs from the communal life and specifies that *within* monasteries certain individuals, as exceptions, may have individual cells with the permission of the hegumen.[193] The *Novels* therefore seem to imply that there are different types of monks to whom, it seems, different rules apply. First, there are monks living communally in *koinobia,* sharing the same space for sleeping, eating, etc. These are considered the norm and the *Novels* are targeted first and foremost to these types of monks. Second, there are monks and nuns in cenobitic monastic establishments living in individual cells. These are presented as exceptions. For example, monks living in the monastery for a long time or monks with special physical needs could live a more separate life with the permission of the hegumen.[194] As exceptions, the rules on communal living do not apply to them. Possibly this extended to regulations concerning monastic mobility as well. Third, there are monks who live separately and are not attached to a monastery. *Novel* 133.1 recognises such solitary anchorites, or monks living together with one or two disciples, as a monastic lifestyle that does not have to fulfil the requirements for communal monastic living. In all other instances, according to *Novel* 133, a group of monks should form a monastic community and follow the regulations specified for communal living. From these reflections follow that the legislation concerning monasteries, including those on monastic mobility, were not targeted at *all* monks. His legislation regulates the monastic life of communal monasteries, but does not regulate the individual anchorites.[195] This is an indication that if there ever was an ideal of monastic stability, it is not reflected in the *Novels* as an ideal prevalent in all forms of monasticism, since the various forms of monasticism were not expected to follow the same guidelines.

Monastic (im)mobility and Novel 5

In scholarly literature on monastic mobility, several *Novels* of Justinian have been cited in support of the idea that there was a rule of monastic stability in Byzantium. The most frequently cited is *Novel* 5, chapter 7.[196] *Novel* 5 (March 17, 535) deals with monastic life.

---

192 Justinian, *Novel* 5.3.

193 ἐν ἰδιάζουσι κελλίοις ἔνδον τοῦ μοναστηρίου τυγχάνουσι διαιτῶνται. Justinian, *Novel* 123.36.

194 'Exceptionally, some of them, either by reason of the length of their time under monastic discipline, or because of age or physical infirmity, may wish to live undisturbedly, and so spend their time in small individual cells situated within the monastery; but this must be with the knowledge and consent of the hegumen'. *Novel* 123.36. Translation in Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 823.

195 E.g., *Novel* 123.36 concerns 'all monasteries called *coenobia*': πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς μοναστηρίοις, ἅπερ κοινόβια καλοῦνται. *Novel* 133.1 indicates that solitary monks in monastic communities are to exempted from the stipulated norms.

196 Herman (1955), p. 117; Nicol (1985), pp. 194–195; Talbot (2019), p. 157; Booth (2014), p. 17. Herman also refers to *Novel* 3. 2 and *Novel* 123.42. Herman (1955), p. 117. Phil Booth and Mary-France Auzépy also refer to novel 133.1. Auzépy (2009), par. 4; Booth (2014), p. 17 and note 45.

In the preamble of the *Novel*, Justinian voices his respect for monks: the 'life in monastic ascesis' (ὁ ἐν ἀσκήσει μοναχικῇ βίος) was venerable and would bring the monk close to god; monks would be pure, rational, and above human concerns.[197] The preamble continues to indicate that such a transformation requires education in the divine scriptures and careful training. So, the indicated aim of the *Novel* is to instruct the monks what they need to do so that they become 'true contenders on the road to the divine'.[198] Such positive assessment of monks is also characteristic of other *Novels* concerning monastic life. *Novel* 133, for example, starts with recognising the venerability of monastic life. Monastic life is described as one 'that by its nature leads souls up to God', both benefitting monks and nuns themselves, but also benefiting others 'through its purity and its intercession with God'.[199] The *Novels* give the impression that Justinian respected monks and wanted to uphold their dignity and reputation.[200] By providing regulations, Justinian did attempt to steer the development of monasticism in a certain direction that, according to him, would best uphold the dignity of monks and safeguard their usefulness for the wellbeing of the Empire, while not disrupting established social and economic relations.[201] This included the promotion of a type of cenobitic monasticism with an emphasis on shared space and property and mutual control, although Justinian also acknowledged solitary monks. In addition, the legislation served to provide solutions for practical issues that monasteries dealt with. In *Novel* 5 this applied especially to property.[202]

The part of *Novel* 5 that is usually referred to as evidence for *stabilitas loci* is chapter 7:

> Εἰ δὲ ἀπολιπὼν τὸ μοναστήριον, καθ' ὅπερ τὴν ἄσκησιν εἶχεν, εἰς ἕτερον μεταβαίνοι μοναστήριον, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἡ αὐτοῦ περιουσία μενέτω τε καὶ ἐκδικείσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ προτέρου μοναστηρίου, ἔνθα ἀποταξάμενος ταύτην κατέλιπε. Προσῆκον δέ ἐστι, τοὺς εὐλαβεστάτους ἡγουμένους μὴ εἰσδέχεσθαι τὸν τοῦτο πράττοντα. Ἀλήτης γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος, καὶ μοναχικῆς καρτερίας οὐδ' ὅλως ἐγγύς, οὐδὲ σταθερᾶς καὶ μονίμου ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ περιφερομένης τε

197 Justinian, *Novel* 5 preamble. The edition used is Schöll and Kroll (1959). Translated by Miller and Sarris: 'The ascetic life of the monastery is so honourable, and knows so well how to bring close to God the person entering it, that it strips from him every human blemish, and makes him pure, outstanding for his rational character, generally intelligent in his actions, and above human concerns'. Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 89.

198 Justinian, *Novel* 5.7; translation by Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 89.

199 Justinian, *Novel* 133 preamble. Translation by Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 881.

200 Noted also in Hatlie (2007), pp. 28–29. Hatlie remarks that this positive view of the monastic life was not new and also reflected in other contemporary writings (e.g., by Pseudo-Dionysios), although other attitudes are also attested (e.g., in the sixth-century *On Political Science* 'who characterized monks as an unproductive segment of the body politic'.); although according to Hatlie 'the emperor himself seems to have been more at home with the views of Ps. Dionysios […]. He went much further than others by embracing the cause of monks quite explicitly and drafting legislation that aimed to give them a set of guidelines on how best to conduct their affairs'. Ibid., p. 29.

201 In the view of Miller and Sarris, *Novel* 5 'also attempts to prevent the spread of monasticism from disrupting social and economic relations by protecting the property rights of the heirs of aspirant monks and by limiting the ability of slaves to escape the control of their masters by claiming monastic vocation'. Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 89, footnote 1.

202 Possibly in part to enable the continuing existence of monasteries after its foundation by establishing and safeguarding potential resources of income.

> καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ζητούσης ἀπόδειξιν ἔχων. Ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο κωλύσουσιν οἱ θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ οἵ γε ἀρχιμανδρῖται καλούμενοι, τὴν μοναχικὴν σεμνότητα κατὰ τοὺς θείους κανόνας φυλάττοντες.[203]
>
> Should he [the monk] leave the monastery in which he has had his training, and transfer to another monastery, his property is, in this case as well, to remain behind and be claimed by the previous monastery in which he left it, on renouncing it. However, it is inappropriate for the most reverend hegumens to accept a person acting in this way, because a life like that is one of vagrancy, nowhere near that of monastic perseverance; it is the mark of an unstable, flighty soul, one that roams about pursuing different aims at different times. Accordingly, that is something else that the most God-beloved bishops, and those called 'archimandrites', shall prevent, thus upholding monastic rectitude, in accordance with the divine canons.[204]

Noteworthy is that monastic mobility is assumed ('Should he leave the monastery in which he has had his training'). The *Novel* thus implies and recognises that from time to time monks would leave their monasteries.[205] The law does not forbid monks leaving their monastery, but provides prescriptions in case they do. That is, his property should continue to belong to the previous monastery. The type of monastic mobility is that of a monk leaving his monastery and entering another; other forms of mobility are not discussed in this chapter and are therefore not regulated either.

In other parts of *Novel* 5 (chapters 4, 6 and 8), some other instances of mobility are included. These chapters concern leaving the monastery to choose a different livelihood, in other words, giving up the monastic vocation. Chapters 4 and 6 clearly frown upon such a career change, although they do not forbid it.[206] They concern what should happen with property when leaving the monastery. Chapter 8 concerns monks who become members of the clergy. This career step is not criticised, nor does the chapter legislate on property – the issue here is that the newly appointed member of clergy is to retain his monastic way of life, meaning that he should not marry and he should keep his ascetic lifestyle. In its various chapters, the *Novel* does not target all types of monastic mobility, but concerns

---

203 Justinian, *Novel* 5.7. In Schöll and Kroll (1959), p. 33.

204 Translation by Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 94.

205 I follow Stolte in the stance that the *Novels*, at least to a certain degree, react to actual historical circumstance. In other words, the body of legislation is not (merely) ideological in nature, but also has some relation to reality. Stolte (2009), pp. 82–84; 88.

206 *Novel* 5.4 warns the person who gives up monastic life that he should take mind of his accountability before God; In *Novel* 5.6 it is clearly frowned upon changing the monastic life for one in government service or 'other position in life'. It prescribes a (denigrative) position as a servant of the prefect of the province in case someone gives up monastic life for a government position, which 'is the reward he will have for his change; he who has despised divine service is to endure servitude in an earthly court'. In both cases the property of the ex-monk that he had when entering the monastery is to remain property of that monastery. Translated by Miller and Sarris (2018), pp. 93–94.

specific cases. The types of mobility legislated on (moving to a different monastery or leaving to give up the monastic life) are assumed to happen, and these types are not forbidden. Moreover, in these regulations the *Novel* does not necessarily regulate mobility itself, but concern other issues that result from the monk's mobility, mainly what to do with property and the consequences of a change of vocation or loyalty to the monastery. These observations suggest that no general norm of physical stability was propagated. Moreover, the fact that the *Novel* regulates for various circumstances of monastic mobility, supports the idea that the *Novels* relate to a reality of monastic movement.

So, the law does not prohibit mobility, nor does it specify an ideal of staying within the confines of the monastery explicitly, nor problematise monastic mobility in general. Nonetheless, it does suggest that leaving a monastery and entering another was considered undesirable. Clearly such transfers were happening and were expected to continue to happen (otherwise there would be no need to legislate on it). It seems that Justinian thought it more urgent to regulate what was going to happen with property than to prohibit such practices altogether. This seems contradictory to a prescription made in *Novel* 3.2: there the *Novel* implies that movement from one monastery to another is forbidden.[207] Although in *Novel* 5.7 monastic mobility from one monastery to another is not banned completely, the *Novel* does seem to reflect an unease with this type of mobility.

Novel 5 seems to reflect an unease on spiritual grounds, instead of reflecting concerns on proper hierarchy and authority (as was reflected in the canons of Chalcedon). A life of wandering, according to the *Novel*, is characteristic of an 'unstable soul' (οὐδὲ σταθερᾶς καὶ μονίμου ψυχῆς). Movement is thus linked to spiritual instability. The soul of the wanderer would be 'roaming about' and looking for different aims at different times. It seems that the problem with movement, as communicated by the *Novel*, has mostly to do with a perceived instability of intent or resolve, which threatens 'monastic perseverance' (μοναχικῆς καρτερίας). In part, this might reveal concerns about the possible change of loyalty of monks: when monks resolved to become monks in a particular monastery, they should stay connected to that monastery, rather than entering another. However, in this *Novel*, a suspicion against monastic mobility itself might also be observed. These reservations especially concern mobility that does not have a clear single purpose, when monks are looking for different things at different times (ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ζητούσης). Perhaps this suspicion is grounded in a fear that monks might engage in activities or thoughts considered inappropriate for monks, such as engaging too much in 'worldly affairs' (cf. Chalcedon), which would correspond to Justinian's concerns elsewhere in the *Novels*

207 Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων κωλύομεν ἐξ ἑτέρου μοναστηρίου πρὸς ἕτερον μεταβαίνειν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐλαβεστάτοις κληρικοῖς τοῦτο ἐφήσομεν; Justinian, *Novels* 3.2. Translated in Miller and Sarris (2018), p.78: 'Given that in the case of holy monasteries we forbid [κωλύομεν: hinder, prevent] migration from one monastery to another, we shall a fortiori not permit this to our most reverend clergy, either'.

to safeguard the purity and dignity of monks, which Justinian regarded as vital for the wellbeing of the state.[208]

According to the *Novel*, the responsibility for maintaining the dignity of monks lies not by the monks themselves. Justinian ends the *Novel* with the prescription that bishops and archimandrites should prevent monks from transferring to a different monastery, in order to upkeep monastic venerability (μοναχικὴν σεμνότητα).[209] The *Novel* changes perspective from mobile monks to monastic leaders when stating that accepting monks from another monastery is not appropriate (προσῆκον … μὴ) for hegumens. From the perspective of the monastic leader it is not appropriate to accept the monk. The *Novel* thus propagates the idea that the monastic leader is responsible for the appropriate behaviour of monks and for safeguarding monastic dignity (τὴν μοναχικὴν σεμνότητα), possibly referring both to the venerable status of monks in society as well as to the spiritual integrity of the monks themselves.

Another *Novel* is sometimes also cited in support of an ideal of *stabilitas loci*, namely *Novel* 133.1:[210]

> […] πρῶτον μὲν μὴ πολλὰς εἶναι τὰς εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον εἰσόδους, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἢ δύο τυχόν, ἐφεστάναι τε τῇ πυλίδι ἄνδρας γεγηρακότας καὶ σώφρονας καὶ μεμαρτυρημένους ἐξ ἁπάντων. Οἵπερ οὔτε τοῖς εὐλαβεστάτοις μοναχοῖς συγχωρήσουσι χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ ἡγουμένου γνώμης ἐκφοιτᾶν ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου, ἀλλ' εἴσω τούτους καθέξουσι τὰ πρὸς θεὸν ζηλοῦντας καὶ μὴ διασπῶντας ἑαυτούς, μήτε τὰς πράξεις μήτε τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις, οὔτε ἑτέρους τινὰς γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ μοναστήριον νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐάσουσιν, οἵπερ οὐκ ὀρθὴν μένειν τὴν τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων μοναχῶν παρασκευάσουσι δόξαν. Ἔστω δὲ ἀκριβεῖ θριγκίῳ περιπεφραγμένον τὸ μοναστήριον, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἔξοδον ἀλλαχόθεν πλὴν ἢ διὰ τῶν πυλίδων εἶναι.[211]
>
> Firstly, there should not be several entrances to the monastery, but only one or perhaps two, with men in charge of the wicket-gate who are advanced in age, of good moral character and well-attested by all, who will not permit the most reverend monks to go outside the monastery without the consent of the hegumen, but will keep them enclosed and zealous for their religion, not distracting themselves in either their actions or their pursuits; and, night and day, they will prevent the presence of others in the monastery who will cause the most reverend monks' reputation not to remain upstanding. The monastery is to

208 Justinian, *Novel* 133 preamble. Also observed by Hatlie (2007), p. 28.
209 Which the *Novel* indicates complies with canon law (κατὰ τοὺς θείους κανόνας) *Novel* 3.2; This presumbably refers to the canon discussed above.
210 Auzépy (2009), par. 4; Booth (2014), p. 17 and note 45.
211 Justinian, *Novel* 133.1; in Schöll and Kroll (1959), p. 668.

> have a continuous wall built all round it, so that there is no way out other than by the wicket-gates.[212]

Similar to the Chalcedonian canon discussed above, this *Novel* emphasises that monks should be submitted to an authority, in this case to the monastic leader. More clearly than *Novel* 5, *Novel* 133 prescribes remaining physically within the monastic establishment. The law indicates that monasteries should just have one or two entrances, which have to be guarded both for keeping monks in and for keeping undesirable people out. The *Novel* indicates that monks should ask permission to go out of the monastery – an element also encountered in the canon. Whereas the council of Chalcedon seemed to aim primarily at the establishment of episcopal control over monks, for the *Novel* submission is presented not so much as the goal itself but a means to an end – maintaining the dignity and spiritual integrity of the monks. Similar to some prescriptions in the *Rules* of Basil, leaving the monastery is presented as potentially distracting to their religious vocation ('keep them enclosed and zealous for their religion, not distracting themselves [...]'). The law is specifically targeted at cenobitic monastic communities, and does not consider other forms of monastic life.

Several points may be concluded from the relevant *Novels* of Justinian with regard to monastic mobility and a supposed regulation of *stabilitas loci*. Firstly, monastic mobility is assumed to happen, as it is implied in the *Novels*. Secondly, the *Novels* prescribe some measures regulating monastic mobility, but these only regulate cenobitic monastic communities. Other modes of monastic life are not targeted. In *Novel* 5, only a certain type of monastic mobility is legislated for, that is a transfer to another monastery (or leaving the monastic vocation altogether). *Novel* 133 applies to monastic mobility more generally: it prescribes that (cenobitc) monks should gain permission from their monastic leader if they physically want to leave the monastery. Unlike the canon, the *Novel* presents mobility without a clear or single purpose as potentially problematic on spiritual grounds, and leaving the monastery as a distraction from veneration to God. So more than in the discussed texts of the previous centuries, the *Novels* provide more persuasive evidence for an ideal of stability as presented in modern scholarly literature. However, we should nuance the understanding of such an ideal, to recognise that the *Novels* do not prohibit monastic mobility altogether and they do not prescribe a general rule for all types of monastic life, nor for all types of mobility.

1.4 Conclusion

In modern scholarly literature, Byzantine monastic travel is habitually framed in relation to *stabilitas loci*. This term, mostly associated with Benedictine monasticism, has been

212 Translated by Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 882-883.

understood as a monastic ideal and as a rule stipulating that monks should not leave their monastery once they entered it. There is no consensus on how often monks actually travelled. However, more often than not it is assumed that – in light of *stabilitas loci* – they should not have.

This chapter has argued that it is unhelpful to use the term and concept of *stabilitas loci* as a reference point for Eastern Roman monastic mobility. Two main arguments have been introduced. The first has to do with the term and the context for which it was originally used. *Stabilitas loci* is a Latin term that is not found in Byzantine sources, nor is there a medieval Greek equivalent. It is an etic term, originally based on a modern scholarly interpretation of Benedictine monasticism. Without the model of Western monasticism in mind, it likely would never have been used as a concept applied to an Eastern Roman context. As this chapter has suggested, there are more disadvantages than advantages in imposing a Western concept and term on Eastern Roman monasticism, because of the danger of not fully appreciating phenomena and texts on their own terms in their own context.

The second argument concerns the Eastern Roman sources and contexts themselves. The late-antique sources discussed illustrate that various authorities were indeed thinking about monastic mobility and found some aspects of it problematic under certain circumstances. However, these texts do not forbid monastic mobility as strongly and unambiguously as has been put forward in the current scholarly discourse. Moreover, these sources reflect different concerns and do not paint a unified picture. It is therefore unhelpful, in my view, to use a single term and concept, such as *stabilitas loci*, as a shorthand to refer to these concerns. The current scholarly discourse, in using such terms as *stabilitas loci* or an ideal of monastic stability, implies that such concept was an ideal throughout the temporal and geographic span of the Eastern Roman Empire, while in fact the concerns with monastic mobility were highly dependent on the particular contexts of these sources.

Case studies

This chapter has elaborated on just a few selected sources. There are certainly similarities between the texts, but they also voice different ideas, as products of their different authors and contexts. The *Rules* of Basil, the canons of the council of Chalcedon and the *Novels* of Justinian illustrate that different contexts lead to different outcomes. This context-dependency demonstrates that it is problematic to speak about a pan-Byzantine equivalent to *stabilitas loci* that could serve as a reference point for all Eastern Roman monastic travel throughout space and time.

Basil's Long Rules

As argued above, question 36 of Basil's *Long Rules* is an example of advice concerned with the preservation of a pious community. In the passage, Basil gives advice on whether a brother can leave the community. In principle, brothers cannot just leave the community,

Basil writes, but there are certain circumstances in which it is permissible. In both cases – staying or leaving – the concern is the spiritual integrity of every member of the community. The only type of monastic mobility that the advice evidently affects is mobility of a monk who moves away from the community and who breaks ties with that community. It does not necessarily seem to imply that brothers cannot physically travel, as long as they are still part of the community (and come back again).

Several other questions in Basil's *Rules* address mobility. Questions 38, 39, 44 and 45, all imply that members of an ascetic community might make (occasional) journeys. Although he does not forbid it, in questions 38, 39 and 44 Basil voices some reservations about travelling. These questions reveal that Basil saw several potential dangers of travel: disruption of lifestyle, interaction with society and lack of mutual control. Ensuring mutual control, by travelling in groups, and only sending the spiritually advanced brother on errands could counter these dangers. This chapter has argued that the ideals reflected in these passages do not so much concern a stability of place, but the stability of an ascetic lifestyle in a community. Nonetheless, an ideal of a degree of physical segregation from the rest of society is also reflected in the *Rules*.

Council of Chalcedon

Like Basil's advice, canon 4 of the Council of Chalcedon was not mainly concerned with limiting monastic mobility. Rather, the canon reflects top down attempts to limit the influence of monks in church and state affairs. The strategy to achieve this was twofold. Firstly, the canon prescribed to delineate monastic life to prayer and fasting and to explicitly exclude monks from ecclesiastical and political affairs. Secondly, the canon placed monks under episcopal control. By the fifth century, monasticism was an established (albeit diverse) phenomenon and also the church had developed an organisational hierarchical structure. Monasticism was not yet integrated in this hierarchical structure, so that monks had a large degree of autonomy on how to organise monastic life. Canon 4 of the council of Chalcedon is one of the first attempts by the Emperor and the bishops to get a closer grip on monks, by making them subordinate to bishops and by limiting the range of activities they could do without the explicit approval of the bishop.

This is not to say that monastic mobility was not a concern at all for the bishops, although it was a means to an end, and not a priority in itself. For Emperor Marcian, who proposed the canon, mobility was not even an issue at all. Considering that the bishops took over the proposal by Marcian almost word for word, as is recorded in the *Acts*, but added the phrases on mobility, they apparently considered monastic mobility important enough to make these alterations. As discussed in this chapter, none of these added phrases imply an issue with monastic mobility in general, but with unregulated mobility and the possibility of monks interfering in church and secular affairs. Staying at a certain place within the

physical monastery, in itself, is not an ideal reflected in the canon. Rather, we find imperial and episcopal ideals of monastic segregation and submission.

Justinian's Novels

The last case study discussed in this chapter were the *Novels* of Justinian. The most important *Novels* dealing with monastic mobility are *Novel* 5 and *Novel* 133.[213] Together they provide more extensive rules on monastic travel than either Basil's *Rules* or the Chalcedonian canon. *Novel* 5 focusses on a few specific scenarios of monks leaving monasteries and the consequences these have for property and the position of the monk. *Novel* 133, on the other hand, provides regulations that would affect the freedom for monks in communal monasteries to travel in general.

More clearly than in the *Rules* of Basil and the canon of Chalcedon, an ideal for monks to mostly stay in their monasteries might be discerned in the *Novels*. Monastic travel is discouraged, especially transferring from one monastic community to another. Similar to the canon and the *Rules* of Basil, the *Novels* harbour a negative judgement on some types of mobility. Monks transferring from one monastery to another is considered undesirable, and abbots and bishops are to prevent the entrance of monks who came from another monastery. Vagrancy, here in the context of moving from one monastery to another, is even presented as the result of an unstable soul and a threat to the dignity of monks. The potential danger of leaving the monastery, as indicated by the *Novel*, is the possibility of distraction and interruption of the monastic lifestyle. The connection of spiritual harm to monastic mobility is similar to Basil's concerns, but while in Basil's *Rules* spiritual harm may be the result of mobility (but not necessarily), in Justinian's *Novel* it seems that wandering *reflects* a spiritual deficit (i.e. an unstable flighty soul). It seems that Justinian's laws are mainly concerned with the reputation and dignity of the whole monastic body, which bishops and abbots are to guarantee, rather than necessarily protecting an individual monk from potential spiritual harm (as is reflected in some of Basil's questions and answers). The *Novels* also include more precise measures to limit and control monastic mobility.

Similar to the previous case studies, it is important to note that none of the *Novels* prohibit monastic mobility altogether. They either focus on specific types of mobility or on the necessary permission. In addition, the chapter has pointed out some nuances with regard to the *Novels'* stance to monastic mobility.[214]

To conclude, none of the three cases discussed provides a clear and absolute ban on monastic travel, but all three do reflect concerns regarding travel. Although there are similarities to be found, the specific concerns are different in each of the texts. They reflect

213 In addition *Novel* 123.42 repeats some of the regulations of *Novel* 5.

214 E.g., recognising different rules for different types of monks, assuming mobility to happen, and allowing mobility with permission.

the different aims and preoccupations of their authors and the different historical contexts. *Stabilitas loci* does not sufficiently do justice to these past contexts.

From this discussion of late-antique texts follows that diverse attitudes to mobility existed, dictated by their own contexts. As for the aim of this chapter, it was sufficient to review just a few late-antique texts to criticise the current scholarly discourse. There is no pan-Byzantine ideal that we can use uncritically as a reference point for framing monastic mobility.

A question for further research would be what attitudes to mobility and immobility are found in the middle-Byzantine period. In the rest of the thesis, I will make a start with such. As will be suggested, also in these centuries attitudes were diverse. Monastic mobility may be represented as negative, neutral or positive. The thesis will demonstrate that even within the same genre, and even within one text, there are various discourses on mobility and immobility. It suggests therefore that we should focus on a plurality of attitudes when trying to understand issues of mobility in Byzantium, rather than taking a single ideal as a reference point for framing monastic mobility.

2

Mobility, immobility and sainthood: a semantic and discourse analysis of *hesychia* in the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis, Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger

2.1 Introduction

> Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις τόποις μεταβαίνοντες οἱ θεοφιλεῖς οὗτοι πατέρες, ἥκιστα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤμειβον, ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ καταμόνας ἀσκούμενοι καὶ κοσμικοῖς συνδιάγοντες καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἀμείβοντες· τοῖς γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν ζῶσι πᾶς τόπος ἀσφαλής· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τόπῳ ἡ ἀρετὴ περιγράφεται.
>
> And often these god-loving fathers while moving to other places, they changed not in the least with regard to their *hesychia,* but they remained the same, both while exercising in solitude and while passing time together with worldly people, and while changing places: since for the ones living according to God every place is safe, for virtue is not circumscribed in a certain place.[215]
>
> - *Life of Elias the Younger* 30

In the previous chapter, the analysis of the term *stabilitas loci* has illustrated how using an etic term that was not used in the contemporary sources to describe aspects of Byzantine monasticism may lead to wrong conclusions.[216] Although etic terminology and approaches are often necessary and helpful to understand past societies, at times, the downsides outweighed the benefits. In contrast, emic terms and approaches, such as departing from the language used in ancient sources themselves, offer valid alternatives. As language is an important factor in both shaping and restricting thought, looking at the terminology that is or is not used in historical sources is particularly relevant for uncovering past perceptions. Accordingly, this chapter will adopt an approach centred on emic terminology. It will look at a specific term present in Byzantine monastic texts related to mobility: *hesychia.*

From the outset it should be clear that this study does not aim to find a single term that can be used as a standard reference point when thinking about Eastern Roman ideas of monastic mobility and immobility. As seen via the analysis of the term *stabilitas loci,* concerns about monastic mobility are context-dependent and cannot be captured by one term (and certainly not by *stabilitas loci*). This was the case in late antiquity and it is my hypothesis that this holds true for the middle-Byzantine period. Rather, this chapter engages with the following question: what can we learn about attitudes towards monastic mobility and immobility in the middle-Byzantine period by studying how an emic term is related to (im)mobility in its narrative contexts? The term selected for this analysis, *hesychia,* is treated as a potential way into uncovering middle-Byzantine views on monastic mobility, but it is not seen as an umbrella term describing these attitudes. The analysis focusses

215 I am grateful for Stratis Papaioannou for reading together passages of the *Life of Elias the Younger* during the online Dumbarton Oaks 2020 Medieval Greek Summer School. This experience certainly improved my understanding of the text.

216 On the distinction between emic/etic, see footnote 124.

on three hagiographical texts, representing narratives of widely travelling monks in the middle-Byzantine period. These are the *Lives* of the monastic saints Gregory of Decapolis (797-841/2; *Life* 842-855), Euthymius the Younger (823/4 – 898; *Life* 899 or early tenth century) and Elias the Younger (823-903; *Life* early tenth century).[217]

The selection of the specific emic term to be analysed in this chapter has targeted a Greek term that occurs in hagiography and that may facilitate unravelling ideas on mobility and immobility in a middle-Byzantine monastic context. In order to find meaningful results, terms functioning merely as random descriptive terms have not been considered. In contrast, the selection has focussed on terms that are essential discursive building blocks in narratives on mobility, that are important and meaningful in telling the story and that occur relatively frequently in mobility stories (as to have a big enough subset for analysis). In addition, the selected term has an ideologically charged and specific meaning in Byzantine monasticism, as this increases the chance of finding out attitudes in a specific monastic context. Moreover, this allows the results of this investigation to be a relevant starting point for further studies into other monastic texts and monastic culture, thereby not limiting the relevance of this study to the specific texts under discussion.

One might assume that the best starting would be a Greek term that signifies mobility. However, there are no (ancient and medieval) Greek terms that function as an umbrella-term for travel, migration, motion, etc., parallel to the English 'mobility'. A candidate-term that comes somewhat close is κίνησις, motion or movement. However, this term appears infrequently in hagiography: it appears once or twice in middle-Byzantine hagiographical texts, with a few exceptions in which it occurs three or four times.[218] The related lemma κίνημα is hardly found either in the middle-Byzantine hagiographies.[219] Of course, there are other terms that are used to describe travel. Many verbs are used to describe episodes of travel, such as πορεύω, ἔρχομαι, ὁδεύω, βαίνω, πλέω, ἀφικνέομαι, and so on. However, there is no one verb that stands out, and all of these are merely descriptive.

Then there are a few candidates that signify a journey. The most promising is ὁδός.[220] The term ὁδός occurs frequently in the corpus and might thus be a potential candidate. In the selected case studies it appears 39 times (17 in the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis, 16 in the *Life* of Elias the Younger, and 6 in the *Life* of Euthymius the Younger). However, a difficulty with ὁδός is that it can mean various things that are quite distinct from each other (the main non-metaphorical meanings are 'road' on the one hand and 'journey/voyage' on the other).

---

217 For a more elaborate discussion of the contexts surrounding the creation of these *Lives,* see chapter 3, sections 3.3.1, 3.4.1 and 3.5.1.

218 This is apparent from a keyword search for κίνησις and cognates in the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database (consisting of Byzantine hagiographies of saints from the eight to the tenth centuries). Only in the *Lives* of Mary the Younger and Nikon ho Metanoeite three instances were found; four were found in the *Life* of Nicetas Patricius (I searched for 'kines' to find all the forms of κίνησις and its cognates transcribed in the database). The search resulted in 49 hits in total, in a corpus of 119 saints' *Lives*.

219 Found only 9 times in the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database.

220 Others are πορεία and ὁδοιπορία.

This polysemy could complicate making conclusions on the relation between ὁδός and mobility and immobility in the narrative. Moreover, in these non-metaphorical meanings ὁδός functions as a descriptive word and does not have an ideological importance in monasticism. In the Christian tradition ὁδός *is* ideologically charged in its metaphorical usages. One of the most well-known examples is a saying accredited to Jesus in John 14:6, 'I am the way and the truth and the life': Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή.[221] Referring to Christ as ἡ ὁδός finds resonance throughout Byzantine culture. For example, one of the most popular iconographic types of the Virgin Mary holding Christ in visual representations is known as the ὁδηγήτρια: 'she who shows the way', the 'way' (ἡ ὁδός) being Christ. The metaphorical usages of ὁδός thus stand in a long Christian tradition, but is not specific to a monastic context. Moreover, the metaphorical usage of ὁδός does not stand on its own, but is only one expression among many travel-related metaphors that are reflective of broader patterns in metaphorical thinking. The metaphorical usage of ὁδός should therefore be studied in relation to these other metaphorical expressions. The polysemy of ὁδός, the partial insignificance of the term in a monastic context (either because of its descriptive nature, or because it is not specific to a monastic context), and the need to study ὁδός in relation to a wide range of other metaphorical expressions, make the term less suitable for a term-centred analysis to uncover monastic perceptions of mobility and immobility. However, studying what travel metaphors, including those using ὁδός can and cannot reveal about views on mobility will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Lacking a suitable term for mobility, one might turn to other terms that appear frequently in mobility episodes and fulfil the criteria outlined above. From the analysis in the previous chapter, we learned that by focussing on immobility we can also learn about ideas of mobility. We can therefore also search for terms that mean the opposite of mobility or motion. Candidates would be ἀκινησία (absence of motion), στάσις (standing still, rest) and ἡσυχία (rest). The first does not appear in the three *Lives* to be discussed at all, the second only infrequently (5 instances). The term ἡσυχία (from here on transliterated as *hesychia*), however, does occur relatively frequently (25 instances) and meets all the requirements.[222] This term is therefore chosen as the focus of this chapter. It should be noted that, although *hesychia* seems the most promising emic term for this study, studying other terms, such as those mentioned above or yet others that occur in mobility stories, may also have yielded meaningful results.[223]

---

221 John 14:6 (*NIV*), edition of the Greek New Testament: Aland et al. (1968).

222 See appendix 2 for the occurance of *hesychia* and its cognates in the three saints' *Lives*.

223 Another potentially relevant term to study is ξενιτεία (living or travelling abroad). Like *hesychia* scholarly literature attributes spiritual significance to this term in the context of Byzantine monasticism. This term, however, appears hardly in the texts be studied (no occurrences in the *Life* of Gregory, nor in that of Euthymius, twice in the *Life* of Elias). Also a search in the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database* (search term: 'xenitei') yields only 7 results, compared to 191 results for the search term 'hesychi'. It may be speculated that the ideological meaning attributed to *xeniteia* is more part of a modern scholarly discourse, than reflected in the usage of the term itself in Byzantine hagiographical texts (which of course does not exclude the possibility for a significant usage of the term in other genres of middle-Byzantine literature). On *xeniteia,* see e.g., Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), pp. 148–149; McGuckin (2000).

In the three texts that this thesis focusses on, 18 out of 25 occurrences of *hesychia* or its cognates appear in an episode that involves mobility.[224] In the majority (12) of these *hesychia* is represented as a motivation for monks to travel.[225] Moreover, *hesychia* has been recognised as a spiritually charged term in the context of early monastic literature and in a spiritual and political movement in the late-Byzantine period: *hesychasm.*[226] The introductory quote already illustrates that *hesychia*, mobility and immobility could be interrelated in the thought world of hagiographers. There is little research on the significance and meaning of *hesychia* in the middle-Byzantine period.[227] Yet, considering the work done on the earlier and later periods, it seems plausible that also in the middle period *hesychia* was spiritually significant. The discussion of the three hagiographical texts in this chapter will support this assumption, which could be a basis for further research to the term in a broader range of middle-Byzantine sources.

In short, this chapter will investigate whether we can come closer to Byzantine perceptions of monastic mobility and immobility in the middle-Byzantine period by studying how the term *hesychia* is connected to mobility and immobility in the three hagiographical texts that serve as the central case studies in this thesis. The chapter consists of two parts. The first part (section 2.2) will be devoted to a semantic analysis of the term. In order to find out how *hesychia* was exactly linked to immobility and mobility in these narratives, first there is the need to establish what *hesychia* meant for ninth- and tenth-century hagiographers and audiences. In this first part, the various layers of the semantic network of the term will be examined, thereby contributing to a better understanding of the semantic history of the term.[228] As touched upon earlier, various studies have already discussed the meaning(s) and significance of *hesychia* in late-antique monasticism and in the late-Byzantine period, but such historical semantic research for the middle-Byzantine period is lacking. This chapter may serve as a starting point to fill this gap. The second part (sections 2.3 and 2.4)

224 See appendix 2.

225 See appendix 2.

226 For *hesychia* in early monastic literature see e.g., Hausherr (1966a); Sinkewicz (2003); Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), pp. 158–160; Vos (2016); Müller (2017). For *hesychasm,* see e.g., Hausherr (1966b); Papadakis (1991); Strezova (2014).

227 Irénéé Hausherr briefly referred to the usage of *hesychia* in Athanasios' typikon for the Great Lavra monastery at Athos (written between 973-975) – according to Hausherr Athanasios uses it as a synonym for solitude – which would stand in a patristic tradition of e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa who used *hesychia* interchangeably with *eremia* (ἐρημία: desert, wilderness, solitude) to refer to a withdrawal from society. Hausherr (1966a), p. 169. In his studies on *hesychia* and hesychasm Hausherr mainly focussed on late-Byzantine authors and on what he saw as the origins of the hesychast prayer method, namely the writings of late-antique church fathers and early monastic literature, see Hausherr (1966b).

228 Drawing on conclusions of linguistic studies as summarised in the introduction of Peels (2015). Following Peels, a maximalist view of semantics of a lexeme is taken. This is the view that meaning is understood by language users (and hence can also be studied by historians to access meaning for medieval language users) by encountering the term in the various contexts in which it is used (i.e. the distribution of the term). That is, lexemes do not have one dictionary-style core meaning, but have multiple meanings defined by its usage; these meanings may be hierarchically organised in the understanding of a language user, so that certain meanings are more central and others more peripheral to the understanding of the lexeme: this may be called a semantic network. Lexemes may have partially overlapping meanings, but the organisation of the semantic networks will be different (e.g., a peripheral meaning of lexeme A may be central for lexeme B). As language use is competitive, there are no exact synonyms.

offers a critical-discourse analysis and explores the various discourses in which the term is used in the analysed texts. The discourse analysis reveals the significance of *hesychia* in the narratives and lays bare various monastic discourses that pertain to themes such as mobility and sainthood. Similarities but also differences in the understanding of *hesychia* and its relation to mobility come to the fore in the three *Lives*, showing that there are various discourses within one genre. In all three saints' *Lives*, monastic mobility is represented as positive or neutral, although an example from Elias the Younger illustrates that the contemporary audience may have had negative associations with monastic mobility.

2.2 *Hesychia*: a semantic analysis

The core meaning of *hesychia* is usually translated as 'rest' or 'quiet'.[229] Even in the English language, 'rest' can mean different things: for example, a physical state of the body or a period of time (a break) in between busy moments. So too in ancient and medieval Greek. Scholars have recognised that the term changed meaning over time. Therefore, a brief exposition on the meaning of *hesychia* in late antiquity and the middle-Byzantine period will follow. This exposition will inform the discourse analysis that follows in section 2.3 and 2.4.

2.2.1 Roots: *hesychia* in late-antique monastic literature

Language develops over time, so one cannot assume that the same words have the same meanings in different periods and contexts. It is clear that *hesychia* is no exception. While there is hardly any research on the meaning and significance of *hesychia* in the middle-Byzantine period, there are various studies elaborating on its significance in late-antique monastic literature, and in a late-Byzantine political and spiritual movement. These studies show that the meaning of *hesychia* has been subject to change. In the late-Byzantine movement of *hesychasm* the term acquired a specific meaning that was related to, but does not capture completely, the meanings of the term in a late-antique context.[230] Also in the earlier history *hesychia* might have changed meaning. It has been suggested that the meaning of *hesychia* in early monastic literature changed in the fifth century.[231]

---

229 See the entry in the *Liddell, Scott, Jones Greek-English Lexicon* (=*LSJ*).

230 *Hesychasm* is used to refer to two things: a specific method of prayer and contemplation centred on breathing and of continuous prayer of the Jesus prayer ('Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me') with the aim of avoiding any distraction and complete devotion to God, eventually hoping for communion with God – a method developed by the thirteenth-century Athonite monk Nicephorus the Hesychast. The prayer itself and the roots of this practice go back to late antiquity, see e.g., Sinkewicz (1987). Secondly, *hesychasm* refers to a spiritual, political and social movement in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Papadakis (1991); Hausherr (1966b).

231 Müller argued that in monastic literature before the fifth century, *hesychia* merely referred to exterior circumstances of the dwelling place of monks, and should just be translated with 'rest'. According to Müller, *hesychia* did not yet have connotations of contemplation or inner rest; this would only change in the second half of the fifth century, when she sees that *hesychia* also started to signify a spiritual concept of contemplative rest. There is no consensus on this point yet. Other scholars, do see exactly such meanings already reflected in writings from the fourth century, particularly in the writings of Evagrius of Ponticus (345-399) and Basil of Caesarea (330-379), e.g., Müller (2017), p. 153; Sinkewicz (2003), p. 1; Koder (2017), p. 219.

The following brief exposition of the scholarly insights into the meanings of *hesychia* in late-antique monastic literature will allow to establish whether the middle-Byzantine understanding of the term in monastic literature is specific to that period, or whether the middle-Byzantine understandings largely remained the same as those in late antiquity. At the end of this chapter it will become apparent that the usages of *hesychia* in the middle-Byzantine period mostly stand in the tradition of late-antique monastic literature.

Two literary corpora have been discussed most frequently in the scholarly literature on *hesychia* in late-antique monastic literature.[232] These are the collections of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (collected sayings of desert fathers and mothers, compiled in the fifth and sixth centuries, but based on material of the fourth and fifth centuries) and writings by Evagrius Ponticus (330-399). Whereas there is some disagreement among scholars on the correct interpretation for Evagrius' usage of *hesychia*,[233] scholars generally point out the same aspects of the meanings of *hesychia* in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Similar observations are also made based on works by Evagrius and other (earlier) authors.[234] To illustrate the connotations of *hesychia* in late antiquity let us therefore turn to a saying in the *Apophthegmata*, while recognising that many of the points made have also been seen reflected in other late-antique texts and recognising that there also was diversity in the usages of *hesychia* between and within various texts and authors. The following saying is attributed to Anthony in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*:

> Εἶπε πάλιν· Ὥσπερ οἱ ἰχθύες ἐγχρονίζοντες τῇ ξηρᾷ τελευτῶσιν, οὕτως καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ, βραδύνοντες ἔξω τοῦ κελλίου, ἢ μετὰ κοσμικῶν διατρίβοντες, πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἡσυχίας τόνον ἐκλύονται. Δεῖ οὖν, ὥσπερ τὸν ἰχθὺν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὕτως καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἐπείγεσθαι, μήποτε βραδύνοντες ἔξω ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς ἔνδον φυλακῆς.[235]
>
> Abba Antony said: 'Just as fish die if they stay too long out of water, so the monks who loiter outside their cells or pass their time with men of the world lose the intensity of *hesychia*.[236] So like a fish going towards the sea, we must hurry to reach our cell, for fear that if we delay outside we will lose our interior watchfulness'.[237]

232 See e.g., Hausherr (1966a); Sinkewicz (2003); Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), pp. 158–160; Vos (2016); Müller (2017).

233 See footnotes 234 and 241 below.

234 Although Barbara Müller disagrees with these interpretations for some texts, see Müller (2017).

235 *PG* 65, p. 77. A very similar saying is also found in the *Life of Anthony the Great* (85.3-4) by Athanasius (295 – 373).

236 There is some discussion whether *hesychia* in τὸν τῆς ἡσυχίας τόνον should be understood as an object genitive (whereby the emphasis is on τόνος - 'tension, straining', translated here as 'intensity') or a subject genitive (whereby the stress is on *hesychia*, and τόνος the manner in which *hesychia* is practiced) ; although it can make a difference in the interpretation of *hesychia* in this passage (see Müller (2017), p. 158.), it does not affect the general observations that are highlighted following this citation. Moreover the observations singled out are also based on other late-antique texts. This passage merely serves as an illustration and starting point for discussing the general conclusions of recent scholarship on the meaning(s) of *hesychia* in late-antique monastic literature.

237 Based on the translation by Benedicta Ward (Ward translated *hesychia* with 'inner peace', but I have left it here untranslated); Ward (1984), p. 3.

This saying illustrates some of the main aspects of the usage of *hesychia* in late-antique monastic literature. The first aspect of *hesychia* in late-antique monastic literature that scholars have observed and which is discernible from this saying is the connection that is made between *hesychia* and the monastic cell (τὸ κελλίον).[238] This is often considered to be the appropriate place for reaching *hesychia.*[239] Other texts, such as a letter by Basil of Caesarea (330-379) or the *Religious History* by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c. 393- c. 466), show that *hesychia* is not exclusively associated with monastic cells, but also with other types of places, such as a mountains (in Pontos for Basil, and Mount Sinai for Symeon the Stylite).[240]

The connection to space is related to one of the scholarly insights on the usage of *hesychia* by late-antique authors*,* namely that it is a state referring to, or dependent on, exterior circumstances (such as space).[241] Another often-mentioned circumstance that *hesychia* is associated with is solitude. In some cases, scholars have observed, *hesychia* may even be used interchangeably with solitude.[242] The association with solitude is reflected in the passage cited above as well: 'loitering outside a cell' and the resulting interaction with people obstructs attaining *hesychia.* However, in this passage, and also in other late-antique texts, it is not complete solitude that is referred to, but withdrawal from 'worldly' people.[243] Space and (relative) solitude are thus circumstances exterior to the monk himself, that –

238 E.g., observed by Gemeinhardt on this passage. Gemeinhardt (2015), p. 69.

239 E.g., also in the writings of Evagrius Ponticus, e.g., Evagrius' *Foundations* 8, see Sinkewicz (2003); Bitton-Ashkelony (2005).

240 On his ascetical retreat on a mountain in Pontus, Basil wrote to his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, in his *Letter* 14: Ὃ δὲ μέγιστον εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν τοῦ χωρίου, ὅτι πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπάρχον καρπῶν φορὰν ἐπιτήδειον δὶ εὐκαιρίαν τῆς θέσεως, ἥδιστον ἐμοὶ πάντων καρπῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν τρέφει, οὐ μόνον καθότι τῶν ἀστικῶν θορύβων ἀπήλλακται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁδίτην τινὰ παραπέμπει πλὴν τῶν κατὰ θήραν ἐπιμιγνυμένων ἡμῖν. ('The highest praise, however, which I can give to the place is that, although it is well adapted by its admirable situation to producing fruits of every kind, for me the most pleasing fruit it nourishes is tranquillity, not only because it is far removed from the disturbances of the city, but also because it attracts not even a wayfarer, except the guests who join me in hunting'.) Basil, *Letters* 14. Translated in Deferrari (1929), p. 111. Also in Theodoret's narration of the life of Symeon the Stylite, a desire for *hesychia* drives the saint to Mount Sinai ('Ἀλλὰ πάλιν τῆς ἡσυχίας ἐρῶν τὸ Σίναιον ὄρος καταλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν). Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 6.7 in Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen (1977). In the same work narrating the life of James Nisibis, Theodoret connects *hesychia* both with mountains and caves (τὸν ἐρημικὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον ἠσπάσατο βίον καί, τὰς τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων ὀρῶν καταλαβὼν κορυφάς, ἐν ἐκείναις διῆγεν, ἐν ἔαρι μὲν καὶ θέρει καὶ μετοπώρῳ ταῖς λόχμαις χρώμενος καὶ ὄροφον ἔχων τὸν οὐρανόν· τὸν δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος καιρὸν ἄντρον αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχετο, σκέπην βραχεῖαν παρέχον; [James of Nisibis] 'embraced the solitary and quiet life, and occupying the peaks of the highest mountains lived on them, making use of the thickets in spring, summer, and autumn, and having the sky as his roof; in the wintertime a cave received him, providing sparse shelter'). Theodoret, *Religious History* 1.2; translation by König (2022), p. 291.

241 This is observed by for example by Vos with regard to the *Apophthegmata Patrium*, including a discussion on the passage cited above. Sinkewicz, with regard to the writings of Evagrius, observed that: 'As Evagrius uses the term, *hesychia* refers to both the exterior and interior stillness that the monk must continually cultivate, for it can so easily be disrupted or lost. Both in his choice of physical space and in his regulation of his own interior space, the monk seeks for the state of perfect tranquillity that will allow him to devote himself single-mindedly to the practice of contemplation'. Barbara Müller argued that, at least before the fifth century, *hesychia* in general primarily referred to the 'äusseren Wohnortes'. Koder observed that for Basil his mountain retreat guaranteed his 'äussere und innere Ruhe (*hesychia*)'. Bitton-Ashkelony noted that monks might travel to particular places in order to attain *hesychia,* such as Julian Saba in Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Religious History.* Vos (2016), p. 517; Sinkewicz (2003), p. 1; Müller (2017), p. 153; Koder (2017), p. 219; Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), p. 159.

242 E.g., Hausherr (1966a), pp. 168–169.

243 Vos, for example, stresses the communal context of monks in the *Apophthegmata,* even in cases where a monk stresses solitude in a saying (e.g., the sayings themselves presuppose social interaction between a monk and a disciple, to whom the saying is communicated). Vos (2016), p. 519.

depending on the specific text and interpretation – are synonymous with or necessary conditions for *hesychia.* In addition to external circumstances, most scholars also recognise that *hesychia* in late-antique monasticism was understood as an interior state of being, or a state of the soul.[244] In the cited passage this is referred to as 'interior watchfulness' (τῆς ἔνδον φυλακῆς). This inner state has also been understood as a state of 'silence, tranquillity, and stillness that leads the monks to contemplation'.[245] In late-antique monastic literature, *hesychia* may thus refer to either exterior circumstances or an interior state of the monk, or it may refer to both at the same time – depending on the text.[246] The last insight in the usage of *hesychia* in late-antique monasticism that is relevant here, is that *hesychia* was an ideal that monks would strive for. This is reflected in the saying in the *Apophtheghmata Patrum,* but equally reflected in other writings of early monastic literature.[247] The ultimate goal of striving towards *hesychia* would be to be in contact with God.[248]

2.2.2 *Hesychia* according to Photius

In order to understand what *hesychia* signified in the middle-Byzantine period*,* we may turn to the contemporary *Lexicon* by Photius (c. 810 – d. after 893) as a starting point.[249] The *Lexicon* is a semantic-didactic work, in which Photius explains 'difficult' words from ancient Greek literature. The explanatory words could thus be expected to be words that were easier to understand for a ninth-century Greek-speaking audience. By examining with which words *hesychia* is paired, we can start to imagine the associations Photius would have had with this term. Because of the nature of the lexicon, which should make difficult words easier to understand for the readers, these associations may also reflect more broadly the semantic network of *hesychia* for ninth-century Greek-speakers*.*

First a note of caution: together with other Byzantine lexica, the *Lexicon* of Photius mostly consists of ancient Greek vocabulary. The spoken language of the middle-Byzantine

244 Hausherr wrote on the basis of (mainly) late-antique works and biblical texts (Septuagint and books in the New Testament) that there are 'deux hésychia: une etérieure et une intérieure; une dans les choses, et une dans l'homme; un silence des forces de la nature et un silence des facultés de l'âme'. Later scholars largely follow this idea, such as Sinkewicz, Vos and Koder. Hausherr (1966a), p. 166; Sinkewicz (2003); Vos (2016); Koder (2017). As discussed above, Müller disagrees with this view for pre-fifth-century texts, see footnotes 234 and 241.

245 Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), p. 158.

246 An example of a passage in the *Apophthegmata* that expresses the idea that *hesychia* refers both to the exterior surroundings and to an interior state of the monk is a saying attributed to Rufus: 'Interior stillness [*hesychia*] means to remain sitting in one's cell with fear and knowledge of God, holding far off the remembrance of wrongs suffered and pride of spirit. Such interior peace brings forth all the virtues [...] Yes, brother, acquire it. Keep in mind your future death, [...]. Likewise be watchful over your soul'. Translation in Ward (1984), p.210.

247 See for example the discussion in Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), pp. 158–160.

248 Gemeinhardt (2015), p. 69.

249 In addition, there is also the tenth-century *Suda*. I found this text less useful as a starting point for uncovering middle-Byzantine understandings of *hesychia.* The *Suda* has more of an encylcopaedic character, compiling information from earlier compilations gathered around various topics and excerpts from ancient authors, rather than a dictionary-style vocabulary aid, like Photius' *Lexicon.* Although there are also a few of these short vocabulary entries as well; the ones including *hesychia* are nearly identical to the ones in Photius' *Lexicon* (perhaps even based on Photius, as that was one of the sources for the *Suda*), so they will not change the conclusions based on Photius. I will identify the similarities in the relevant footnotes.

period differed substantially from the attic Greek from the fifth and fourth century BCE and from that used by authors of the Second Sophistic. However, this by then archaic Greek language was what many authors from the middle-Byzantine period would strive for in their writings.[250] The lexicon would have served as a vocabulary aid for individuals while reading ancient and late-antique authors as well as a resource to help writing in the high register, by giving in each lemma the more common Greek words to explain the rarer ancient words.[251] What furthermore complicates the use of the *Lexicon* for uncovering a ninth-century understanding of *hesychia* is that Photius drew substantially from earlier lexica.[252] Moreover, words may be used differently in different contexts and acquire different meanings for different groups of language users – so that the meanings derived from Photius' *Lexicon* may differ from the way *hesychia* is used in hagiography. It should be stressed, therefore, that the following analysis merely serves as a starting point for uncovering ninth-century associations with the term.

The *Lexicon* does not have a lemma for *hesychia*. This is not a real problem, for the lemmata represent words from ancient texts that need clarification. In the explanation of five other lemmata we do encounter *hesychia*. *Hesychia* thus functions as a more familiar word for a ninth-century audience that is employed to explain the 'difficult' archaic word of the lemma. By looking at which words *hesychia* is paired or used as a synonym, we might 'map' the semantic field to which *hesychia* belongs and tentatively construct the semantic network of the term.[253]

Hesychia is used in the entries for the lemmata ἀγλωττία, ἀκή, ἀτρεμία, ἠρέμα and πραϋπάθεια:

ἀγλωττία· ἡσυχία, σιωπή.[254]
ἀκή· ἀκμὴ σιδήρου. καὶ ἡ ἡσυχία.[255]

250 Scholars of Byzantine Greek often speak of a distinction between a 'high register' and a 'low register' Greek: the high register would be as close as possible to the vocabulary, grammar and style of the ancient 'classical' orators, whereas the low register would be written in a simpler style closer (though not identical) to the spoken language at the time. Although the distinction between high and low register is often referred to, it is also generally acknowledged and understood that these are two extremes on a broad scale, with many texts in between – either closer to the higher or the lower end. Moreover, it is also acknowledged that individual authors could change registers according to the genre in which they wrote and according to their intended audience. For a recent discussion on aspects of medieval Greek language (including a general discussion on how to label the different 'registers' of literary language and aspects of syntax and vocabulary in high and low registers), see Hinterberger (2021). On aspects of high- and low-register style in hagiography, see Efthymiadis and Kalogeras (2014).

251 Wilson (1996), pp. 90–93.

252 Photius himself recognises that he used the second-century grammarian Diogenianus, but various other sources have been identified. See Ibid., p. 91; Tinnefeld and Vassis (2006).

253 One of the ideas in maximalist linguistic theory is that words are stored in the minds of language users in a 'structured manner, as a semantic network containing both protypical and more marginal senses of the lexeme [...]'. Peels (2015), p.20.

254 Photius, *Lexicon (A—Δ)* 202. Edition: Theodoridis (1982). There is also an identical entry for ἀγλωττία in the tenth-century *Suda* (perhaps based on Photius' *Lexicon*): *Suda* alpha: 271. Edition: Adler (1928).

255 Photius, *Lexicon (A—Δ)* 739. The entry in the *Suda* is very similar. *Suda* alpha: 857.

ἀτρεμία· ἡσυχία.[256]
ἠρέμα· ἀτρέμα, πράως, ἡσυχῇ· ἡ γὰρ ἠρεμία ἡσυχία.[257]
πραϋπάθειαν· πραΰτητα, ἡσυχίαν.[258]

The terms ἀγλωττία and ἀτρεμία, negations of *glossia* and *tremia*, might suggest that *hesychia* is partially understood in terms of what it is *not*.[259] In these cases, an absence of sound/silence (cf. ἀγλωττία and σιωπή) and an absence of physical movement (ἀτρεμία). *Hesychia* as the second meaning of the lemma ἀκή also refers to silence, while ἠρεμία means physical rest (as an opposite to κίνησις: motion).[260] If applied to persons, these meanings may relate to keeping check of the body: letting no sound come out and refrain from moving. Additionally, absence of sound and movement may refer to other entities or external conditions (e.g., silence in a room or a non-moving object).[261] If we take the core meaning of *hesychia* as rest, the lemmata indicate that the semantic network of *hesychia* includes meanings of a kind of bodily and/or external rest and absence of sound.

The associations with bodily rest aside, we also see that *hesychia* is associated with a personal disposition or character (πραϋπάθεια: gentleness of temper; πραότης: gentleness, mildness; πράως: mildly, gently) and a state of mind (ἠρεμία: quietude of the mind). In other words, in addition to keeping the body still, *hesychia* may refer to an interior rest, keeping both mind and feeling in check.

Although we need to recognise that language users only really understand the meanings of words through usage (and knowledge of the contexts in which it is used) and meaning may differ for different groups and in specific contexts,[262] this understanding of *hesychia* as a state referring to persons – of the mind or of the body – or of the surroundings, may serve as a starting point for an analysis of *hesychia* in middle-Byzantine saints' *Lives*. The dual-meaning of exterior and personal characteristics correlates to the associations found in late-antique monastic literature, as discussed above.

256 Photius, *Lexicon (A—Δ)* 3116. Identical in the *Suda*. *Suda* alpha: 4384.
257 Photius, *Lexicon (E – M)* 235. Edition: Theodoridis (1998).
258 Photius, *Lexicon (N - Φ)* 1145. Edition: Theodoridis (2013).
259 ἀγλωττία and ἀτρεμία are derived from γλῶσσα/γλῶττα (tongue, language) and τρέμω (tremble, quake, quiver).
260 See *LSJ*; not to be confused with the symbolically charged ἐρημία, meaning desert, wilderness or solitude.
261 Of course, only when encountering *hesychia* 'in the wild', i.e. in language use, we can find out to what kind of silence or non-movement *hesychia* might refer to: bodily and/or external conditions.
262 Cf. premises discourse analysis and the maximalist view of semantics, see footnote 228 above, and see Peels (2015), p. 16.

Table 1: *Hesychia* in Photius' *Lexicon*

Referring to persons		
Referring to a state of the body	**Referring to character or mind**	**Referring to surroundings**
ἀγλωττία, ἀκή - no sound, silent ἀτρεμία, ἀτρέμα, ἠρεμία, ἠρέμα - no movement, still, physical rest	πραϋπάθεια, πραότης – gentleness, mildness πράως, ἠρέμα, ἀτρέμα – mildly, gently ἠρεμία - quietude of the mind	ἀγλωττία, ἀκή - no sound, silence ἀτρεμία, ἀτρέμα, ἠρεμία - no movement, still

2.2.3 An activity or a state of being? *hesychia* as a verb

The impression of the semantic network that can be grasped from Photius' *Lexicon* is that *hesychia* is a specific state: a state in which a human can be or which describes one's surroundings (silence, non-movement, gentleness of temper, calmness of the mind). A verb cognate of *hesychia* (ἡσυχάζω) also occurs in the selected saints' *Lives*. This leads to the question if, in addition to the meaning of *hesychia* as a certain state, *hesychia* also refers to an activity. A few examples from the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis will show that there are multiple semantic nuances in the layers of meaning of *hesychia.* As will become apparent from the following discussion, the narrative context is necessary to uncover these nuances.[263] This means that for establishing the potential nuances and layers of meaning of the term, one would have to analyse every single instance in its narrative context. Here a few examples will suffice to show a variety of different connotations, ranging from a bodily state of being, reference to exterior circumstance and *hesychia* as an activity. It should also be acknowledged that in many instances it is hard, if not impossible, to establish all the (intended) layers of meaning. The examples given below are chosen because, firstly, they allow for some conclusions on the layers of meaning of the term, and secondly, they show the range of semantic nuances of the term. The following will discuss three instances of the verb ἡσυχάζω in the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis, all three of which illustrate a (slightly) different meaning. In addition, an instance of the noun from the same *Life* illustrates an active meaning of the word.

In the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis the verb ἡσυχάζω is used three times, and in all three instances it signifies slightly different things. In chapter 17 of the *Life* the verb seems to mean 'rest' in the sense of pausing or halting at a stop while travelling: in the passage the saint is travelling in Asia Minor, but the arrival of winter prevents him from travelling

263 According to the maximalist view of semantics, processing the meaning of a word works in the minds of language users (and of receivers, i.e. the audience). This also means that it is possible for a learner of the language, such as modern scholars, to access these meanings from the (narrative) contexts in which it is used. As modern scholars we do miss out on a large part of being able to grasp the language and all the potential semantic nuances of a single term, as we miss the knowledge of the contexts in which the word was used in spoken language, and are not living in the same cultural context in which the language was used. We might therefore still run the risk of missing meanings or not understanding them completely as the ninth-century audience would have understood them, or as how the author intended to use it.

further. Therefore he stopped and stayed (ἡσύχαζεν) for a while at a monastery near Ephesus.[264] Here *hesychia* may thus refer to a state of the body: physically stopping and/or resting, and thereby interrupting a journey, in other words, a state of immobility. In this case there seems to be no specific connotation of a spiritual inner state of being, but it just seems to refer to a stop between two journeys: he continues his journey again as soon as spring arrives.

In chapters 25 and 39, however, the verb does seem to be tied up with monastic spiritual practice. In chapter 25 the hagiographer narrates that Gregory went to Rome. The verb that is used to describe Gregory's stay in Rome is ἐφησυχάζω:

> Εἰς ἣν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς κελλίῳ ἐφησυχάσας καὶ μηδενὶ φανερὸν ἑαυτὸν καταστήσας, ὑπό τινος ἀνδρὸς πνεύματι πονηρῷ κατισχημένου πεφανέρωται. Ὃν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος ἀπολύσας ὀχλήσεως ἐξῆλθε τῆς Ῥώμης δεδιώς, μήπως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κολακείας θήραμα γένηται· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων δύναμιν εἰληφὼς λαθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο.[265]
>
> After having arrived there, and after he ἐφησυχάσας in a cell for three months and not rendering himself known to anyone, he was revealed by a certain man possessed by an evil spirit. After freeing him from the annoyance of the demon he [Gregory] left Rome, because he feared that he would fall prey to human flattery: for having received power over impure spirits he could not remain hidden.

Because the author does not inform the audience why Gregory went to Rome and there is no further description of Gregory's activities there, except for this passage, it appears from the narrative that staying in a cell without disturbance of people is the main purpose of the saint's stay in Rome. As soon as his solitude and especially his anonymity is disrupted, he leaves Rome. Michael Chronz translates ἐφησυχάζω with 'Kontemplation üben', which might indeed be a suitable interpretation of what the audience would expect Gregory to do in his cell when undisturbed and in solitude.[266] So the translation of ἐφησυχάζω with a kind of activity – contemplation, or whatever Gregory did in a monastic cell – is understandable. However, in my view the choice for the verb seems to be mainly determined by the association of *hesychia* with silence and an absence of disturbance (from people in this case).[267] Namely, the author adds that Gregory does not want to show himself to anyone and as soon as someone 'reveals' him, Gregory leaves the city for fear of being sought out

264 ἐν σεμνείῳ τινὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον τέως ἡσύχαζεν. *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 17, line 9.
265 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 25.
266 Michael Chronz provided the translation in the edition of Georgios Makris. See Makris (1997), p. 91.
267 Chronz' translation is not necessarily wrong: ἐφησυχάσας here can refer both to the activity of what a monk is expected to do when alone in a cell – prayer and contemplation – *and* to the state of being in silence and calmness without external disruption.

by other people. Therefore, the verb derived from *hesychia* is here associated with certain external circumstances: absence of disturbance by people (solitude) and an enclosed space that is separated from the busy hustle of Roman city life.[268] So the verb, I believe, principally refers to Gregory's state of being in relation to the external circumstances (so close to the *LSJ* entry of ἐφησυχάζω: *remain quiet,* whereby the quietude refers both to the surroundings and Gregory's inaction to engage with people in his surrounding). In addition, it might also refer to his activity in his cell, presumably contemplation, following Chronz.

The last passage in which we encounter the verb derived from *hesychia* is in chapter 39. It is remarkably similar to chapter 25:

> Ἡσυχάζοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ποτε ἔν τινι κελλίῳ, μεταβαλὼν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἕνα τῶν τῆς πόλεως σαλῶν ἐξαπίνης {τῷ κελλίῳ} ἐφίσταται. Καὶ εἰσδὺς καὶ τοῖς ὤμοις ἐπιβὰς τοῦ ὁσίου σεσηρότι γέλωτι καταπαίζειν ἤρξατο. Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸν ἐπονομάσας καὶ ἁγίῳ ἐμφυσήματι τούτῳ προσπνεύσας ἐξήλασε παραχρῆμα.
>
> Once, when he ἡσυχάζοντι in a cell, the enemy changed himself into one of the fools of the city and suddenly arrived at the cell. And after crawling into the cell and climbing on the shoulders of the holy man, he [the fool] began to mock him with grinning and derision. He [Gregory] then immediately drove him out by invoking Christ and breathing a holy breath upon him.

Here also the location of practicing or being in a state of *hesychia* is a monastic cell in a city (Thessaloniki) and he is disturbed by someone. Similar to the cited passage above (*Life of Gregory* 25), Gregory expels the man and the devil (ὁ ἐχθρός – the enemy) from his cell. However, the nature of the disruption is different. In chapter 25 the possessed man disrupts his anonymity and solitude, while in chapter 39 the devil – in the shape of a fool – does not necessarily expose Gregory, but disrupts the holy man by his presence and behaviour.[269] Gregory's response to the disruption is also different. Although in both cases he drives away a demon or devil, in chapter 39 he does not leave his cell after the interaction. This reaction is likely a consequence of the advanced spiritual progress Gregory had made, as represented in the narrative: in this stage of the narrative Gregory is already portrayed as a holy man, helping people around him, both by miracles and by guiding them to a

268 See section 2.3 on *hesychia* and space below and the observations made on the late-antique usages of *hesychia* in monastic literature in section 2.2.1 above.

269 Fighting demons and the devil is a common *topos* in monastic literature, going back to a late-antique tradition (e.g., in the *Life of Anthony* by Athanasius, or in the writings of Evagrius Pontus). There does not seem to be much of a distinction between devil (not called such, but here used as the translation of descriptions like 'the evil one', 'the enemy', 'the malignant and man-slaying serpent' [ch. 65], etc.) and demon (δαίμων), except that the devil is always singular, whereas demons are usually plural. However, they seem to function in the same way in the narrative: they can possess people, inspire (bad) desires in people, or they can change into animals or other shapes who try to keep the holy man from his virtuous path or to disrupt his contemplation.

virtuous life.[270] So anonymity was not necessarily a goal anymore. Moreover, perhaps the author intended to convey that Gregory's virtue already reached such a degree that he did not necessarily fear human flattery anymore (like in chapter 25), for he had sufficiently mastered the virtue of humbleness.

The differences between chapter 25 and 39 also have consequences for the context-specific understandings of *hesychia.* In chapter 39, anonymity is no longer considered a prerequisite for *hesychia*: the chapter is part of a series of passages that narrate interactions of the saint with people and demons in a monastic community in Thessaloniki. These interactions vary from miracles (Ch. 37, 47), inspiring others to live a virtuous life and admonitions (Ch. 38, 45 - 47), fighting off demons (Ch. 40-42), and prophecies about the faith of others (Ch. 43-45). Gregory, when staying in his cell in Thessaloniki, thus did not try to keep hidden from others, as he did in Rome. However, while the location of most of these interactions is not specified (except the fighting against demons, which also happens in his monastic cell), here – like in chapter 25 – the verb ἡσυχάζω is immediately followed by a location: τις κελλίον (a monastic cell). So similar to 25, the verb is still associated with Gregory's connection to his external surroundings (specifically being in his monastic cell), but solitude is much less a priority than in Rome. This suggests that here ἡσυχάζω may also refer to a spiritual activity (in a monastic cell), such as contemplation.

The last example discussed here is found in chapter 46. This instance of *hesychia* (not a verb cognate) explicitly indicates that *hesychia* can be an activity, in addition to an interior state of being and to specific exterior circumstances. Namely there *hesychia* is paired with the verb ἀσκέω, to practise/train: a monk is described to 'practise *hesychia*' (ἡσυχίαν ἀσκῶν) together with other brothers.[271]

The examples discussed above thus show that *hesychia* may refer to external circumstances, to the relation between the monk and his circumstances, and to a spiritual activity. The latter, however, referring to activities such as contemplation, is semantically close to a state of the mind; so the boundaries between these semantic differences are often small.

---

270 See the discussion of Gregory's progressive development in his monastic life and his (portrayed) function in society as a holy man in the next chapter, section 3.3.

271 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 46. This passage also shows that solitude is not a prerequisite for attaining *hesychia*; fellow ascetics can also stay together with a common goal and practise *hesychia*. An alternative explanation (besides the explanation that *hesychia* can be an activity) is that the hagiographer might have chosen the verb ἀσκέω to pair with *hesychia* to indicate that the monk was spiritually not there yet in reaching *hesychia*. Namely, the passage continues that the monk pretended to be bothered by a demon and displayed 'violence of disorder/indiscipline' (τὴν βίαν τῆς ἀταξίας); his fellow monks then bring him to the holy man. Gregory immediately recognises that the monk is faking it and reprimands him, saying he should wish that actual demons will never torment him. This passage thereby exalts the holy man, who has managed to fight with actual demons on multiple occasions in the narrative, in contrast to this other monk. Moreover, the passage might also illustrate that other monks wanted to imitate the holy man (and other spiritual authorities like him), perhaps to reach the same status after claiming to have won the necessarily struggle with demons.

2.3 *Hesychia*, space and (im)mobility in the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis and Euthymius the Younger

The semantic analysis of *hesychia* on the basis of Photius' *Lexicon* and the examples taken from the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis established that *hesychia* has multiple semantic layers. One of those layers is the connection to the surroundings. In the *Lexicon* of Photius this referred specifically to silence and absence of movement (see table/appendix 1). In Gregory's *Life,* the verb cognate of *hesychia,* ἡσυχάζω, also signified multiple things. One of those meanings was connected to the surroundings, specifically the relation between the monk and his surroundings. The surroundings referred to in the *Life* of Gregory are the absence of disturbance by people (so a degree of solitude) and the enclosed space of a monastic cell. An example that illustrates this is found in chapter 25. In that passage, ἡσυχάζω appears to refer to Gregory's relation to external circumstances, that is his (physical) separation and his inaction to engage with people.

From the general observation that *hesychia* may denote (an embodied relation to) external circumstances, it is a small step to investigate whether *hesychia* is understood to be spatially dependent. In the following it will become clear that in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, *hesychia* is indeed closely associated to particular places that share particular characteristics. It will furthermore be suggested that through this association of *staying* at certain spaces, *hesychia* also comes to be associated with immobility. In addition, the spatial requirements for *hesychia* in combination with the desirability of *hesychia* as a monastic ideal, fuels monastic mobility, as represented in the narrative and potentially reflecting reality.

The *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius are studied together here because they are representative of a similar discourse in their usage of *hesychia.* The *Life of Elias* will be discussed separately, because this text exemplifies a different discourse.

2.3.1 The relation between *hesychia* and space

As the previous discussion already exemplified, the term *hesychia* and its cognates are often used in passages in which the location or type of space is explicitly mentioned. The following examples will show that *hesychia* is closely related to these spaces because of the specific conditions that they guarantee. For example, in a passage of *The Life of Euthymius,* the hagiographer narrates how Euthymius is looking for a suitable place for his former mentor, Theodore, that could provide both *hesychia* and comfort.[272] The searching for a place illustrates that *hesychia* cannot be found just anywhere, but only certain circumstances.

---

272 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 22: τόπον ἐπιζητήσας τῷ καθηγουμένῳ ὁ ἄριστος φοιτητὴς καὶ διάκονος, τήν τε ἡσυχίαν τῷ γέροντι καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῷ σώματι κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἐμπαρέχειν δυνάμενον: 'the excellent disciple and servant looked for a place for his superior which could provide both tranquility [ἡσυχίαν] for the old man and comfort for his body in the same location'. Translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

Often it is hard to establish the exact relation between *hesychia* and space, as it is not always apparent which of all the possible connotations and layers of meaning of *hesychia* the author intended to convey. Despite this difficulty, at least two types of relations between *hesychia* and space can be distinguished in the discussed examples of *hesychazein* in monastic cells in the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis. In the first example (chapter 25), *hesychia* can be understood as *being* in certain conditions, such as being in solitude, being without disturbances. The space guarantees these conditions. The meaning of *hesychia* is then closely wrapped up with being in a space (with these conditions). In the second example (chapter 39), *hesychia* can be understood as a spiritual activity (such as contemplation). The space of the monastic cell is considered appropriate for this activity, which also has to do with the conditions that the space provides. The difference with the first example is that being in the space (the monastic cell) is not vital for the meaning of *hesychazein*. In both types of relations though, it is clear that *hesychia* and the spatial surroundings of the monk are closely related.

The exact nature of the relation between *hesychia* and space is more difficult to establish in other examples, but also in these other examples in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius it is clear that there is a close connection between *hesychia* and the surroundings. Quantitatively, the close connection between *hesychia* and space is apparent from the fact that from 21 instances of *hesychia* or its cognates in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, in 15 instances the type of space is specifically mentioned in the same sentence or just before or after. In addition, there are only a few types of spaces that are mentioned in relation to *hesychia.* In the following the types of spaces associated with *hesychia* and the conditions they provide will be explored.

It should be noted, in line with the semantic analysis earlier in the chapter, that *hesychia* has multiple meanings and therefore is used in multiple ways – so in many, but not *all,* instances in the *Lives hesychia* is tied to space. Appendix 2 gives an overview of the instances in which the term is linked to specific locations.

2.3.2 Types of spaces and their qualities

In the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis and Euthymius the Younger certain patterns in the types of spaces that the saints go to in their search for *hesychia* can be observed. Only certain types of spaces are mentioned in relation to *hesychia:* monastic cells, towers, columns, caves, mountains and an uninhabited island. These may be categorised as either (semi-)enclosed interior spaces (monastic cells, towers, caves) or as exterior spaces (mountains, uninhabited islands, and columns). Mountains, towers and columns moreover may be characterised as heights. All of these spaces share two characteristics: they enable a degree of physical separation from the direct surroundings, and because of this physical separation they enable a degree of social isolation.

Some of these spaces stand in a long (pagan and Christan) tradition of symbolic and religiously significant meanings. Mountains, for example, are already connected to Gods in classical Greek mythology, such as Mount Olympus or Mount Ida. Also in the biblical tradition, mountains are spaces for divine encounters, for example the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor and Moses receiving the ten commandments on Mount Sinai. Moreover, mountains have a long tradition of being privileged places for sanctuaries.[273] Also caves retained a symbolic meaning in early monastic literature: as spaces for monks to dwell in and as spaces associated with demons.[274] The hagiographers and the monks themselves would of course be aware of the symbolic significance of mountains and caves, and were acting and writing according to this tradition. However, the qualities that all these types of spaces share – not just caves and mountains – are equally or possibly even more relevant if we want to find out how why these spaces were associated with *hesychia*. These qualities may have made them privileged spaces in the Christian imagination in the first place. In the following section, a few examples will be discussed to illustrate the characteristics that these spaces have in common.[275]

2.3.2.1 Interior, enclosed spaces

Four out of seven instances of the enclosed spaces are monastic cells.[276] In two of these instances, which were already discussed above, the verb cognate of *hesychia* is used (chapters 25 and 39 of the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis). In the other two instances *hesychia* is presented as the object of desire, and in order to reach it the monks go and live in a monastic cell.[277] Monastic cells are not described in detail in the hagiographical texts and often it is not clear to which monastic establishments these cells would have belonged. However, some general observations can be made about contemporary monastic cells and identify what type of space they were. In doing so, the image of monastic cells that hagiographers and their audiences would have had can be postulated.

---

273 See e.g., a discussion of the connections between mountains and divine presence in ancient Greek, Roman and early Christian traditions, König (2022), pp. 3–92. For the continued biblical tradition (including reappropriations) of Christian symbolic meanings connected to mountains in Byzantine literary and visual culture, see Della Dora (2016), pp. 145–175.

274 Della Dora (2016), pp. 145–202. Furthermore, there also has been work done on the significance of enclosed spaces, particularly prisons, in martyrdom accounts. They may function as spaces that are privileged for 'transformative moments' in the portrayal of the characters, especially with regard to their spiritual advancement. See Papavarnavas (2021b).

275 See appendix 2 for all instances of *hesychia*.

276 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 25, 39 and 55, *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 34 (see appendix 2). The other (semi-) enclosed spaces are a tower, a cave, and a ravine (obviously, the latter is not an interior space).

277 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 55: 'Another monk, named Petros, decided, passionately desiring the *hesychia* of the holy man, to build a cell near him' – this passage also implies that the saint served as an example for other monks, as they want to achieve the *hesychia* that the saint already embodies. In order to achieve that, the monk Peter does not just live in a monastic cell, but builds one *near* the saint. Apparently, vicinity to the saint was thought to facilitate imitation of the saint. *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 34: [Euthymius] 'ordered me [Basil, the hagiographer] to live outside the monastery for a short time in his anchoritic cells. For an ardent love of spiritual tranquility [*hesychia*] held me fast (even though later on, ..., I preferred the clamor and distractions of a city)'; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

Monastic cells are interior, more or less 'private' spaces; thereby these spaces imply a degree of separation, both from other (exterior and 'public') spaces and from other people. From Justinian's *Novels* we know that there have been top-down unsuccessful attempts to ban the idea of 'private space' (and property) from monasteries and instead only have communal spaces, including communal dormitories (although exceptions would be reserved for solitary hermits).[278] It seems that in addition to these 'exceptions' for solitary hermits communal monasteries often (also) had individual cells, rather than dormitories as Justinian would have liked it. From some middle-Byzantine monasteries of which there are remains of the monastic complex (in addition to the church), there are attested a number of small rooms next to each other, often against the outer wall of the monastic establishment, probably serving as monastic cells.[279] Examples are the Zygos monastery near Mount Athos and the monastery of Meletios in Attica, were such archaeological remains with a row of cells remain.[280] The hagiographers and their audiences thus likely would have imagined monastic cells as built, interior, more or less solitary spaces. They would also have recognised that the arrangement of monastic cells could vary: either as part of a communal monastic establishment, as (semi-)independent cells for solitary hermits, or something in between.

The examples in the texts, while not elaborating greatly on monastic cells themselves, suggest that the cells are for one person. The majority of cells referred to in the texts do not seem to be arranged within a cenobitic monastic community, such as the Zygos monastery, or at least not constructed as such from the outset.[281] A few examples in the *Lives* allow to reconstruct some aspects of the arrangement of cells. These examples show that the cells are often placed in groups, either planned as such, or they reflect organically developing ascetic communities.

The cells in the *Life of Gregory* that would have been situated near Thessaloniki illustrate the loosely-organised and organically developing character of monastic communities and the cells within them. These cells were part of a monastic community that – as it appears from the narrative – Gregory founded.[282] They were centred around the church of Menas, just outside the city. According to the narrative, Gregory was not the first monk in the area,

278 E.g., various stipulations in Justinian's *Novel* 5 (5.3 on dormitories); *Novel* 123.36 (communal living should be the norm, although there may be exceptions for monks who wish to live in individual cells), *Novel* 133.1 (no monk is to have a separate cell, but instead live and sleep communally, with the exception of solitary hermits).

279 For many Byzantine monasteries only the middle-Byzantine church has remained, while the other buildings often post-date the Byzantine period (among other reasons due to later renovations), which makes generalisations difficult. On the other hand, many of these post-Byzantine buildings show a similar pattern to the archaeological remains – so we may speculate that these reflect also the earlier middle-Byzantine organisation. For these and other reflections on the arrangement of middle-Byzantine monasteries and problems for studying them, see Makris (2015); Ousterhout (2019), pp. 321–331.

280 Another example are the post-Byzantine monastic cells at Hosios Loukas, which may reflect the earlier middle-Byzantine organisation. For the examples of Zygos and Meletios, see Ousterhout (2019), pp. 321-331.

281 It is often not specified whether cells belonged to a monastery, but some examples may in practice have referred to cenobitic monasteries. For example, the *Life of Gregory* 25, in which Gregory is reported to have stayed in a cell in Rome, might refer to a cell that was part of a cenobitic monastery in the city, but the narrative does not specify this.

282 From chapter 36 onwards the narrative is mostly situated in or around these cells.

but the *Life* suggests that Gregory attracted other monks who built cells there as well. In chapter 55, for example, a monk desired 'the *hesychia* of the holy man' and subsequently built himself a cell near the cell of Gregory.[283] The narrative therefore gives the impression of a gradually expanding hub of monks living in individual cells near each other.

An example found in the *Life of Euthymius the Younger* also illustrates a group of (semi-) solitary monks, but there the arrangement is represented as having been planned by the saint, rather than as an organically growing monastic community. The passage narrates about a group of monks living together in individual cells. These were cells for ascetics that Euthymius would have built at Brastamon, situated in a different location than the monastery Euthymius founded at Peristera. In chapter 34 these cells are specifically referred to as 'anchoritic', so cells for monks who wanted a degree of solitude and separation.[284] 'Anchoritic' does not imply independency, for in this example the cells seem to be connected to the monastery at Peristera and Euthymius is regarded as the spiritual leader of these monks in anchoritic cells.

The latter example expresses explicitly the desired circumstances that make the space of a monastic cell suitable for practising or being in a state of *hesychia*:

> [...] καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ τάξας ἐν τοῖς ἀναχωρητικοῖς αὐτοῦ κελλίοις ἔξω κατοικεῖν· ἔρως γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶχε τῆς ἡσυχίας τέως διάπυρος (κἂν φιλοδοξίᾳ νικηθέντες τοὺς θορύβους καὶ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς μετὰ ταῦτα προετιμήσαμεν) [...].[285]
>
> [Euthymius] ordered me [Basil] to live outside [the monastery] for a short time in his anchoritic cells: for an ardent love of *hesychia* held me fast during that time (even though later on, defeated by vainglory, I would have preferred the clamour and distractions in a city) [...].[286]

---

283 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 55.

284 [...] καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ τάξας ἐν τοῖς ἀναχωρητικοῖς αὐτοῦ κελλίοις ἔξω κατοικεῖν· ἔρως γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶχε τῆς ἡσυχίας τέως διάπυρος [...]: '[Euthymius] ordered me to live outside [the monastery] for a short time in his anchoritic cells'. Translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), but slightly altered by me ('monastery' put in brackets, for it is only implied, but not stated in the text).

285 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 34.

286 In my attempt to stay as close as possible to the Greek my translation here deviates slightly from the translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016). The most significant deviation that is relevant for my interpretation is in the interpunction: Talbot translates '[he] ordered me to live outside the monastery for a short time in his anchoritic cells. For an ardent love of spiritual tranquility held me fast (even though later on, defeated by vainglory, I preferred the clamor and distractions of the city), [...]'. Talbot thus starts a new sentence with ἔρως γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶχε τῆς ἡσυχίας τέως διάπυρος, but in my understanding this phrase refers to the previous clause (καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ τάξας ἐν τοῖς ἀναχωρητικοῖς αὐτοῦ κελλίοις ἔξω κατοικεῖν). The love of *hesychia* of Basil is the explanation (hence γάρ) why Euthymius sends Basil to the cells at Brastamon, some distance away from the monastery at Peristerai. Moreover, τέως (during that time) refers to a time earlier mentioned, that is the short time (πρὸς βραχύ) at the cells. Finally, the clause that follows the citation has no apparent relation with the love for *hesychia*: Basil tells that he destroyed a Manichaean book after he became convinced that it was heretical.

In this passage of the *Life of Euthymius*, the hagiographer's (Basil) love for *hesychia* when he resided in a monastic cell is contrasted with busy city life. The space for *hesychia*, on the other hand, is thus a quiet place, away from urban society, and in this case also away from the communal monastery. An interior space, a degree of physical separation, a degree of solitude, silence and an absence of distractions can thus be distilled as circumstances that make this space suitable for practicing or being in a state of *hesychia*.

From the examples in which *hesychia* is connected to monastic cells it might be tentatively concluded that *hesychia* was found in a type of space that is relatively small, inside and enclosed: a space that physically separates the monk from the outside world. In addition to this physical separation, the space also separates the monk from other people. The cells are not shared with others, but they are individual.

In practice and sometimes also in the narratives monastic cells do not completely guarantee either of these desiderata – physical separation and solitude. Cells may be entered by other people. In the examples of the *Life of Gregory* chapter 25 and 39 this indeed happens. In both cases the entering of people is presented as a disturbance to the monk. Although the monastic cell is thus presented in these narratives as one of the spaces associated with *hesychia,* the space itself does not (completely) guarantee reaching *hesychia.* This also applies to the other types of spaces that are connected to *hesychia* in the narratives. In fact, disturbances, like people entering in the monks' enclosed spaces, is one of the motivations for monks to travel away from a place. Not finding *hesychia* at a certain place, or the desire to reach it is another motivation. However, that the particular space is not a perfect guarantee for physical separation and solitude does not detract from the fact that these spaces do provide *some* degree of separation and solitude. The qualities of physical and social isolation are sought after by monks in these spaces – or at least presented as such – and these qualities are deemed to be necessary or appropriate for realising *hesychia.* The fact that interactions with people are presented as disturbances supports this observation.

The other (semi-)enclosed spaces that are connected to *hesychia* in the narratives share these qualities as well, a degree of physical separation from the outside (and exterior) world, and (ideally) a degree of solitude. The degree of physical and/or social isolation varies: the cave mentioned in the *Life of Euthymius* is presented to be really secluded from and unknown to other human beings. The tower in the *Life of Gregory* on the other hand, while providing a degree of physical separation, is situated in an urban context. These spaces have in common that they are (semi-)enclosed, interior spaces that are contrasted to the outside, exterior world.

2.3.2.2 Exterior spaces: wilderness versus the city

The two narratives show that the spaces with which *hesychia* is connected fall into two categories: interior (semi-)enclosed spaces and exterior spaces.[287] This second category applies to two main types of geographical spaces: mountains and (uninhabited) islands. Also an instance of a column is included. These different types of spaces have a few conditions in common. For interior, enclosed spaces, it has already been observed that they imply a degree of physical separation from the outside/exterior world, and they (ideally) can facilitate a degree of solitude. As for heights and islands, these criteria also apply, but in a slightly different way. In these cases, the narratives do not focus on the type of dwelling, so apparently a physical separation between inside and outside is not considered relevant (at least not enough to be mentioned in the stories).[288] Rather, these types of spaces refer to the geographic environment. In their specific geographical setting, mountains and islands are distinct landscape-units which are distinguishable from other areas. So there is a degree of geographical separation within the landscape. Of course, the boundaries between mountain and valley or plain and between island and mainland are permeable – but so are the walls of a monastic cell. Such exterior spaces still provide a degree of visible separation from other parts of the landscape. This geographical distinctness aside, the physical separation – though not perfect – also implies a degree of social isolation. The island, for example, is described as an uninhabited island, implying the monks would be there in solitude.[289] Mountains as well are away from urban centres or towns and generally less populated, so they might also conjure up an image of (geographical and social) isolation.

The geographical and social isolation that mountains and the uninhabited island offer might also reflect an effort to represent the appropriate space for *hesychia* to be in 'wilderness' as opposed to 'civilisation', especially as opposed to city life. In a few instances mountains and the (uninhabited) island are indeed referred to as ἐρημία or ἐρῆμος (wilderness, desert or solitude).[290] In the *Life of Euthymius the Younger* two passages illustrate the effort to represent monks to consciously reject 'the city' in their search for *hesychia*.

---

287 A new research project is going to explore the usage of exactly these spaces, spaces of confinement and isolation, in connection to holiness and asceticism in early and middle-Byzantine hagiography further: 'Spaces that matter: Enclosed and secluded places in early and middle-Byzantine hagiography' by Carolina Cupane and Christodoulos Papavarnavas at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, running from March 2022 until February 2026. See their project website: https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/byzantine-research/language-text-and-script/language-use-and-literature/spaces-that-matter.

288 With regard to the exterior spaces the authors do not intend to convey that the monk lived outside without shelter, but they just omit reference to the interior spaces in which they may have lived. In some parts of the narrative the hagiographer does stress that monks live without shelter, for instance, when the hagiographer writes that Euthymius and a fellow-monk go and live outside without shelter like cattle ('crawling on the ground for forty days like grazing animals' [...] 'but their bodies were so tormented by exposure to the cold that the ascetics preserved until their last breath the marks of their first ascetic competition'). *Life of Euthymius* 17; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p. 51-53.

289 *Life of Euthymius* 24.

290 The idea of the monks retreating in the actual desert was first connected to early monasticism in the Egyptian desert, but afterwards and elsewhere predominantly became a literary trope, rather than reflecting dominant practice. Goehring (1993); Rapp (2006).

Example 1:

> Πρώτως οὖν τῇ πόλει εἰσελαύνειν μέλλων, ἄγνωστος ὢν τὸ δοκεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας τὴν εἴσοδον ποιούμενος, ἠρυθρία μὲν καὶ δι' αἰδοῦς εἶχε τὴν τοῦ ὄχλου συνάντησιν ὡς ἐν ἔξει τῆς μονίας ἤδη γενόμενο, [...].
>
> Ὡς δ' ὁ μὲν λαὸς πολὺς ἦν συγκεχυμένος περὶ αὐτόν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὡς ἀήθης βαρέως τὴν ὄχλησιν ἔφερεν, ἑαυτῷ μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν, τῷ λαῷ δὲ τὸ ἐκ πίστεως περιποιούμενος ὠφέλιμον, τὸν Θεοδώρου τοῦ ὁσίου τάφον κατασπασάμενος, καὶ ὥσπερ εὐλογίας τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπαισθόμενος, μικρὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθὼν, ἐν στύλῳ ἑαυτὸν ὡς ὁ μέγας Συμεὼν ἀναβιβάζει μετάρσιον, ὡς ἂν καὶ Θεῷ πλησιεστέρως ὑψωθεὶς ὀπτάνοιτο καὶ τοῖς φοιτῶσιν ἐκεῖθεν τὰς νουθεσίας προσάγοιτο.[291]
>
> Thus, when he was about to enter the city, thinking that he would be unknown and making his entrance among people unfamiliar with him, Euthymius at first blushed with shame and was embarrassed to encounter crowds of people, since he had been so long in isolation.
>
> [... Euthymius enters city, and, since his fame had spread, many people come out to meet him and want to touch him]
>
> But as the mass of people was thronging around him in confusion, he found it hard to bear the pressure of the crowd since he was not used to it. So, in order to procure *hesychia* for himself and the benefit of faith for the mass of people, Euthymius kissed the tomb of the blessed Theodore and, as if perceiving his blessing, went a little way out of the city and climbed up high on a column like the great Symeon, so that he might be seen as being elevated closer to God and might provide advice from there to those who visited him.[292]

Example 2:

> [...] καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ τάξας ἐν τοῖς ἀναχωρητικοῖς αὐτοῦ κελλίοις ἔξω κατοικεῖν· ἔρως γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶχε τῆς ἡσυχίας τέως διάπυρος (κἂν φιλοδοξίᾳ νικηθέντες τοὺς θορύβους καὶ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς μετὰ ταῦτα προετιμήσαμεν) [...].[293]

291 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 23.2-3.
292 Translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), pp. 67-69.
293 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 34.

> [Euthymius] ordered me [Basil] to live outside [the monastery] for a short time in his anchoritic cells: for an ardent love of *hesychia* held me fast during that time (even though later on, defeated by vainglory, I would have preferred the clamour and distractions in a city) [...].[294]

These two examples both suggest that the city is experienced as a place full of distractions, which is not compatible with *hesychia*. In chapter 23 of Euthymius' *Life,* the saint goes outside the city (but staying near it), and opts for sitting on a column, hoping to find *hesychia* there. Eventually, there too, he is distracted by the 'crowd's devotion', so he leaves the column to go again to Athos. In this instance, two stages of leaving the city in search for *hesychia* are presented. In chapter 34, Basil, the hagiographer, contrasts the anchoritic cells where he expected to find *hesychia* with the distractions of the city.

This representation of monks retreating from the city stands in a long literary tradition. The same trope is already found in the Bible, which is picked up in early monastic literature. The same theme is also present in the writings of classically educated late-antique Christians, such as Basil of Caesarea.[295] In ninth- and tenth-century hagiographies a continuation of this tradition is attested, presenting the choice of monks to go to places such as caves, mountains and islands, and attaching a spiritual and narrative significance to these spaces. To a certain degree exterior spaces are represented as wilderness (ἐρημία) and as spaces that are *not* the city. This observation requires nuance. The monastic tradition of rejecting the city has surely influenced both the monastic practice in the middle-Byzantine period itself, as well as its literary representation. However, the opposition between wilderness as a specific set of places (caves, mountains and islands) where one might find *hesychia* and the city where there are distractions is not one that is consequently brought forward throughout the narrative: for one thing because *hesychia* is also connected to spaces within cities – enclosed interior spaces, but still in a city; for another because the boundaries between 'wilderness' and 'the city' are represented as permeable, as will become clear below.

Another example from the *Life of Euthymius* illustrates the complex relation of the middle-Byzantine narratives to the literary tradition of a wilderness-city opposition. This example shows, on the one hand, that the monastic tradition of rejecting the city is to be found in the middle-Byzantine narratives as well, and that *hesychia* is understood to be incompatible to city life. On the other hand, it also illustrates that the boundaries between 'the city' and 'wilderness' – or other spaces associated with isolation - are not so clear cut. That is, earlier in the narrative Mount Athos was presented as a place appropriate for *hesychia* and was represented as wilderness,[296] but in the following passage the reflection

294 Translation slightly altered compared to Talbot's in Alexakis (2016), see footnote 286.
295 On this tradition, see e.g., Rapp (2006); O'Connell (2019); Whalin (2021).
296 *Life of Euthymius* 14.

upon the mountain changes. Euthymius moves away from Athos with two fellow monk, because:

> [...] τὴν ἤδη τῶν μοναχῶν ἐν τῷ Ὄρει τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν μιμήσει κατοίκησιν καὶ ὡς ἐν ἄστει σὺν ἀλλήλοις διατριβὴν καὶ παρενόχλησιν καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς αὐτόν, ᾧ πάντες ἐφοίτων [...].[297]
>
> the settlement of monks on the Mountain in imitation of his example and because of the way in which they spent time with each other, as in a city [ὡς ἐν ἄστει], and became a distraction to each other and especially to him, since he was someone whom everyone visited [...].[298]

This example demonstrates that spaces may change identity: places, such as Mount Athos, previously constructed as wilderness, may later be constructed as a space that is considered like a city. The boundaries between wilderness and city are sometimes represented as changeable.

2.3.2.3 Shared spatial characteristics: visibility

The cases of the column, Mount Athos and to an extent monastic cells and towers have yet another condition in common. Each of these spaces involves a degree of physical separation from the surroundings and from other people, but in a distinct location that is very visible to others.[299]

The column in the *Life of Euthymius* would have been a bit outside the city of Thessaloniki, so close to an urban centre and visible to many people. Stylites would be a remarkable sight, and they might have conjured up associations with the famous late-antique stylites, such as Symeon the Stylite.[300] Both the location and the form of Euthymius' abode on top of the column would make him ostentatiously visible, physically elevated, though distinctly separated from the environment and from other people.[301]

Mount Athos is not directly in the vicinity of urban centres, but as it is a peak on a relatively narrow peninsula (already in itself a remarkable topographical feature) and the highest mountain in the direct surroundings, it is a very remarkable landmark.[302] Especially as seen from sea, when you can see the mountain of just over 2000 meter rising from the sea level and covering most of the peninsula, this is a very visible and distinguishable

---

297 *Life of Euthymius* 24.2.
298 Translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p.71.
299 On this phenomenon, especially concerning stylites, see the reflections by Andrew Jacobs in Jacobs (2020).
300 This connection is made explicitly in the narrative of the *Life of Euthymius*, where Euthymius is represented as a new Symeon. *Life of Euthymius* 23, see the cited passage at p. 89 above.
301 The visibility of (late-antique) stylites and their proximity to busy roads or urban centres is also observed in the forthcoming Hahn (2024).
302 Also remarked in Whalin (2021), p. 103.

feature of the landscape. Moreover, it is to be seen on the maritime route between the two main cities of the Empire, Thessaloniki and Constantinople. So, as Whalin remarked about monasteries at Meteora and Mount Athos, they are 'spiritual sanctuaries removed from the world while at the same time being there for all to see'.[303]

In the actual lives of monks, they could thus go to spaces of relative isolation, to satisfy a desire for solitude and spiritual contemplation (or to present oneself as desiring these). At the same time they might enhance their status as spiritual authorities by making their rejection of the 'world' very visible to others. In addition to these spiritual and self-fashioning motivations, the choices for this visible isolation might also have had a practical motivation. For stylites this choice corresponded to an urgent need: they depended on others for nourishment.[304] In the case of Mount Athos, monks might have been attracted to such a visible landmark so others would see and know about them. This could have the practical benefit that others, knowing about these monastic communities, chose to support them with financial means.[305]

The representation of spaces of isolation in relatively visible locations might thus reflect a reality that the hagiographer and the audiences were familiar with. In addition, in the narrative, these places of (imagined) visible isolation contribute to the representation (and reflection) of the boundaries of these isolated spaces as permeable. Due to the visibility and proximity of columns and mountains to cities and places constructed as 'civilisation', their construction as 'wilderness' and as privileged spaces of isolation is imperfect, as visibility and proximity increase the chances of interactions with 'worldly' people. Interaction with other people may both be imagined by the audience, from the recognisability of these places in their own lives, but is also represented in the narrative, as we have seen in the examples above.

---

303 Ibid., p. 103.

304 Georgia Frank has examined how the immobility of the Stylites in fact generate mobility, among others by the visitors that they attract. Andrew Jacobs has compared Stylite saints with (contemporary) celebrities, where he suggested that the more a famous person expresses the desire to be alone, the more people want to gain access to the celebrity, which paradoxically leads to an increase of fame. Frank (2019); Jacobs (2020).

305 On the other hand, this practical consideration might have weighed less heavily in the ninth century. In this period there were no cenobitic monasteries yet on Mount Athos, and so those early monks would require less buildings and nourishment. So perhaps this was more a motivation from the tenth century onwards, when Athanasius founded the first cenobitic monastery there (the Great Lavra). Athanasius indeed depended on a wealthy and (later an) imperial benefactor. The correlation between relative isolation and visibility may also work differently: perhaps the remarkable location was not necessarily the motivation for monks to live there in hope for financial support, but that a strategic location did play a role in the successful acquirement of such support – not only because of their visibility, but also the possibility for monks themselves to travel to other centres relatively easily to maintain and establish networks with potential benefactors - , which gave these monasteries a higher chance of a long-term existence. Other monasteries at less strategic locations might have had more difficulty finding financial support and therefore had less chance to exist for over a longer period of time. Vangelis Maladakis, for example, has argued that Athonite monks travelled to other places, especially Constantinople, to ensure (imperial) financing or acquiring resources and privileges from the Emperor. Maladakis (2018). Andreas Külzer has explored how other factors, apart from the religious standing of a saint, such as a strategic location along main routes, contributed to the success and persistence of a cult site – a conclusion that could be extended to the monasteries at Mount Athos as well. Külzer (2018).

2.3.2.4 Shared spatial characteristics: permeable boundaries

In the discussion above, various 'permeable' qualities of boundaries of spaces associated with *hesychia* and their associated conditions have emerged. People (and demons) can enter cells and towers, for example. The proximity of columns and mountains to cities and trade routes increases the chances of (undesirable) interaction with people. The isolation desired by the monks is only relative and the boundaries of separation are permeable. Moreover, as discussed in the example of Mount Athos, places constructed as wilderness can change into places considered like a city.

The imperfect isolation of monastic cells, towers, caves, mountains, islands and columns as represented in the narrative may reflect a reality that the audience would have been familiar with, namely of permeable boundaries between spaces of seclusion and the spaces of 'the world', facilitating interactions between monks and other people in society. In addition, the representation of the permeability of secluded spaces has multiple narrative functions. Firstly, the narratives show that the possibility of distraction makes reaching *hesychia* hard. The continuous attempts of the monks to find it and their success at it enhances the idea that they are extraordinary and zealous monks. Secondly, the permeability of secluded spaces allows to represent these monks to be able to combine multiple functions of holy men, that is to flee from (earthly) civilisation, while also being of practical benefit for it (by performing exorcisms, perform healings, providing counselling).

2.3.3 Space, *hesychia* and the representation of sainthood

In the hagiographies, spaces of relative isolation function as places for monks to search for *hesychia*, and thereby the authors emphasise the special status of ascetics. In their search for *hesychia* at isolated places these ascetic monks are represented as denouncing the 'world'. Ascetical life and devotion to God contribute to their representation as saints. That is, the celebrated monks are represented as perfect Christians, devoting their lives to God, living their lives without sin and possessing every virtue. Such exemplary life is one the key elements in the construction of sainthood in hagiographical narratives.

Spaces of (relative) isolation that are associated with *hesychia* are essential in the narratives for the representation of sainthood in yet another way. The narratives represent these spaces as opportunities for the monk to be closer to God or even facilitate a union with the divine. For example, Euthymius is described as desiring to move to Athos so he might communicate directly to God through undisturbed contemplation; the ascetics at the anchoritic cells at Brastamon are described as 'angel-like' because of their lifestyle and virtue; and only after fighting demons alone in a cave, is Gregory described as becoming radiating with light, which is explained as divine light.[306] As the settings for moments of communication and (near) union with God, these spaces are therefore represented as

306 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 27; *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 7-16.

enabling transformations in which the monks shift from mere humans towards a divine and saintly status.[307]

In addition, the representation of spaces associated with *hesychia* contributes to the representation of sainthood due to the spatial qualities discussed above. Because the boundaries between the exterior-interior and the city-wilderness are permeable, it is hard to reach *hesychia* for a sustained period. The resulting interactions with people give the hagiographer the opportunity to represent the monks as holy men, for example by representing them as a 'miracle-worker' (e.g., in the example of Gregorius in the monastic cell in Rome, in which he drove away a demon) or a 'counsellor' (e.g., in the example of Euthymius on top of the column outside Thessaloniki).

2.3.4 *Hesychia*, immobility and mobility

All the observations above reiterate that space matters. The spaces associated with *hesychia* function both as a reflection of an extra-textual reality, which the audience can relate to, and as narrative-building blocks that function to promote the respective protagonists as saints. The meaning of *hesychia* as rest and the strong connection between *hesychia* and staying in certain spaces,[308] moreover, support the idea that *hesychia* could be imagined as immobility.

In addition to the connection to immobility, mobility plays a key role in relation to *hesychia* in the narratives. This is already suggested by the percentage of occurrences of *hesychia* or one of its cognates that are mentioned in episodes involving mobility in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, namely over seventy percent.[309] In the great majority of these instances *hesychia* is presented as a travel motivation.[310] So paradoxically, the desire for *hesychia* and thus for (a degree of) immobility, inspires further mobility. Monks travel

---

307 As is implied from hagiographical narratives, the transformative process towards sanctity would only completed after death, when the saints are in Heaven and are believed to be able to influence events at earth and can help others towards salvation through their supplication to God, as often expressed in saints' *Lives*. To understand saints as people who complete a transformation from the non-holy to the holy in a divine-human relational process is propounded by Kees Waaijman. He sees this divine-human relational process ('het godmenselijke betrekkinsgebeuren beschouwd onder het oogpunt van omvorming') as the essence of spirituality of *all* faithful people. Saints function as models for others, models that fulfilled this transformation: 'Spiritualiteit is de voortdurende overgang van het niet-heilige naar de Heilige. Deze overgang wordt gemaakt door de heiligen die daardoor modellen van spiritualiteit worden voor anderen. Heiligen zijn de eigenlijke kenners van het werkelijkheidsgebied van de spiritualiteit'. Waaijman (2000), pp. 6; 321.

308 This is especially apparent for monastic cells, caves and towers, which are circumscribed and confined spaces, whereas passages in which the saint is described be at Mount Athos, one can still imagine that the monk walks around and does not necessarily stay at the exact same spot. However, if we understand immobility, as the opposite of mobility, as the absence of travel – and we understand travel to be medium- or long-distance travel, involving leaving one distinct area to go to another – then also in these instances, in which *hesychia* is connected to mountains and islands, we might connect *hesychia* to immobility.

309 In 15 out of 21 instances in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius; see appendix 2.

310 In 12 instances. There are 3 instances in which *hesychia* or one of its cognates is used in an episode involving mobility, but in which it is not linked to travel motivation. These are found in chapter 17 (*hesychazo* as a stopover during a journey; the verb thus signifies immobility in a mobility context) and 65 (the *hesychast* sends one of his disciples for an errand) of the *Life* of Gregory and in chapter 9 of the *Life* of Euthymius (after being instructed in *hesychia* Euthymius was sent to a cenobitic monastery as the next step in his monastic training).

to particular places because they expect to find (the right circumstances for) *hesychia* there; or conversely, they move away from a place because distractions prevent them to find *hesychia*. These are of course two sides of the same coin. Travelling to find *hesychia* implies the monk could not find it at his current location; moving away because he could not find *hesychia* implies that he wants to find it elsewhere. Only the emphasis is different: it is represented as either a pull factor in the motivation to travel (to move to a place to find *hesychia*) or as a push factor in the motivation to travel (to move away from a place because he cannot find *hesychia*). Two examples will illustrate this connection of *hesychia* to mobility.

The first example is taken from the *Life* of Gregory:

> Βουλή ποτε τῷ ἁγίῳ γέγονε σὺν ἑνὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν μερῶν ὄρη ἠλπικότι ἐν τούτοις ἡσυχίας τῆς ἐπιποθουμένης τυχεῖν.[311]
>
> Once a desire arose in the saint to rush to the mountains of the parts of the Slavs together with one of his disciples, hoping to attain the strongly desired *hesychia* therein.

Because *hesychia* is associated with particular spaces, such as mountains, monks travel to these destinations. In this example, Gregory is motivated to go to a mountainous region, because he hopes that he will find *hesychia* there. That also implies that he at that point misses *hesychia* and cannot acquire it in his current location, that is the city of Thessaloniki, where he stayed in a cell near the church of Saint Menas. The episodes preceding his desire to travel recount various interactions of Gregory with monks and others. These visitors visit his cell or the church, asking Gregory for advice or help, or whom on occasion Gregory gives unsolicited advice. Although not mentioned explicitly, the author therefore suggests that the lack of *hesychia* in Thessaloniki is caused by these interactions.

The second example is taken from the *Life* of Euthymius:

> Μηδόλως οὖν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡσυχάζειν ἐώμενος, τὰ τοῦ Ἄθωνος πάλιν ἐπικαταλαμβάνει ἀκρωτήρια.[312]
>
> Not at all being allowed to *hesychazein* on it, he came up to the peaks of Athos again.

In this passage, Euthymius sat on top of a pillar outside Thessaloniki. The reasons for not being able to enjoy *hesychia* on the column are not narrated here,[313] but in any case he could

311 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 49.
312 *Life of Euthmius the Younger* 37.3 (my own translation).
313 But this passage may remind of an earlier one, in which Euthymius is distracted by the many visitors who came to him when he sat on top of the column. *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 23. See a discussion of this passage above, pp. 89-90 and in chapter 3, pp. 151-152.

not find it there and therefore was motivated to travel away from his current location. At his destination at Mount Athos, the narratives implies, the monk expects to find *hesychia.* The narrative continues, however, to indicate that Euthymius could not find *hesychia* at Athos either. This is because 'the monks were distracting him, especially his own monks'.[314] So he moves away again, distancing himself even further from civilisation by moving to an island with only one other monk.[315]

The search for *hesychia* thus inspires mobility. However, in the narratives it takes more than one journey to a suitable space to reach and maintain the (immobile) state of *hesychia.* Because spaces have permeable boundaries, they do not guarantee *hesychia.* Thus, *hesychia* continues to inspire mobility.[316]

The conducted analysis leads to tentative conclusions on middle-Byzantine attitudes towards monastic mobility. Because *hesychia* is presented as a desirable monastic ideal that is important for the spiritual development of a monk, mobility inspired by *hesychia* might have a positive connotation for the hagiographers. There is no attempt by the hagiographers to counter any negative associations the audience may have had with this type of monastic mobility. The hagiographers thus probably anticipated a neutral or positive attitude of the audience towards mobility inspired by *hesychia.*

Furthermore, mobility, in these cases, is represented mostly as a change of location. It is not so much the journeying itself that is emphasised in the narratives, nor is the journey itself presented as an important element in reaching *hesychia.* Rather, the arriving at a fitting place or the leaving of an unsuitable place is relevant for *hesychia* and thus the spiritual advancement of the saint. So more precise than travelling, it is translocation that is represented here as positive and functional.

The search for *hesychia* contributes to the representation of sainthood: it represents the monks as living exemplary ascetic lives and as humans that through their *hesychia* come closer to God and a divine status. Moreover, the representation of the boundaries between spaces of seclusion and civilisation as permeable makes transgression between them easier and therefore the attaining of *hesychia* harder, evinced by the need felt by monks to move from one place to another. The reaching and pursuit of *hesychia* therefore reflects positively on monks, making them special and dedicated persons. As mobility is necessary for reaching *hesychia*, it contributes indirectly to the representation of sainthood.

Mobility and the permeable boundaries between seclusion-civilisation are essential in the narratives in yet another way: they enable the alternation and therefore combination of different modes of monastic life and of different contradictory expectations of sainthood.

---

314 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 37.3; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p.117.

315 The island is called Hiera in the narrative, but it not clear to which island this corresponds. No details of the island are narrated, except that he stayed there for half a year at the very end of his life (from May 8th until October 13th; by then he had fallen ill and, it is suggested, moved to a cave somewhere else and died two days later, on October 15th). *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 37.

316 While this applies to both the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, it should be acknowledged that the motive is more prominent in the *Life of Euthymius*.

Mobility and monastic life

Monastic life took various forms in the Byzantine Empire, and many monastic saints combined or alternated between these various forms, from living as a solitary hermit to living with a small group of monks in a loosely organised community to living in a highly regulated monastic community. Many monastic saints were also founders and leaders of monastic communities. Hagiographies may have been written by disciples who lived in the monastery under the leadership of the saints, such as the hagiographer of the *Life* of Euthymius. These hagiographers may have wished to promote the monastery with their saintly founders. Even so, these founders, such as Euthymius for the monastic establishment at Peristera and Gregory for the community around the Menas church in Thessaloniki, are also represented as having practiced other modes of monastic life, such as solitary life. In the narratives, the saints' desire to reach *hesychia* is employed as a discursive strategy by the authors, enabling an alternation between community-based and solitary-retreat-based modes of monastic life. Alternating lifestyles was realised by translocations, both in the narratives and possibly reflecting a recognisable reality. Mobility therefore played a key function in the combination of multiple modes of monastic life.

This is well illustrated by an example from the *Life* of Euthymius. In the narrative, Euthymius establishes a monastic community at Brastamon, erecting cells for his fellow-monks. He himself, however, is described to have 'practiced *hesychia* some distance away in a deep ravine', but to have received 'visitors in the cells of the brethren'.[317] He thus moves between monastic cells and the ravine, changing between modes of withdrawal and interaction. Later on in the narrative the author repeats this description and presents Euthymius again as alternating between these exact same modes and locations: 'he sometimes associated with the brethren, guiding them and vising them [...], and on other occasions he spent time on his own in that very deep ravine'.[318] Changing place therefore allows Euthymius to alternate between a solitary mode of life and a mode of interaction, in which Euthymius could serve his community and visitors through his guidance. After mentioning these regular translocations between the monastic cells and the ravine, the hagiographer stresses Euthymius' desire for *hesychia* and a solitary mode of life once more. The narrative continues: 'but most of the time, overcome by his passion for *hesychia*, he would go to Athos and dwell there by himself'.[319] In the representation of Euthymius' own desires, the balance is thus tipped towards a preference for the monastic ideal of withdrawal over that of serving the community. The author subsequently introduces a divine revelation. The revelation is represented as a divinely originating incentive for Euthymius to move and change to a different mode of life again, despite Euthymius' own

317 αὐτὸς πόρρωθεν βαθυτάτῳ χειμάρρῳ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μετήρχετο, πάντας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν κελλίοις ὑποδεχόμενος; *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 27.1; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p. 81.

318 *Life of Euthymius* 27.2; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p. 83.

319 *Life of Euthymius* 27.2; this author left *hesychia* untranslated, but otherwise followed the translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p. 83.

desire for solitude. The revelation at Athos spurs Euthymius to move towards Thessaloniki and to found a monastery at the nearby Peristera. This change from a solitary mode of life to the foundation of a communal monastery is made explicit in the narrative. The divine voice says: 'Euthymius, go away [...] make it [the designated place] into a monastery for souls [...] [f]or it is not good for you to continue to dwell alone in the wilderness and try to contend with demons, who fled long ago after being defeated by your virtue'.[320] So again, mobility enables the protagonist to alternate between various modes of monastic life. In addition, this episode suggests that Euthymius is now so far in his spiritual development that his solitary mode of life is of no benefit anymore. The move to Peristera could thus be seen as a transformative moment in the monastic career of Euthymius and in the representation of his exemplary life, showing how he now masters all virtues. Although this passage functions as a motivation for Euthymius to found a communal monastery at Peristera, this does not mean that the author avoids showing subsequent alternations of monastic modes later in the narrative. In fact, in later chapters Euthymius continues to travel to places of various degrees of seclusion, such as the column outside of Thessaloniki or again Mount Athos, motivated by his search for *hesychia.* In the narrative, mobility thus continues to enable the combination of diverse modes of monastic life.

Mobility and models of sainthood

The discourse analysis of the connections between *hesychia,* space and mobility allows us to see how the authors construct Gregory and Euthymius as holy men. Closely connected to the observations above on different modes of monastic life, holy men should embody (at least) two ideals: living an exemplary life and benefitting society. The ideal for a monastic exemplary life that is dominant in these two texts is a life of isolation from society, completely dedicated to God, and in pursuit of *hesychia.*[321] However, if a monk also is to be of benefit to others and hence be portrayed as a holy man, he needs to interact with people. For example, to give advice, to give prophesies, to heal people, to expel demons, or just to be seen so he might inspire others with his lifestyle. So also for the construction of sainthood the alternation between modes of interaction and withdrawal are essential. Combining these two ideals of retreat and interaction creates a tension in many monastic hagiographies.[322] In the examples discussed earlier, hagiographers used several strategies to resolve this tension. Interaction and retreat are represented simultaneously by the authors through the presentation of the boundaries between interior-exterior and wilderness-city as permeable. Moreover, the hagiographers used the frequent mobility of Gregory and Euthymius to represent them as alternating between these two modes of sainthood, that is, to alternate episodes of interaction with episodes of (relative) isolation.

320 *Life of Euthymius* 27.3; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p.83.
321 These ideals stand in a long tradition of monastic literature and practice. Cf. Introduction, pp. 22-23 and section 2.2.1 above.
322 E.g., also discussed for Theodoret's *Religious History*, which incorporates various 'biographies' of saints, in Urbainczyk (2002), pp. 80–88.

Mobility is therefore one of the discursive strategies that the authors used to construct their subjects as holy men.

2.4 *Hesychia,* immobility and mobility in the *Life* of Elias the Younger

The *Life of Elias the Younger* illustrates that there are also other possible discourses on *hesychia* and mobility. *Hesychia* does not play such a prominent role in the *Life* of Elias the Younger compared to the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius. The term only occurs once as a noun, once as a cognate noun (*hesychasterion*) and twice as a verb in the *Life*.[323] However, one of the passages, already cited at the start of this chapter, is highly revealing on the perceived relation between *hesychia* and mobility.

The passage from the *Life* of Elias the Younger illustrates well how there is a perceived tension between mobility and *hesychia.* Namely, the hagiographer apparently felt the need to explain how the high degree of mobility of the saint and a state of *hesychia* are compatible, possibly to anticipate scepticism from the audience.[324] This passage also shows that a state of *hesychia* was desired by monks, and perhaps even expected of monastic saints. If not, why would the hagiographer feel the need to include this passage?

> Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις τόποις μεταβαίνοντες οἱ θεοφιλεῖς οὗτοι πατέρες, ἥκιστα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤμειβον, ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ καταμόνας ἀσκούμενοι καὶ κοσμικοῖς συνδιάγοντες καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἀμείβοντες· τοῖς γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν ζῶσι πᾶς τόπος ἀσφαλής· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τόπῳ ἡ ἀρετὴ περιγράφεται.[325]
>
> And often these god-loving fathers while moving to other places, they changed not in the least with regard to their *hesychia,* but they remained the same, both while exercising in solitude and while passing time together with worldly people, and while changing places: since for the ones living according to God every place is safe, for virtue is not circumscribed in a certain place.

The passage can be interpreted in the context of the chapters immediately preceding this one. The passage of *Life of Elias* 30 immediately follows the founding of a 'monastery' in Salinas. In the context of the narrative, the frequent movement to other places (πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις τόποις μεταβαίνοντες) seems to refer to the travels in the region of Elias and Daniel after they founded the monastery in southern Italy. Namely, immediately

323 *Life of Elias the Younger* 30 and 38-39.
324 This reminds of similar discourse in Epicurian philosophy, in which travel is perceived to endanger *ataxaria* (a state of tranquillity). Lien Foubert observed that this view differed from that of Stoics. See Foubert (2018). See also (on Seneca) Montiglio (2006).
325 *Life of Elias the Younger* 30.

preceding the passage, the hagiographer elaborates on the foundation of the monastery and expresses how Elias and Daniel with their monastery and their way of life are an inspiration to others. The hagiographer's comment that they often moved to other places thus seems to imply that Elias and Daniel did not stay at the physical monastery all the time after its foundation.

In addition to this specific contextual reading, the reader can also interpret this phrase as a general defence of monastic travel – having in mind the many journeys that Elias and Daniel had already undertaken earlier in the narrative and possibly anticipating the journeys that are still to come. In other words, this passage can also be interpreted as a general apology for monastic travel. In the cited passage, the hagiographer indicates that the many journeys of Elias and his disciple Daniel did not compromise their *hesychia.* The passage comments on the many journeys made by Elias and Daniel. A connection between *hesychia* and mobility is explicitly denied: the monks did not change with regard to *hesychia,* while moving from place to place. This may be a reaction of the hagiographer to certain attitudes of his (expected) audience. That is, the emphatic denial of an impact of mobility on *hesychia* reveals that the hagiographer thought that the audience might have expected there to be an issue with the saint's mobility. A close reading of the passage will attempt to disentangle these anticipated attitudes.

Notably, in the cited passage, the hagiographer hagiographer understands *hesychia* in a slightly different manner from that presented in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius. The cited passage suggests that *hesychia* refers to a characteristic of a person. Specifically, it refers to a way of life. The passage suggests it can be equated with 'living according to God' (κατὰ Θεὸν ζῶσι) and virtue (ἡ ἀρετή). Whereas in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius we saw that *hesychia* is connected to the relation between the monk and his surroundings, and to place, in the *Life* of Elias *hesychia* is expressly *not* connected to place: for 'those living according to God every place is safe, for virtue is not circumscribed in a certain place'. Here ἀσφαλής could be interpreted as safe for the soul and for the spiritual progress towards salvation that is to be accomplished by a virtuous way of life.[326] According to the hagiographer, virtue can thus be realised anywhere. In the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius *hesychia* may refer to an absence of disturbance and to contemplation (in an enclosed space or in the wilderness), whereas in the *Life* of Elias *hesychia* seems more broadly to refer to a virtuous way of life. Perhaps it even refers specifically to a monastic ascetic way of life, for elsewhere *hesychasterion* is used for the Elias' monastic establishment in Salinas.[327]

---

326 In the narrative there are sufficient examples that demonstrate that not every place was safe in the common sense of the word: early in his life Elias had to flee for Arab attacks in Sicily, he had been captured and sold as a slave; later he changed travel plans to avoid unrest in Persia and he fled Taormina to escape Arab attacks.

327 τὸ ἐν Σαλίναις ἡσυχαστήριον; *Life of Elias the Younger* 38. Understood this way, *hesychia* is thus an essential aspect of Elias' sainthood, as sainthood for ascetic saints is constructed as the combination of a virtuous life and supernatural gifts (based on the model of sainthood identified in Klaniczay (2014)); but also in the preamble of the *Life* the hagiographer emphasises virtue and the 'sacred politeia/way of life' of Elias. *Life of Elias* 1.

So what does this justification of mobility tell about the expectations of the audience (projected by the author) and about the discourses that the hagiographer reacted to? The hagiographer disconnects *hesychia* from place; but why? Would the audience have expected that *hesychia* is only to be accomplished at certain places? Considering the discourse presented in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius this might indeed have been the expectation of the audience. The problem with a connection of *hesychia* to place, as anticipated by the hagiographer, seems to be mostly related to the potential interaction with people. The absence of a degree of seclusion at particular places might have caused the audience concern. In the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, seclusion is presented as a requirement for *hesychia*. Elias is presented as an ascetic saint as well, so the audience might have expected that the saint would also search for seclusion. According to the narrative Elias had spent time together with other monks in monastic establishments and in churches. Those would have provided a degree of seclusion. However, the search for quiet places constructed as wilderness and enclosures is much less a theme in the *Life* of Elias compared to the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius. Moreover, he spent much time in cities where he interacted with their inhabitants. Also on the road, he met with fellow-travellers and with people of different (and in the eyes of the hagiographer heretical) faiths. This interaction with people, and especially 'worldly people' might have been a potential concern for the audience, as the hagiographer stressed that Elias' and Daniel's *hesychia* was not affected 'while exercising in solitude' nor 'while passing time together with worldly people' (καὶ καταμόνας ἀσκούμενοι καὶ κοσμικοῖς συνδιάγοντες).

'Exercising in solitude', καταμόνας ἀσκούμενοι, probably refers to their retreat at the monastic establishment in Salinas, as this passage immediately follows an account of the foundation of the establishment and the verb ἀσκέω refers to practicing ascesis. These might be the circumstances that the audience would expect for finding or practicing *hesychia:* in solitude, without the disturbance of other (worldly) people. We have already observed the connection between solitude and *hesychia*, a discourse that the hagiographer of the *Life of Elias* might be aware of and might here react against: solitude is in fact not necessary, as *hesychia* can be achieved at all times.[328] This also relates to the author's specific understanding of *hesychia:* he himself uses it broadly to refer to living a Christian virtuous life – which can be realised anytime anywhere. However, he may also play with the different meanings of *hesychia* and react against discourses where *hesychia* is understood in the narrower sense as a contemplative activity (in solitude) or a state of inner rest. In both understandings, the hagiographer aims to communicate that solitude is not a requirement for *hesychia.*

328 In the examples discussed for the *Lives* of Euthymius and Gregory, perfect solitude was not considered necessary. However, dependent on the spiritual progress of the monk, the monk was interpreted to be more or less easily disturbed by other people, and a degree of social isolation was considered desirable. In the *Life* of Elias, on the other hand, the hagiographer seems to reject the idea completely that social isolation is connected to *hesychia.*

A perceived tension between the monastic life and interaction with 'the world' has of course a long tradition – late-antique examples of this tradition have been discussed in the previous chapter. Basil, for example, saw a spiritual danger in the interaction with society, which the monastic communities initially set out to segregate from. It would potentially disrupt their ascetic lifestyle, and interaction might harm the soul. Therefore, he advised to travel in groups, to ensure mutual control, and later he advised that only the 'spiritually fit' brothers should make journeys.[329] Similarly, the passage of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* cited at the beginning of this chapter illustrates a perceived tension between the monastic life and interaction with 'worldly people'. The hagiographer probably addresses this discourse of a perceived tension between monastic ascetic life and interaction with the rest of society. The passage thus confirms the persistence of this discourse, but at the same time presents another: at least when it comes to the monastic ideal of *hesychia* the saint and his disciple are not affected by spending time with 'worldly people' (κοσμικοῖς συνδιάγοντες).

Finally, by adding that their *hesychia* is neither affected by 'changing places' (τοὺς τόπους ἀμείβοντες) the passage might react to a discourse that we have encountered in Justinian's *Novel*: the idea that changing one place for another reveals a lack of purpose. A life of vagrancy, we read in *Novel* 5.7, is 'the mark of an unstable, flighty soul, one that roams about pursuing different aims at different times' and this is incompatible with monastic perseverance.[330] We know that Justinian's *Novels* were still read, copied and amended in the ninth century, for they are included in the *Basilica* of Leo VI in 888. The hagiographer might have anticipated a persistent negative discourse on monastic mobility, such as the one reflected in the *Novel*.

Departing from the hagiographer's understanding of the concept of *hesychia* and the discourses he might have reacted to, some similarities on the relation between *hesychia* and mobility in the three hagiographical texts can be observed. All three present *hesychia* as desirable, perhaps even essential for monks. And in all three cases the mobility of the saints is presented as compatible with *hesychia.* However, their understanding of *hesychia,* specifically its relation to place and mobility, is quite different. In the passage of *Life of Elias* 30 mobility and place are presented as having no effect on *hesychia*. In the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, on the other hand, *hesychia* is to a degree contingent on particular places with a specific set of conditions, characterised by a degree of separation from society, either in enclosed spaces or exterior spaces constructed as wilderness. Moreover, the desire for *hesychia* is represented as a motivation to travel. In other words, in the hagiographies of Gregory and Euthymius place and mobility to certain places do affect the saints' *hesychia*. Certain spaces are more suitable for *hesychia* than others. The effect of certain places and of solitude is presented as a positive impact on *hesychia*. On the other hand, this

329 Basil, *Long Rules* questions 38-39 and 44. *PG* 31.

330 Ἀλήτης γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος, καὶ μοναχικῆς καρτερίας οὐδ' ὅλως ἐγγύς, οὐδὲ σταθερᾶς καὶ μονίμου ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ περιφερομένης τε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ζητούσης ἀπόδειξιν ἔχων. Justinian, *Novel* 5.7; in Schöll and Kroll (1959), p.33. Translation by Miller and Sarris (2018), p. 94.

also means that *hesychia* can be disturbed by people. This is exactly the discourse – that place and people impact *hesychia* – that the hagiographer of Elias addresses and tries to deny. Evidently the hagiographer of Elias fears that a connection between people and place on the one hand and *hesychia* on the other might consequently lead to a negative evaluation – by the audience – of Elias' exceptionally high degree of mobility. Therefore Elias' hagiographer is defensive about monastic mobility. The authors of Gregory's and Euthymius' hagiographies, on the other hand, did not anticipate such scepticism towards mobility, but rather present it as unproblematic, either positive or neutral.

Elias' hagiographer does something similar elsewhere in the narrative, in chapter 19. Although chapter 19 does not refer to *hesychia,* it does illustrate that the hagiographer provides a justification for the saint's mobility at more occasions. Like the previous passage, this passage might function both as a contextual but also a general apology. This parallel suggests that the hagiographer was aware of negative discourses on mobility in the Byzantine world and reacted against these discourses in his narrative. The note that 'virtue is not circumscribed in a place' (οὐ γὰρ ἐν τόπῳ ἡ ἀρετὴ περιγράφεται) in chapter 30, recalls the hagiographer's earlier reflection that God is not circumscribed in a single place (οὐχ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ περίγραπτον τὸ Θεῖον) in chapter 19. In this earlier passage the hagiographer narrates that Elias visits various 'venerable places' in Jerusalem, prostrating (προσεκύνησε) before the tomb of Christ,[331] and performs acts of veneration (προσκυνῶν καὶ κατασπαζόμενος: prostrating and embracing) at other 'venerable places' (τοὺς σεβασμίους τόπους) in Jerusalem.[332] The hagiographer then narrates visits to other sites associated with biblical history: the river Jordan (Christ's baptism), Mount Tabor (transfiguration) and finally Mount Sinai (Moses receiving the ten commandments).[333] The hagiographer makes clear that:

> Οὐχ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ περίγραπτον τὸ Θεῖον οἰόμενος τοὺς θεοφανείας ἀξιωθέντας ἡσπάζετο τόπους ὁ νέος Ἠλίας, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖς ἐρῶσιν αὐτοῦ θερμῶς οὐ μόνον τριπόθητόν ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀεὶ ἐφετόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τόποι, ἐν οἷς ἐπέβη, λίαν ἐρασμιώτατοι.[334]
>
> The new Elias embraced the places that had been deemed worthy of divine manifestation not because he thought that the divine is circumscribed in a place, but because he knew that for those who passionately love Him this is not only much desired and always desirable, but also because the places themselves, in which He set foot, are very much beloved.

331 *Life of Elias the Younger* 18.
332 *Life of Elias the Younger* 19.
333 *Life of Elias the Younger* 19.
334 *Life of Elias the Younger* 19, lines 370-375.

This passage provides Elias' motivation to make the pilgrimages just described by the hagiographer. In addition, this passage may be read as a general ('theological') defence of pilgrimage. In this apology, the author addresses potential scepticism towards pilgrimage and responds with a justification. Elias is not motivated to go on pilgrimage because he believed that divine presence is limited to certain places (οὐχ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ περίγραπτον τὸ Θεῖον οἰόμενος), the hagiographer stresses. With this comment the hagiographer might address reservations on pilgrimage by the audience. The idea that God is not circumscribed in any one place had been an argument used against pilgrimage in late antiquity, when various bishops and Christian intellectuals were debating the desirability of pilgrimage.[335] That is, if God is not more accessible in any one place more than others, this would make pilgrimage futile. This argument was used by, for example, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Augustine and Evagrius. Instead of going on pilgrimage, these authors expressed, one should reach God by means of living a virtuous life and by inner spiritual progress.[336] Perhaps, this debate had flared up again in the early tenth-century southern Italy, the context in which the author was writing. Whether this was a continued discourse from late antiquity onwards on the desirability of pilgrimage, a revival of such discourse by church fathers like Gregory of Nyssa, or a contemporary reaction to actual pilgrimage in southern Italy has not been studied so far. Thus, these options remain to be proven, but all are possible. Because some aspects of the historical context of pilgrimage in southern Italy are known, the expectations that the author could have had from the audience can be made more explicit.

As for a contemporary reaction to pilgrimage, it may be noted at least that pilgrimage did take place in and through southern Italy. Many inhabitants of the region may have had first-hand experience with the phenomenon, as southern Italy itself boasted a popular and

335 See Bitton-Ashkelony (2005).

336 Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Augustine and Evagrius all varied in their precise attitudes towards pilgrimage, but all expressed (variations) on the idea that God is not circumscribed in any one place. Gregory of Nyssa's letter 2 argues that it is not desirable (for monks, and particularly nuns) to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem: 'For the changing of one's place does not bring about any greater nearness to God'. Gregory of Nyssa, *Letters* 2.16, as translated in Silvas (2006), p. 121. According to Gregory, pilgrimage to Jerusalem is undesirable because of the (moral) dangers on the road, God is not more present there than in their own region (Cappadocia), there is much vice in Jerusalem which proves, according to Gregory, that there is not more divine grace to be found there than in other places and one's faith is not made stronger by seeing the places connected to the life of Christ. Gregory of Nyssa, *Letters* 2.5-10; 2.15, in Silvas (2006), pp.118-121. Gregory does not completely separate place from divine presence, as he puts forward instead that the region of Cappadocia is much holier than the places in Jerusalem (Gregory of Nyssa, *Letters* 2.9; 15, in Silvas (2006), p. 119; p. 121). Jerome: 'It is just as easy to reach the portals of Heaven from Britain as from Jerusalem'. Jerome, *Letters* 58, cited from Silvas (2016), p. 116. Augustine: 'It is not by journeying but by loving that we draw near to God. We approach Him who is everywhere present and present wholly, not by our feet but by our hearts' Augustine, *Letters* 155.672, cited from Silvas (2006), p.116; Evagrius: 'You wrote [to me] that you dwell in the place that receives God [...] You should realize that he stands in your midst [...] and expects you to become Bethlehem through your deeds, and to become the Anastasis through the spiritual vision of the purity of the nature of your own created being, [...]'. Evagrius, *Letters* 25.582, as translated in Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), pp. 171–172. For an overview and more detailed exploration of the ideas concerning pilgrimage, sacred space and inner spiritual progress by these authors, see Bitton-Ashkelony (2005).

internationally-known pilgrimage site, St Michael's at Gargano.[337] In addition, southern Italy was traversed by pilgrims travelling from Western Europe (or from their previous pilgrimage destination, Rome) to the Holy Land.[338] The southern Italian audience of *the Life of Elias the Younger* could thus be expected to have had direct or indirect knowledge of pilgrimage. The pilgrims passing through southern Italy from Rome to the Holy Land would mostly have been Latin-speaking and Latin-rite pilgrims. Although to my knowledge there are no known sources that provide evidence for an anti-pilgrimage discourse in the region, the association of pilgrimage with Latin-rite Christians may have contributed to negative discourses on pilgrimage among the Greek-rite and Greek-speaking audience. In addition, we know that writings of Gregory of Nyssa, who was negatively disposed towards pilgrimage, were copied in the region. This is attested, for example, by a tenth-century manuscript from Messina.[339] Theological arguments against pilgrimage might thus have revived in the region. In any case, the hagiographer of Elias anticipated scepticism towards pilgrimage on theological grounds, for he mentions explicitly the argument made against it: God indeed is not circumscribed in any one place. However, the hagiographer counters potential critique against pilgrimage by asserting that going on pilgrimage is still valid: places that are associated with a divine manifestation are 'much desired' and 'much beloved'.[340]

These two examples, of chapter 19 and chapter 30, show that the hagiographer was aware of negative discourses on monastic mobility. He seems to react against the idea that mobility is incompatible with the ideal of *hesychia* and he equally seems to react against the idea that pilgrimage serves no purpose. In these passages, he therefore may have felt the need to justify Elias' many journeys. This defensive tone is absent from the two other saints' *Lives* discussed. This shows that there were various discourses, both of the hagiographers and the expected audiences, towards monastic mobility in middle-Byzantine hagiography.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has been driven by the question: (what) can we learn about perceptions on monastic mobility in the middle-Byzantine period by studying an emic term in its narrative contexts in the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis, Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger? The term chosen for this is *hesychia.* The conducted analysis has confirmed that studying

337 It seems that by the ninth and tenth century Gargano was attracting mainly, though not exclusively, Latin-rite pilgrims, both local as well as international pilgrims travelling from western Europe via southern Italy to the Holy Land. Religious control over the shrine during this period was contested between Lombards and Byzantines. Mougoyianni (2018), pp. 75–75; 79.

338 Oldfield (2014).

339 That letters of Gregory of Nyssa were copied in southern Italy in this period is testified by a tenth-century manuscript copied in a monastery of the Saviour in Messina that includes letter 1 of Gregory (London, British Library Add. 36749; Ms B in Pasquali (1959); Silvas (2006).

340 τριπόθητόν and λίαν ἐρασμιώτατοι. *Life of Elias the Younger* 19, line 373 and 375.

hesychia reveals a tension between immobility and mobility in the narratives, and that *hesychia* as travel motivation propels the narrative forward. Additionally, the findings in this chapter demonstrate that *hesychia* functioned as a spiritually significant term and was specifically relevant in a monastic context in the middle-Byzantine period. That is, *hesychia* was represented as an ideal that monks strived for and therefore the term and related concept are important elements in the representation of ascetic monasticism in these hagiographies.

Having established that *hesychia* is a relevant term to study in its narrative context, the question remains whether this investigation has disclosed some aspects of Eastern Roman perceptions of monastic mobility and immobility.

A semantic analysis of the term identified various layers of meaning of the term. The subsequent analysis of the usage of *hesychia* in the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis and Euthymius the Younger showed that *hesychia* was closely associated with specific types of spaces: enclosed interior spaces or specific geographic landmarks (heights or islands). This connection to space has implications for the relation between *hesychia*, mobility and immobility.

Attaining *hesychia* in these *Lives* implies a degree of immobility, by staying in these types of spaces. On the other hand this close connection to space leads to mobility. Both the search for *hesychia* or the inability to find the right circumstances inspire mobility.

The qualities of the spaces that are considered suitable for *hesychia* have in common that they involve a degree of physical separation and a degree of social isolation. Attaining *hesychia* thus involves (a degree of) seclusion. Consequently, the passages in the narratives on *hesychia* are essential for communicating a monastic ideal, namely that of withdrawal from society. The search or desire for *hesychia* of Gregory and Euthymius thus also plays a part in the construction of these men as saints: an exemplary life is one of the aspects of in the representation of sainthood.[341] For ascetic monks, an exemplary life essentially is a life completely dedicated to the divine, rejecting any earthly concern and in extension, earthy society. Withdrawing from society, as a monastic ideal with a long tradition, is one of the ways to represent such ideal ascetic life.

Particular spaces that offer a degree of seclusion allow *hesychia*. The spaces themselves, however, do not guarantee it. Because the boundaries between the interior and exterior, between wilderness and civilisation, can be breached, these spaces never provide perfect seclusion. This is why, in the narratives, the desire for *hesychia* can continue to inspire mobility and the saints do not stop after just one journey to a place of seclusion.[342] The continuous search for *hesychia* in the saints' *Lives* thus suggests that reaching *hesychia* is hard, which reflects positively on the saints: they were so dedicated to spiritual progress

341 Following Klaniczay (2014).

342 E.g., whenever the conditions considered required for *hesychia* are not met anymore in a particular place. In addition, Gregory and Euthymius also have other motivations to travel, besides *hesychia*; so the search for *hesychia* is alternated also with different motivations to go to particular places. Chapter 3 will discuss these motivations in more detail.

during their life, that in addition to being 'very special dead' persons, they also belonged to the very special living.[343]

Mobility inspired by *hesychia* is therefore represented as positive: it facilitates spiritual development, it shows the special dedication of these monks, and it shows that the saints were exemplary ascetics who aimed to retreat from society.

An exemplary life was not considered enough to be celebrated as saint. Saints were also represented as being of benefit for society, by life (as holy men) and after their death. Especially the representation of the saint's life creates a challenge for the hagiographers of ascetic saints: that is, how to represent monks as rejecting society while at the same time serving it? In passages discussed in this chapter this tension was resolved in two ways. Firstly, the boundaries between exterior-interior and wilderness-civilisation are permeable. This allows for combining the two modes of sainthood, involving a degree of seclusion, but also a degree of interaction with people. Secondly, mobility facilitates alternating between the two modes: alternating episodes of seclusion with episodes of interaction. Also for this aspect, mobility is thus essential for the representation of sainthood in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius. The discourse analysis of *hesychia* has provided a lens to see one of the most difficult tasks of the hagiographer at work, that is, to represent a monk as a holy man who unites in one person two conflicting ideals: to be removed from society while simultaneously serving that very society.

The analysis of the *Life of Elias the Younger* illustrated that within middle-Byzantine hagiographical texts there is a range of possible connections between *hesychia,* mobility and immobility. In the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, *hesychia* is connected to space, and therefore to immobility and mobility. The analysis of the usage of *hesychia* showed that staying at certain places can lead to a tension to the monastic ideals of *hesychia* and of withdrawal from society (through distractions). The search for *hesychia* and mobility therefore propels the narrative forwards. Moreover, *hesychia* and mobility are instrumental in the representation of sainthood. In the *Life* of Elias, however, *hesychia* and space are explicitly disconnected. In this *Life* the saint does not travel in search of *hesychia* and hence mobility inspired by *hesychia* does not play a role in the representation of Elias' sainthood. Instead, the hagiographer suggests that *hesychia* can be realised anywhere, and specifically *also* while travelling. Similar to the other two *Lives, hesychia* is represented as a monastic ideal and mobility is represented as positive.[344] However, mobility and *hesychia* are not connected according to the hagiographer. In fact, the discussed passage indicates that *hesychia* is realised *despite* the mobility of Elias. This suggests that the hagiographer reacts to a discourse in which monastic mobility is perceived negatively and incongruent with *hesychia.* Another example from the *Life of Elias,* shows that this is not the only occasion in which he defends monastic mobility against potential criticism: the example of defending

343 For saints, particularly martyrs, as the 'very special dead', see Brown (1981), pp. 69–85.
344 The representation of Elias' sainthood in connection to episodes of mobility is explored further in the next chapter.

the pilgrimages of Elias provides a parallel in which the hagiographer anticipates negative attitudes towards mobility. In the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, on the other hand, there is no indication that the hagiographers anticipated scepticism from their audience. There the representation of mobility inspired by *hesychia* is purely positive, and there is no defensive tone.

The comparison between the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius on the one hand and the *Life* of Elias on the other, shows that there are diverse understandings of *hesychia* and a plurality in the representation of mobility. It also shows that some hagiographers anticipated negative perceptions of monastic mobility by their audiences, while others did not have these concerns. This may be dependent on the geographic and specific cultural setting in which the hagiographer was writing and on which audience they had in mind. As we have established this variety, the next chapter will study the hagiographical texts separately, and attempt to establish which contexts and motivations of hagiographers influence the representation of mobility in the respective hagiographies.

The investigation into the relation between *hesychia*, mobility and immobility has thus revealed insights into the understanding of *hesychia* and into the representation of mobility in middle-Byzantine hagiography. Indirectly it has also pointed towards attitudes of the hagiographer and potential attitudes of expected audiences. It has shown that in continuation of late antiquity, *hesychia* continued to be constructed as a monastic ideal in the middle-Byzantine period. It showed that mobility inspired by *hesychia* is represented as positive and functional in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, but also that there is a variety in the understanding of the connection between *hesychia* and mobility. It has suggested that the hagiographer of the *Life* of Elias expected an audience that was potentially negatively disposed towards monastic mobility, and that such expectations were absent in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius. Moreover, this chapter has laid bare tensions in the narratives between mobility and immobility of monks in middle-Byzantine hagiographies. These are contingent on the difficulty of finding *hesychia,* on the one hand, and tensions between aspects of the representation of sainthood on the other. The various connections between mobility and sainthood in the three case studies will be explored further in the next chapters.

3

Representations of travel motivation in the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis, Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we have seen that monastic (im)mobility could be variously interpreted, but was not considered to be neutral. People had normative ideas about it and these ideas found their way into prescriptive texts and hagiography. The present chapter will focus on the ways in which hagiographers interpreted and represented monastic mobility. Specifically, it will analyse representations of travel motivation. Considering the charged and multivalent nature of monastic mobility, one would expect that hagiographers included the motivations for the mobility of monks in their narratives. This would give the authors the opportunity to interpret the journeys in a positive light for their audiences. Moreover, the highly mobile character of Gregory, Euthymius and Elias is exceptional in the middle-Byzantine hagiographical corpus, so the authors might have felt the need to provide explanations for the many journeys to account for this relative anomaly in the contemporary output of the genre.[345]

To a certain degree, the saints' *Lives* meet this expectation. That the hagiographers represented travel motivations in particular cases was already observed in the previous chapter, in which examples were discussed where *hesychia* inspired mobility in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius. Travel in search of *hesychia* is, however, not the only travel motivation represented in the narratives.[346] Studying how motivations for travel, more broadly, are represented in the saints' *Lives* thus presents us with an opportunity to ask how the hagiographers interpreted *all* journeys of the monks whose life they narrated, and whether the representation of all of these travel motivations will enlighten us further on value judgements on monastic mobility.

Representation in hagiography is the result of a complex interplay of factors. To a certain degree, authors wished to 'document' the events they describe, the form of the narrative is bound by genre conventions and *topoi,* and authors also had various persuasive aims.[347] Studying the representation of travel motivations in the narratives therefore also presents us with the opportunity to ask whether the hagiographers used the travel theme as a discursive strategy. In other words, investigating how authors represent the travel motivation of monks might show us how hagiographers wished to use – or not use – 'the traveller-identity' of these highly mobile saints to portray a certain image of these monks.

The following analysis will thus answer two consecutive questions. Firstly, how did hagiographers interpret monastic mobility for their audiences and (for which aims) did they

345 In addition, representing travel motivations might be attractive for authors due to the narrative potential for organising the plot by providing insight into the motives of the saint.

346 In the *Life* of Elias *hesychia* was not a motivation for mobility (see chapter 2, section 2.4 and appendix 2), but we find many other motivations (including two journeys in search of solitude, so comparable to *hesychia*, see chapter 3, section 3.5 and appendix 8).

347 See the Introduction, pp. 26-28 for a discussion on the aims of hagiography.

use the representation of travel motivations as a discursive strategy? Secondly, from this analysis, can we deduce value judgements of authors and audiences on monastic mobility?

The chapter will first present a general picture of the representation of motivations for travel in the three *Lives,* by reflecting on motivation categories and examining which types are represented in the *Lives.* The analysis will then zoom in on each *Life* separately and discuss particular travel motivations. Because the previous chapters suggested that attitudes to travel are context-specific, at the start of the discussion of the three *Lives* I aimed to reconstruct what we can know about the aims of the authors and the performance and reading contexts (occasions and intended audiences).[348] Finally, the analysis will allow us to draw conclusions on which choices hagiographers made when integrating the travel theme in their narratives, how hagiographers used motivations for travel as discursive strategies in different ways, and what the representation of motivations teaches us about contemporary attitudes towards monastic mobility.

3.2 Travel motivations: categorisation

Travel motivation is understood here as the direct incentive for a person (or group) to move away from one place and go to another. As we will see, this incentive may not always lie with the movers themselves, but may also be caused by other people or factors. In order to establish how hagiographers represented the travel motivations of monks, we should first assess how to distinguish one motivation from another. Creating categories inevitably has drawbacks, because reality is always more complex and fluid than models can represent. Nevertheless, categorisation allows us to observe broad patterns within and between sources. Moreover, if scholars use the same general model of categorisation, rather than going immediately into the specifics of the language and categories used in their respective sources, comparisons can be more easily made on the basis of different studies. Finally, categorisation allows us to read texts against the grain. It invites us to assess whether categories that the authors themselves perhaps did not use nonetheless apply to these texts. This allows us to detect patterns that we otherwise might miss. It is therefore a worthwhile exercise to use a general mobility model as a starting point for analysis.

348 This remains partially speculative – more research into performance contexts of hagiography might provide more insights.

In mobility studies, one of the ways to classify types of mobility is by identifying the 'push and pull' factors that motivate mobility.[349] The factors that make a place unattractive and cause people to move away from a place are commonly referred to as push factors; the factors that make a destination attractive and cause people to move to that destination as pull factors.[350] The distinction between push and pull factors forms the basis of the mobility model introduced by Yannis Stouraitis.[351] The model reflects insights in recent studies on mobility and allows for comparisons within and beyond Byzantine studies. A distinction is made between voluntary mobility – in which pull factors and the individual's agency are the key motivators for mobility – and involuntary mobility – in which push factors are the key criteria for mobility and in which the agency of the mover is severely compromised.[352] Stouraitis indicated multiple subcategories within the general categories of voluntary and involuntary mobility. For involuntary mobility he identified as push factors natural catastrophe, state coercion and war.[353] For voluntary mobility he identified the categories of pilgrimage, educational, professional and economic mobility (see table 2). This model will be used as a starting point for analysis in this chapter, while both expanding it and taking its limits into account.

Table 2: Mobility model, based on Stouraitis (2020)

Voluntary mobility				Involuntary mobility		
Pilgrimage	Educational mobility	Professional mobility	Economic mobility	Natural catastrophe	State coercion	War

349 Another way is for example to distinguish between different types of travellers based on their social, professional and/or gender identities. Koray Durak, for example proposes a hybrid model for analysis based both on travel motivation and traveller identity. Durak (2022), p. 444. Durak justly points out that we should acknowledge the permeability and cross-overs between the different categories. According to Durak we should especially take into account the multiple and changing identities of travellers. Although this study will reflect on some of the insights of Durak, especially on the fluidity of categories, the present study has as its focus the representation of travel motivation and will therefore opt for a model focussed on motivation. Moreover, instead of already selecting the relevant aspects of identity as categories of analysis, this study will ask how representations of travel motivation helped to shape the portrayal of the saints' identities. Finally, a less complex and more general model hopefully enables making comparisons more easily in future research.

350 See e.g., the discussion on push and pull factors in Preiser-Kapeller and Mitsiou (2018), p. 32; Preiser-Kapeller et al. (2020a), p. 4.

351 Stouraitis (2020). Unfortunately Stouraitis is not specific about the sources he has used (or has neglected to use) in making his diagram, labeled 'Categorisation of the types of migration and their causes discussed in Byzantine sources'. In his article he discusses types of involuntary mobility (refugees of war, deportation and resettlement of populations by enemy forces and state-coerced resettlement of populations), collecting the findings of other scholarly research and including examples from a variety of primary sources. His article thus reflects mostly the state of current research, rather than an extensive inventory of types of mobility found in a large corpus of primary sources. Nevertheless, the criteria for distinguishing the types of mobility are clear, that is, he identified various push and pull factors, and the categories are general and applicable to many journeys. Stouraitis' categorisation may therefore serve as a starting good point for discussions on travel motivation.

352 Ibid., p. 142.

353 The categories of state coercion and war Stouraitis specifies with further subdivisions. For war the two push factors he identifies are deportation and flight – both types find examples in the saints' *Lives.* Further specifications are not so relevant for the present study, for the *Lives* mainly represent voluntary mobility. Stouraitis (2020).

The model by Stouraitis is not solely based on hagiography, but based on journeys found in other Byzantine sources as well.[354] Because many of the journeys found in the three saints' *Lives* that are discussed in this chapter fit into the categories, we may conclude that the representations of motives for mobility overlap with motivations found in other Byzantine texts. Furthermore, they most likely correspond to a reality of different types of mobility within and beyond the Eastern Roman Empire. In this respect the saints are represented as travellers who would have shared in the experience of other travellers at the time.[355] In this way, the representation of the saints' mobility situates them within the historical context, which contributes to the authenticity of the narratives.

In this chapter I will focus primarily on voluntary mobility, because these journeys offer an opportunity to explore how the authors interpreted the motives of the saints themselves to travel in situations when there was no urgent need to travel for safety reasons. That does not mean that involuntary mobility is not represented in the narratives. For instance, we find examples of movement caused by war in the *Lives* of Elias and Euthymius. An example of flight in the *Life* of Elias is when the hagiographer narrates how Elias and his family fled from Enna to a castle during an Aghlabid attack.[356] Later in the narrative Elias was captured, enslaved and brought to North Africa.[357] These movements correspond to the flight and deportation of groups of people caused by the attacks and the eventual conquest of Sicily by Arab forces from 827 onwards, up to the conquest of Enna in 859.[358] The *Life* of Euthymius likewise features journeys impelled by fleeing danger (by Arab raids in the Aegean sea) and an episode of captivity by these raiders.[359] The involuntary mobility that affected many contemporary people in the Mediterranean is thus reflected in the saints' *Lives*.[360]

However, the majority of the journeys represented in the saints' *Lives* are voluntary mobility. Three categories of voluntary mobility according to Stouraitis' model are reflected in the narratives. Journeys motivated by receiving monastic training could be classified as educational mobility, whereas journeys related to being a monastic leader as professional

354 However, see footnote 351 on Stouraitis' source base.

355 The application of the model does not show us *how* these types of mobility are exactly represented in the narrative, which sometimes still represents the monk as extraordinary, even though the type of push factor is shared by many other travellers. As we will see in the following analyses, the saints are represented both as travellers that share experience with other travellers – which we could observe by differentiating between general types of travel motivation categories – as well as unique 'saintly' travellers.

356 *Life of Elias the Younger* 3.

357 The first time Elias was sold as a slave he was saved by a Byzantine ship during the sea voyage and brought back to Sicily. *Life of Elias* 6-9.

358 See Rossi Taibbi's commentary in Rossi Taibbi (1962), pp. 131–132.

359 *Life of Euthymius* 25-26.

360 We can also find an instance of a natural catastrophe that impacted a journey in the *Life* of Gregory, although this was not the represented motivation *per se* for Gregory to move: during one of his journeys Gregory and another monk would have been caught in a storm at sea which led them to be shipwrecked. They washed at a (unspecified) shore, but then continued their travel. Moreover, Gregory had a hostile encounter with the local population in Otranto (who took him for an enemy, probably for an Arab), although the hostility is not directly represented in the narrative as a motivation for Gregory to move away again. *Life of Gregory* 24 and 33-34.

mobility. Pilgrimage is also represented in the saints' *Lives,* although perhaps not as much as one might expect.[361]

These categories, such as voluntary and involuntary, are not perfect. Some motivations fit perfectly within a certain category and others only partly.[362] Using categories in the first place makes us attune to these nuances. We also see this fluidity reflected in the hagiographical representations. For example, by giving more attention to the wishes of Elias, Elias' hagiographer represents a journey that usually would be understood as involuntary as neither completely involuntary nor completely voluntary. That is, in his *Life* Elias is captured twice during Arab attacks on Sicily and is put on a ship to be sold as a slave. Earlier he has received a divine revelation that tells him that he is destined to go to North Africa for missionary work, so, according to the story, Elias feels that this journey is his destiny. However, he misses his family too much and prays to God to be rescued and brought back home – this then happens (showing the effectiveness of his prayers already as a child and the special interest God takes in Elias' life). The second time he is captured, he realises that he now should take heed to the revelation and goes willingly.[363] Mobility due to enslavement would be classified as involuntary mobility, but in the narrative Elias is represented as having some agency in when and why he makes this journey. These journeys of captivity are therefore not represented as completely involuntary. We will see more examples of such fluidity and complexity of representation later in this chapter. Additionally, we will see examples in which more than one category of motivation applies. Multi-layered mobility is generally reflective of reality, as people often have multiple motivations to make a single journey.[364]

---

361 In the previous chapter a passage on pilgrimage in the *Life* of Elias has already been discussed, see pp. 103-105 above. Depending on the definition of pilgrimage it is more or less prevalent in the narratives. In a narrow understanding, pilgrimages are journeys to visiting sites with the purpose of venerating a place or relics that are considered holy. In this narrow definition, pilgrimage only played a minor part in the *Life* of Euthymius, but more extensively in the *Life* of Elias. Some scholars use a broader definition and see journeys generally motivated by the traveller's belief or as having a spiritual purpose as pilgrimage, so that visiting a monastic community is also interpreted as pilgrimage, see e.g., Ritter (2019b). If we would use this broad definition, we can see more pilgrimage journeys reflected in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius as well. However, I do not find such a broad definition helpful in distinguishing between representations of travel motivation, and prefer the narrow definition: I see venerating a place or bones as a distinct phenomenon from other journeys that also have a 'spiritual' purpose. Of course, pilgrims, in the narrow sense, often had multiple motivations for travelling, while travellers who did not have venerating a tomb or place as their primary aim, might just do that when they arrived at a place with venerable relics. In my analysis, however, I look at how journeys and motivations are represented in the text and how audiences might have interpreted these journeys. If a journey is not clearly represented as being motivated by the veneration of a holy place or tomb, they are not discussed as pilgrimage here. For a broader understanding of pilgrimage, see Ibid; Elsner and Rutherford (2005).

362 For example, one could easily imagine cases in which the decision to travel is made by someone else, so the mover in question has limited individual agency, but perhaps they still do not travel against their will (for example, such a situation could possibly occur for women accompanying their husbands on the move). In her PhD project on late-antique mobility (University of Vienna, working title: *Gehen oder bleiben? Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse in Mobilitätsgeschichten des 4. und 5. Jh. n. Chr. anhand einer intersektionalen Analyse spätantiker Briefe*), Nadine Riegler will discuss in more detail how reality is more complex than represented in mobility models, including a discussion of cases where the boundaries between voluntary and involuntary mobility are not clear-cut.

363 *Life of Elias the Younger* 4-9.

364 Also observed in Foubert (2018), p. 6.

The mobility model is not sufficient as a sole basis for discussing hagiographical representations of travel motivations. Two further considerations will be taken into account in the discussion. The first is that I will expand the model. Some types of (voluntary) mobility represented in the narratives do not fit into any of the subcategories. Types of mobility that are represented in the saints' *Lives* that are lacking from Stouraitis' model are: mobility motivated by interpersonal relations (a sense of loyalty towards family, friendship, but also mobility inspired by strained relations in times of interpersonal conflict);[365] mobility for spiritual progress; and mobility inspired by a divine command or revelation. The last two are probably rather particular for monastic saints and for hagiographical texts. Because they are represented in hagiography, these categories of mobility will be considered as well in the analysis.

Secondly, we should reflect on scale. It is important to consider how the monks relate to others in historical reality in order to assess how the representation of their mobility reflects on their portrayed identity. It is therefore pertinent to ask whether the journeys of the saints are journeys made by many people, or journeys that only relate them to a small percentage of society and are relatively unique. Whereas involuntary mobility generally affects much more people at the same time, for example fleeing from a natural or military catastrophe, voluntary mobility, such as educational mobility, would have happened more typically in smaller groups.[366] Moreover, certain types of journeys may be made every week or every month (e.g., travel to a market), whereas others may only be pursued less frequently (e.g., pilgrimage). Considering the range of motivations reflected in the hagiographical narratives, the monks are represented as sharing experiences with many other travellers in the Mediterranean, especially with experiences of involuntary mobility, as well as with smaller percentages of the population for mobility for educational or professional purposes and perhaps an even smaller percentage for long-distance pilgrimage.[367] The fact that they travelled for all these different reasons represents them as particularly versatile movers. Thereby they are represented perhaps as rather special movers compared to many people living in the Mediterranean, who might only travel in

365 For example, different theological standpoints could lead to severed interpersonal relations (and which could in the extreme case lead to forced exile, as happed to famous examples such as John Chrysostom or Theodore the Studite). In our saints' *Lives* we do not find clear examples of forced exile, but in the *Life* of Gregory, the monk is presented to move away from a monastery because he disagreed with the theological position of the abbot. *Life of Gregory* 5.

366 Or even individually, as some journeys are represented in the saints' *Lives*. In reality, most people probably did not travel alone, due to safety and practical reasons. See Dimitroukas (1997), pp. 112–114.

367 Pilgrimage to shrines close to home might have been much more frequent, but an extensive study on the prevalence of particular forms of pilgrimage compared to others in an Eastern Roman context is still lacking. On pilgrimage in the Eastern Roman Empire, see e.g., Talbot (2002); Ariantzi and Eichner (2018); Külzer (2018); Ritter (2019a); Whiting (2020); Ritter (2020). Research using non-literary sources, such as a new research project studying inscriptions in the Eastern Mediterranean titled *Pilgrims' inscriptions, movement, and devotion between Byzantium and Rus' in the 5th-15th centuries C.E* at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (2021-2025), may shed more light on the prevalence of various forms of pilgrimage.

their lives for certain reasons, but not for others.[368] The type of motivation aside, distance also plays a role in the degree to which the monks are represented as 'ordinary' or 'special'. Long-distance travel was more risky and required more money and time (and thus the traveller would be away longer from daily tasks that were necessary to make a living). The many long-distance travels of the saints also make the saints rather special compared to many other travellers.

Considering the various travel motivations represented in the saints' *Lives* as discussed above and taking the considerations about scale into account, we may preliminary conclude that hagiographers represent the monks simultaneously as rooted in historical reality, to a certain degree sharing experiences with other people living and moving in the Mediterranean, but in some respects also as more special. In the next sections I will explore in more detail representations of travel motivation in each of the three *Lives*. Since the previous chapter suggested that discourses on monastic mobility are context-specific, I will start each analysis with an exposition of what we know about the creation of each *Life*.

3.3 Representations of travel motivation in the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis

3.3.1 The creation of the *Life*

Based on the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis we can establish when Gregory must have lived. He was born at the end of the eight century in Eirenopolis in Isauria and he seems to have died on November 20th in 842 or possibly one or two years before.[369] His *Life* is transmitted in twenty-four manuscripts, all of which provide (roughly) the same text.[370]

The author of his *Life* is generally accepted to be Ignatius the Deacon, based on attributions to Ignatius in three manuscripts and on stylistic similarities with his other

368 How special or common travelling for (how) many reasons actually was is hard to establish as our (literary) sources, with all its difficulties for teasing out realia, is hardly representative of the entire population. Consequently, there is not (yet) a scholarly consensus on the prevalence of mobility (especially for 'ordinary' people) in the medieval Mediterranean, let alone a clear idea how much one type of mobility occurred compared to another. This observation is therefore speculative. For two ends of the spectrum in the debate of the prevalence of mobility in the medieval Mediterranean, see e.g., Lilie (2009), for the position that there was little, and e.g., Oldfield (2016), for the position that all was mobility.

369 The time of birth is not specified in the *Life*, but F. Dvornik reconstructed a date of birth between 780 and 790 (unfortunately I have not had access to Dvornik's edition, but reference to his position is found in Mango (1985)), while Cyril Mango proposes 797 as the latest date. Gregory died on November 20, according to the narrative. The year of death is thought to be 842 or earlier, but probably not later than 842 (as the 'triumph of Orthodoxy', in March 843, is not mentioned in the *Life*). 842 with a range of uncertainty of one or two years before is now usually accepted. See Mango (1985), pp. 636; 643–644; See also Prieto Domínguez (2021), pp. 169–170; Dvornik (1926).

370 As always with manuscript transmission there are minor variations between the manuscripts, but none of the manuscripts presents a completely different version of the *Life*. For the manuscript transmission, see Makris (1997), pp. 36–52.

works.[371] The *Life* has been variously dated to between 842-845, 842-847 or c. 855.[372] The date of death of Ignatius is disputed (either soon after 847 or after 870) which otherwise could have functioned as a *terminus ante quem.*[373] The year 842 serves as a *terminus post quem.*[374] It seems likely that the *Life* was written when the controversy around iconoclasm was still an urgent matter at the time, and thus might have been written just after the official restoration of icon-veneration in March 843, or possibly even just before. Namely, the text includes several digressions on Gregory's correct theological standpoints – although the issue of iconoclasm otherwise does not feature prominently in the narrative.[375] It seems therefore that these digressions are included just to make sure that Gregory was to be considered on the 'right' side of history, even though he was not involved in defending icons himself. Moreover, in the epilogue the author prays to the saint to expel heresies and pray for peace within the church.[376] This would suggest that the controversy was not yet fully resolved – possibly even allowing for a pre-restoration date (before March 843) – or that the post-restoration 'purge' of iconoclast religious leaders was still in full swing.[377] This would mean that the *Life* was written very soon after Gregory's death (within a year and up to two years, depending of the exact year of his death).

A comment in the epilogue of the *Life* implies that Ignatius wrote the hagiographical text on a commission from disciples of Gregory: 'being obedient to pious men, who served the

371 Some scholars doubted Ignatius' authorship (e.g., Wanda Wolska-Conus), in response to which Ihor Ševčenko elaborated on stylistic similarities between the *Life* of Gregory and other works known to be written by Ignatius to prove his authorship. Georgios Makris accepts this and has added further stylistic parallels. Since then the authorship of Ignatius has been commonly accepted. See Wolska-Conus (1970), pp. 340–342; 359; Ševčenko (1982), p. 37, note 70; Mango (1985), p. 636; Makris (1997), pp. 46–48.

372 See Prieto Domínguez (2021), pp. 170, footnote 11.

373 Cyril Mango proposed after 847. Mango (1985), p. 645. Makris argued instead that Ignatius lived on to at least 870. Makris (1997), pp. 3–11. A later date of death is necessary for Makris if his hypothesis is true that the *Life* was written around or just after 855 after the foundation of Joseph the Hymnographer's monastery dedicated to Gregory; I disagree with a date of 855 for the composition of the *Life,* see pp. 123-124 below. However, others rejected again the dates proposed by Makris; for this discussion see note 38 in the *PmBZ* entry for 'Ignatios Diakonos: Ἰγνάτιος' (=*PmBZ* 2665/corr.), Lilie et al. (2013a).

374 The Emperor Theophilus, who died January 842, is implied to be already dead at the time of writing, so 842 would be a *terminus post quem.* Prieto Domínguez (2021), p. 170; Mango (1985), p. 644.

375 See e.g., *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 73.

376 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* epilogue, lines 16-19. Prieto Domínguez goes into more detail about the context of iconoclasm as background for the creation of this *Life.* He speculates that Gregory might even have had iconoclast viewpoints – although he thinks it is more likely that icons were not central in Gregory's spirituality, so he might represent a more 'indifferent' rather than a polemical standpoint towards icons. Ignatius, however, surely did not want to portray Gregory as an iconoclast, as the iconophile theological digressions in the *Life* indicate. See Prieto Domínguez (2021), pp. 169–186.

377 Malamut interprets the phrase in the epilogue to mean that the *Life* was written just after the official restoration of icon veneration at March 11 843, although in my view the phrase does not rule out the possibility that it was written earlier: the plea of the author to restore the peace within the church and expel heresies could equally be interpreted to mean that the official restoration had not yet taken place. It does suggest, I think, a date in which the issue was still very urgent and perhaps (some) iconoclasts were still in places of power. So I am inclined to think that the *Life* was written just before or just after March 843, so in 842 or 843. Malamut (2004), p. 1193; For the political and religious context of the period of iconoclasm, see Haldon and Brubaker (2011). Although it seems that there would not have been a 'mass expulsion' of clergy, certainly a number of religious leaders were deposed, and this must have inspired anxiety among those who had had iconoclast sympathies. Brubaker and Haldon (2011), p. 450.

servant of God'.[378] The narrative itself gives no clues as to a connection between Ignatius and Gregory. We hear the author's voice only in the epilogue – and even then not revealing his connection to the saint.[379] No other sources indicate that Ignatius knew Gregory personally. The reason to choose Ignatius to author the *Life* thus probably rested on Ignatius' reputation as a prolific writer of hagiographies, rather than a personal connection between Ignatius and the saint.

If we are to understand the intended aims of the author by writing this text and to know who were the intended audiences and what was the (original) context in which the text would have been performed, we need to know more about the commissioners and for what occasion and purposes they commissioned the *Life.* This may give us insight into the rationale behind the representation of travel motivations as well. Although there is consensus on the authorship of the narrative, it is not evident who the commissioners were.

Georgios Makris, the editor of the *Life,* has presented a hypothesis on the identity of the commissioner. Although in the *Life* itself the commissioners are not called more specific than 'pious men who served the servant of God', Makris posed that it is 'certain' that Joseph the Hymnographer (b. c. 808 - d. 886) was the commissioner.[380] Joseph would have commissioned it to be read in his newly founded monastery. Makris based his conclusions on two passages in the epilogue of the *Life*: the beforementioned reference to the commissioners as being servants of Gregory and a passage in which the narrator pleads to the saint for intercession on behalf of 'your flock and your supplicants' (τῆς σῆς ποίμνης καὶ τῶν σῶν ἱκετῶν).

Does this lead to the conclusion that Joseph was the commissioner of the *Life of Gregory*? Let us review what we know about Joseph the Hymnographer and his relation to Gregory. Joseph was indeed a disciple of Gregory. He was a prolific hymnographer, and many hymns he composed have come down to us, including some dedicated to Gregory.[381] Joseph's *Life* narrates that Joseph joined Gregory in ascetical practice in Thessaloniki and that they

378 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* epilogue, lines 8-10: Καὶ τοῖς τῷ θεράποντι θεοῦ διακονήσασιν εὐλαβέσιν ἀνδράσι καταπειθὴς γενόμενος τῇ μικρᾷ ταύτῃ τοῦ λόγου ὑπηρεσίᾳ ἑαυτὸν καθῆκα προθυμότατα [...].: 'And being obedient to the pious men who served the servant of God, I have directed the mind most eagerly to this small service of this discourse [...]'.

379 The first person's voice indicates that the author hopes that his narrative will be beneficial to others and indicates that he used trustworthy sources – both being hagiographical *topoi.* The informants that he used included Gregory's uncle Symeon, a disciple Athanasius and a monk named Peter. *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* epilogue, lines 4-8; on these *topoi,* see Pratsch (2005), pp. 347–349.

380 Makris (1997), p. 26.

381 See Ševčenko (1998); Prieto Domínguez (2021), pp. 195–201.

travelled together to Constantinople.[382] In Constantinople, Gregory would have sent Joseph to Rome to report about the iconoclast controversy. On his journey to Rome Joseph would have been captured and released again by Arabs. Joseph subsequently travelled back to Constantinople to find out that Gregory had just died (20 November 841 or 842) and that the veneration of icons had been restored (11 March 843). Joseph later attracted a circle of monks himself, which formed a monastic community. Once this community grew too big, Joseph decided to found a new monastery to which he transferred Gregory's relics.[383] Moreover, he built a church dedicated to the apostle Bartholomew and to his former spiritual father Gregory.[384] After Joseph's death he came to be venerated as a saint himself.

Considering the connections between Joseph and Gregory, Joseph would indeed be a plausible candidate to be involved in the commissioning of Gregory's *Life*. We know that Joseph himself also created literary output for the celebration of his former spiritual father. That is, he composed hymns in Gregory's honour, probably for the occasion of the transfer of Gregory's relics.[385] It is well possible that Joseph's involvement in creating texts for the veneration of Gregory extended to the commissioning of Gregory's *Life*. Makris takes the plea on behalf of τῆς σῆς ποίμνης ('your flock') in the epilogue of the *Life of Gregory* to mean

382 There are two *Lives* written about Joseph the Hymnographer, both mention the connection to Gregory, but the one I refer to in this chapter is the earliest one, written soon after Joseph's death by Theophanes, Joseph's successor as abbot at the Bartholomew-monastery. The other *Life* by John the Deacon is written later (possibly early 10th century, but the identity of the author and the dates are unclear; in any case, the earlier *Life* by Theophanes provides us with more detail). Prieto Domínguez (2021), pp. 197–198. For the *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* by Theophanes, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1901). Unfortunately I did not have access to the edition by Papadopoulos-Kerameus itself, so I used the text incorporated in the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database*, based on the edition by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (hereafter referred to as *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer*): https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography/database/texts/35.html.

383 *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* 5-9.

384 Janin (1969) stated that Joseph together with Gregory founded a monastery church dedicated to Bartholomew. This must be based on an erroneous interpretation of the relevant passage in the *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer*: ναόν τε τούτῳ σὺν τῷ κλεινῷ Γρηγορίῳ τῇ ὑδίᾳ ποίμνῃ συνανεδείματο. Grammatically it would indeed make sense to interpret the clause to mean that Joseph together with Gregory (σὺν τῷ Γρηγορίῳ) founded a church, whereby the prefix συν- in συνανεδείματο is repeated and τῇ ὑδίᾳ ποίμνῃ (his own flock) is a dative of advantage. However, such a reading does not make sense in the narrative: Gregory has already died by this point in the narrative. A few sentences earlier narrate that Joseph translated Gregory's relics to the newly founded monastery. Therefore the passage must be interpreted to mean that Joseph built the church, together with his own flock (τῇ ὑδίᾳ ποίμνῃ) dedicated to Bartholomew (τούτῳ) *and* to Gregory (σὺν τῷ κλεινῷ Γρηγορίῳ). We must then accept the rather unusual usage of σύν, where the author (or copyist) could also just have used καί; in my view this is the only logical interpretation when taking into account the narrative. This passage is the only evidence we have of a church dedicated to Gregory of Decapolis. Janin (1969), p. 57; *The Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* 9.

385 The *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* suggests that Joseph composed hymns (μελῳδήμασι, 'melodies') for Gregory and Bartholomew to celebrate the translation of their relics and the dedication of the church. My translation of the relevant passage: 'Already many monks flocked together to the venerable and very holy Joseph, because of his beautiful and virtuous way of life, and because it was not possible to come together in that place [anymore], he then established our school of virtue in a place that then was deserted; to which he transferred the relic of the Great Gregory as an inviolable treasury [...]. [H]e build up a church together with his own flock for him [Bartholomew] and for the famous Gregory. In great care he also established and adorned their feasts with melodies'. (ἤδη δὲ πλειόνων μοναζόντων τῷ τιμίῳ καὶ ἱερωτάτῳ Ἰωσὴφ συρρευσάντων διὰ τὴν καλλίστην καὶ ἐνάρετον αὐτοῦ βιοτήν, καὶ συνεῖναι τῷ τόπῳ μὴ δυναμένων, τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐν χώρῳ ἐρήμῳ τότε ὄντι καθιδρύσατο φροντιστήριον·; ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου ὡς θησαυρὸν ἄσυλον μετατίθησι λείψανον [...] ναόν τε τούτῳ σὺν τῷ κλεινῷ Γρηγορίῳ τῇ ὑδίᾳ ποίμνῃ συνανεδείματο, ἐν φροντίδι πλείονι καθεστήκει καὶ μελῳδήμασι τὰς αὐτῶν πανηγύρεις κοσμεῖν·) *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* 9.

that the *Life* was intended to be recited for a community of monks in a monastery for which Gregory was the patron saint – in other words, the monastery founded by Joseph.[386] As abbot and founder of this monastery, Joseph would effectively be the one who – in name of his monastic community – commissioned Ignatius to write the *Life.*

Although the hypothesis presented by Makris is possible, there are some objections that suggest that it is not as certain that Joseph was the commissioner as Makris argues. The first objection is that Joseph is not mentioned in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis.*[387] It is striking that he does not feature clearly in the narrative if he would be the commissioner, for the two would have spent time together in Thessaloniki and Constantinople, and Joseph himself was becoming a person with spiritual authority in the years after Gregory's death and after Joseph's return to Constantinople. The *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* suggests that Joseph's encounter with Gregory inspired Joseph to live an ascetical life, which would have been a key moment in Joseph's own trajectory in becoming a spiritual leader.[388] Moreover, Gregory would have been the one to send Joseph to Rome, which had a great impact on Joseph's life trajectory – including being captured by Arabs and released again. These events do not feature in the *Life of Gregory.* If Joseph commissioned the *Life,* why would he not make sure that Ignatius mentioned his connection to his spiritual father Gregory? This could have reflected positively on the spiritual authority that Joseph was accumulating. Moreover, a few other connections to Gregory are referred to by name: his uncle and abbot Symeon (in the Decapolis region and Constantinople), a leader of an ascetical community in Thessaloniki named Mark, a disciple named Anastasios (in Thessaloniki and at Mount Olympus), another named Johannes (in Thessaloniki), one named Peter (in Thessaloniki), a government official (a *protokancellarios*) named Georgios (in Thessaloniki), and a priest called Theodoulos (in Thessaloniki).[389] So Ignatius did not necessarily keep (all of) Gregory's connections anonymous.

The other note of caution to assume that Joseph commissioned the *Life* concerns the interpretation of τῆς σῆς ποίμνης, 'your flock', in the epilogue. Makris interprets this as the monastic foundation founded by Joseph with Gregory as the patron saint. However, would Joseph's monastic circle not be considered to be dedicated to Gregory only *after*

386 In referring to this passage, Makris states that '[i]n der Dekapolitesvita steht explizit, […] dass die Vita zunächst als Lesung für den Konvent des Klosters gedacht war, das unter dessen Patronat stand, d.h. für das Kloster Josephs'. Makris (1997), p. 26.

387 This has also been observed by Malamut (2004), p. 1195.

388 *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* 5.

389 Makris refutes this by suggesting that these informants were all dead, and living connections were not mentioned by name. Makris (1997), p. 27. It is true that many people Gregory interacts with in the story are not mentioned by name, but just referred to as 'a monk' or 'a woman/man'. Theodoulos' death is narrated in the *Life* (for Gregory predicts it to him), but the deaths of the other individuals are not. Moreover, Gregory predicts more deaths than just the one of Theodoulos, and those individuals are not mentioned by name either (see e.g., chapters 43 and 45). So there is no way to verify or disprove Makris' assertion, although the hagiographer does not consistently use the criterium of death for deciding who to identify by name. Chapters in the *Life of Greogry of Decapolis* in which these individuals are mentioned: Symeon (multiple chapters); Mark (chapter 22); Anastasius (chapters 52-53); Johannes (chapter 62); Peter (55 and 88); Georgios (chapter 52); Theodoulos (chapter 44).

the translation of Gregory's relics to Joseph's monastery? This event, which based on the *Life of Joseph* would have taken place around 855,[390] is however not narrated in the *Life of Gregory.* The *Life of Gregory* must therefore have been written before the translation of his relics – for this would surely have featured in the *Life* otherwise.[391] Consequently, the phrase τῆς σῆς ποίμνης would presumably not refer to a monastic community headed by Joseph, with Gregory's tomb still elsewhere in Constantinople. Rather, τῆς σῆς ποίμνης might more likely refer to a monastic community that considered Gregory himself to be the spiritual leader, while he was alive. The *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* does not include any building activity of the foundation of a (physical) monastery by Gregory, so this still does not lead to any certain conclusions on which exact monastic community this would be.[392] The monastic community could either refer to the circle of monks that lived near and interacted with Gregory in Thessaloniki,[393] a circle from his time at Mount Olympus, or from the last year of his life, in Constantinople.[394] The narrative does not elaborate on his stays at Mount Olympus, nor in Constantinople, whereas plenty of episodes taking place at Thessaloniki are included. Disciples from his time at Thessaloniki might thus be potential commissioners of the *Life,* asking Gregory for supplication on their behalf by means of this *Life.* As some of these monks from Thessaloniki would have moved to Constantinople by

390 Joseph probably arrived back in Constantinople in 843, for festivities for the restoration of icons is referred to in the narrative; by this time Gregory had died. Joseph would have spent some time near Gregory's corpse, and then together with John, a fellow disciple of Gregory, he would have stayed at a sanctuary dedicated to St. Antipas. After John's death, which Daniel Stiernon has dated to 850 based on the second *Life of Joseph* by John the Deacon, Joseph would have stayed at a sanctuary dedicated to John Chrysostom for five years, before founding his own monastic community, bringing Gregory's relics to the monastery and building the church dedicated to Bartholomew and Gregory. If we accept John's death at 850, Joseph's monastery was thus founded in 855. Stiernon (1973), p. 253.

391 This point has also been noted by Malamut (2004), p. 1197.

392 The absence of a narration of building activity or of an official foundation of a monastery does not contradict the idea that there was a monastic community of some sort for which the monks would consider Gregory as the spiritual leader. In fact, the *Life of Gregory* is full of encounters with monks who live near Gregory and go to him for advice and clearly see him as someone with spiritual authority. This testifies of the fluidity of more 'loosely organised' monastic practice common in the Eastern Roman Empire.

393 Although Prieto Domínguez is probably right in pointing out that at least some of the monks who lived with Gregory in Thessaloniki would have accompanied him in his final journey to Constantinople. First, because he was a sick man and would have required assistance. Secondly, the hagiographer indicates that Gregory was surrounded by fellow monks at his deathbed. Finally, the monk Anastasios, one of the informants for the narrative and initially one of the Gregory's disciples in Thessaloniki, already moved to Constantinople and then to Mount Olympus earlier, as is recounted in the narrative; and Peter, another informant of Gregory's Thessaloniki circle, is also described to have travelled to Constantinople after Gregory's death: he would have been captured by Arabs and released through the intercession of Gregory (after Peter prayed to the saint: this is one of Gregory's posthumous miracles). This inspired Peter to travel to Constantinople to visit the tomb of Gregory to express his gratitude for his release. His subsequent whereabouts are not narrated. So it may well be that the circle of Thessalonian monks were – at the time of commissioning – based at Constantinople or dispersed. Prieto Domínguez (2021), p. 186; *Life of Gregory* 52-53 and 88.

394 Malamut proposes that the monastic community is the one developing around a church of 'St. Antipas', after Joseph was sent to Rome and before he had returned (explaining the omission of Joseph's name in the *Life of Gregory*). Malamut (2004), p. 1197-1198. St. Antipas is mentioned in the *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* (ch.5) and the narrative gives the impression it was located near Constantinople (although not specified, but the *Life* narrates that Joseph went there immediately after following Gregory to Constantinople). The monastic community that developed there (according to the *Life of Joseph*) may correspond to the community in/near Constantinople where Gregory would have stayed according to the *Life of Gregory.*

the time of commissioning (including the aforementioned Anastasios and probably Peter as well), the commissioners might perhaps consist of monks now based in Constantinople (or nearby Mount Olympus), or a combination of Thessalonian- and Constantinopolitan-based monks.[395]

All the above does not falsify Makris' hypothesis that Joseph the Hymnographer could have been the commissioner of the *Life.* It is clear that Joseph made other efforts to promote Gregory's veneration as a saint, evinced by his hymns and monastery foundation, so it is not unthinkable that he was the commissioner or that he belonged to a group of commissioners. The objections raised above indicate that this is not as certain as Makris suggests. Moreover, if Joseph was involved, I believe that he would have commissioned it before founding his monastery in 855, and so the *Life* would not – as Makris asserts – originally have been intended to be read in this monastery.[396] If Joseph had commissioned it after he founded a monastery dedicated to Gregory with Gregory's relics, these events would be expected to be included in the narrative, but they are not. In addition, a further possibility that we should consider is that Joseph did not have anything to do with the commission, but that it came from the circle of followers based in Thessaloniki or Constantinople.

From this discussion we moreover learn that the fact that there is no clear attention paid to the establishing of a monastic community by Gregory in the *Life* makes it more difficult to establish for which occasion, for which commissioners, and with what purposes the *Life* was written. We will see that such attention to the foundation of a monastic community does feature in the *Lives* of Euthymius and Elias, and that these foundation descriptions establish a link between the commissioner(s) or author of the respective *Life* and the saint. If anything, the uncertainties sketched above suggest that more research should be done to the various commissioning and performance contexts of hagiography. Not knowing the commissioners and the intended performance context and audiences will also make it more uncertain why Ignatius will represented Gregory's travel motivations in a particular way and whose possible evaluative ideas on monastic mobility might be reflected in the *Life.*

As we are not certain who the commissioners were this also leaves in doubt who the intended audiences of the *Life* were and on which occasion(s) the text was meant to be performed. What we do know is that the text was written in a time of political and ideological change (probably around 843). Óscar Prieto Domínguez has made some illuminating propositions on the intended aims of the commissioners in light of the iconoclasm

395 Cf. footnote 393.

396 Although I would imagine that the monastic community would have obtained a copy of the *Life* soon after its foundation and is among the future audiences of the text.

controversy context.[397] He has made the case that Gregory and by extension his disciples possibly could have been suspect of having iconoclast sympathies.[398] By commissioning the *Life*, the monks could not only express their devotion to their spiritual father and celebrate him as a saint, they could also clear Gregory's name[399] – and by extension theirs – and make sure that they would not face any negative repercussions.[400] According to Prieto Domínguez, such a motive might also connect to the commissioners' choice for Ignatius as author. Ignatius himself seems to have had iconoclast views, but he had a change of heart later.[401] Therefore, besides being a skilled author, he might have been sympathetic and understanding of the commissioners' request, while at the same time also wanting to redeem himself and ensure that he would continue to receive commissions.[402] Like Makris' hypothesis about Josph the Hymnographer's role, Prieto Domínguez' interpretation of events remains speculative. Nonetheless, the contexts of iconoclasm – and the choice for Ignatius as an author – seems relevant to take into account. One member of the intended audience we do know, namely the saint himself. The saint is addressed in the epilogue of the *Life:* the narrator expresses a plea to Gregory to serve as an intercessor before God to save his flock and to expel heresy from the Church.[403]

397 Malamut has also presented a hypothesis on the aims of the commissioners. She thought the *Life* was commissioned by a monastic community at St. Antipas (cf. footnote 394 above) in an effort to obtain Gregory's relics – who were at the time in Constantinople. See Malamut (2004), p. 1197-1198. However, Prieto Domínguez convincingly refutes her hypothesis, see Prieto Domínguez (2021), pp. 185–186. Interpreting the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* in light of the iconoclast controversy aside, Prieto Domínguez furthermore argues that Gregory travelled towards Sicily for the Byzantine intelligence. This could also explain, according to Prieto Domínguez, why the motivations for many journeys are not specified in the narrative. Although he has many compelling arguments for this theory, it remains highly speculative. More importantly, these circumstances presumably did not play a great role in the motives for commissioning the text, nor in the choice of how to represent Gregory as saint (intelligence operations tend to be secretive and a spy identity for Gregory is not stressed in the narrative). Ibid., pp. 183–184.

398 Prieto Domínguez points out that it is impossible to know whether Gregory and his disciples actually were iconoclasts, but suggests that the disciples might have been afraid of such an accusation in the aftermath of the 'Triumph of Orthodoxy' in 843. Neither Gregory, nor his disciples seem to have actively defended icons and Gregory, as is apparent from the *Life,* had good contacts with people in power that were known iconoclasts (e.g., the bishop of Otranto). According to Prieto Domínguez, '[b]oth dangers [not actively having defended icons and an association with iconoclast people] could be warded off by promoting veneration of their leader by recalling his origin and the family iconodule network [e.g., Gregory's iconodule uncle Symeon] that supported him in his youth'. Prieto Domínguez (2021), p. 185.

399 By stressing Gregory's connection to his uncle Symeon, who actively defended icons and got imprisoned for that reason under the reign of Theophilus (see the *Life of Gregory* 77); and by inserting some digressions that stress Gregory's orthodoxy, including a concise theological defence for the veneration of icons and Gregory's willingness to suffer for this belief in a passage in which Gregory is called a 'martyr without bruises' (*Life of Gregory* 73).

400 Whether these fears of repercussions were likely to have actualised or not, we do not know, but it does seem reasonable to think that anyone being on the 'losing' side of the debate might have been anxious for their further careers and spiritual standing.

401 An earlier hagiography by Ignatius, the *Life of George of Amastris* has been considered an iconoclast hagiography, although Prieto Domínguez points out that George also had iconophile connections. This may lead us to speculate that icons were just not central to his spirituality, like to Gregory's. Later Ignatius wrote the *Lives* of the iconophile patriarchs Tarasios and of Nicephorus. Prieto Domínguez (2021), pp. 169; 180; 185.

402 Ibid., p. 185.

403 *Life of Gregory* epilogue.

3.3.2 Representation of travel motivation in the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis

The *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis can be divided in approximately three parts with regard to the representation of travel. The first 36 chapters are characterised by travels throughout the Mediterranean, roughly from Asia Minor, via Thessaloniki and the Peloponnese to southern Italy and Rome, and back to Thessaloniki. The majority of the journeys narrated, 17 out of 23, are included in this part. The second part, chapters 36 to 76, is mostly situated in Thessaloniki, but includes several journeys from and to that city. The final part, chapters 76 to 90 narrating the end of Gregory's life and his posthumous miracles, includes a final journey to Constantinople. The travel theme could thus be said to be present throughout the *Life*, but most journeys occur in the first part of the narrative.

For just over half of Gregory's journeys (13) the narrator makes a travel motivation explicit, whereas this is omitted for 10 of the journeys.[404] As we will see, this is different from the *Life* of Euthymius and the *Life* of Elias, which include an explicit travel motivation much more consistently. Many of the journeys in the *Life of Gregory* can be seen to constitute one large journey for which a single travel motivation is narrated. Almost all journeys are represented as voluntary mobility.[405] Whereas there is no shortage of danger in the *Life* of Gregory, these are not represented as leading to involuntary mobility – Gregory encounters dangers *while* travelling and then overcomes them.[406] The types of voluntary mobility represented in the narrative include educational mobility (for monastic training), travel due to loyalty of personal connections (friendship, professional and family bonds), and journeys that are spiritually motivated (see appendix 4).

When we examine more in detail which travel motivations are emphasised in the *Life,* we can distinguish two groups of journeys tied to specific travel motivations. That is, the hagiographer represents two consecutive sets of journeys within these two frameworks: travel as a means to climb the monastic career ladder, and travel as a divinely inspired

404 See appendices 3 and 4.

405 Possibly with the exception of journey 4 and 17. Journey 4 is motivated by a disagreement between Gregory and the abbot of the monastic community in which he resides, which could be labelled as involuntary mobility, although his reason to go to another monastery is also within the frame of educational/professional mobility: in order to receive monastic training; journey 17 is not motivated explicitly, but it is clear from the narrative that Gregory was in an unsafe situation in Otranto, from where he moved to Thessaloniki. However, even for this journey the danger itself does not seem the primary reason for Gregory to move away: Otranto never seemed to have been the destination itself, but functioned as a stop in between. See appendices 3 and 4.

406 That is, dangerous circumstances do not constitute the reason for travel: Gregory travels *despite* danger or unfavourable circumstances, not because of it. These episodes of danger also have a narrative function: they represent the monk as a hero who overcomes difficulties. Moreover, they provide an opportunity to include miracles, such as the miraculous calming of a storm or passing enemy ships unseen. These episodes therefore also contribute to the monk's representation as a saint. On this literary theme in hagiography, see Mantova (2014); Mullett (2002).

quest.[407] The journeys within each group mostly follow each other, although the categories are not completely distinct from each other in the narrative. In addition, there are the journeys motivated by loyalty to personal connections and by acquiring *hesychia,* which do not directly relate to either.

The journey to an ideal monastic career

In Byzantine hagiography of monastic saints we can observe a pattern of consecutive steps that saints undertake in order to become monastic leaders. The individual steps may be seen as hagiographical *topoi*.[408] The individual journeys and stages are, however, more than 'just' *topoi*: taken together, these steps could be seen as a model for the ideal monastic career path. In the *Life of Gregory* the following consecutive stages of his monastic career are included:[409]

1. Resolution to become a monk
2. Monastic training
3. Spiritual maturation
4. Monastic leadership

The transitions from one stage to the next each involve mobility in the *Life of Gregory.*[410] The representation of motives for Gregory's first journeys are related to reaching a next stage in this career development.

Resolution to become a monk

In saints' *Lives* a desire to become a monk is often paired with a journey away from his previous surroundings in order to break family ties and all ties to worldly concerns.[411] This break away from the family thus marked the first step towards the separation from the 'world'. Similar to other hagiographies, Gregory leaves his family to become a monk to avoid

407 I disagree with Prieto Domínguez who states that 'The tale of Gregorios' travels seems neither to make sense nor to respond to any clear motivation. [...] The vita does not tell us that the saint had to carry out a specific mission either divine or human; the stages of his journey seem to be the result of chance or external determinants, and his spiritual growth is not emphasised, making it difficult to see the itinerary as a reflection of an inner journey or a coming closer to God'. Prieto Domínguez (2021), p. 172. Considering the fact that the hagiographer left out many travel motivations for specific journeys, Prieto Domínguez' remark is understandable. However, the hagiographer represents multiple motivations that do give purpose to the travels – even those which are not individually accompanied by a motivation: the first set of journeys reflect the path towards monastic leadership (which in fact does imply spiritual growth as well); the second category of travels, as we will see, is framed as a divinely inspired quest.

408 On *topoi* in middle-Byzantine hagiography see, Pratsch (2005). For the idea that monks are represented as following a 'consistent cursus honorum' in saints' *Lives* (particularly by the sixth-century Cyril of Scythopolis), see Booth (2014), p. 17; Flusin (1983).

409 These stages are a simplification of Gregory's (and also other monks') monastic and spiritual development, which consisted of further small steps as well.

410 As discussed in the Introduction, the initial move away to become a monk and a journey to found a monastery is also reflected other monastic saints' *Lives*. See pp. 22-23.

411 See a discussion of this broadly spread ideal in Byzantine monasticism in Oltean (2020), pp. 139–179.

a marriage.[412] This is the motivation of Gregory's first represented journey from Eirenopolis to the mountains in the region (see appendices 3 and 4).

Monastic training

In addition to a break away from family and by extension the 'secular world', Gregory's first represented journeys are an example of educational mobility (see appendices 3 and 4). He travels first to an ex-bishop to announce his desire to leave the world and become a monk, after which this ex-bishop sends Gregory to 'some monks' nearby so that he may be initiated in the monastic life under their guidance.[413] Not knowing where her son is, Gregory's mother searches for him, and when finding out he wants to become a monk, she urges him to enter in the monastery in which his brother was already tonsured. After a confrontation with the abbot, Gregory left this monastery and went to another.[414] The abbot of this monastery was his uncle Symeon. Here he would have been educated in the 'apostolic habit and canons' and he would have developed 'every virtue'.[415] All these journeys are thus represented as inspired by Gregory's desire to become a monk and find the proper monastic community for that goal.

Spiritual maturation

When Gregory is about to set on his fifth journey, according to the narrative, he had already received years of monastic training and lived as a monk in a communal monastery. He asks the abbot if he can leave the monastery in order to live by himself and solely focus on his spiritual state of being. He therefore moves from the monastery to a cave.[416] This journey initiates a second step in his spiritual development.[417] It may be seen as a transitionary stage between his previous monastic training in communal monasteries and his later travels. Only when in solitude in the cave, Gregory is portrayed as making progress in the transformational process from human to divine, that is, in the monk's

412 Ibid., pp. 139–179.

413 The hagiographer informs us that the bishop 'had given up' his seat and was in exile in the mountains because the prevailing 'heresy' of the 'fighters against icons, or rather against Christ'. The iconoclast context in which the narrative is set is thus apparent. The hagiographer at the start already makes clear on which side of the controversy he and his saint were, which is implied in the language used and in the description of Gregory going to the deposed iconophile bishop, rather than to the current (presumably iconoclast) bishop of Decapolis. *Life of Gregory* 3.

414 This journey could therefore be said to be motivated by strained relations during interpersonal conflict. The abbot of the first monastery, where his brother also resided, would have mingled with 'heretics' according to the narrative; this refers again to the iconoclast context. The abbot of the next monastery, Symeon, on the other hand was an iconophile, as later in the narrative we learn that Symeon was imprisoned in the capital for his iconophile views. *Life of Gregory* 5 and 77.

415 *Life of Gregory* 4-5.

416 See the previous chapter, especially section 2.3.2.1, on the significance of this type of space for the spiritual development of monks. Also see Della Dora (2016), pp. 176–202; Talbot (2016).

417 The first being trained as a monk in a communal monastery, mastering all kinds of monastic virtues – this learning period of embodying monastic virtues is also explicitly referred to in the narrative.

advance towards holiness.[418] After fighting with demons and focussing on prayer and contemplation, Gregory is represented as radiating with a divine light.[419] This is interpreted in the narrative as a sign of Gregory's close connection to the divine and his spiritual maturation.[420] Gregory's move away from the communal monastery to a cave enabled this transformation and spiritual progress.

Becoming a holy man and monastic leadership

Having reached this close connection to God, Gregory is shown to be ready to go back into the world again and interact with others. We will see in the next section, *travel as a divinely inspired quest*, that the motivations for the immediate journeys that follow his sixth journey are often not specified and that Gregory does not immediately move from his acquired advanced spiritual state to monastic leadership. Before Gregory is properly portrayed as a monastic leader, he is first construed as a holy man, that is, as an individual with extraordinary talents and with an exemplary lifestyle whom members of a community seek out for help, who is recognised by this community as spiritually superior (in the human to divine-scale), and who enjoys moral authority.[421] One of his journeys after the departure from the cave is to Rome, where he goes to reside in a monastic cell. There he performs his first miracle, an exorcism. According to the narrative, a man possessed by a demon had come up to him, presumably to ask for help, and Gregory had driven out the demon. After this event, the author tells that Gregory wanted to leave Rome immediately, because he could not remain anonymous anymore after having displayed his extraordinary powers.[422] And indeed, after his stay in Rome, also at other places people come to him for help, he gives people advice, heals people, and inspires people to live a devout life. These people are not necessarily monks.[423] In other words, in those passages he is construed as a holy man. Only later he becomes a monastic leader as well. When in Thessaloniki, he acquired followers and other monks come to see him as their spiritual father. He settles near the church of St Menas and it is clear that he is regarded as the monastic leader of the community that develops there.[424]

418 He is represented as being alone, but later in the narrative the audience learns that Gregory had a servant with him all this time, whom he at a certain stage uses to send letters and messages to other people. The idea that saints embody a transformational process from human to divine has been theorised in the subdiscipline of spirituality studies within comparative religion studies, e.g., by Waaijman: 'Heilig is iemand die de overgang gemaakt heeft van het niet-heilige naar het heilige. Deze overgang onttrekt de heilige aan de sfeer van het niet-heilige'. And 'Het werkelijkheidsgebied, dat door de spiritualiteitswetenschap bestudeerd wordt, is het godmenselijk betrekkingsgebeuren (materiaal object), dat beschouwd wordt als een gelaagd omvormingsproces (formeel object)', Waaijman (2000), p. 321 and 423.

419 Fighting with demons is another hagiographical *topos*, explored in Talbot (2016).

420 *The Life of Gregory* 12-16.

421 On different types of spiritual authority and competition between them (such as between the 'elder' and the 'hegumen'), see Delouis (2012).

422 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 25. Cf. discussion of this passage in the previous chapter, pp. 79-80.

423 E.g., he inspired a prostitute to change her way of life in Syracuse. *Life of Gregory* 28-29.

424 It is not evident from the narrative whether Gregory is also seen as the founder of this monastic community, or whether there were already monks living there and he at some point acquired or took over the status of monastic leader.

As the narrative progresses, Gregory is thus presented to follow a particular progressive track in the monastic 'career', in which he staples successively the following identities: first becoming a monk, then a holy man and finally a monastic leader. To go from one stage to the next requires to change place, according to the narrative. This is particularly evident in the earlier stages of the development, but also the more gradual transition to become a holy man and, finally, to become a monastic leader involve mobility.[425] Especially in the first part of the narrative, representing the stages from Gregory's initial desire to become a monk up to a stage of spiritual maturation, the represented travel motivations in the *Life* thus align with Gregory's advancement in his monastic career.

Travel as a divinely inspired quest

The motivation of journey 6 appears to initiate the many journeys that follow after (in the first part of the narrative, until journey 17). For the majority of the journeys following journey 6 up to his longer stay in Thessaloniki (after journey 17) the motivation is not explicitly narrated.[426] However, as we will see, the motivation for journey 6 could be interpreted as a general motivation for travelling. The journeys could therefore be interpreted as motivated by this general motivation. The hagiographer gives the following motivation for Gregory to leave the cave in which he was living in order to start his next journeys:

> Αὖθις οὖν φωνῆς οὐρανόθεν ἐπῄσθετο, ἧς καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πιστότατος κατήκοος γέγονε, καλούσης καὶ λεγούσης «Γρηγόριε, εἰ πρὸς τελειότητα σεαυτὸν βλέπειν ἐρᾷς, ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ δεῦρο[427] εἰς γῆν, ἣν ᾗ σοι θεῷ καλῶς εὐαρεστῆσαι συμβήσεται»· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἴσιον ἔκρινε θεὸς τὸν λύχνον ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον κρύπτεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν τεθεῖναι λυχνίαν τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν οἰκίαν ἐπιεικῶς σελαγίζουσαν. Τοῦ σπηλαίου οὖν ἀπαναστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσιάτιδα γῆν ἐπορεύετο.[428]

---

425 Gregory is presented to move particularly to places that enable a degree of separation but also interaction with society, such as the monastic cell in Rome and the tower in Syracuse, and in the resulting interactions with people in combination with his ascetic lifestyle represents Gregory as a holy man, as was discussed in the previous chapter, section 2.3. Only after he moved to settle in Thessaloniki the narrative presents Gregory in his final stage as monastic leader. It should be noted that unlike for the earlier stages discussed above, the represented travel motivations do not make the connection between mobility and the transition between these stages explicit: the hagiographer does not represent Gregory to want to travel in order to become a holy man or a monastic leader – which would not be very suitable of this status, considering the prevalent monastic ideal of humility – but mobility is necessary to accomplish this.

426 Cf. appendix 4. The motivation for journey 15 and 16 is specified, i.e. mobility inspired by a concern for Gregory's spiritual integrity. The motivation for journey 17 is not explicitly specified, but could be interpreted from the context as involuntary mobility, although the point of departure (Otranto) probably would have been imagined as a stop in between anyway to go back towards Thessaloniki and fit into a larger plan for reaching a particular destination.

427 As Makris has remarked, δεῦρο (adverb, may be used as interjection to mean: come! Or: go away!) is used instead of an imperative. Makris (1997), p. 83.

428 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 17.

> Another time he perceived a voice from heaven, which also the most pious Abram had been listening to, calling and saying: 'Gregory, if you desire to see yourself reaching perfection, go away from your land and away from your (family) kinship and go to a land, in which you will be rightly pleasing to God'. For God judged that it is not right that the lamp be hidden under the *modius*,[429] but that it be placed on the worldly lampstand enlightening befittingly the dwelling of the souls. So getting up from the cave he travelled to Asia.

The motivation for Gregory to leave the cave and set on a journey is presented by a divine message followed by an explanatory comment by the narrator.[430] We could distinguish here between motivations on different levels: the representation of God's reasons for sending Gregory on a journey; the hagiographer's explanation of God's intentions sending this message; and finally the representation of Gregory's own motivation to set forth on a journey. Strictly speaking, this passage does not give direct insight into Gregory's own motivation, but only represents the former two levels. However, immediately after these two sentences Gregory is in fact described as leaving his cave and setting on a journey, thus following the instructions. Gregory is therefore presented as taking the divine revelation seriously. The hagiographer and the audience might therefore have interpreted the motivation by Gregory to align with the divine revelation.

This passage focusses on the reasons why he should leave his current location, and less on the particularities of the destination. This contributes to the impression that the following journeys may all be interpreted as inspired by this divine revelation. In the following I will differentiate various aspects of the divine revelation and the explanation of the hagiographer, which allows us to see that the represented motivation for Gregory to travel consists of multiple layers.

The travel motivation that is presented in the divine revelation, which also reflects on Gregory's intentions through his actions, is to reach (spiritual) perfection (πρὸς τελειότητα). In order to be able to achieve that, the divine voice urges Gregory to move away from his current surroundings, from the land that is familiar to him (τῆς γῆς σου, 'your land') and away from the people he knows and feels connected to (τῆς συγγενείας σου, his family). We already observed in the previous chapter that to be separated from other (worldly) people was considered necessary for reaching *hesychia* and thus for spiritual development. Especially in the formative stage of becoming a monk, separation from society and from one's family in particular was considered essential.[431] However, Gregory initially did not completely break with family connections, according to the narrative. Namely, soon after

429 Roman unit for measurement, e.g., of grain, or in this case referring to the physical object with which to measure the amount of a *modius* (different *modioi* with varying volumes were in use in Byzantium). Schilbach and Kazhdan (1991). For the metaphorical meaning of the expression, see the discussion at pp. 132-133.

430 As we will see, divine revelations motivating travel are also a recurrent theme in the *Life* of Elias.

431 Cf. pp. 127-128 above (and see pp. 22-23 of the Introduction).

Gregory's departure his mother went searching for him. Following that encounter, his family connections became a decisive factor in Gregory's choices for monastic settlements, before moving to the cave. He is first said to have gone to a monastery in which his brother resided, and subsequently, to another one headed by his uncle. Also when residing in the cave he kept contact with his monastic relatives, sending a letter to his brother and receiving his uncle in the cave. The divine revelation urging Gregory to leave his land and his kinship thus specifically calls for a break with his personal family connections (ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου), which he so far had still maintained. He needs to do this, as is suggested by the divine revelation, if he wants to reach perfection. The breakaway from his family is considered necessary for spiritual growth.[432]

It is clear why, according to the represented divine revelation, Gregory needs to move away from his current surroundings. It is less clear, however, where it is that he needs to go to. His destination is just referred to as 'a land, in which you will be rightly pleasing to God'. Because the phrase is non-specific and open to various interpretations (how should Gregory please God, and what surroundings are suitable for that?) the following journeys – for which the specific motivation is lacking – may be interpreted as a continuous search for finding the right destination, like a quest. Because the divine command is explicitly compared to the divine instruction that Abram received, a parallel is also drawn between Gregory's many journeys, including many dangerous events, and the long search for Canaan by the Israelites.

How Gregory should please God is hinted at in the hagiographer's comment aiming to explain (γάρ) why he received this divine revelation. Ignatius does this by paraphrasing a saying from the Sermon of the Mount in the Gospels: 'For God judged that it is not right that the lamp be hidden under the *modius*, but that it be placed on the worldly lampstand enlightening befittingly the dwelling of the souls'. Here the 'lamp' (or 'light') could be interpreted as Gregory, or God's workings through Gregory, who should not stay hidden in a cave, for no-one to see. Instead he should go in the world ('worldly lampstand') and thereby be of benefit to others, specifically benefitting their souls.[433] From the passage it is not immediately clear how the author understands that Gregory should 'enlighten' others: through his exemplary way of life, by spreading the (theologically) right ideas, or through miracles? Possibly the hagiographer and the audience may have thought about all these things. Because the interpretation of the biblical reference is left open, it is also possible

432 Scholars have also termed this ideal of breaking with family or leaving one's familiar surroundings by travelling to another place as *xeniteia*. Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), pp. 148–149; McGuckin (2000); Mitrea (2023a), p. 3.

433 We already saw a similar discourse in the *Life of Euthymius the Younger* in the previous chapter (see pp. 97-98), in the example of the divine revelation that urges Euthymius to change his mode of solitary life to one that serves other people (other monks in this case): 'Euthymius, go away [...] make it [the designated place] into a monastery for souls [...] [f]or it is not good for you to continue to dwell alone in the wilderness and try to contend with demons, who fled long ago after being defeated by your virtue'. *Life of Euthymius* 27, translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016), p. 83. Also in this *Life* Euthymius is presented to have reached a state of spiritual maturation, by having defeated demons and living virtuous, similar to Gregory who also previously in the narrative is stressed to master all kinds of virtues in his monastic training and then fought with demons during his solitary stay in the cave.

to imagine that all Gregory's immediately following destinations, in which he has diverse kinds of interactions with people, were part of this divine plan of 'illuminating' others. The hagiographer here thus expects the audience to interpret this passage themselves. They might also have thought of the biblical context of the cited passage. In the Sermon on the Mount according to Matthew (and similar in Mark) the way to 'enlighten' others is twofold. In the sermon, the saying is followed by the further explanation: 'In the same way, let your light shine before others, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father in heaven'.[434] When the audience would have remembered this Bible passage, the narrative could be interpreted to mean that Gregory should do good deeds for others to see, thus being an exemplar, and inspire others to glorify God.

Gregory's travel motivation here is thus presented as an incitement to reach perfection and please God. In order to achieve this, Gregory must leave his cave and break with his family, and therefore go elsewhere. The rationale behind this, as explained by the author by means of the reference to the Sermon of the Mount, is the need for Gregory to be visible to others. In representing the travel motivation this way, Ignatius constructs Gregory's sainthood in various ways. That is, he represents Gregory as a holy man through stressing Gregory as an exemplar, as someone with a direct connection to God, and as someone who imitates biblical models. The representations of each these aspects of sainthood – an example, the close connection to God and the connection to biblical models – combined in the travel motivation will be briefly elaborated on below.

Because the divine voice includes a conditional clause – 'if you wish to reach perfection' – and Gregory is presented to act affirmative (he obeys the command), the narrative implies that Gregory's intention equals the conditional clause. In other words, Gregory is represented as indeed wishing to reach perfection. Both his desire for perfection and his obedience to the command that would allow him to achieve that represent Gregory as living a life of virtue, namely of obedience to God and of striving to live in the best way possible. This striving towards perfection is not only for Gregory's own soul, but as the hagiographer indicates, the idea is that Gregory is seen by others, so that others would see Gregory's good deeds and Gregory would inspire others to glorify God. Thereby he is constructed as an exemplar to others. Living an ideal virtuous life and inspiring others through this lifestyle is one of the most enduring aspects of sainthood.[435]

In addition, the representation of this travel motivation represents Gregory as someone with a direct close and special connection to God. God chose to send him a direct message, according to the narrative, showing that God has taking a special interest in Gregory and communicates directly to him. The divine voice moreover illustrates that Gregory is receptive of God: he perceived the voice from Heaven (φωνῆς οὐρανόθεν ἐπῄσθετο), and

434 Matthew 5:16 (*NIV*). In the Greek New Testament: οὕτως λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Edition: Aland et al. (1968).
435 See e.g., Klaniczay (2014).

moreover obeys it. Essential to the construction of sainthood is that Gregory is presented to have a close and special connection to God, so he may function as a mediator between God and people on earth. This close connection is also the basis of his miraculous power. The connection is presented to be established from both directions: God takes a special interest in Gregory, but also Gregory – through perfecting his virtues and devotion to God – attempts to come close to God through his lifestyle/*politeia.* We will see a similar construction of sainthood and the representation of travel motivation in the *Life* of Elias.

Another strategy to construct Gregory as a holy man in the representation of travel motivation is to associate Gregory with biblical figures. By comparing Gregory to Abram, the honourability of Abram may be reflected on Gregory. The voice coming from heaven, the hagiographer indicates, is the same voice that Abram heard. This not only leaves no doubt as for the source of the voice (God), but also recalls that Abram received direct messages from God. Gregory thus is placed in this biblical tradition in which God communicated directly with a few privileged individuals. The message is almost a direct citation of God's message to Abram, according to the Septuagint: Ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω.[436] Reminding the audience of this biblical passage thus places Gregory and in general the monastic 'ideal' of *xeniteia* in a biblical tradition.[437] Moreover, as observed earlier, a parallel is drawn between the many journeys of Gregory that will follow in the narrative and the journey of Abram and his descendants to Canaan.

Makris has suggested that Ignatius used another model for Gregory's motivations, namely the journeys of Paul in *Acts*. In Makris' edition of the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis, he suggests that Paul's journeys would be the model for the itinerary of Gregory's following journeys.[438] I do not find this hypothesis plausible. Firstly, the hagiographer makes no specific connection between Gregory's itineraries and Paul's, whereas other biblical models, such as Abram, are specifically recalled and biblical citations are often signalled by phrases such as 'the Lord said…' or here 'for God judged that…' (γὰρ ἔκρινε θεός).[439] The hagiographer may also have modelled Gregory's itinerary more subtly on Paul's by a clear correspondence between their itineraries. In my view the correspondence is not close enough to assume that hagiographer consciously modelled the narrative on Paul's

436 Gen 12:1. Septuagint edition: Rahlfs (1935a). 'Go from your country, your people and your father's household to the land I will show you' (*NIV*).

437 Ignatius is not unique in citing this biblical passage and linking it to a monastic journey in hagiography. The usage of this passage in specifically this *Life* does acquire an extra layer of meaning in the case of Gregory, because he is exceptional in the number of journeys he is supposed to have made. The audience may therefore specifically associate these journeys over a longer period of time with the long wanderings of the people of Israel before finally being able to settle in Canaan.

438 See the critical apparatus in Makris (1997), p. 82.

439 There is one explicit reference to Paul in the narrative, in chapter 76: Gregory is very ill but starts on a journey to Constantinople nonetheless, on the request of his uncle Symeon. However, the comparison between Paul and Gregory does not concern travels, but the passage refers to Paul's teaching that one has to be strong in face of hardship, for the sake of Christ ('For when I am weak, then I am strong'). *Life of Gregory* 76.15-20; 2 Corinthians 12:10.

itineraries, or that the audience would have clearly picked up on that. Certainly there are places that both Gregory and Paul are said to have visited, such as Ephesus, Thessaloniki, Corinth and Rome, but one would imagine that these places are in fact visited by many travellers throughout ancient and medieval periods by virtue of them all being easily reachable cities with ports and due to their cultural and economic importance.[440] These qualities may of course *also* explain why Paul is said to have visited or travelled through these places, but as the port cities were important before and after Paul's visit, I find it hard to imagine that visiting these cities by itself would immediately recall Paul's travels.[441] Apart from the similarities between the itineraries of Gregory and Paul, there are also differences. After Corinth, Paul goes (back) to Ephesus, then Caesarea, and Jerusalem, whereas Gregory travels westwards to southern Italy and Rome (and never sets a foot in Jerusalem, in the narrative). Paul is said to make further travels in the Mediterranean and so does Gregory, but their further itineraries do not match either. Paul travelled again through Asia Minor and Greece and went back to Jerusalem (before going to Rome, via Caesarea, for his eventual trial), while Gregory goes from southern Italy to Thessaloniki and makes a final journey at the end of his life to Constantinople. Perhaps extensive Mediterranean travel in general might have recalled Paul's travels in the minds of (some of) the audiences of hagiography, including the *Life* of Gregory, but Ignatius hardly emphasised such a possible connection, neither through an explicit reference nor by means of an unambiguous correspondence of their itineraries. Therefore, in my view, Ignatius does not clearly use a strategy of modelling Gregory onto Paul in his toolbox for emphasising Gregory's sainthood. In contrast to that, he does present Abram as a biblical model for the saint.

We already discussed that the motivation for journey 6 may be seen as the impetus for the many journeys of Gregory that follow in the narrative. This is because the narrative stresses leaving his current place but the destination is not specified, because the reference to Abram brings to mind the wandering of the Israelites in their long search for Canaan and thus brings to mind a long journey to a final destination, and because no specific travel motivation is given for many journeys that follow. Journey 6 leads Gregory from his cave to a monastery in Ephesus: he leaves the cave and goes towards 'Asia' and stops at the monastery. This place is indeed not presented as the final destination, but a necessary stop in between: because it is winter, Gregory could not travel further. Then as soon as it became spring, Gregory continues to travel. For many of the next journeys – that is, journeys 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20 and 22 – the motivation to go to a particular destination is not explicitly mentioned, which strengthens the idea that these journeys are still part of Gregory's

440 As Veikou pointed out, the ports of Thessaloniki, Corinth and Ephesus, among others, were situated in a strategic location, not only because of their connection to sea routes, but also because they connect to inland and river routes. These factors contributed to the (economic and cultural) development of these cities. This strategic location also contributed to their function as important nodes in a network or Mediterranean travel routes, making these cities more likely candidates as destinations and stops in between for all kinds of travellers, including missionaries such as Paul and monks such as Gregory. Veikou (2015), p. 43.

441 For a map with known sites of Byzantine ports, including Thessaloniki, Corinth and Ephesus, see e.g., fig. 6 in Ibid., p. 47.

search finding the place in which he thinks God wants to have him. For the immediate journey after leaving Ephesus in spring (journey 7) there is not much of a motivation given, except that he left Asia with 'divine approval' – reminding the audience of the divine inspiration for his journey, which he merely paused in Ephesus – and that he felt an impulse to go to Constantinople.[442] Also in later journeys no clear travel motivation is provided for his journeys to Ainos, Christopolis, Thessaloniki, Corinth, Reggio Calabria and Rome. The two journeys before he travelled to Thessaloniki (15 and 16, from Rome to Syracuse and subsequently to Otranto) are accompanied by a travel motivation (see appendices 3 and 4), but also for his journey to Thessaloniki, where he settles for a while and thus seems the end-point of his extensive Mediterranean wanderings, no motivation is given.

These extensive Mediterranean travels may thus reflect a search for the right, divinely approved, land to settle in. An indication that Gregory is indeed searching is the representation of journey 11, from Thessaloniki to Corinth. The reason for Gregory's stay in Thessaloniki is not narrated, but there he would have stayed with an ascetical community headed by a monk named Mark. The hagiographer does not inform us about any details of his stay there, but it is clear from the narrative that joining this ascetical community was not his goal, and at this point Thessaloniki was not yet his final destination:

> Μείνας οὖν παρ' αὐτῷ οὐ συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἤλγει καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ κατείχετο, πόθεν ἄρα καὶ ποίᾳ τρίβῳ χρήσαιτο. Φαίνεται οὖν αὐτῷ τις μοναχὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ διανύων ὁδόν. Τούτῳ συνελθὼν καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ συμμετασχών, [...] μέχρι τῆς περιωνύμου πόλεως Κορίνθου.[443]
>
> After he had not remained with him [Mark] for many days, he grieved and he was seized by discouragement, from where and what kind of path he should take. Then there appeared a monk who was travelling the road to the old Rome. Going with him and joining him on the road, [...] until the renowned city of Corinth.

442 θείᾳ νεύσει τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάρας τὴν ὁρμὴν εἶχε πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον. *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 17, lines 10-11. The narrative includes a motivation for Gregory's desire to go to Constantinople: a political/missionary purpose, that is, to mingle in the iconoclast controversy and support what he saw as the right side. This journey is again framed as a divinely inspired journey – possibly reminding the audience again of his divine revelation to go where he can be of use. The hagiographer indicates that Gregory had a 'divine longing to fight for the truth' against the 'the heresy of accusers of Christians'. However, Gregory does not reach Constantinople, for he is hold up in Prokonessos, and afterwards in the narrative no mention is made again of his former desire to go to Constantinople. Halfway in the narrative a secondary narrator (Athanasius) informs the audience that Gregory once passed through Constantinople from Thessaloniki, while going to Mount Olympus. No explicit motivation for this journey is given, but the audience is informed that Gregory stayed with a monastic community there for a while (after which he returned again to Thessaloniki). In this journey Constantinople is merely functioning as a stop in between on his way to Olympus, and no reference is made to his former desire to be in Constantinople, nor about his intention to mingle in the iconoclast controversy. At the end of the *Life* Gregory goes again to Constantinople and this time he stays there. The motivation that is narrated is a visit to his former abbot, Symeon, who asked Gregory in a letter to see him (cf. *Life of Joseph the Hymnographer* 5 by Theophanes; by Ioannes Diakonos 952C-53A). Although the narrative, through Symeon, refers to the iconoclast controversy, this is not the reason for Gregory to travel to Constantinople, nor is he described to mingle in the controversy in any way.

443 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 22.3-9.

This indicates that Gregory did not yet have a particular route or destination in mind, but that he felt he should travel further, but did not know yet where to. Possibly this refers back to his divine revelation in which he was instructed to go to a land where he would please God. So is this passage a reminder to the audience of Gregory's divinely inspired search? The road Gregory chooses to take after this disheartenment, as presented in the narrative, may have come across as resting on chance, dictated by a bypassing monk travelling to Rome.[444] However, Ignatius might also have envisioned to communicate that this journey followed a divine plan, rather than resting on chance. The verb used to describe the appearance of the monk travelling to Rome, φαίνεται (in passive voice: come to light, appear), might bring to mind associations of miracles or a divine origin of the appearance. In all other instances in the narrative the verb φαίνω is used to communicate the appearance of phenomena or persons that are made visible but which are usually not visible for humans in 'ordinary reality', i.e. miraculous appearances.[445] The sentence Φαίνεται οὖν αὐτῷ τις μοναχὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ διανύων ὁδόν ('Then there appeared to him a monk who was travelling the road to the old Rome') might thus communicate a 'miraculous' or divinely planned appearance of a monastic traveller, right at the moment when Gregory is at a loss where to go. The particle οὖν moreover connects this sentence to the previous, strengthening the impression of a causal relation between the appearance of the monk and the indecisiveness of Gregory. The 'motivation' for journey 11 may thus remind the audience of the general motivation for travelling, which is inspired by a divine communication (for journey 6). Moreover, this representation might communicate that Gregory's journeys follow a divine plan.

Other travel motivations

In addition to journeys that the hagiographer interprets to be motivated by Gregory's monastic development or by the divine revelation discussed above, there are also a few other journeys for which the hagiographer represents Gregory's travel motivation. Two are motivated by Gregory's loyalty to other monastic connections; the others are represented as being motivated by Gregory's desire for spiritual development or integrity – entangled

444 Gregory is said to have travelled with the monk as a servant, because he himself had no proviant with him and so the monk could provide for him (μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς βρῶσιν φερόμενος, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοῦ συνοδοιπόρου μοναχοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφοδιαζόμενος χρείας ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πορείαν ὑποτασσόμενος καὶ δούλου χρείαν ποιῶν: *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 22.6-9). This detail adds to the impression that Gregory takes this opportunity to travel when it was presented to him, but this journey was not part of a thought-out plan (at least not by Gregory himself). In Corinth he decides to go to Sicily (implying that he does not travel further with the monk to Rome, for this monk is never mentioned again in the narrative), but as with many of the other journeys, no motivation is provided.

445 Appearance of (divine) light, in chapters 14-15, or of material aids (in a clear miracle context) in chapter 37, appearances in dreams that function as miraculous visions (appearance of Gregory's mother who 'releases' him from the 'temptation of unchastity'; and the appearance of the saint in a dream of a monk named Peter, who prayed to the saint for rescue after Peter had been captured by Arabs – the saint tells him not to worry, and indeed Peter is released the next day) in chapters 10 and 88, and the appearance of a demon in chapter 42.

with acquiring *hesychia*.[446] The latter journeys and the significance of *hesychia* were extensively discussed in the previous chapter.[447]

3.3.3 Conclusions

In the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* we saw that the hagiographer mainly represented journeys as being motivated either by Gregory's desire to advance in his monastic or spiritual development, or as part of a divinely inspired quest. Mobility in the narrative is thus used to shape essential aspects of Gregory's identity: in the first instance by narrating his (literal and figurative) journey towards becoming a holy man and a monastic leader. Secondly, the divine revelation positions the journeys without specific motivation – which is the majority after he completed his monastic training – as part of a quest. The revelation and the resulting travels construe Gregory as a saint. The revelation reveals his close connection to God and places Gregory in the tradition of biblical models, as well as his obedience to God to follow up on the divine instruction. Moreover, the aim of the quest identifies him as a holy man: he is to be of benefit to other people's souls. The presentation of a motivation for travel in general – rather than for a specific journey from point a to b – in combination with the omission of specific motivations for most of Gregory's future journeys suggests to the audience that Gregory's journeys are the actualisation of the divine revelation. That is, the journeys are part of the search for the destination that God envisioned for Gregory. Possibly travelling itself is thereby also understood as an act of piety, simultaneously an expression of Gregory's obedience to divine will and the actualisation of God's plan for Gregory to become a holy man.[448] The few journeys for which the hagiographer does specify a travel motivation after Gregory's departure from the cave and before he reaches Thessaloniki,[449] either refer back to the divine revelation, or are motivated by Gregory's desire for solitude and *hesychia.* The latter, as was explored in the previous chapter, communicate aspects of Gregory's sainthood as well.

---

446 These are journeys 14, 15, 16 and 18. They are at the same time also part of Gregory's development towards becoming a holy man, as discussed above (see pp. 129-130 above). Although unlike the first few stages in the monastic career, his journeys for *hesychia* do not represent a linear development (cf. footnote 425). In addition, journeys 21 and 23 are represented as being motivated by loyalty to personal connections/friendship; and journey 17 might be interpreted as involuntary mobility (his journey from Otranto, where Gregory is seized and almost killed, to mainland Greece – although Otranto seems never have been intended as the destination itself and thus would have served mainly as a – unfortunate – stop in between).

447 See section 2.3.

448 In the *Life of Elias* we will see divine revelations as travel motivations as well, in which the subsequent travel may also be perceived as an act of obedience and the actualisation of God's plan. However, in the *Life of Elias* the divine instructions have concrete destinations, so that the emphasis is on reaching the destinations, and less on travel itself as an act of piety. The *Life of Euthymius* neither includes divine revelations as travel motivation, nor presents travel as a quest or as a spiritual activity.

449 It seems likely that Ignatius interpreted Thessaloniki as the end of Gregory's quest. It appears from the narrative that he stayed there multiple years (at least the second time he stayed there), whereas it seems that he stayed only briefly stayed at his previous destinations. Moreover, his second stay at Thessaloniki coincides with the final stage in Gregory's monastic development, in which he is considered a monastic leader.

We may thus conclude the following: by providing a general travel motivation and by omitting travel motivations for other journeys, the travel motivation provided for journey 6 is emphasised in the narrative as a key motivator for Gregory's mobility. The other travel motivations mostly stress Gregory's monastic and/or spiritual development. Both categories, travel as a quest and travel for monastic or spiritual development, shape aspects of Gregory's identity and contribute to the representation of Gregory's sainthood. The motivations included in the *Life of Gregory* thus served a purpose of carefully constructing the saint's image.

Considering that Gregory's *Life* was probably written in the context of the immediate aftermath of the restoration of icons, it was not a given that Gregory would become recognised as a saint beyond the commissioners' own devotion. In the course of the ninth century many new saints were promoted as champions of orthodoxy and styled as new martyrs, by virtue of having suffered for their iconophile faith under the iconoclast regime. The hagiographer could not claim that Gregory was an actual martyr,[450] nor an advocate for the veneration of icons. Perhaps even more than usual with hagiography, shaping Gregory's identity according to an accepted model of sainthood would be of essential concern for the commissioners and the hagiographer if they wished to promote Gregory's veneration beyond the existing group of devotees in Gregory's personal circle. Ignatius attempted to shape Gregory's identity as a saint in various ways, but among these strategies the representation of Gregory's mobility was essential. Both the previous chapter on *hesychia* and the discussion above on the representation of travel motivations demonstrated the intersection between the representation of mobility and sainthood.[451] Joseph's later efforts in the promotion of Gregory as a saint presumably helped as well,[452] besides Ignatius' text itself, to popularise Gregory's hagiography. Ignatius' *Life of Gregory* survived in twenty-four manuscripts – a great deal more than many new saints of the middle-Byzantine period.[453] Probably even more important for the spread of Gregory's (relative) popularity was the fact that a shortened version of his *Life* was made and incorporated in *synaxaria* collections, including the famous *menologion* for Emperor Basil II (r. 975-1025). These *synaxaria* could be used in liturgies, as we know for example, for the liturgy of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. We may thus judge the combined efforts of Ignatius, the commissioners of Gregory's *Life,* and of Joseph the Hymnographer as successful in promoting Gregory as a saint at the political and religious centre of power.

---

450 The hagiographer calls Gregory a 'martyr without bruises' (*Life of Gregory* 73), which reveals that the model of martyrdom as the basis of sainthood was a prevailing one. Cf. footnote 399 above.

451 Another way in which Gregory's mobility functions to underline his sainthood is by serving as narrative opportunities for Gregory to overcome hardship and work miracles during his journeys. This aspect at the intersection between the representation of mobility and sainthood is already explored by Mullett (2002); Mantova (2014).

452 Joseph had Gregory's relics moved and composed hymns in honour of the saint. See the discussion of Joseph's connection to Gregory above, pp. 120-124.

453 As we will also observe for Elias and Euthymius: both *Lives* have survived in 4 manuscripts.

From this discussion on the ways and functions of the representation of Gregory's motives for mobility, can we also observe any positions on monastic mobility by the author/commissioners or the intended audiences? In the *Life of Gregory* we saw that various categories of mobility were represented, such as educational mobility, mobility for spiritual development and mobility due to interpersonal connections; and for many journeys no motivation is provided at all. The hagiographer therefore did not present only one particular type of motivation as acceptable (in contrast to others). These various types of mobility, particularly the journeys construed as a divine quest and mobility for spiritual and monastic development, reflect positively on the portrayed identity of Gregory. From this positive representation, we may hypothesise that the hagiographer (and/or commissioners) therefore would have thought that these types of monastic mobility were acceptable and even beneficial for the monk in question as well as for society at large. Many journeys in the *Life,* however, are not necessarily presented as something positive or negative (e.g., mobility motivated by interpersonal connections and the many journeys without a represented motivation) for Gregory or for society. It is difficult to conclude from this discussion whether the hagiographer had any value judgements on these particular journeys and on frequent monastic travelling in general.

As for the intended audiences, most likely an urban monastic (and possibly including a non-monastic) audience in Constantinople and/or Thessaloniki, could we deduce value judgements to which the hagiographer responded? Because Ignatius omits explicit representations of Gregory's motives for mobility, he leaves more room for interpretation by the audience. To be sure, the construction of the string of journeys after journey 6 as a divinely inspired quest to obey and please God is in service of Ignatius' discursive aim to construct Gregory's sainthood, and at two points in the narrative he reminds the audience of this travel motivation. However, he does not do so consistently. The audience may thus also form their own ideas on why Gregory made the specific journeys. This leads me to hypothesise that the commissioners and the author of the *Life* did not expect the audiences to find fault with the travels of Gregory, although uncommonly frequent in middle-Byzantine saints' *Lives*, for otherwise I would expect the hagiographer to put more effort in unambiguously steering the interpretation of Gregory's mobility.

3.4 Representations of travel motivation in the *Life* of Euthymius the Younger

3.4.1 The creation of the *Life*

Half a decade after Gregory, another monk was also travelling across the Eastern Roman Empire. Based on the chronology and events described in his *Life*, it can be deduced that Euthymius, born under the name Nicetas, lived from 820 (or 823/4) until 898.[454] Euthymius

454 Greenfield and Talbot (2016), p. x; Lilie et al. (2013b) (=*PmBZ* 21912).

is usually referred to as the Younger, to distinguish him from his late-antique namesake, Euthymius the Great.[455] Euthymius is probably attested in a contemporary document: it seems likely that Euthymius the Younger is the same Euthymius who is mentioned in a record as the buyer of property for the Andreas monastery of Peristerai in 897.[456] Euthymius founded this very monastery, according to his *Life.* There is therefore little doubt about the historicity of Euthymius as a monastic leader. His *Life* is transmitted in four manuscripts, all of which provide (roughly) the same text.[457]

The name of the author of the *Life* is known to us, as it is mentioned in the text itself: Basil.[458] The author claims to have been one of Euthymius' followers and to have known him personally in the last 23-27 years of the saint's life. In the fourth year after founding the monastery at Peristerai in 871,[459] Euthymius would have tonsured Basil as a monk (c. 875). After his tonsure Basil was sent to live in one of Euthymius' anchoritic cells.[460] Basil thus experienced monasticism in a lavra and potentially received his monastic training in a cenobitic setting in Peristerai before he was tonsured. At the time of writing he was not a monk anymore, but held a position in the church hierarchy, which he refers to at the end of the narrative.[461] Earlier in the narrative Euthymius predicted this as well.[462] The term used for Basil's position, ἀρχιερεύς is variously interpreted to mean archbishop or bishop.[463] Although the diocese is not specified, it seems likely that Basil stayed in the region of Thessaloniki, or Thessaloniki itself, as Basil was present at the translation of the

455 In addition to scholarly convention we also find the qualifier 'the Younger' in one fifteenth-century manuscript, *Athonensis Βατοπεδίου* 546 (=V): τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν εὐθυμίου τοῦ νέου τοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη. Three of the four manuscripts also add in the title that Euthymius was a saint of Thessaloniki (in addition to manuscript V, manuscripts M and L also mention in the title: βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν εὐθυμίου τοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη). See the *Notes to the Texts* in Greenfield and Talbot (2016), p. 649.

456 *PmBZ* 21912.

457 See Petit (1903), pp. 162–164; Greenfield and Talbot (2016), pp. 643–644.

458 In chapter 35 Euthymius predicts the future of the author and calls him by his name, Basil. *Life of Euthymius* 35.

459 The dating formulas used in the text are problematic, because they provide us with the years 870, 871, 872 or 879. 871 is the most accepted date in scholarship. For a brief discussion of the date see Greenfield and Talbot (2016), note 29.6, pp. 669-670.

460 Apparently in addition to the cenobitic monastery at Peristerai, which Euthymius had founded and led, anchoritic cells somewhere else were also connected to the monastery. Because of the use of the plural (ἐν τοῖς ἀναχωρητικοῖς αὐτοῦ κελλίοις; *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 34.1) this most likely refers to a lavra where a few disciples would live together in separate cells and thereby living a more solitary life for contemplation; It has been suggested that this lavra is the one at Brastamon, where Euthymius had stayed with a few disciples before he founded the monastery at Peristerai, see Lilie et al. (2013c) (=*PmBZ* 20858).

461 ἧς ὀρθοδοξούσης ὡς ἀρχιερεῖς ἐξηρτήμεθα: 'upon which I, as bishop, depend as the teacher of correct doctrine'. *Life of Euthymius* 39.3; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

462 *Life of Euthymius* 35. In addition, in chapter 34 the narrator foreshadows that after his monastic life he would prefer to live in a city.

463 It has been assumed that Basil was the archbishop of Thessaloniki after 904, see e.g., Petit (1901), p. 221. Basil's name and the title ἀρχιεπίσκοπος of Thessaloniki is mentioned as the author of the *Life* the Ms Athonensis *Βατοπεδίου* (dated 1422), See *Notes to the Texts* in Greenfield and Talbot (2016), p. 649. However, the two earlier manuscripts do not mention this, so this identification may be a later invention. Talbot has instead translated ἀρχιερεύς with bishop Alexakis (2016), p. 125. See also *PmBZ* 20858.

saint's body to Thessaloniki. Moreover, in the title of the *Life* Euthymius is indicated as a saint of that city.[464]

It is not known when Basil died for a *terminus ante quem*, but since the author has known the saint personally, the *Life* must have been written up to a few decades after Euthymius' death. According to the narrative, Euthymius died on October 15. Based on events in the narrative, the year of death is thought to be 898.[465] The last event the author relates in the narrative is the translation of the relics of Euthymius to Thessaloniki on January 13, 899, which can serve as a *terminus post quem*.[466] Except for the supposedly uncorrupted state of the body of the saint (despite being dead for three months), no posthumous miracles are mentioned. This might indicate that the text was written soon after the translation of the relics, possibly still in 899 (nearing Euthymius' commemoration day on October 15). However, due to a lack of further definitive indicators any early tenth-century date would be possible as well.

In the prologue and epilogue Basil addresses a personal aim for the creation of his text, namely to be obedient to one of the ten commandments, as well as multiple aims directed at the multiple audiences of the text. He frames his personal aim as a fulfilment of the Old Testament commandment to honour one's parents. That is, he starts the prologue with elaborating on the commandment and introduces Euthymius as his spiritual parent by means of explicit metaphors of nourishing and of giving birth.[467] By writing the text, Basil indicates, he honours Euthymius and is thereby obedient to the divine commandment.[468] Honour is bestowed on Euthymius by praising his deeds and virtue, as the author further specifies.[469] The *Life* is thus a text of praise. That the hagiographer himself thought so is

---

464 *Life of Euthymius* 38. See comments on the title in the various manuscripts above (footnote 455). One of the four surviving manuscripts with the *Life, Athonensis Βατοπεδίου* 546, indicates in the title that the *Life* was written by 'Basil, archbishop of Thessaloniki': συγραφεὶς παρὰ βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεσσαλονίκης. This manuscript is from 1422 (called V in the edition) and it is impossible to establish whether the fifteenth-century scribe (or in fact the scribe of the earlier model) has added this information him- or herself and if this information is correct. The two earlier manuscripts do not add this detail. On the other hand, it is not impossible that V does reflect an early reliable witness: the editor of the text, Alexander Alexakis, postulates that this manuscript V 'possibly copied a manuscript that was textually very close to the lost archetype of L [*Athonensis Megistes Lavras* Δ.78, of the eleventh century] and M [*Mosquensis Bibl. Synod.* 174 of the tenth/eleventh century, originally belonging to the Great Lavra at Mount Athos]'. Greenfield and Talbot (2016), pp. 643–644.

465 Ibid., p. p.672; *Life of Euthymius* 37.3.

466 The narrative indicates that the transfer of relics took place on January 13, and seems to imply it is a few months after Euthymius' death on October 15 (in 898). *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 38.

467 E.g., 'who labored to give birth to my through the gospel' (1 Corinthians 4:15) (τῷ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἡμᾶς ὠδινήσαντι), and 'who suckled me [literally: who reared me] with the milk of virtues and nourished me with the living bread of divine knowledge' (γάλακτί τε ἀρετῶν παιδοτροφήσαντι καὶ ἄρτῳ ζωτικῷ θείας ἐπιγνώσεως θρέψαντι). *Life of Euthymius* 2; translated by Talbot in in Alexakis (2016). The reference to the commandments: *Life of Euthymius* 1; cf. Exodus 20:12.

468 'as the commemoration day of our father is upon us [πατρικῆς ἡμῖν ἐφεστηκυίας μνήμης] and demands to be deservedly honored by us, let me demonstrate the appropriate obedience and, to the extent of my ability, let me turn my strength to the narrative [...]'. *Life of Euthymius* 2; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

469 'whether my narrative equals the magnitude of his deeds [...]' and 'for if my narrative [...] is indeed able to include all of Euthymios' virtue' *Life of Euthymius* 2; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

confirmed in the epilogue, where Basil refers to his text as an *ephymnion*, that is a eulogy, dedicated to the saint.[470]

Secondly, besides framing the narrative as an act of virtue of the author (honouring his spiritual father), Basil explicitly recognises the text as a medium to communicate to various audiences. He targets his text at two types of audiences: those who listen to the text while it is performed, and the saint himself. He addresses the former in the following passage:

> Εἰ μὲν γὰρ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ λόγος εἰς θεωρίας καὶ ἀναβάσεως ὕψος ἐληλακὼς ἐπικαταλαβέσθαι καὶ ὡς μεταδοτική τις δύναμις τοῖς ἄλλοις διαπορθμεῦσαι δυνήσηται [...], τῷ ἁγίῳ πάντως θήσει τὰ νικητήρια, καταπλήττων οἶδ' ὅτι τῇ τῶν ἔργων μεγαλειότητι τῶν ἀκουόντων τὴν σύνεσιν.[471]
>
> For if my speech, having arrived at the height of contemplation and elevation, is able to include all of his [Euthymius'] virtue and to transmit it to others like some freely available power [....], it will surely bestow the prizes of victory on the saint, astonishing, I know, the understanding of those who listen with the magnitude of his deeds.[472]

Basil thus recognises an audience of listeners. From this and a later passage, we can distil multiple authorial goals. Firstly, he aims to inspire admiration for the saint in the audience by astonishing them with the narration of Euthymius' virtues and deeds. Secondly, we learn in a later passage that by astonishing the audience he aims to 'procure fame for the one who is being celebrated'.[473] In other words, he aims to spread the word and increase the devotion to the saint.

The journey to an ideal monastic career

Unfortunately, the intended context for the performance of the text is uncertain, so we do not know what audience Basil precisely envisaged. The hagiographer suggests that the immediate occasion for the creation of the text is the commemoration day of Euthymius, October 15.[474] However, it is unclear where the text was to be read.[475] Possibly

---

470 Ἡμῖν μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποχρώντως τόδε σοι προσανατέθειται τὸ ἐφύμνιον. *Life of Euthymius* 39.

471 *Life of Euthymius* 2.3.

472 I have altered Talbot's translation for some words to stay closer to the Greek text, although these changes do not greatly affect the interpretation of the passage (e.g., 'my speech' instead of 'my narrative' for ὁ λόγος, 'transmit' instead of 'communicate' for διαπορθμεῦσαι, 'those who listen' instead of 'audience' for τῶν ἀκουόντων).

473 τὸ περίδοξον τῷ ὑμνουμένῳ περιποιηθήσεται, *Life of Euthymius* 2.3.

474 'as the commemoration day of our father is upon us [πατρικῆς ἡμῖν ἐφεστηκυίας μνήμης] and demands to be deservedly honored by us, let me demonstrate the appropriate obedience and, to the extent of my ability, let me turn my strength to the narrative [...]'. *Life of Euthymius* 2.1; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

475 There has not been a great deal of extensive research to the performance contexts of Byzantine hagiographies in general, but see the comments in the Introduction, pp. 24-25. Possibly the 2020 dissertation of Julian Yang, titled 'Author and Audience: Creating 'Sanctifiction' in Middle Byzantine Hagiography', will contribute to our knowledge of the performance context and audiences of hagiography, but I have not been able to consult this thesis due to an embargo restricting access until 2025.

Basil would have purposed his text for Euthymius' feast-day, to be read in a church in (or near) Thessaloniki for which Basil served as a bishop.[476] In that case we could imagine a mixed audience of the urban population with presumably other previous fellow-monks and pupils of Euthymius – like Basil himself – for example from Euthymius' monastic foundation nearby Peristerai and other monastic connections (e.g., the monks who lived together with Euthymius at Mount Athos). We could also imagine that the bishop, in addition to reading it in a Thessalonian church, had sent the text (or copies) to the monastic community in which he himself received his training by Euthymius and possibly also to other monastic centres with a connection to Euthymius. All four surviving manuscripts originate from Athos.[477] It is understandable why monastic communities at Athos were interested in copying the text: Euthymius is the earliest example for which a *Life* has survived celebrating a saint who would have resided at the holy mountain. However, the original text would presumably not have been written there, as the author was a bishop, not a monk living at Athos. Since the earliest manuscript containing the *Life* possibly dates from the tenth century, the hypothesis that Basil himself already sent (a copy of) his text to monastic communities, including to Athos, is appealing.[478] Since the epilogue of the hagiography includes a plea to the saint to watch over Basil, it is moreover tempting to think that Basil would have appreciated his text being read out by others, such as the monks at Athos and Peristerai, repeating the plea for him every time the hagiography is read at the saint's feast day.

This brings us to another type of audience of the *Life*. That is, the saint himself. Another aim of Basil becomes apparent, namely to ask for supplication of the saint to God:

> Ἡμῖν μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποχρώντως τόδε σοι προσανατέθειται τὸ ἐφύμνιον· σὺ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐποπτεύοις ἄνωθεν, ὦ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλή, καὶ ὡς ἀμέσως τανῦν προσομιλῶν θεῷ [...] μέμνησο Βασιλείου τοῦ σοῦ, ἐκεῖνο θεὸν ἀντιδοῦναι ἡμῖν ἐξαιτούμενος, ὃ καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ περιὼν πολλάκις ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθικέτευσας, ἀξίως ἡμᾶς τῆς κλήσεως καὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος πολιτεύεσθαι.[479]
>
> This eulogy, such as it is, has been my offering to you; may you watch over me from above, O divine and holy head, and since you now address God directly [...],

476 We do have evidence of hagiographies being read at non-monastic church services, see the discussion at pp. 24-25 of the Introduction.

477 See *Notes on the texts* in Greenfield and Talbot (2016), pp. 643–644.

478 If this is the case, I would imagine that Basil did not send the text only to Athos, but also to other monastic centres related to Euthymius, particularly his monastery at Peristerai, because the narrative is quite elaborate about the foundation of a monastic community and the construction of the monastery church at Peristerai, whereas the episodes narrated on Athos focus mainly on Euthymius aiming to live with only a few (or preferably none) other fellow ascetics. When, according to the narrative, a monastic community grew at Athos, and the fellow monks came to perceive Euthymius as a spiritual authority, this is described in the narrative as disturbing Euthymius (cf. ch. 2). In a way, the monastic community at Athos as such (contrary to the place) receives a less flattering press and less detailed attention than the foundation at Peristerai, which is why I would assume that the monastic community at Athos might be one of the early recipients of the hagiography, but not the only one.

479 *Life of Euthymius* 39.

> remember your Basil, asking God to reward me with that for which you, while still alive, often entreated Him on my behalf, that is, to conduct my office in a manner worthy of my calling and my vows.[480]

Basil asks for supplication to help him lead a virtuous life, so that, as he expresses in a later passage, he may join the saint in the company of God after the Last Judgment.[481] Besides addressing a public, possibly both lay urban and monastic, contemporary audience with the aim of promoting the cult of the saint, the text thus also functions as an act of personal devotion, praising the saint and offering the text to him, and as a prayer, asking for protection. In addition, by establishing his own connection to the saint and explicitly drawing attention to himself as author and supplicant in the epilogue, Basil might also have hoped to increase his own authority as a bishop, being trained by the saint himself.

3.4.2 Representation of travel motivation in the *Life* of Euthymius the Younger

The *Life of Euthymius the Younger* describes 21 journeys made by Euthymius.[482] Travel occupies a prominent space in the narrative: the saint's journeys and travel motivations are included in a third of all chapters.[483] Similar to the *Life* of Gregory the journeys are dispersed throughout the narrative, starting in chapter 6 and ending in chapter 37 (out of 39 chapters), but with a concentration in the middle (chapters 22 to 27).

In addition to the number of journeys and chapters devoted to travel, the geographical scope of the journeys also qualifies Euthymius as a widely-travelled monastic saint within the corpus of middle-Byzantine hagiography. Eleven different places where Euthymius lived or passed through are described in the narrative – while listeners with knowledge of possible itineraries will have been able to imagine many more places that Euthymius

480 Translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

481 ὡς ἂν μεθ' ὑμῶν κἀκεῖθεν [...] ἐν ἐσχάτοις τεταγμένοι τοῦ φωτισμοῦ κυρίου μεταλάβοιμεν ('So when I receive my assignment in the last days, I may share the illumination of the Lord with you from that time forward') *Life of Euthymius* 39; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

482 21 while he was alive; Euthymius is described to make a 22nd journey after his death, where his relics are transferred to Thessaloniki.

483 13 chapters out of 39. Adding to the prominence of the travel theme in *the Life of Euthymius* are also descriptions of travel by other individuals, such as disciples, messengers, or travel companions, and the implications of local movement by groups of people to visit the saint.

would have traversed.[484] Euthymius' journeys stay within the boundaries of the Empire,[485] but they do take him to various regions, crossing the provinces of Galatia and Bithynia, the regions of Thessaloniki and Athos and two islands of which the exact location is unknown, but which presumably were in the Aegean Sea.[486]

In the *Life of Gregory*, as shown above, the hagiographer limits his narrative to those travel motivations he found important, for he left out the others. In contrast, the hagiographer of Euthymius provided a motivation for every journey the saint made. If the hagiographer of Euthymius emphasised particular travel motivations and if he used these motivations for discursive aims, he did so in a different manner from the *Life of Gregory.* In order to see whether Basil gave prominence to particular travel motivations over others and whether he used these for particular purposes, the following analysis will discuss the various categories of travel motivations found in this *Life.* In doing so, we will be able to see how the categories of travel motivation found in this *Life* relate to each other and eventually to the hagiographer's aims. Moreover, in an attempt to see whether Basil expressed normative ideas on monastic mobility, this analysis may reveal whether he stressed particular types of mobility as a justifiable or even beneficial type of monastic mobility.

Each journey in the *Life of Euthymius* is presented primarily as one type of mobility, rather than combining multiple motivations at the same time. This makes it possible to divide the travel motivations in categories five categories: educational mobility, pursuit of personal spiritual development, mobility for monastic leadership, mobility due to loyalty to personal connections and involuntary mobility (see appendix 6).[487]

---

484 The places or descriptions of places that Euthymius is mentioned to have lived or passed through are: Opso, Mount Olympus, Nicomedia, Mount Athos, Thessaloniki, 'just outside' Thessaloniki, an island called Neoi, Brastamon, Peristera, Sermelia, and an island called Hiera. The listener might add in his or her imagination places that Euthymius would most likely also have passed through, such as Constantinople on the journey by foot, according to the hagiographer, from Nicomedia to Mount Athos. Presumably because it is hard to bypass Constantinople during this journey over land, Élisabeth Malamut has even included the capital as a destination in her analysis of the itinerary of Euthymius' travels – even though it is not mentioned explicitly in the narrative. Malamut (1993), pp. 254–255.

485 Several episodes of raids by Aghlabids at the island of Neoi and later also at Athos do reveal that these were border regions and that these borders were under threat. However – possibly with the exception of an episode of the ultimately unsuccessful capture of Euthymius by Arab raiders, which plays out at the Aegean Sea and which reveals that hegemony over the sea was contested – Euthymius never ventured beyond these frontiers of the Empire.

486 I refer to the provinces here just to give an indication of the geographical scope of Euthymius' journeys, although the system of provinces was mostly replaced by the system of themes by the middle Byzantine period for fiscal and military purposes. The sources, however, continue to refer to the earlier system of provinces as well as to themes. In a few instances the hagiographer of the *Life of Euthymius the Younger* refers to these administrative units: to the province of Galatia (ch. 3), and to the theme of Hellas (ch. 26; which concerns a journey made by a disciple, not by Euthymius himself), but mostly the hagiographer refers to names of villages or cities to indicate the geographical setting of the narrative.

487 As already became evident from the discussion of the *Life of Gregory* there is evidently overlap between these categories, particularly between educational mobility and mobility for spiritual development (as monastic training also involved spiritual development). However, as will be discussed below, Euthymius' monastic training may be seen as a different type of mobility, and a distinct phase in Euthymius' life, compared to his later journeys. In addition to the five categories mentioned, there is one journey that might be classified as pilgrimage (journey 8): Euthymius is described to go to Thessaloniki to visit the tomb of his previous spiritual father. *Life of Euthymius* 23.

Euthymius' first journeys may be referred to as educational mobility, as Euthymius is represented as seeking monastic training following a desire to become a monk. As we already observed for the *Life* of Gregory, to move away from the family in order to become a monk is a *topos* for nearly all monastic saints.[488] Euthymius is represented as secretly walking away from his family and searching a spiritual father at Mount Olympus, first Ioannikios, and later John.[489] The form of education sought by Euthymius stands in a long monastic ascetic tradition: since the early development of monasticism, evident for example in the sayings of the desert fathers and mothers (*Apophthegmata Patrum*), individual monks seek out elder and spiritually advanced ascetics for spiritual guidance.[490] After Euthymius' initial training in *hesychia* and *ascesis*, his 'spiritual father' John sent him to a cenobitic monastic community (*koinobion)* to continue his monastic training.[491]

Similar to the *Life of Gregory,* transitions between stages in monastic development involve mobility. This is especially evident from Euthymius' transition from monastic training to spiritual maturation. Not only did the saint travel in order to advance in his spiritual development, the first stage of Euthymius' monastic career, his monastic training, is also distinguished geographically from the later stages of the saint's life. This perhaps allowed the hagiographer to emphasise that the saint literally and figuratively moved on to the next steps in his monastic career. That is, Euthymius' educational mobility all took place in Asia Minor and was centred around Mount Olympus, whereas all of his later journeys took place in the regions of Mount Athos, Thessaloniki and the islands in the Aegean Sea, except for one return journey when he travelled to Mount Olympus to pick up his earlier spiritual mentor Theodore and to accompany him back to Mount Athos.[492] The move away from Asia Minor to Mount Athos marked a transformation of the saint with regard to his monastic and spiritual development: Euthymius is represented as changing, together

488 Cf. pp. 22-23 of the Introduction. Unlike Gregory, Euthymius strictly severed contacts with his family initially – although after a while he did let his family know through a messenger that he became a monk; later (after 42 year) when he already was a monastic leader himself, he met with his family again and made provisions for them. Euthymius did not just walk away from his parental family, but also from his own wife and child, since he was already married prior to his monastic life (according to the hagiographer he married because of the duty he felt towards his family to ensure the continuation of the family line; once he fulfilled that duty, he felt free to pursue his wishes, that is to become a monk). *Life of Euthymius* 5-7, 15 and 37.

489 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 7-8.

490 Vos (2020), p. 221. See also the discussion of journeys to famous figures for monastic *paideia* in Bitton-Ashkelony (2005), p. 140.

491 Comparing the *Life of Gregory* with the *Life of Euthymius* shows that there were multiple ways to become a monk and receive monastic training: Gregory immediately started his monastic training in a communal monastery; Euthymius first adopted the model of the desert fathers and sought out a spiritual father (perhaps in a *lavra* setting with multiple monks 'living apart-together', or just as a single disciple of a solitary monk) and later on continued his monastic training in a cenobitic monastic setting. Both saints at some point moved away from the monastic community in order to advance spiritually individually (or in the case of Euthymius initially together with another ascetic), to fight with demons and reach *hesychia.* On the various models of monastic education and monastic life, see Oltean (2020).

492 See discussion of the journey to Mount Olympus below, pp. 147-148.

with his location, from a subordinate monk to an independent monk in charge of his own spiritual development.[493]

The completion of this first stage in Euthymius' monastic career, in addition to the move away from Mount Olympus, is further stressed in the narrative by the timing of Euthymius' vesture. After representing Euthymius' motivation to travel away from Mount Olympus, that is to search for *hesychia* at the peaks of Mount Athos, the hagiographer informs the listener that Euthymius thinks he first needs to receive the monastic habit before leaving Mount Olympus,[494] which he receives from the monk Theodore. As the hagiographer indicates, the saint could have already received the monastic habit earlier, but Euthymius had refused it 'on account of his ineffable humility'.[495] By postponing it to the moment just before the move to Athos, the hagiographer combines the saint's formal completion of monastic training with a geographical transfer. Together, they mark the end of one stage and the beginning of the next one in the spiritual development of the saint.[496] The later excursion to Mount Olympus transferred his earlier superior, Theodore, to his new habitat.[497] This journey confirms Asia Minor as the geography in which Euthymius had received his education. In addition, this allowed the hagiographer to stress Euthymius' spiritually advanced position that he acquired since moving away from Mount Olympus, presenting Euthymius equal and in some aspects superior in spiritual development to his former mentor Theodore.

Later journeys in the *Life of Euthymius* often also correlate to different stages in the saint's development as a monk and to different modes of monastic life.[498] While Euthymius' educational mobility is a distinct phase in its geographical representation, the other categories of mobility are not clearly distinguished geographically as separate phases in Euthymius' career as a monk. The places that Euthymius travelled to because of monastic

493 After three years of extreme ascetical exercises in isolation (the first year together with another ascetic, the last two years alone) at Mount Athos with the aim of 'purifying the mind' (τὸ λογικὸν ἀνακαθαίροντες, *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 17.2), he immediately became a spiritual guide to others ('he was awaited by the ascetics who had already become numerous from imitation of his example and had heard reports of him [...] After spending time with them and edifying those who devoted themselves to him [...]'; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016)). *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 22.1. At mount Athos he thus both matured spiritually individually and later became a spiritual father to others; the transition between these two stages in his monastic development did thus not require mobility.

494 '[B]ecause he did not yet wear the holy habit of monks [...] he was upset and cried out in grief and distress' *Life of Euthymius* 14.1; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

495 διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀφάτου ταπαινώσεως: *Life of Euthymius* 14.1.

496 On the various practices surrounding vesture and tonsure in Byzantine monastic traditions, see Oltean (2020), pp. 9–86. Oltean identifies three main models: 1) an 'ecclesiastical' model, which would be mostly urban: vows accompanied by tonsure and vesture by a bishop or priest; 2) an 'ascetical' model, with more importance to a period of noviciate, which is followed by a vesture by the hegumen but no tonsure; 3) a 'synthesis' model: a tonsure and vesture for novices at the moment of admission. After the noviciate the novice pronounces vows and receives the 'holy habit' ('le saint habit'); The first model is mostly associated with Constantinople; in Palestine mostly the 3rd model. Euthymius would represent a transition between model 1 and 3. Ibid., pp. 85–86.

497 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 22.1.

498 Namely that of solitary or semi-solitary asceticism, living in a lavra, and cenobiticism. The monastic stages of Euthymius: monastic training, tonsured monk, independent ascetic, spiritual leader and deacon with disciples, 'holy man' sought after for advice, leader of monastery (which combines cenobitic and anchoritic modes); for various modes of monasticism in Byzantium, see e.g., Talbot (2019).

leadership, Brastamon and Peristera, are located near Mount Athos and Thessaloniki, where Euthymius mainly went to because of his search for personal spiritual development. So these different types of journeys do not play out in clearly distinct regions in the narrative.[499]

There is, however, some level of compartmentalisation of the various travel motivations in the narrative. That is, journeys motivated by a particular reason generally follow each other in the narrative, so that there are several blocks of journeys with the same travel motivation. Educational mobility concerns his journeys 1, 2 and 3; mobility due to loyalty to personal connections his journeys 5, 6, 7 and 8; involuntary mobility his journeys 12, 13 and 14; and finally, mobility motivated by monastic leadership concerns his journeys 15, 17 and 18. The only category that defies this compartmentalisation of travel motivations in the narrative is the saint's pursuit for spiritual development, which involves eight journeys: 4, 9, 10, 11, 16, 19, 20 and 21.[500] So while other types of mobility centre on specific parts in the narrative, these journeys are dispersed throughout the narrative, so that both in number and in distribution spiritual development is the most prominent travel motivation represented in the narrative.

Spiritual development as travel motivation

The journeys in this category are motivated by the desire to move away from earthly concerns and focus on the divine, moving away from distractions and hoping to attain *hesychia*.[501] The previous chapter already discussed that the state of *hesychia* was often connected to particular spaces and that this connection inspired mobility to these spaces. Due to the number and distributions of journeys in search of *hesychia*, this motivation is particularly prominent in the *Life of Euthymius*.[502] In the category of mobility for spiritual progress, journeys for which the hagiographer does not explicitly use the term *hesychia* are also considered. *Hesychia* is for example not referred to for journeys 10 and 21, but these journeys are equally represented as being motivated by a desire to move away from (distracting) people in order to concentrate on his own spiritual state. The other representations of travel motivations for spiritual development do explicitly include the

499 So we may observe that particular places are often associated in the narrative with particular activities, but apart from his monastic training we do not see stages correlate to particular regions in the *Life of Euthymius*. That place and space matters for the type of activity/stage of monastic development Euthymius is looking for, was already established in the discussion on *hesychia* in the previous chapter, section 2.3.

500 Journey 15 and 16 actually consist of multiple journeys, but they are not narrated by the author as individual ones. Instead he describes a pattern of regular journeys with two main motivations corresponding to the two directions of the journeys. I therefore chose to list them as two journeys.

501 Since monasticism and a degree of solitude are inherently linked, the travel motivation of personal spiritual development overlaps with educational mobility: the initial move to live a monastic life is motivated by a desire to separate oneself from 'the world' in order to live a spiritual life. While recognising the overlap between categories, the journeys 4, 9, 10, 11, 16, 19, 20 and 21 might be distinguished by the emphasis on the desire to concentrate on a spiritual state of being individually, rather than in a communal setting.

502 The previous chapter and the brief discussion above (section *other travel motivations,* p. 125) also showed that in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* there are examples of mobility inspired by spiritual development and *hesychia*.

term *hesychia* or a cognate.[503] For journey 11 and 19, *hesychia* is not explicitly mentioned as travel motivation, but can be reconstructed as part of the motivation on the basis of the narrative context: *hesychia* is referred to immediately after the journey is narrated.[504]

The previous chapter discussed that *hesychia* was not considered a permanent state in which the saint could be. Reaching *hesychia* was considered difficult. Travelling in search of *hesychia* therefore expressed the saint's perseverance in reaching spiritual perfection. The road to spiritual perfection, however, did not merely entail seeking the right circumstances to reach *hesychia*.[505] Once he has arrived at a destination, the saint is not merely represented as finding *hesychia*, but he is also shown to engage in ascetical exercises, such as bodily mortifications, sitting on top of a column or fighting with demons in isolation.[506] These activities served to highlight Euthymius' progressive spiritual advancement as well.

The idea that ascetical exercises are seen as steps in spiritual progress is most clearly expressed in the episodes after Euthymius' first journey to Mount Athos, to which he travelled because of his love of *hesychia*.[507] Here Euthymius and a fellow ascetic are represented as performing a succession of ascetical exercises. The first is called a 'preparatory exercise' (προγύμνασμα), which involved subsisting on grass like cattle for forty days.[508] After completing the task, they are said to be already accustomed to 'a sensation of enlightenment' through their purification and they are said to 'ascend in virtue as if on a ladder'.[509] Therefore he and his companion 'raised the level of their asceticism to another rung'.[510] In these examples of preparatory exercises and climbing up a ladder,

---

503 Journey 4: φιλήσυχος and τῆς ἡσυχίας; journey 9: τὴν ἡσυχίαν; journey 16: φιλησυχίας; journey 20: ἡσυχάζειν. *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 14.1, 23.3, 27.2 and 37.3.

504 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 24.2 and 37.2-3.

505 The idea that monks do not achieve the perfect 'spiritual state' at once is widely spread in middle Byzantine and earlier monastic sources. A progressive spiritual development was already observed in the discussion of the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* above.

506 After journey 4 to Mount Athos: Euthymius engages in various 'tests' of bodily denial and various episodes of outsmarting or expelling demons. One of the self-devised tests was a test of immobility (not to leave a cave, not even for gathering food, for three years), which illustrates the tension between mobility and immobility in the saint's spiritual progress, also observed in the previous chapter (see especially section 2.3.4); after journey 9 and 19: sitting on top of a column; after journey 11 the hagiographer refers to Euthymius' ascetic practice more generally. Euthymius is here said to have 'decided to remain anchored for a while as if in a harbor' on an island due to the ideal isolation together with two monks who were similarly inclined to asceticism (*Life of Euthymius* 24; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016). This again illustrates the aforesaid tension between mobility and immobility (immobility is here suggested to be temporary: after a while, he would leave again the harbour).

507 Ascetical exercises as part of spiritual advancement are much more prominent in the *Life of Euthymius* compared to the *Life of Gregory*. Some of the ascetical exercises by Euthymius seem to be extreme compared to the corpus of middle-Byzantine monastic saints, but, as Krausmüller has observed, a degree of 'agonistic' asceticism, in which monks outdid each other in ascetical feats, was characteristic of post-iconoclastic hagiography. This would change from the middle of the tenth century onwards (first only for hagiography written in the Stoudios monastery, but from the eleventh century onwards an alternative ideal was adopted in other centres of hagiographical production as well). That is, in later hagiography we find a trend towards a moderation of asceticism, as 'ascetical competition' between monks came to be seen as vainglorious and contradictory to the virtue of humility and conformity. Krausmüller (2017).

508 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 17.

509 ὡς ἐν κλίμακι τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀνυψούμενοι*; Life of Euthymius the Younger* 18. Referring to the popular text of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Climacus.

510 ἐφ' ἑτέραν βαθμίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀναβιβάζουσιν ἄσκησιν*; Life of Euthymius the Younger* 18.

asceticism is thus framed specifically as a process consisting of various stages.[511] After their grazing experiment, Euthymius and his companion continued to a higher 'rung' of asceticism, increasing the difficulty and length of their next exercise: they set out to stay in a cave for three years without ever leaving it.

Like the successive stages of ascetical exercise at Mount Athos, the hagiographer employs the technique of representing these stages as part of a spiritual development also in his representations of journeys motivated by spiritual advancement. The journeys 9, 10, 11 and 19, 20, 21 represent a similar motive of progressive isolation. First Euthymius moves to sit on top of column outside of Thessaloniki in order to escape a crowd and attain *hesychia*. The first time Euthymius is narrated as doing this, the hagiographer notes that Euthymius wanted to be able to give advice to others.[512] However, these things – giving advice whilst also avoiding people to seek *hesychia* – do not go hand in hand, as is evident from the course of the narrative. Particularly if one sits on top of a column near an urban centre, imitating the famous and popular stylite saints of late antiquity, one might expect to attract crowds. This is what happened, according to the narrative, so in order to escape the crowd in both journeys 10 and 20, Euthymius is narrated to move to Mount Athos, in hope of finding *hesychia* there. However, after a while, the narrative describes that Mount Athos has almost become like a city. The other monks at the mountain are distracting Euthymius and prevent him from reaching *hesychia.* Therefore, Euthymius moves away again to an island. For journey 11 the island (called 'Neoi') is described to be empty of people: here finally, Euthymius is said to be able to enjoy *hesychia.*[513] Also for journey 21 Euthymius travels to an island (called 'Hiera') because the monks at Mount Athos are distracting him.[514] Moreover, as he feels his death is approaching, he wants to experience this 'without distraction of the mind and without human disturbance'.[515] By repeating the exact same succession of

511 *Life of Euthymius* 18; translated by Talbot in Alexakis (2016). These metaphors of spiritual ascension on a ladder reminds the audience of the ideas of John Climacus (before 579 to c. 650, author of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*), whom the hagiographer also refers to as inspiring Euthymius' teaching in chapter 33. *Life of Euthymius* 33.

512 And to 'be seen as being elevated closer to God', like the famous stylite saint Symeon, illustrating that a degree of self-fashioning was also not alien to Euthymius (as the narrative implies). See a discussion of this passage in the previous chapter, pp. 89-90.

513 In this passage Euthymius is thus represented as having finally reached the perfect conditions to focus on an inner spiritual state of being. According to the narrative, Euthymius finally leaves the island involuntarily, as he is being captured by pirates (and released again by a miracle), and then decides he should move towards safer regions. By representing the subsequent journeys as involuntary mobility – whether reflecting reality or not – the hagiographer leaves Euthymius' determinate strive for isolation and inner spiritual development intact: it is not of Euthymius' own accord that he moves back to places filled with other people again (where he can fulfil other tasks as a holy man, but is disturbed in his *hesychia*).

514 Like the island Neoi, it is not known which island in the Aegean Sea Hiera refers to. The name of the island might also by chosen for its fitting meaning, interpreting the island as a liminal space: Euthymius, having progressed as close as possible to the divine while being human, spends his last moments on earth at a 'holy island' before completing his transition to the realm of the divine by his death. *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 37.3: 'The reward Euthymius received for his long hard labor and many years of asceticism was to depart and to be with Christ, to whom, while he was alive and conducting his life, he showed himself dead to life, having killed every desire and urge of the flesh that militated against the spirit'. Translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016).

515 ἐν ἀταραξίᾳ νοὸς ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων παρενοχλήσεως ἄνευθε; *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 37.3.

journeys from column to mountain to island twice – in the middle and at the end of the *Life* – the hagiographer emphasises Euthymius' determinate longing for spiritual perfection.

By emphasising Euthymius' strive for spiritual progress, through representing his travel motivations and ascetical exercises, the hagiographer construes two aspects of his sainthood. Firstly, he is represented as having progressed as close as possible to the divine during his life, by attempting to deny his humanity and by avoiding human distraction. This is why, as the hagiographer informs the audience, Euthymius ascended to heaven after his death, where he can intercede with Christ on behalf of the living audience.[516] To reach heaven through a virtuous conduct in life, we learn from a speech of Euthymius in the narrative, is expressed to be the ultimate aim of monastic life in general.[517] Secondly, Euthymius' way of life is represented as an exemplar for other monks. They too, may strive to reach the ideal of monastic asceticism, focussing on *hesychia* and a denial of human and earthly matters. An exemplary life and a place in heaven are thus aspects of Euthymius' sainthood that the hagiographer construes by emphasising the travel motivation of spiritual progress in the narrative.

3.4.3 Conclusions

To conclude, multiple travel motivations are represented in the *Life of Euthymius,* but the hagiographer puts more emphasis on mobility for spiritual development than on other motivations. He does so by presenting this motivation as a central theme throughout the *Life,* whereas the other motivations are clustered in specific parts of the narrative, and by repeating a set of three journeys of progressive isolation twice. Since Euthymius' strive for *hesychia* and isolation are presented as motivations for his final journeys, at the end of the narrative, these might also be the motivations that linger the most in the minds of the audiences. These journeys are used by the hagiographer to construct Euthymius' sainthood. The ascetical life is presented as the ideal monastic life, so that Euthymius appears exemplary. Moreover, this ascetical lifestyle would have guaranteed Euthymius' entry into heaven at the side of Christ, making him a potent intercessor for the audience.

While the hagiographer emphasises Euthymius as an ascetic in search of *hesychia* and (relative) isolation, this is not all there is to the story. In addition to journeys motivated by spiritual development, the hagiographer also presented other motivations. The first journeys represent Euthymius' first phase in his monastic development. After having travelled to various monastic communities to cultivate monastic virtues, his move away from Asia Minor in his fourth journey marked the end of his noviciate and subordinate position. The subsequent journeys show Euthymius to alternate his search for *hesychia*

516 *Life of Euthymius the Younger* epilogue.

517 In the speech Euthymius refers to living like angels (ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτευσώμεθα) as the manner in which the Kingdom of Heaven can be reached. This again links to asceticism, as ascetics are often referred to as 'angel-like' in monastic literature (again inspired by John Climacus' *Ladder of Divine Ascent,* which itself was also rooted in early Christian literary traditions). *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 33.1; Muehlberger (2008); Zecher (2013).

with social roles as a monastic leader and his loyalty to his previous superior Theodore. Euthymius acquired his authority as a spiritual guide due to his asceticism and advanced spiritual state, but his spiritual leadership certainly involved more mundane aspects as well.[518] Euthymius is thus presented to alternate between modes of retreat and interaction, between personal development and serving others. The latter mode is another essential aspect for representing Euthymius as a holy man.

Like the hagiographer of the *Life of Gregory,* Basil used the representation of travel motivations for discursive aims. While the writing of Euthymius' *Life* undoubtedly was motivated by the devotion of the author to his subject, Basil might partially have been motivated by a personal agenda as well. He was a monk in the monastic community that Euthymius set up at Brastamon and one of the disciples living in a more isolated manner, in anchoritic cells practicing *hesychia.* Like Euthymius, Basil concerned himself with working on his spiritual advancement during his time as a monk, before becoming a bishop. He may have hoped that Euthymius' spiritual authority, which he promoted by writing his *Life,* would have reflected on the saint's student, who received his monastic training from the best.

These findings on the reasons and effects of the author's representation of Euthymius' mobility aside, can we also learn something about evaluative ideas on monastic mobility? Similar to the *Life of Gregory* we cannot point to a single type of mobility that the author puts forward as a justification of Euthymius' frequent travels, so there is no attempt to provide a normative discourse on one particular motive that was considered acceptable and beneficial for monks (in contrast to other motivations). Many different types of mobility are presented. The travel motivations that are presented, specifically the emphasised mobility for spiritual progress, are presented as positive for the development of Euthymius, and the journeys that lead to interaction with other people are presented as beneficial for others (particularly monks, for whom Euthymius is presented as their spiritual father). We may therefore again speculate that the hagiographer valued these types of mobility positively for individual monks and for monastic communities.

Different from what we saw in the *Life of Gregory,* the narrative provides a motivation for each journey. The hagiographer thus leaves less room than in the *Life of Gregory* for open interpretation by the audience. This could point to a concern of the hagiographer to counter potential critical opinions, but it may also just reflect Basil's authorial preference to organise the narrative this way by giving more insight into the motives of his subject. The way in which Basil represented each travel motivation, in my view, does not provide us with enough clues to conclude much about expected perceptions on monastic mobility – positive, negative or neutral – on the intended audience's part.

518 E.g., the physical building activity of the monastery at Peristerai is elaborately described in the narrative (*Life of Euthymius* 28-31). The hagiographer also shows Euthymius involved in acquiring property: the *Life* informs that Euthymius had bought land for his grandchildren and had a female monastery built for his female relatives (*Life of Euthymius* 37).

3.5 Representations of travel motivation in the *Life* of Elias the Younger

3.5.1 The creation of the *Life*

Based on his *Life*, the Italo-Greek monk Elias the Younger probably lived from around 823 until 903, making him a contemporary of Euthymius (c. 820 – 898).[519] In terms of the extent of his mobility, Elias was probably surpassing most people living at the time. Of the ninth- or tenth-century travelling saints, Elias travelled most widely and frequently, journeying to many destinations in the Mediterranean within and beyond the borders of the Empire.

Elias' *Life* is transmitted in four manuscripts, all of which provide (roughly) the same text.[520] The text is written by an anonymous author. Because of the biblical, classical and hagiographical allusions in the narrative it has been assumed that the author was a learned monk, possibly from the monastery Elias founded at Salinas in southern Italy.[521] The phrase 'I, *urged by you* to compose the most illustrious life of our all-glorious father Elias the Younger […]' may indicate that the author was commissioned to write this *Life*, probably by the monks of Elias' monastery.[522] Unlike the author of the *Life* of Euthymius, Elias' hagiographer does not claim a personal connection to the saint, which may suggest that he did not come from the inner circle of Elias' connections. In any case, the author must have had knowledge of Mediterranean topography and of historical events in the ninth century, as many events, particularly Arab attacks on Sicily and southern Italy, and some individuals mentioned in the *Life* are also known from other sources.[523]

In the prologue the author imagines that he speaks to an audience assembled to celebrate the feast, or *panegyris*, of the saint. This would most likely be the occasion that

519 Krönung (2010), p. 247; Malamut (1993), pp. 256–258.
520 See Rossi Taibbi (1962), pp. xxiv–xxxii.
521 Efthymiadis (1996), p. 72. Krönung proposes that Daniel, Elias' disciple, must have been the informant who gave the author details of Elias' life. Krönung (2010), p. 246.
522 Italics by the present author. Κάγώ, προτραπεὶς παρ' ὑμῶν τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ νέου Ἠλία τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνατάξασθαι βίον […]. *Life of Elias the Younger* 1, lines 13-14.
523 For a list of some known historical events mentioned in the *Life*, see Krönung (2010), p. 248. Known individuals include for example Barsakios, the Byzantine *strategos* in Taormina until 881 and later of the Byzantine province Longobardia, the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912), Elias the patriarch of Jerusalem (from 878 – c. 907) and Stephen V (pope from 885-891).

inspired the commission of the text.[524] *Panegyreis* denoted celebrations of a particular saint, but could equally denote events that included many other activities, such as banquets, dances, rhetorical competitions and markets. In other words, they were events that brought together various people from a region for devotional, social and commercial reasons.[525] Evidence of larger multifaceted *panegyreis* in the middle-Byzantine period exist mainly for cities, such as at Ephesus, Trebizond, Myra, Nikomedeia, Chalcedon, Athens, and the largest at Thessaloniki.[526] Apart from the reference to the *panegyris* in the *Life*, I have not come across other mentions of a *panegyris* in honour of Elias the Younger. This might be an indication that it would not have been a very large or long-lasting affair – and perhaps here merely (or mostly) refers to a devotional event.[527] The hagiographical text would have been intended to be performed at the place where Elias' tomb was located, as the author indicated that the saint 'now lies before us'.[528] The *panegyris* in honour of Elias would therefore most likely have been held at the Calabrian monastery founded by the saint, to which his relics were translated after his death in Thessaloniki.[529]

If indeed, as is likely, the *Life* was composed for festivities at the saint's commemoration day (17 August) held at the monastery in Calabria, the audience would consist of monks of that monastic community, many of whom might have known Elias. Additionally, the audience would most likely have included other layers of society beyond the monastery, at least this was the ambition of the author. In the following passage, the author addresses them:

524 The opening of the *Life* is as follows: Τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθλητῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πρέπον καὶ ταῖς διὰ λόγων γεραίρειν καὶ δημοσιεύειν τιμαῖς καὶ θεοπρεπέσι καὶ πανδήμοις πανηγύρεσι μακαρίζειν. ('It is good and just and befitting also with honours to honour through words and make known publicly the struggles and achievements of the athletes of virtue and of the champions of piety, and to pronounce blessed [their struggles and achievements] with god-befitting and public *panegyreis*'.), *Life of Elias the Younger* 1, lines 1-5. See also Rossi Taibbi's note in Rossi Taibbi (1962), p. 5, note 3. Elias' feast day is on 17th of August. The *Life* of Elias Speleotes, probably written in the second half of the tenth century, mentions a celebration of Elias the Younger's feast day in 960, when Elias Speleotes went to the monastery at Salinas to pray at the saint's grave. See entry for Elias der Jüngere in Lilie et al. (2013d) (= *PmBZ* 21639). See also a chapter on *panegyreis,* in which Max Ritter provides evidence for the occurrence of speeches being held at these festivals in addition to markets and other elements that could be part of such celebrations in honour of saints (these events potentially mixed economical, social and spiritual aspects, although not necessarily all *panegyreis* would encompass all these elements): Ritter (2019a), pp. 139–152.

525 Ritter (2019a), pp. 139–152.

526 On the instigation of Patriarch John IX Agapetos (1111-1134) a 'panegyrical market' in honour of Justinian was held at Constantinople, but it is not clear if this was a recurrent affair at the capital. For references to sources on *panegyreis* at these cites, see Ibid., p. 142.

527 Although markets etc. possibly accompanied *panegyreis*, this was not necessarily the case. Ibid., p. 139.

528 Ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν ἥκω, φέρων ὑμῖν καρποὺς ἀγαθῶν ἔργων ὑπὸ θαυμαστοῦ γεωργοῦ, ἄνω βλέποντος καὶ τὸν Καρποδότην ἐπικαλουμένου· λέγω δὴ τοῦ νῦν ἡμῖν εἰς εὐφημίαν προκειμένου εὐεργετοῦντος πνευμα-τικοῦ πατρός. ('I have arrived to the narrative, bringing for your benefit the fruits of good labour by the astounding garderner, who looks upwards and who invokes the Yielder of Fruit: I mean the good-doing inspired father who now lies before us to be praised [by us]'.) *Life of Elias the Younger* 1, lines 26-30.

529 For Elias' death in Thessaloniki, initial burial and rituals surrounding his funeral at St George in Thessaloniki, the translation of the relics to the Calabrian monastery, people visiting his tomb and experiencing post-humous miracles, and imperial donations to the monastery, see *Life of Elias the Younger* 70-75.

> Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαός, τὸ ἅγιον ἔθνος, τὸ βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ὅσοι τε ἀστικοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐγχώριοι, ὅσοι τοῦτον ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑωράκατε καὶ ὅσοι ἀκοῇ παρειλήφατε, δέξασθε τὸν περὶ ἐκείνου λόγον, καὶ μηδεὶς ἀπιστείτω τοῖς εἰρημένοις· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰδότες ἡδέως γένησθε, οἱ δ' ἀγνοοῦντες θαυμάσατε τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν.[530]
>
> But you, people of God, the holy nation, the royal priesthood, as many town-dwellers as those of the countryside, as many who have seen him [Elias] with their eyes and who have heard of him, listen to this speech about him, and let no one disbelief the things that will be said, and the ones who have known him, you will become pleased, the ones who do not know him, you will admire the virtue of the man.

The author thus envisioned a gathering of people from the surrounding region at the festival, addressing a mixed audience, including priests, people from towns and from the countryside, in addition to the monks at the monastery.

Rossi Taibbi dates the *Life* to the 930s or 940s, which is generally accepted, although Costa-Louillet suggests 905/6.[531] In any case it must have been written not too long after Elias' death, but possibly not straight way after the translation of Elias' relics to Calabria (the last event recounted in the *Life*), for the author addresses the audience both as 'many [who] have seen him with their eyes', hence contemporaries of Elias, but he also addresses people who only know Elias through his fame.[532]

The *Life of Elias* is the longest of the three *Lives*, and it would be a rather lengthy speech if delivered in one go, although to do so is possible.[533] We could also imagine that the reader chose excerpts or that the text was intended to be recited in multiple stages, as some scholars have suggested, for instance on the days leading up to the feast-day.[534] In any case, the novelistic tendencies that some scholars have pointed out for the first half of the

---

530 *Life of Elias the Younger* 2, lines 31-36.

531 Rossi Taibbi (1962); Da Costa-Louillet (1960), p. 96.

532 The people who do not know Elias might of course also refer to people from outside the monastery, so an early date, as Costa-Louillet (1960) has suggested, is still possible. *Life of Elias the Younger* 2.

533 If we assume an average of 130 words per minute, which in English would be a relaxed, not too fast pace for reciting a text, the reading would take about 103 minutes: if somewhat faster or slower, we might assume the reading to take for 1,5 up to c. 2 hours. Although the *Life* of Elias is the longest, the three *Lives* are quite comparable in length (the word count is based on the information provided in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for the respective *Lives*). The *Life* of Elias (13.398 words) has 76 chapters, 60 pages of Greek text in the modern edition; the *Life* of Gregory (9.048 words; estimate of 1 to 1,5 hours) is significantly shorter with 90 chapters in 49 pages of Greek text in the modern edition. The *Life* of Euthymius (10.883 words; estimate of 1 to 1,75 hours) sits in between in terms of length and has 39 chapters in 61 pages of Greek text in the modern edition.

534 Suggested by Tounta (2016), p. 433.

text, may have made for an exciting listening experience.[535] The many travels of Elias might have contributed to its appeal. While the text only had a moderate (traceable) transmission, Elias as a saintly personality did gain some renown. That is, Elias is mentioned in various other hagiographies of southern Italian saints. This demonstrates some popularity of the saint and is evidence for a vibrant intertextual literary culture in the region, at least up to the eleventh century.[536] The four surviving manuscripts all originate from southern Italian monasteries.[537] This suggests that Elias' veneration remained mostly restricted to this region.

3.5.2 Representation of travel motivations in the *Life* of Elias the Younger

The first half of the *Life* is dominated by many travels. The account of these travels can be summarised as follows (see also appendix 7): born in Enna, Elias started out on his first journey as a child when he was captured during an Aghlabid attack on Sicily. Whilst on sea, the captives were rescued by a Byzantine ship and brought back to Sicily. Three years later Elias was captured again, enslaved and brought to North Africa. After some decades he was set free and travelled to Jerusalem. There he visited the biblical sites and became a monk, travelled to various other biblical places in Palestine and then to Sinai, where he stayed in a monastic community. After three years, he went to Alexandria, where he healed people and visited various shrines in the region, including the popular pilgrimage site of St. Menas. From Alexandria he set out towards Persia to venerate Old Testament sites and relics, but changed direction due to a revolt and reached Antioch instead. From there he travelled back to Sicily, first to Palermo and then to Reggio (in Calabria) and Taormina. At Taormina a disciple, named Daniel, joined Elias and from then onwards accompanied him. When Elias foresaw the capture of Taormina by the Aghlabids,[538] they left the city again and travelled to the Peloponnese, Butrint, Corfu and finally to Calabria.

In the second half of the narrative Elias is represented as mostly staying at the monastery that he founded in Salinas in Calabria. Occasional journeys do still feature. The narrative includes a few instances of regional travel and even some longer journeys, such as to Rome on pilgrimage, to Patras to avoid an upcoming Aghlabid attack in Reggio and to

535 Mario Re even understands the *Life* to be comprised of two distinct parts, the first of which 'has all the features of an adventurous hagiographic romance'. While I still see many of the events described in the *Life,* including in the first have, to correspond to the historical context that we know from other sources, some of the events are indeed dramatic (and make for a compelling story), such as the capture of Elias during Arab raids. Some stories in particular betray the author's desire to craft an entertaining story, such as a story of Elias' period in enslavement, which is quite similar to stories from Greek mythology (e.g., that of Phaedra and Hyppolytus; in Elias' *Life,* Elias is falsely accused of adultery, after not going into the advances of his master's wife). The hagiographer must indeed have intended to write a compelling story, while also aiming to illustrate Elias' sainthood throughout. Re (2008).

536 In the *Life* of Nikodemos of Kellarana and in the *Life* of Elias Speleotes; also according to the *Life of Filaretus,* Filaretus would have entered Elias' monastery, which apparently was still functioning in the eleventh century. See entry for Elias der Jüngere in *PmBZ* 21639; Oldfield (2014), pp. 35; 43.

537 Listed and discussed in Rossi Taibbi (1962), pp. xxiv–xxxii as: Messina, *Bibliotheca Universitaria,* cod. 29, cc. 190r-204v (M); Napoli, *Biblioteca Nazionale,* cod. II A. A. 26, cc. 251r-282v (N); Bruxelles, *Bibliothèque de la Société des Bollandistes,* cod. Boll. 196, cc. 183r-220r (B); Palermo, *Bibliotheca Nazionale,* ms. II E 15, cc. 90r-125v (P).

538 This would be the defeat of Taormina by the Aghlabids in 881. The Byzantine general mentioned in the *Life*, Barsakios, is also known from other sources. See the entry for Barsakios in Lilie et al. (2013e) (= *PmBZ* 20819).

Amalfi, similarly, to flee for incursions. At the end of his life he started a last long journey, as he was summoned by the Emperor Leo VI to Constantinople. He never reached the capital, however, as he died in Thessaloniki.

The many destinations throughout the Mediterranean reached – and some not reached – by Elias are provided with an equally diverse range of travel motivations in his *Life*.[539] The combination of the number of journeys, the great distance covered, and the crossing of the borders of the Empire (albeit not always voluntary) in the span of one lifetime was probably exceptional both in contemporary hagiographical narratives and in reality. However, the various types of travel motivations presented in this *Life* would have been relatable to various movers in the Mediterranean. The representation of mobility in this *Life* reflects the multifariousness of medieval mobility *par excellence*, but condensed in one lifespan.[540]

Certain travel motivations instead represent the monk as a special mover, rather than a recognisable one. The author has intertwined these motivations with Elias' close connection to the divine. That is, several journeys, as presented in the narrative, are motivated by divine revelations and by Elias' prophetic abilities. Moreover, the author draws specific attention to journeys inspired by a divine revelation through a technique of 'narrative framing'. We will now turn to those in more detail, to discuss how these particular motivations are represented, how they are emphasised and to what end. The choice to intertwine travel motivations with human-divine interactions and to emphasise these travel motivations in the narrative, shows that the hagiographer used these representations for discursive ends: that is, to construct the monk's sainthood.

Divine revelation as travel motivation

The hagiographer chose to precede several of Elias' long journeys with a divine revelation in the narrative. Already at the start of the narrative the author includes a divine revelation: as a child Elias would have received a divine vision during his sleep, telling him that he must reach Africa as a slave and convert the people there.[541] Throughout the narrative Elias receives more of these divine revelations, either in the form of a divine voice or a vision. They communicate various aspects of Elias' sainthood.[542] The frequency of the divine revelations indicate the close ties between Elias and God. By including multiple and similar divine revelations to Elias in the narrative the hagiographer shows that divine powers (God, but also the apostles Peter and Paul) had taken a special interest in him,

539 E.g., involuntary mobility (journeys 1, 2, 13, 24, 27, 28 and 31), pilgrimage (journeys 3 to 8, 10, 16, 20, and 30), seeking solitude (journeys 26 and 33) visiting family (journeys 1 and 11) (or funeral of disciple's family member, journey 21), founding a monastery (journeys 11 and 16), visiting sick people (journey 34), diplomacy (journey 35), and an imperial invitation to the capital (journey 36). See appendix 8.

540 Cf. section 3.2.

541 *Life of Elias the Younger* 4.

542 The possibility for humans to directly perceive God or divine beings was not universally accepted in the ninth and tenth centuries, as Dirk Krausmüller has pointed out, and they were thus also not universally accepted signs of sainthood (although a common one in middle-Byzantine hagiographies). See Krausmüller (2020), pp. 381–382.

marking him as an extraordinary individual chosen by God, just as God chose Elias to be granted prophetic abilities and thereby 'sanctifying' him.[543] Like we observed for Gregory of Decapolis in his *Life,* by using a divine revelation as a motivation for mobility the hagiographer moreover shows that Elias possesses another essential ideal of sainthood. It indicates Elias' submission to God's will and his piety. At the same time it shows God as a guide of Elias' life.

Three of the major long-distance journeys for which Elias was motivated to travel after a divine revelation illustrate how the hagiographer uses a technique of narrative framing to emphasise these journeys. These long-distance journeys include his travels to the Holy Land, his return to Sicily and the founding of a monastery in Calabria, and his journey to Rome. All three journeys start with an initial incentive to go to the respective destination, but Elias does not reach it or fulfil the divine revelation immediately. Instead other events are narrated first and later the narrative comes back to these initial incentives when the saint completes his mission. This forewarning and looking back has an emphatic effect, marking these journeys as significant within the narrative.

The first instance does not start with a divine revelation, but the narrative tells how Elias himself felt a desire to reach Palestine to venerate the places connected to Christ's passion (i.e. pilgrimage) and to become a monk, after an episode in which he is freed from slavery.[544] The hagiographer could have chosen to leave it at that and represent Elias' own desire to go on pilgrimage and become a monk as a motivation to travel. Instead, he chose to include a divine revelation and thereby stressed Elias' sainthood. Namely, the hagiographer writes how Elias first doubts whether to go. Subsequently, a divine voice appeared:

> Καὶ ὡς τοῦτο καθ' ἑαυτὸν διελογίζετο, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ὁ καθοδηγῶν αὐτὸν λέγων· 'ὡς ἀγαθὰ καὶ θεάρεστα ἐβουλεύσω·; πορεύου οὖν ἐν εὐρήνῃ τὴν ὁδόν σου καὶ ἔσει θεραπεύων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν.[545]
>
> As he considered this [desire to go to Palestine] by himself, he who guides him appeared to him, saying: 'you deliberate such good things and things pleasing to God! So travel your road in peace and from now on you will heal every disease and every sickness.

Here the hagiographer presents a divine approval of Elias' desire to travel and adds a divine imperative to start the journey and a promise of being able to heal illnesses. This is thus one of the passages in which the hagiographer illustrates the special interest of God in Elias by

543 The hagiographer narrates that God granted Elias the ability of prophecy because God had known Elias before he was born and he [God] had sanctified (ἁγιάσας) Elias since infancy, thus stressing that Elias was chosen by God as an extraordinary and holy (ἅγιος) individual. *Life of Elias the Younger* 3.

544 *Life of Elias the Younger* 14.

545 *Life of Elias the Younger* 14, lines 273-277.

his direct communication. Moreover, by referring to God as 'he who guides him [Elias]', the hagiographer stresses Elias' devotion to God as much as God's guidance of the saint. The hagiographer chose to follow up on the two aspects of God's communication – travel and healing – in separate episodes. Directly following the divine revelation, several healings and miracles are narrated without any mention of travel, and so the narrative first provides examples of this fulfilment of God's promise to Elias. Only after several episodes, Elias finally starts his journey to Jerusalem while reciting psalms to call God as helper and guide. By adding the latter detail, the hagiographer represents the journey as a religious one and affirms Elias' devotion, perhaps intending to recall the earlier divine communication by stressing Elias' attitude to God as a guide. The addition is surely a conscious choice of the hagiographer, as in many other episodes no details of the journey or Elias' behaviour while travelling are given. Elias' initial desire and the succeeding divine approval is recollected again in the episode of his arrival. Having reached Jerusalem, Elias prostrates before the tomb of Christ and he is given the monastic habit by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, doing exactly what he initially intended to do four chapters earlier. So the hagiographer presents the motivating stimulus to travel in such a way as to illustrate aspects of Elias' sainthood and he emphasised this motivation by repeatedly referring to it in the narrative.

Several chapters and travels later Elias resides in Antioch. In this passage the hagiographer narrates another divine revelation that urges Elias to travel:

> [...] ἐν ᾗ διάγοντι φαίνεται καὶ αὖθις αὐτῷ ὁ πολλάκις φανεὶς καὶ καθοδηγήσας· «Ὑπόστρεφε—λέγων—εἰς τὴν πατρίδα σου καὶ ἀποδύου πρὸς τὰ σκάμματα τῆς ἀσκήσεως», ἐσήμανε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἀσκητικὴν παλαίστραν ᾠκοδόμει. Καὶ δὴ ἀναστάς, εἴχετο τῆς ὁδοῦ· ᾔδει γὰρ ὁ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ τίσιν ὑπακούειν χρή.[546]
>
> [...] while he was living there [in Antioch] the one who often appears to him and guides him appeared again, saying: 'return to your fatherland and strip off for the trainings of askesis'[547] and he also made known to him the mountain, on which he was building[548] the ascetical wrestling school. And getting up, he took to the road, for the pure one in his heart knew to whom it was necessary to obey.

In this passage the saint's close connection to God is emphasised again, referring to the frequent direct communication of God to the saint (αὐτῷ ὁ πολλάκις φανείς) and by

546 *Life of Elias the Younger* 22, lines 407-413.

547 ἀποδύου: here probably meaning to strip off clothes before sports, indicating that he should prepare for ascetical exercise. Sport and especially wrestling metaphors are often used for ascesis. For the early Christian origins of this metaphorical usage, see Secord (2018).

548 The use of the imperfect (ᾠκοδόμει) suggests an action in progress, which we might interpret to mean that God showed Gregory a vision in which he sees himself building the monastery on the mountain.

stressing God as Elias' guide (καθοδηγήσας) yet another time. Moreover, his obedience to God and thereby his piety is underlined. As in the previous example, the divine communication is twofold: Elias is told to return to his fatherland and he receives a vision of a mountain upon which he is to found a monastery. The hagiographer emphasises that Elias' immediate departure for Sicily after the revelation reveals his obedience to God. The fulfilment of the other part of the divine communication is narrated only after several other episodes. The narrative relates Elias' arrival in Sicily immediately after the episode of his departure in Antioch, but it takes another eight chapters and many travels until the audience learns about the foundation of the monastery on the revealed mountain. Boarding a ship at Corfu, Elias reaches Calabria and founds the monastery together with his disciple Daniel, who by then had joined Elias. The hagiographer explicitly recalls the earlier divine command by narrating that they went to 'the place revealed to saint Elias when he was in Antioch, and which was called Salinas' and by using the exact same words for the monastery: the ascetical παλαίστρα or wrestling school.[549] So like the previous example, the journeys to Sicily and to Salinas are divinely motivated and the motivation is emphasised by referring back to an earlier narrated divine revelation.

The case of Rome is similar to Elias' travels to the Holy Land: first the hagiographer represents Elias as having a desire to go to Rome, but the direct incentive to undertake the journey is represented in the form of a divine vision telling Elias to go. The case differs in that the vision is narrated only after many events happened in between and Elias does not act upon his own intent immediately. Moreover, the divine message does not come from God directly but from an apparition of Peter and Paul.[550]

Elias' initial desire to go to Rome is narrated after an adventurous episode of imprisonment in Butrint.[551] The hagiographer represents Elias' and Daniel's intent to leave Butrint not as a desire to reach safer lands, but he instead focusses on a pious motivation to travel. Namely, Elias wanted to go to Rome 'for the sake of praying' (ἠβουλήθησαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπελθεῖν χάριν προσευχῆς).[552] They were hindered, however, and traversed to Corfu instead. The hagiographer does not mention the details, perhaps because he did not think it was relevant. Perhaps the audience was to understand that the hindrance was caused by weather conditions or available ships. Contemporary travellers must have been familiar with these kinds of problems. We could speculate that for this reason the

549 ἐλθόντες ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι τῷ ὁσίῳ Ἡλίᾳ τόπῳ, ὅτε ἦν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, τῷ ἐπονομαζομένῳ Σαλίναις, τὴν ἀσκητικὴν παλαίστραν ἐπήξαντο; *Life of Elias the Younger* 30, lines 593-596. At first the παλαίστρα seems to be purposed only for ascetical exercise by Elias and Daniel ('in which Elias and Daniel, while being solitary, cultivated the divine paradise of virtues' ch. 30), but during the narrative it becomes clear that more monks start to live there, it is referred to as *monastêrion* (ch. 36) and the complex includes a chapel or oratory (*euktyrion*; ch. 38).

550 Peter and Paul are particularly appropriate biblical figures to tell Elias that he should go to Rome, since their tombs were pilgrimage sites in Rome.

551 Elias and Daniel would have been imprisoned in Butrint, because a general suspected them to be spies. The general, however, almost instantly died after their capture (which is presented as a miracle), and Elias and Daniel could be freed. *Life of Elias the Younger* 28.

552 This suggests a pilgrimage motive. *Life of Elias the Younger* 29.

hagiographer mentions when Elias and Daniel set off from Corfu they did so under good sailing conditions (εὐπλοήσαντες).[553] In any case the hindrance allowed the hagiographer to narrate other episodes before Elias and Daniel finally travelled to Rome.

The ship from Corfu takes them to Calabria, where Elias founds the monastery at Salinas. The following chapters are set in the monastery and surrounding region, while the hagiographer makes no mention of Rome again for a while. We might imagine that the he aimed to stick to the chronology of Elias' life as he knew it from his sources and the reason for the early mention of a desire to go to Rome had to do with the hagiographer's strategy of framing certain journeys in the narrative, just as he did for the journeys to Palestine and to southern Italy.

Finally, at a point in the narrative when Elias returned from a local journey to the monastery, another divine revelation is recounted: Elias sees two men 'radiant with light' who appear as Peter and Paul. They tell him to go to Rome the day after, together with his disciple and without delay.[554] The latter note recalls the earlier hindrance in Butrint. The vision thus urges them to continue the journey that they already aimed to undertake a few chapters earlier. As in the example of Elias' journey to Palestine, the divine apparition implicitly approves Elias' initial motivation, in this case to go on pilgrimage to Rome.[555] The hagiographer informs the audience that Elias does as told and departs with Daniel to Rome the next morning 'at the sound of the rooster'.[556] Having arrived at Rome Elias fulfils his prayer.[557] The apparition of Peter and Paul and Elias' subsequent actions thus stress once more the interest of divine powers in communicating with Elias directly and Elias' obedience to them, as well as a divine approval of his pious initial travel motivation.

Prophecy as travel motivation

Connecting travel motivations to divine revelations aside, the hagiographer highlights Elias' sainthood by connecting Elias' motives to travel to his prophetic abilities. This supernatural quality places Elias above ordinary mortals and demonstrates the divine powers working through the saint.

It is clear that the hagiographer conceived the gifts of prophecy and perception of things happening elsewhere as important markers of Elias' sainthood. At the start of the narrative, after the standard reference to his birthplace and parents, the author stresses Elias' ability of prophecy as the first attestation of his saintly, extraordinary qualities:

553 *Life of Elias the Younger* 30.
554 Αὔριον ἀκωλύτως, λαβὼν τὸν μαθητήν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὅδευε; *Life of Elias the Younger* 36.
555 The audience presumably would have understood Elias' desire to pray in Rome as a desire to visit the pilgrimage sites of Rome (particularly the tombs Peter and Paul, considering their apparition). Élisabeth Malamut also assumed that a pilgrimage motive was understood. Malamut (1993), p. 258.
556 *Life of Elias the Younger* 36, line 725.
557 *Life of Elias the Younger* 36.

> […] ἔχαιρον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακωχῇ κακῶν καὶ τῇ κατὰ Θεὸν προκοπῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ· ἐφανέρου γὰρ ὁ Κύριος αὐτῷ τῶν γενησομένων τὴν ἔκβασιν καὶ βλέπειν χάριν ἐδίδου τὰ μακράν, ὡς πάλαι τῷ Σαμουήλ, προγνοὺς ἐκ μήτρας αὐτὸν καὶ ἁγιάσας ἐκ βρέφους, Ἱερεμίαν ὡς ὕστερον.[558]
>
> […] after the child already became eight years, they [his parents] rejoiced in the cessation of grave events [i.e. Aghlabid attacks] and the advance of their son towards God; for the Lord revealed to him the fulfilment of future events and granted him the grace to see faraway things, like to Samuel before, because he [God] had known him [Elias] from the womb and he sanctified him since infancy, like later Jeremia.

In this passage the hagiographer stresses that God had chosen Elias as an extraordinary individual and bestowed sanctity (*ἁγιάσας*) on Elias even before he was born. Elias' ability of prophecy is the result of God's special interest in him. Moreover, as we have also seen in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis,* the hagiographer associates Elias, and his supernatural gifts, with Old Testament prophets, thereby placing Elias in a tradition of biblical exemplars.

An example of Elias' prophetic power is found in a passage situated in Taormina. There, Elias predicts an Arab attack and he and his disciple subsequently depart to Greece:

> Πολὺν οὖν χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψας ἐκεῖ· «Μεταβῶμεν ἐντεῦθεν—ἔφη τῷ μαθητῇ—· θεωρῶ γὰρ ὡς μείστοις μέλλει περιπίπτειν κακοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἡ πόλις αὕτη καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Βαρσάκιος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡττηθήσεται». Καὶ ἀπάρας ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ Δανιήλ, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.[559]
>
> After spending much time there [at Taormina], he said to his disciple: 'let us move from here, for I see that this city will fall into a bad state through the Agarens and the general Barsakios will be defeated by them'. And departing from there with his disciple Daniel, he sailed away to the Peloponnese.

Elias' knowledge of future events is presented as his motivation to travel away from Taormina. Although this is not narrated explicitly, the audience is probably to understand that Elias and Daniel leave Taormina to avoid the danger inherent in such an attack. The memory of such incursions must still be alive for the southern Italian audience, assuming that the text was indeed read or listened to in the Salinas monastery in the early tenth century, as Aghlabid attacks on Reggio, Taormina, and Cosenza, narrated in the *Life*, were

558 *Life of Elias the Younger* 3, lines 60-64.
559 *Life of Elias the Younger* 26; Barsakios was defeated by the Aghlabids at Taormina in 881.

as recent as 901 – 902. Moreover, occasional Arab raids continued to be a threat in the region in the tenth century.[560]

Interestingly, Elias is not represented as using his foresight to warn other citizens of the upcoming danger (like he later did in Reggio and in Taormina) in this passage, but his vision is just a reason for Elias and Daniel to move.[561] The prophecy is thus merely presented as an example of Elias' supernatural power to foresee, hence demonstrating his sainthood, but not so much as a gift by which he aids other people besides his own disciple.

In contrast to the passages in which Elias receives a divine revelation, the representation of Elias' travel motivation in this instance only provides a reason for their departure from their place of residence, but not for the choice to go to the Peloponnese. The hagiographer perhaps did not know from his sources why Elias chose to go to the Peloponnese, or thought it an obvious choice without needing further comment, or else he considered it irrelevant for the aims of his narrative. The Peloponnese was (relatively) safe and it was well connected to southern Italy, with common maritime routes from harbours in southern Italy to Greece. Moreover, the Peloponnese was the nearest region within the Eastern Roman Empire outside of Italy. The choice not to dwell on the pull factors of the destination might indicate that the hagiographer thought it was obvious for the audience. The narrative effect of this choice is that the representation of travel motives entirely focusses on Elias' decision to leave, and hence reminds of his prophecy. Later in the narrative, when Daniel and Elias are in the Peloponnese, the fulfilment of the prophecy is described, reminding the audience again of the reason why Elias and Daniel departed from Sicily and of Elias' saintly ability to predict future events.[562]

Whereas Elias' prophecies are mostly predictions of Arab attacks in the near future, his gift to perceive events that happen somewhere else is apparent in his knowledge of the moment of people's death. The hagiographer uses this saintly ability to account for Elias' and Daniel's departure from Rome and their return journey back to southern Italy:

> [...] ὁ θεῖος Ἠλίας, ἐν μιᾷ λέγει τῷ μαθητῇ· «Τέκνον Δανιήλ, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ Ἰωνᾶς, ὁ πατήρ σου, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων μεθίσταται, [...]». Καὶ τὸ διάστημα δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ Ταυρομενίας ἕως Ῥώμης, ἔνθα ἦν Ἠλίας, ἡμερῶν ἐστιν εἴκοσι. Ὁ δὲ Δανιὴλ ἐσημειώσατο τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν κοίμησιν δεδήλωκε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ θεῖος Ἠλίας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς Καλαβρίαν,

560 Sack of Reggio, June 901 (cf. *Life of Elias* 41); sack of Taormina, August 902 (cf. *Life of Elias* 52); siege of Cosenza, October 902 (cf. *Life of Elias* 53). Occasional raids continued to be a danger, such as the attacks on Reggio in 950 and again in 952, which were dealt with by paying tribute money to effect a truce. Loud (2009), pp. 562; 564. The 960s witnessed further military encounters between the Byzantines and the Arabs over southern Italy and Sicily, most notably the failed attempt by Nicephorus II Phocas to recapture Sicily in 964. Kreutz (1996), p. 101.

561 Efthymiades discusses how other saints from Calabria were valued as well for their predictions of Arab attacks in the ninth and tenth centuries, see Efthymiadis (2012).

562 Ἀπέβη δὲ σὺν τῷ στρατηλάτῃ Βαρσακίῳ τῇ Ταυρομενιτῶν κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν τοῦ θεοφόρου πατρός. ('The events happened to the city of Taormina and to the general Barsakios according to the prophesy of the divinely inspired father'). *Life of Elias the Younger* 28.

> ἔγνω κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν κεκοιμῆσθαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, ἐν ᾗ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὁ μέγας Ἠλίας, ὅτι ἄρτι τετελεύτηκεν ὁ πατήρ σου. Καὶ ἔστιν ἀληθῶς θαυμάσαι τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ψυχῆς Ἠλίου πῶς τὸ ἀπὸ διαστήματος τοσούτου γενόμενον παρ' αὐτὰ μεμάθηκε καὶ τῷ μαθητῇ διηγήσατο.[563]
>
> [...] the divine Elias said to his disciple at one day: 'Daniel child, at this moment Jonas, your father, is removed from human matters [...]'. And the distance from Taormina until Rome, where Elias was, is 20 days. Daniel took note of the hour and day, on which divine Elias made known the dormition of his father, and after they returned from Rome to Calabria, he [Daniel] learned that his own father died on that day and hour, on which the great Elias said to him in Rome 'just now your father has died'. And the purity of Elias' soul is truly to marvel at, how he perceived an event immediately from such a distance and [how] he explained [it] to his disciple.

In this passage Elias' extraordinary ability to perceive things elsewhere is stressed by emphasis on the exactness of the time of Elias' knowledge and by emphasis on the distance between Elias and the event of which he has knowledge. This special ability is presented as the motivation for Elias and Daniel to leave Rome, while the hagiographer underscores again how one should marvel at Elias' extraordinary abilities.

3.5.3 Conclusions

The many journeys of Elias illustrate the diversity of mobility in the Mediterranean: the *Life* narrates journeys to many destinations, local, regional and long-distance travel, and the narrative includes voluntary mobility, such as pilgrimage, mobility to found a monastery, to visit family, to help others as well as involuntary mobility. It is however difficult to classify each journey as a single type of mobility in this *Life*, as the motivations are often multi-layered. Particularly, the analysis above revealed that the hagiographer used travel motivations to emphasise aspects of Elias' sainthood, by connecting the saint's motives to divine revelations and prophecies. These all showcase Elias' close connection to God and his extraordinary powers endowed by God. The hagiographer used a technique of 'narrative framing' to emphasise these motivations. He therefore used this narrative building block for discursive ends: to craft Elias' identity as a saint.

We do not know whether devotion to the saint was already flourishing at the time the *Life* was written, but as the hagiographer addressed people from outside the monastic community at Salinas and people who would not have known the saint personally, the audience might have consisted of close followers who were already promoting the cult of Elias as well as those who were not yet as invested. In any case, by hearing about his extraordinary powers, the monastic and non-monastic audience could hear about the

563 *Life of Elias the Younger* 36, lines 731-745.

sainthood of the monastery's founder, and by extension, about the sanctity of his relics that were present at the monastery where the *Life* was most likely performed.

Moreover, by stressing divine communications as motives for Elias' deeds, the narrative also establishes the sanctity and divine approval of his way of life and of his travels (including the foundation of the monastic community at Salinas). In a way, the emphasised journeys are not motivated by a personal motivation to travel, but instead inspired by a divine plan or by Elias' prophetic ability. The hagiographer thus crafted his narrative to emphasise that Elias' motives corresponded to God's will, and therefore, are beyond criticism. We may speculate, in light of the discussion of this *Life* in the previous chapter, that the hagiographer took such care in stressing these particular motivations as an attempt to counter potential criticism on Elias' extensive mobility. The apologetic discourse on monastic mobility in the *Life of Elias* may relate to the (anticipated) diverse audiences, consisting of members of the monastic community and of people from outside the monastery. Another (speculative) possibility is that the focus on divine incentives as the main justification for mobility presents a norm for the monastic community at Salinas itself, with an implicit warning: only very special persons (are allowed to) travel so frequently and widely as Elias, but ordinary monks who do not receive a divine revelation should better stay near the community. Or would this be reading too much into it with a western conception of *stabilitas loci* in mind? Whereas we have established that such an ideal should not be imposed on Eastern Roman orthodox monasticism, in the case of southern Italy, it is thinkable that comparable ideas were at least known to the monks at Salinas.[564] In southern Italy there were also Latin-speaking communities and Latin-rite churches (particularly in Puglia and Campania), so a cross-over of ideas or controversies between various ideals, including on monastic mobility, are well imaginable.[565] Southern Italy, being a frontier region of the Eastern Roman Empire and a region with communities speaking diverse languages and celebrating various religious practices (oriented towards Rome or Constantinople), in any case must have witnessed a diversity of normative discourses and value judgements. We do not (yet) have direct evidence of these discourses themselves, which may never have been written down or have survived, but we could imagine a glimpse of such diversity in the apologetic discourse concerning monastic mobility in the *Life of Elias the Younger.*

564 The Benedictine foundation of Montecassino – in between Naples and Rome – was also not too far off, although this would obviously involve some travel to get there from Calabria.

565 For a discussion of the various (physically remaining) churches in southern Italy and the multilingual culture (mainly Greek, Latin and Hebrew) with various rites, and particularly for many examples of churches with Latin inscriptions in Puglia, see Safran (2014). See also Mougoyianni (2018). For a discussion of Greek and Latin southern Italian hagiographies, see Da Costa-Louillet (1960).

3.6 Conclusion

The question central to this chapter was how hagiographers represented travel motivations in hagiographical narratives. Asking this question served two aims: firstly, to establish which interpretations of the many journeys made by monks the hagiographers represented for their audiences and whether and how the hagiographers used this representation for discursive aims. Secondly, the analysis aimed to establish whether value judgements on (particular types of) monastic mobility can be deduced from the way in which hagiographers represented travel motivation.

In answering the first question, we can conclude the following: authors interpreted monastic mobility in a plurality of ways by providing many travel motivations. Amidst this plurality each author gave special prominence to particular motivations and employed these prominent travel motivations for discursive aims.

Firstly, we can establish that travel motivations are used by the hagiographers to explain the mobility of monks. In the *Lives* of Euthymius and Elias the hagiographers included a travel motivation for most journeys in the narrative, whereas in the *Life* of Gregory many journeys are not directly preceded by a travel motivation. However, also in this *Life* the representation of travel motivations explains Gregory's mobility, but the hagiographer used a general travel motivation that interprets many journeys to come, rather than providing each journey with a motivation separately.

The overall impression that we get from the representation of the reasons for mobility is that it is multifarious. Various types of travel motivations are provided for the journeys of the monks in the narratives: educational and professional mobility, involuntary mobility, pilgrimage and mobility inspired by loyalty to personal connections are some of the examples. By including these motivations the hagiographers show the monks to share experiences with other movers in the medieval Mediterranean. That is, these motivations correspond to the historical reality of the manifold forms of medieval mobility.

On the other hand, certain types of travel motivation, and the way in which these motivations are presented, represent the monks as 'special movers', rather than sharing experiences with many ordinary travellers. These travel motivations are also the ones that the hagiographers give most prominence to in their narratives over other travel motivations: divinely inspired travel and travel for spiritual progress. The narrative of the *Life* of Euthymius emphasises mobility for spiritual development, the narrative of the *Life* of Elias divine revelations and of the *Life* of Gregory both a divine revelation and spiritual development.

We thus observe overlap in how the hagiographers present the motivations for monastic mobility in their narratives, relating their protagonists' mobility to a reality of medieval mobility and by singling out particular travel motivations that represent them as special. We also see divergence between the *Lives*: the strategies that the hagiographers employ to give prominence to travel motivations differ. The hagiographer of Gregory gives

prominence to one motivation by omitting the motivation of many other journeys: one single divine revelation motivates many journeys to come in the narrative. The remaining journeys that are preceded by a travel motivation are mostly motivated by a desire for spiritual progress. In the *Life* of Euthymius the number and distribution in the narrative of mobility motivated by the desire for spiritual progress emphasises this motivation over others. The hagiographer of Elias instead uses a strategy of narrative framing to draw attention to journeys motivated by divine revelations. This variety of narrative strategies – omission, distribution and framing – shows that representing travel motivation was not just a matter of following standard narrative models and *topoi*.[566] Instead these representations are attempts to interpret the monks' mobility in particular ways for their audiences.

Moreover, hagiographers used these representations for discursive aims. All three authors use the prominent travel motivations to display aspects of the monks' sainthood. By stressing divine revelations, the authors emphasise the monks' close connection to God – an essential aspect of their sainthood. Moreover, they model the saints onto biblical and early monastic examples in the representation of these revelations and in the monks' search for spiritual development. While biblical models are presented to be followed by the saints, the saints themselves are in turn presented as exemplars for others, e.g., for people they met during their lives and as inspirations for people after their deaths, including the audiences of the *Lives.* The hagiographers stress the exemplar-function of saints both in their representation of divine revelations and in the monks' search for spiritual development.

The second question, if we can deduce normative ideas of monastic mobility from the way in which travel motivations are represented, was more difficult to answer. There appears to be no singular normative idea that authors clearly communicate in the narratives. In contrast, we find many different types of travel motivation represented. This multivalence is not surprising, because the representation of travel motivation is the result of a complex interplay between many factors. These include, but are not limited to, the literary traditions that these texts tie into and the diverse narrative and discursive aims that hagiographers wished to achieve with their texts.[567] The ideas of the hagiographers themselves and the anticipated views of the audiences are therefore difficult to disentangle from these representations.

The analysis demonstrated that mobility is never presented as disadvantageous for the monks themselves, nor for the world around them, which is not surprising concerning the type of texts we are dealing with. Certain types of mobility are specifically presented as positive for the monks themselves and/or for society at large, such as mobility for spiritual development, mobility to re-enter in the 'world' and to function as an exemplar for others, and mobility to obey to God's will and follow God's plan. We may speculate

566 Although the hagiographers certainly made use of *topoi* as building blocks of the narrative.
567 Cf. introduction, pp. 26-28, e.g., a degree of historical accuracy for the sake of remembrance and authenticity, persuasion, entertainment, etc.

that this positive representation also reflected positive attitudes towards these types of mobility by the hagiographers. The beneficial effects of the particular types of mobility, for the monks themselves and the society around them, do not imply, however, that the hagiographers thought that only these types of mobility were desirable and other types undesirable: such value judgements, on behalf of the hagiographers themselves, cannot be deduced from the texts.

Could we perhaps, instead, suggest that mobility is presented to reflect positively on the saints' identities in an attempt to counter critical sounds from the audiences? Or was such criticism not at all expected by the hagiographers? The representations of travel motivations do not directly engage with potential critique on monastic mobility. Despite the complexities involved in representation we can conjecture two diverse expectations of the audiences' positions on monastic mobility.

The first position is one in which the author did not expect that the audience found high mobility of monks to be problematic. With this expectation in mind the hagiographer did not need to tailor his representations of monastic travels as a necessary justification for this mobility.

The second position is one in which the author did expect that the audience might find the mobility of monks potentially problematic. With this expectation in mind the hagiographer employed the representation of monastic mobility in an attempt to counter this (potential) criticism.

We can see the first position reflected in the *Life* of Gregory: the hagiographer, Ignatius, did not feel the need to directly precede every journey with a justification. He made the silence work to his advantage by suggesting that Gregory's mobility was the result of the divine instruction early in the narrative. However, there is also a danger in silence. It means that the hagiographer left more room for interpretation by the audiences themselves. While there is a general motivation for these journeys, the author did not feel the need to refer back to this motivation when narrating the journeys that follow and thereby unambiguously steer the interpretatio1n of the monk's mobility. We may therefore conclude that the hagiographer did not expect that the high mobility of the monk was problematic for the audiences.

We can see the second position reflected in the *Life* of Elias: the hagiographer may have expected an audience that was critical about the high mobility of the saint. In addition to the general defences of mobility that we have seen in the previous chapter (statements on pilgrimage and *hesychia*), the narrative emphasis on divine revelations as travel motivation may be part of a strategy to legitimate Elias' high mobility in order to counter criticism. In Elias' *Life,* journeys are represented as involuntary mobility, as journeys in search of solitude, or as journeys preceded by a divine revelation. Audiences could hardly be expected to be critical about involuntary mobility and journeys in search of solitude aside, considering the turbulent reality in the Mediterranean and prevailing ideals on how to advance spiritually.[568]

568 Cf. Chapter 2 on *hesychia*.

Divine revelations legitimise the other main types of travel that occur in the narrative: pilgrimage, educational and professional mobility.[569] These journeys are thus presented to be part of God's will, and therefore beyond criticism. Moreover, Elias' own intentions are represented as corresponding to God's will, which make these beyond criticism as well. That is, in several places Elias is described to have an internal desire to go particular places, and only afterwards he received a divine revelation that serves to approve and thus legitimate his original intent. The emphasis on these divine revelations in the narrative, the emphasis that Elias' own motives correspond to God's will, and the general justifications of travel found in the narrative together might suggest that the hagiographer consciously put effort into legitimising Elias' exceptional degree of mobility, which may point towards an anticipation of a more critical audience.

To conclude, the way in which the hagiographers represented travel motivation is complex and the result of multiple perspectives. Despite these complexities, we could establish two main findings. First, the representation of travel motivation is used as a tool in the hagiographer's toolbox to stress the monks' sainthood. Second, examining the representation of travel motivation allowed us to conjecture two diverse normative standpoints regarding monastic mobility from the expected audiences of the hagiographical texts.

569 That is, journeys to visit pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10), to become a monk (journeys 3, 8), and a journey to found a monastery (journeys 11, 16). Other categories include mobility due to loyalty of family connections (two of the three journeys overlap with involuntary mobility and the divine revelation to found a monastery, journeys 1 and 11), visiting sick people (journey 34) and diplomacy (25, 36). The journeys for which no motivation is provided could either be interpreted as stops in between (e.g., journey 12, 14, 15), or as local travel in the region of the monastery of Salinas (journeys 18 and 22). Journey 17 describes habitual travel. This passage was elaborately discussed in chapter 2, see section 2.4. See appendix 8.

4

Conceptual metaphors of travel and stability in the *Life* of Gregory of Decapolis

4.1 Introduction

Metaphorical language is ubiquitous in hagiography. Travel-related terminology is likewise frequently metaphorical. The metaphorical usage of travel-related terminology may in fact exceed the non-metaphorical usage in many hagiographies.[570] Therefore, analysing these metaphors is a promising approach for unravelling discourses on monastic (im)mobility. Moreover, cognitive linguistics has shown that language, and thus metaphor, is closely related to perception and thought. In other words, language reflects, structures, but also restricts human perception of the world and thinking.[571] One of the ways in which to access perceptions and thought patterns of people in the past may therefore be through analysing patterns in language use.[572] This chapter is informed by Conceptual Metaphor Theory and asks how an analysis of travel and stability metaphors might reveal underlying thought patterns about monastic mobility and immobility.

The conceptual metaphorical analysis in this chapter brings a new approach to the study of saints' *Lives*. It has rarely been applied to these texts.[573] When it has, the focus has been on key-word searches in a large corpus.[574] Analysing a large corpus has the advantage of being able to establish the prevalence of particular conceptual metaphors and to detect changes through time.[575] The downside is that key-word searches will always miss out on related metaphors that use different lemmata. Language users, and particularly skilled authors, can use a plethora of words to express similar meanings, perhaps even more so when using metaphorical language. To maximise the benefits of this investigation, I analyse conceptual metaphors through close-reading of an entire narrative. The benefit of this approach is that it allows detecting the full range of metaphors used in a single narrative,

570 Mantova (2023), p. 231.

571 The exact nature of the connections between language, perception and thought is difficult to establish. However, a close connection between language and sensory perception of the world is supported by various studies in cognitive science that show e.g., that 'sensory language activates perceptual systems' in the brain. O'Meara et al. (2019), p. 2. Moreover, studies comparing different languages suggest how language may impact how one can express sensory perceptions, possibly both enabling and restricting thought, depending on the range of vocabulary or other linguistic features. See e.g., Majid and Burenhult (2014); Speed et al. (2019).

572 On a general level all research using textual sources relies on (written) language to uncover ideas of people in the past; however, here I mean specifically approaching particular aspects of language use, such as metaphors, and looking for patterns in the use of this language feature as a method of inquiry.

573 On conceptual metaphor theory see section 4.2. Within Byzantine Studies this theory has not found much application, but it has been explored more in the context of ancient classical literature. A study by Douglas Cairns on classical (metaphorical) conceptions of ψυχή and θυμός served as my direct inspiration for this approach. See Cairns (2014).

574 Mantova (2023). By the time Mantova's study appeared, the core of the present chapter was already written, and was thus developed independently from Mantova's study. I will indicate in the footnotes where our findings overlap, and where they differ. One of these differences is our methodological approach (key-search versus close reading). Another difference concerns the range of metaphors we examined. Some of the differences between our conclusions are the result of this difference in approach and range of metaphors studied.

575 Mantova chose to search for four lemmata signifying 'road' (ἡ ὁδός, ἡ πορεία, ἡ λεωφόρος and ἡ τρίβος); this enabled her to establish the prevalence and stability (in time) of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY/ROAD metaphor over other metaphorical usages of these lemmata in Greek hagiography from the fourth to twelfth centuries. She also identified a change of metaphorical patterns between the road-metaphors used in the texts comprising the Old Testament compared to those in the New Testament. See Ibid.

including metaphors related to mobility and immobility that might otherwise go undetected if limiting the investigation to a few key words.[576] Furthermore, a close-reading approach is useful as it allows for a better understanding of the narrative context in which a metaphor is used, and therefore for a better understanding of the meaning of the metaphor itself.[577] This approach is therefore more suitable when aiming to uncover nuances in meaning, which this thesis has attempted to do throughout.

The *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* will be taken as the focal point for analysis in this chapter, but the findings will be compared and corroborated with examples of metaphorical language use in the *Life of Euthymius the Younger* and the *Life of Elias the Younger*. In the previous chapter we saw that Ignatius, the hagiographer of the *Life of Gregory,* gave relatively little narrative space to explicit representations of Gregory's motivations for all his journeys. However, we do find much metaphorical travel-language in this *Life*. By using a different approach to this text, we may uncover more layers in the use of the travel theme in this *Life* and more insights into perceptions of travel. Moreover, as we will see in section 4.2, conceptual metaphors reflect metaphorical thinking of discourse communities. They are therefore not unique to particular texts or thought patterns of individual authors. So a detailed analysis of three texts written by authors representative of comparable language users would not necessarily gain more insight into metaphorical thinking than focussing on a single text. This chapter will thus explore the potential of Conceptual Metaphor Theory to gain a deeper understanding of middle-Byzantine conceptions of mobility and immobility, as studied primarily in the *Life of Gregory*.

4.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphor is understanding one thing in terms of another (e.g., doing a PhD is a roller coaster). As stylistic figures in language, metaphors may be used to communicate particular messages and to embellish texts and speech. Hagiographers were presumably aware of these communicative and rhetorical effects and may have used metaphors deliberately for these purposes.[578] Metaphors, however, are more than rhetorical tools in a writer's toolbox. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hereafter CMT) holds that metaphors are figures of thought, besides being figures of language. Since its introduction by Lakoff, Johnson and

576 In my analysis I looked for all metaphors in the *Life of Gregory* that related to travel, mobility, movement, immobility and stability. This is a difference between my analysis and that of Mantova, who confined her study to metaphors specifically involving terms signifying a road (see the previous footnote).

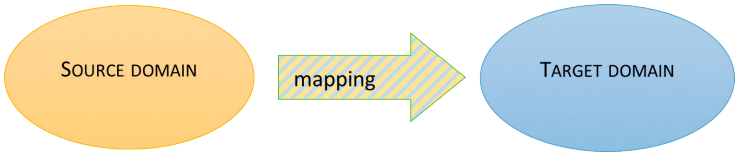
577 Narrative context allows for a better understanding of how readers/listeners might have understood the metaphor, as research shows that both the direct narrative context as well as prior context (i.e. earlier parts in the narrative) affect metaphor processing. Gerrig and Shawver (2022), p. 49.

578 A communicative approach to metaphors focussing on the deliberate choices of the individual language user when choosing particular metaphors is taken by Deliberate Metaphor Theory, promoted by Gerard Steen. On the other end of the scholarly debate on metaphor theory, scholars hold that 'metaphor works automatically and unconsciously' and the possibility that metaphors can be deliberate is questioned. For this debate, see the articles by Steen and Gibbs in the same journal volume: Steen (2015); Gibbs (2015a); Gibbs (2015b).

Turner, the theory has been embraced and further developed in cognitive linguistics.[579] Its main premise is that metaphors reveal and (partially) shape how we conceive of particular concepts. As such they may be studied to unravel thought patterns of hagiographers. Informed by CMT, this chapter will take such a cognitive approach to metaphor, rather than focussing on the discursive potential of metaphors.[580]

Before further introducing the main ideas of CMT, it is necessary to first explain some terminology. Metaphor research conventionally refers to a non-literal linguistic expression as a source domain (roller coaster) and the idea expressed as the target domain (doing a PhD). Aspects of the source domain are understood to correspond to the target domain. The process of conceiving one domain in terms of another is called mapping (see figure 1). Mappings are the elements of the source domain that, as conceived by language users, correspond to (aspects of) the target domain.[581] For example, sudden (and unexpected) changes from being in a calm state to an adrenaline-filled state is a correspondence between experiences of being in a roller coaster and experiences of doing a PhD. The aspect of unexpected sudden changes that we may associate with roller coasters are thus mapped to an understanding of the PhD trajectory. Or to use another conventional metaphor, the experience of ups and downs in a PhD trajectory corresponds to the physical ups and downs when being in a roller coaster. This correspondence in experience is mapped onto an understanding of doing a PhD (the target domain).

Figure 1: Conceptual metaphors: the mapping process



CMT holds that metaphors reflect and shape thinking. The process of understanding one thing in terms of another is not just a language convention, but reveals aspects of how the target domain is understood (e.g., the experience of doing a PhD as having 'ups and downs'). In their seminal work *Metaphors we live by,* Lakoff and Johnson advocated for this cognitive understanding of metaphor.[582] To put such an understanding of metaphor on the map, they first showed that metaphors pervade (English) language, including many conventional expressions. Secondly, they showed that many individual expressions of

579 This view on metaphors was introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors we live by* in 1980 and elaborated on by Lakoff and Turner in *More than cool reason* in 1989. Lakoff and Johnson (1980); Lakoff and Turner (1989). For a literature review of subsequent CMT research, see Han et al. (2022).

580 For a discussion of the debate between a communicative approach, focussing on the discursive effects of metaphor, and a cognitive approach in metaphor research, as well as an attempt to bring these two approaches together as complementary rather than contradictory, see Hampe (2017); Gibbs (2017a).

581 Kövecses (2002), p. 7.

582 Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

metaphorical language reveal consistent patterns. Diverse linguistic expressions derive from the same source domain, and these are used to express the same target domain. In other words, general metaphors underlie many individual linguistic metaphorical expressions.[583] These patterns were found to be shared by discourse communities, rather than being particular to individual authors. CMT therefore holds that these patterns in metaphorical language reflect how discourse communities conceive of target domains. Metaphorical patterns move beyond individual language use and thinking.[584]

CMT uses particular terminology to discuss metaphors. Examples of metaphors used in speech or writing are conventionally called linguistic metaphorical expressions.[585] For example, the expression 'I do not know which path to take' is a linguistic metaphorical expression. General metaphors that underlie many individual linguistic metaphorical expressions are called conceptual metaphors. They are conventionally expressed as TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN.[586] When we observe patterns between linguistic metaphorical expressions we can identify the conceptual source and target domains that underlie these expressions and recognise conceptual metaphors. For example, linguistic metaphorical expressions, such as 'making your way in life', 'getting anywhere' with your life or 'not knowing which path to take' draw from the conceptual domain of journeys to understand aspects of the more abstract concept of life.[587] The conceptual metaphor these expressions manifest is LIFE IS A JOURNEY, in which 'journey' is the source domain and 'life' the target domain. So one of the ways in which we conceptualise life is by conceiving it as a journey.[588] This particular conceptual metaphor has already been identified by Lakoff and Turner in English language.[589] As we will see, this conceptual metaphor appears also in other languages and across time.

The appearance of these general patterns among the vast diversity of linguistic metaphorical expressions is interpreted in CMT as evidence that metaphors reflect the speakers' thinking about target domains. These conceptual metaphors are considered to be a reflection of how language users conceive of particular concepts. Another indication of the connection between metaphor and thought is that certain concepts can only be understood or thought of in metaphorical ways because of the abstract nature of these concepts. CMT holds that understanding abstract concepts *requires* metaphorical thinking:

583 Ibid.

584 Of course there is variation between users of the same language and we may identify multiple discourse communities, which may overlap and vary. However, language is not individual. Metaphorical conceptions of abstract concepts may even be shared across languages. The appearance of widely shared metaphorical patterns between languages and discourse communities is explained in CMT by the idea that knowledge of the world is through embodied cognition and by the assumption that certain human experiences are widely shared.

585 Kövecses (2002), p. 4.

586 Conceptual metaphors are conventionally rendered in small capitals, to distinguish them from linguistic metaphorical expressions. This convention will be adhered to in this chapter.

587 These examples are given in Lakoff and Turner (1989), p. 3.

588 This is not the only way in which life is conceptualised; life is understood in multiple conceptual metaphors. For example, saying 'life leaks away' reflects the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS FLUID IN THE BODY. Ibid., p. 19.

589 Lakoff and Turner (1989).

we cannot grasp abstract concepts directly through our embodied perception of the world, so we need to understand them in other more concrete terms.[590] In other words, certain abstract concepts cannot be thought of without metaphor. Metaphor is therefore essential for being able to think about what these (target) concepts mean. For example, the more abstract concept of time is conventionally understood through the domain of space (e.g., 'the day *before* yesterday'). Time may be difficult to think of without recourse to this metaphorical way of thinking.[591] Also the abstract notion of God, understood as an opposite to humanity and the physical world, is difficult to think about without recourse to metaphor. When understanding who/what God is, people often take recourse to more concrete concepts, such as thinking about God as a father or a judge.[592]

This also means that usually the metaphorical process is unidirectional: metaphors work from the more concrete to the more abstract, not the other way around.[593] This aligns with the idea that human cognition (and hence language and thought) is dependent on bodily interaction with the world. Another premise of a cognitive approach to metaphor is therefore that the source domain of conceptual metaphors is often grounded in 'bodily actions and experiences', and that understandings of abstract target domains work through embodied experiences of the source domain.[594] 'Cognitive' is often used interchangeably with 'embodied' or 'conceptual' when referring to this approach in current metaphor research.[595] Experimental and neuroimaging research in social psychology and neurosciences have provided supporting evidence for the theoretical claims of the embodied understanding of metaphors.[596]

CMT does not only hold that metaphors reflect how language users conceive of abstract concepts, metaphors are also understood to partially shape the way language users think about target domains. Some more reflection on the mapping process of metaphors will illustrate this point. Metaphors do not necessarily equate *all* aspects of the source domain to the target domain, but only some aspects are perceived to correlate to the target domain. Only these aspects are mapped unto the target domain. For example, the material of a roller coaster (e.g., steel, wood, etc.) is not an aspect that is relevant in our understanding of doing a PhD. This aspect of the source domain (roller coaster) is therefore

590 Recent developments in the understanding of human cognition nuances the view that cognition is shaped by bodily perception. Although bodily perception is still considered a dominant mode of cognition, and the source for metaphors, also other aspects have been identified to play a part. Kövecses for example identifies that metaphorical cognition is not only situated in the body, but also in situations, discourses and accumulated conceptual knowledge. Kövecses' findings are a refinement of the embodied understanding of conceptual metaphors, but the basic premises of the original theory are still reinforced. Kövecses (2015).

591 For research on the understanding of time through metaphor, see the relevant discussion in Han et al. (2022).

592 An understanding of God/divine as one end of a spectrum and humans as non-divine as the other (and in describing desires and attempts to bridge this gap, by becoming more divine and less-human, e.g., by Christian saints), is for example expressed in a study discussing mostly, but not exclusively, a Jewish-Christian understanding of spirituality, see Waaijman (2000).

593 Kövecses (2002), p. 7.

594 Gibbs (2017b), p. 23.

595 E.g., in Hampe (2017).

596 See e.g., Gibbs (2011), pp. 541–542; Matlock (2022), p. 114; Müller and Marienfeld (2022).

not mapped unto the target domain (doing a PhD). CMT claims that the correspondences between source and target domain, in essence, structure how we understand the target domain: mappings determine how language users perceive which elements the target domain consists of.[597]

Some scholars advancing CMT hold that the 'image schema' of the source domain determine which mappings structure the conception of the target domain.[598] Image schemas are thought to be 'based on recurring patterns of embodied experience'.[599] For example, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor is structured by the 'source-path-goal' schema, which people encounter in daily experiences whenever they start at one point in space and move somewhere to reach a specific destination for a specific purpose (i.e. corresponding to a great deal of our bodily movements any given day). These three aspects of the image schema (source/departure, a path/journey, and a goal/destination) are the most frequent aspects of travel that are mapped unto the target domain of life, whereas other aspects involved with travel are less often mapped (e.g., costs of travel, means of transport, etc.). This will become evident in the following discussion of travel metaphors in the *Life of Gregory* as well. These image schemas of the source domain are understood in CMT to structure how we understand the target domain (i.e. life, in the example).

Because the source domain and the aspects mapped never completely overlap with the target domain, metaphors highlight but also hide aspects of reality.[600] The frequent use of particular conceptual metaphors therefore also reinforces particular (partial) images of target domains. A metaphor scholar therefore reasoned that '[i]f all metaphors present a partial picture, then the frequent metaphors of a community must contribute to a collective bias in understanding the world'.[601] Conceptual metaphors thus not only *reflect* a perception of the world, but also *shape* and reinforce (collective) perceptions.

Research on other languages and on different time periods has shown that particular conceptual metaphors may be reflected in multiple languages and across time. This has been taken as evidence that certain abstract concepts are understood by these diverse language users in the same way, which may point to shared human experiences and embodied perception of the world.[602] THE LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor that will be discussed in the analysis below is one of these stable metaphors expressed in different languages and across time. The journey metaphor is found in many variations and 'sub-categories' of metaphors dependent on LIFE IS A JOURNEY. For example, the conceptual metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS is one of the variations belonging to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.[603] As an answer to the question: 'how far are you with writing your thesis?' one could answer:

597 For further examples, see Kövecses (2002), p. 9.
598 See e.g., Gibbs (2017b), p. 23.
599 Ibid., p. 23.
600 Deignan (2005), p. 24.
601 Ibid., p. 24.
602 Kövecses (2002), p. 203.
603 PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS was identified in Lakoff and Turner (1989), pp. 52–53.

'I am well on my way' in English, 'ik ben goed op weg' in Dutch, 'ich bin auf dem richtigen Weg' in German or 'sono sulla buona strada' in Italian. These examples illustrate the cross-linguistic appearance of the metaphor: they all reflect the idea that reaching a goal involves a journey (PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS).[604] On the other hand, changes and variations of conceptual metaphors between languages and across time may indicate culturally specific understandings of abstract concepts (and possibly culturally specific embodied perceptions of the world).[605] In the analysis below, we will identify a variation of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which may possibly point to a culturally specific conceptual metaphor in medieval Greek language use.[606]

4.3 Holiness and metaphors of travel

A range of metaphors with travel-related terminology can be distinguished in the *Life of Gregory*. When reading the *Life,* I listed all the linguistic metaphorical expressions that have mobility either as source or target domain. Some of the examples found in the text reflect conceptual metaphors that already have been identified in other CMT literature for other languages. These concern LIFE IS A JOURNEY, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS,[607] MAKING LIFE DECISIONS IS CHOOSING A PATH[608] and DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD.[609] Other conceptual metaphors I identified myself. These include POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY, DYING IS AN UNKNOWN PATH,[610] VIRTUE IS (THE DESTINATION OF) A PATH, ASCESIS IS A (UNEVEN) PATH, SPIRITUAL PROGRESS IS RUNNING UP TO A HEIGHT and BEING WRONG IS WANDERING. The linguistic metaphorical expressions found in the *Life of Gregory* are listed in appendix 9, grouped according to these conceptual metaphors.

The conceptual metaphors PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, MAKING LIFE DECISIONS IS CHOOSING A PATH and DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD are more specific conceptual metaphors that belong to the general LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. This conceptual metaphor was identified by Lakoff and Turner, and as the examples above have illustrated, it is prevalent in multiple languages.[611] The endurance of this metaphor may be explained by the recognisability of the source domain and because of close correspondences in the embodied perception between essential aspects of the source and target domain. That

604 For further discussion on the appearance of the same conceptual metaphors in several unrelated languages, such as English, Hungarian, Chinese and Zulu (e.g., the metaphors HAPPINESS IS UP and BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER), and for further research, see e.g., Kövecses (2002), pp. 195–214.

605 See e.g., the various contributions in Díaz-Vera (2015) and Gibbs (2011), pp. 538–540.

606 More research should be done to verify or falsify the cultural specificity of this conceptual metaphor.

607 E.g., in Lakoff and Turner (1989), pp. 52–53.

608 Examples discussed in e.g., Trim (2015), p. 107.

609 DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES is identified e.g., in Kövecses (2022), p. 134. See also DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS in Kövecses (2002), p. 207. I rendered the conceptual metaphor more specific as DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD.

610 The identification of this metaphor is close to a conceptual metaphor already identified in metaphor research, namely DEATH IS THE END OF LIFE'S JOURNEY and DEATH IS GOING TO A FINAL DESTINATION. See Lakoff and Turner (1989), pp. 7–8.

611 See Lakoff and Turner (1989).

is, travel is a concrete and an essential part of lived experience of human life throughout history. Secondly, the image schema of the source domain reflects a common embodied experience of the world. This image schema is the 'source-path-goal' scheme, which is essential to travel experience, but also generally of daily movement of our body.[612] This schematic structure of source-path-goal, which is an essential characteristic of the human experience of travel/movement, closely corresponds to experiences of aspects of life more broadly. Considering these correspondences in the embodied experience of life and travel, it is understandable that the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor has had such a long tradition and was also used by hagiographers of the ninth century.

However, the prevalence and stability of the conceptual metaphor does not mean there is no variation in its usage over time and possibly between genres.[613] In my analysis of the *Life of Gregory,* I found that the target domain of multiple linguistic metaphorical expressions refer to a particular aspect of life: that is, a way of life or conduct, specifically in the context of a virtuous life.[614] In medieval Greek hagiography this aspect – way of life or conduct – may be captured by the word πολιτεία (hereafter: *politeia*).[615] The linguistic expressions of travel metaphors found in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis,* may reflect a hagiographical variance (POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY) of the enduring LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.[616] Additionally, we see in the *Life of Gregory* that the conceptual metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS interacts with the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor, whereby the purposes are both reaching a virtuous way of life and reaching heaven.[617] This use of metaphors may also be dependent on the specifically Christian cultural context in which hagiographers wrote.[618]

612 For example, getting up from a chair (source) to walk (path) towards a coffee machine (goal); the source-path-goal structure is also characteristic of how we move parts of body, e.g., stretching out (path) our arm (source) to grasp a coffee cup (goal).

613 Mantova, for example, observed a subtle change in the usage of the life is a journey metaphor between the Old and the New Testament: 'In the Old Testament, we find numerous examples demonstrating a singular determination to follow the way, which is understood to be wide and straight. In contrast, in the New Testament, [...] the highway is a path to be avoided, whereas the path to be followed is that of the constrained and thorny road'. Mantova (2023), p. 232. See also Díaz-Vera (2015).

614 See the appendix for the examples occurring in the *Life of Gregory.*

615 Mantova and I have independently found that a variation on the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is dominant among travel-related metaphors in middle-Byzantine hagiography/the *Life of Gregory.* I identified this conceptual metaphor as POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY, the target thus specifically being the monks' conduct or way of life. Mantova saw a similar variance in a larger corpus of medieval Greek hagiography: 'In the majority of the hagiographical cases [...] this metaphor of the righteous road, in reference to a pious way of life, acts as a specific version of the broader metaphor 'Life is a road'.' Mantova (2023), p. 233.

616 Demonstrating whether this is actually a hagiographical variance (i.e. whether this metaphorical language use is specific to the genre) or whether it is reflected in other genres as well, and establishing since what time this metaphorical usage developed, would require analysis of a larger corpus of multiple genres and covering a longer time span, and which thus cannot be established in the present analysis. Here we merely observe that it is a variant of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, that this variant is found in a hagiographical text and that it seems one that is suitable for this genre.

617 See the linguistic metaphorical expressions in appendix 9. Note how 'reaching' and 'way of life' are both linguistic metaphorical expressions of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor ('reaching' specifically expressing PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS), illustrating the point that conventional expressions are suffused with metaphors and that it is hard to write and think without recourse to metaphors.

618 Although not exclusive to hagiographers.

I will illustrate the occurrence of these conceptual metaphors in the *Life of Gregory* by discussing a passage in chapter 67 of the *Life.* This is not the only passage that could have been taken as an example, but since the passage is particularly clear and rich in metaphorical travel language, it is suitable for illustrating the range of travel metaphors found in the *Life*. Other examples from the *Life* expressing the same conceptual metaphors can be found in the appendix. The passage illustrates multiple conceptual metaphors belonging to the overarching LIFE IS A JOURNEY and POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphors. After establishing the occurrence of these metaphors, I will discuss what aspects of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain in the example in order to examine what the metaphors reveal about how the target domain is conceived.

Chapter 67 of the *Life of Gregory* serves as a transition in the narrative bridging chapters narrating events in Gregory's life (mainly interactions with visitors during his stay in Thessaloniki) and subsequent chapters elaborating on the virtues of Gregory. The narrative here transitions from a focus on the life events to a focus on the way of life (*politeia*). It is therefore particularly apt that the hagiographer expressed the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor in this passage:[619]

> Καὶ διὰ μὲν θείας μελέτης τὴν τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐξομαλίσας τρίβον ἅπαν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκῶλον ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ, καὶ λείαν ἑαυτῷ ταύτην κατασκευάσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἄνω βασιλείας ἀνάκτορον ἔφθασεν.[620]
>
> And through divine exercise, while making even the path of ascesis, he removed every obstacle and hindrance from the road which leads to virtue, and after having prepared it [the road] even for himself, he reached the royal dwelling-place of the kingdom above.

In this passage ascesis is expressed as a path, expressing ASCESIS IS A PATH. Living a life of ascesis is one possible type of *politeia.* This passage therefore more generally reflects the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Continuing the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the metaphorical journey in the passage leads to two destinations, reflecting PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. In the first metaphorical expression, the destination/purpose is virtue ('the road which leads to virtue', VIRTUE IS THE DESTINATION OF A PATH). The second destination/purpose is reaching heaven, expressed by 'he reached the royal dwelling-place of the kingdom above'.[621] This expression extends the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor and generally reflects LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The end of the road of living a good virtuous life is understood to lead to heaven, expressing the metaphorical idea that after the end of

619 See appendix 9 for other instantiations of this metaphor in other parts of the narrative.
620 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 67, lines 3-6.
621 This metaphorical expression moreover reflects the conceptual metaphor DIVINE IS UP (see appendix 9).

someone's life on earth the life's journey is completed and the destination reached (LIFE IS A JOURNEY). The virtuous *politeia* of the saint, as expressed in this passage, ensured that he arrived at this particular destination (heaven). Another travel metaphor expressed in the passage is DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD. That is, before Gregory could reach heaven, the hagiographer expresses that Gregory 'removed every obstacle and hindrance from the road'. This short passage thus reflects various metaphors that belong to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and, more specifically, POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY. In appendix 9 more linguistic metaphorical expressions of these conceptual metaphors and other variations (e.g., MAKING LIFE DECISIONS IS CHOOSING A PATH) are included.

Now that we have established the occurrence of metaphorical language expressing aspects of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY and POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphors, we can establish which aspects of the source domain (travel) are mapped unto the target domain (life, *politeia*). The main correspondences between the source and target domain may be summarised as the following:

Table 3: Mappings of LIFE IS A JOURNEY and POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY[622]

Source: JOURNEY		**Target: LIFE**
Traveller	→	Monk (Gregory)
The road	→	Lifespan from birth to death
The journey	→	Lifespan from birth to death; events during life
Obstacles encountered	→	Difficulties experienced
Decisions about which way to go	→	Choices about what to do
Destination of the journey	→	Death (in some cases: heaven)
Source: JOURNEY		**Target: POLITEIA**
Traveller	→	Monk (Gregory)
Travel companions	→	People with the same lifestyle or people helping the monk to achieve a particular lifestyle
The road/the journey	→	(monastic, ascetic) lifestyle; ascesis
The distance covered	→	The progress made towards achieving an ideal *politeia* (ascesis, virtue)
Obstacles encountered	→	Difficulties experienced, temptations
Decisions about which way to go	→	Choosing a particular way of life
Destination of the journey	→	Virtue

What do these mappings reveal about conceptions of the target domains? The instances of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor conceptualise life broadly in the same way as many speakers of modern-day languages, in which life is seen as a demarcated period of time progressing from the starting point (birth) to the endpoint (death), reflecting the image scheme of source-path-goal. In the *Life of Gregory* we find multiple metaphorical conceptions of death, showing both parallels and differences with the conception of life as a journey. These various conceptions reflect ideas of the afterlife. In the passage discussed above, the endpoint of the life of the saint coincides with heaven, which Gregory reached due to his virtuous lifestyle. However, in the narrative the death of other people is not represented using metaphorical language in which the endpoint/destination of life coincides with reaching heaven. This difference might reflect the idea that only saints reach heaven directly.[623] For other dying people, we do find other metaphorical language in the narrative, including metaphors in which dying itself is conceptualised as an (unknown) path. An example of this is found in a passage in which Gregory predicts the death of another monk, telling him: 'you will shortly travel a foreign path'.[624] The end of life is not

622 These schemes are adapted from a similar scheme in Kövecses (2002), p. 9.
623 See also the discussion at p. 188. For Byzantine ideas on the afterlife, see Marinis (2016); Muehlberger (2019).
624 μέλλεις γὰρ οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τρίβον διανύειν ξένην; *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 43.

conceptualised as a definitive endpoint/destination of journey, but as a journey in itself (transferring from one state to another). Other metaphors for dying are taken from other source domains, such as falling asleep or war.[625] The hagiographical use of metaphors reflecting the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY generally, and death as an endpoint of life's journey specifically, thus overlaps with modern-day conceptions of life and death, as reflected in our (English and other languages') metaphor use. In hagiography, or at least in the *Life of Gregory,* conceptions of death as an endpoint may be more specific to an understanding of the death of saints, while other conceptions of death may be more prevalent for other people. This may reflect culturally specific conceptions of death in the Eastern Roman Empire.

In contrast to the enduring LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY is possibly more specific to hagiographical discourse. Particularly, this conceptual metaphor expresses that an ascetic lifestyle and virtue are a journey. This metaphorical thinking implies that the hagiographer thinks not only of life as a temporal-spatial process, but thinks similarly about ascesis and virtue. That is, achieving an ideal *politeia* is not achieved all at once, but is conceptualised as a process. Moreover, it may be a difficult process, as the road is conceptualised as uneven and with obstacles, that the saint needs to overcome in his journey.

An exemplary way of life, characterised by virtue and asceticism, is one of the aspects on the basis of which sainthood is constructed. In the prologue of the *Life of Gregory,* Ignatius expresses that one of the aims of his narrative is to demonstrate the virtuous life of Gregory as an example for the audience. Hagiographical prologues are typically rich in metaphorical language, and so is this one. In metaphorical language, the hagiographer communicates that Gregory had an ascetic *politeia* by life, and that this lifestyle is what makes him an exemplar for the audience. The prologue starts with enumerating examples of 'extremely clear and pure mirrors', such as the biblical figures Job, Moses and David.[626] The hagiographer elaborates on their virtuous qualities as he posits that nothing is as beneficial for the 'acquisition and imitation of virtue' than to direct the mind in the same way to 'those who purified their lives by a good consciousness and divine meditation' as one does to a clear mirror.[627] Ascetics complete the list of pure mirrors. Gregory is counted among these, praised for his richness of virtue.[628] The aim of the narrative that follows, therefore, is to provide such a mirror – the *Life of Gregory* – for the audience to contemplate, so that they can acquire and imitate the same virtuous conduct as Gregory.

---

625 See e.g., *Life of Gregory* 43 (dying as falling asleep: ὁ στυλίτης κεκοίμητο) and *Life of Gregory* 45 (dying as a battle: ἐπὶ δὲ στρατείαν καὶ μὴ βουλομένους ὁ χρόνος οὕτος ὑμᾶς κατατάξει).

626 ἔσοπτρα διειδέστατα and ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον; *Life of Gregory* prologue, line 4 and line 6.

627 Ἅπαν μὲν τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν οὕτω πέφυκε πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψίν τε καὶ μίμησιν ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ ἐπίφορον ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ἀγαθῷ συνειδότι καὶ μελέτῃ θείᾳ τὸν βίον ἑαυτῶν προκαθάραντας ἀτενῶς προσανέχειν καὶ οἷον πρὸς ἔσοπτρα διειδέστατα τὸν νοῦν ἀπευθύνειν καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐκείνοις καλὸν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐρωτικῶς ἀπομάττεσθαι. *Life of Gregory* prologue, lines 1-5.

628 *Life of Gregory* prologue, lines 35-48.

The conceptualisation of Gregory's *politeia,* virtue or asceticism as a journey thus has implications for the conceptualisation of sainthood. Firstly, virtue, as an essential manifestation of sainthood, can be developed: it is not something one possesses immediately, but which takes time (journey as a process) and effort (obstacles as difficulties). As Gregory is presented as an example for the audience of the *Life,* others may also follow the same path of virtue, i.e. also develop a lifestyle of asceticism, improving over time and overcoming obstacles. This aspect of Gregory's constructed sainthood, his ascetic lifestyle and his function as an exemplar, may thus also be achievable by others. However, the metaphorical language also indicates that cultivating an ideal lifestyle is difficult: roads have to be evened out, obstacles overcome.

The impressiveness of Gregory's achievement, with regard to his *politeia,* is expressed by another conceptual metaphor, manifested in various linguistic metaphorical expressions: SPIRITUAL PROGRESS IS RUNNING UP TO A HEIGHT. This conceptual metaphor stands in a long metaphorical tradition as well and is also expressed in non-metaphorical ways: as we saw in chapter 2, heights are represented as privileged spaces to reach *hesychia* and thus spiritually advance oneself. Moreover, heights have a long tradition of being associated with divine presence or a closer connection to the divine (which is also reflected in language use through the widespread conceptual metaphor DIVINE IS UP).[629]

The instances of SPIRITUAL PROGRESS IS RUNNING UP TO A HEIGHT in the *Life of Gregory* include 'he ran up to such height of way of living' (prologue),[630] 'to how great a height he ran up to' (chapter 66)[631] and 'he ran up to that summit of the things longed for' (chapter 67).[632] The destinations, the summits or heights, are all linked to spiritual purposes. The expression in the prologue refers to the hagiographer's previous elaboration on the virtuous and ascetic lifestyle of Gregory. The purpose of this lifestyle is framed in the prologue as reaching the divine (τῆς τριάδος οἰκητήριον: 'the abode of the Trinity'), by being *like* divine beings (ἀγγελοφανέστατος: 'appearing like angels').[633] With this framing, the author drew

629 See e.g., Whalin (2021); König (2022), pp. 3–92; 283–304. Perhaps the non-metaphorical connection between heights and spiritual progress and divine presence might even have been the origin for the metaphorical language use (or vice versa).

630 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πολιτείας ὕψος ἀνέδραμεν, *Life of Gregory* prologue, line 46.

631 πρὸς πόσον ὕψος ἀνέδραμε, *Life of Gregory* 66, line 4.

632 εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνέδραμε τὴν τῶν ὀρεκτῶν κορυφήν, *Life of Gregory* 67, line 2-3.

633 The full passage is: Τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀσκητικῆς παλαίστρας ἀγγελοφανέστατος ὅμιλος πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ κόσμου διαπτύσας προσπάθειαν καὶ ὅλην πρὸς οὐρανὸν μεταθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ θέατρον ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον στηλώσας ἀνέθηκεν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶς τις ὠφελείας ἰδέαν συναγηγερκὼς τῆς ὑπερθέου τριάδος ἑαυτὸν οἰκητήριον δείκνυσιν. *Life of Gregory* prologue, lines 35-39.

from contemporary discourses on ascetics, who were frequently compared to angels.[634] The logic propounded in this ascetic strand of monastic literature is that by restricting bodily needs such as food and sleep to a bare minimum, one becomes less human, and by extension, more divine. Running up to a height of this lifestyle is conceptualised as a movement towards this spiritual aim: reaching heaven by striving to transform from human towards divine through an ascetic lifestyle. 'Running up' in the metaphor thus expresses progressing spiritually through an ascetic lifestyle.[635] In other words, the image of running up to a height is mapped onto the target domain of spiritual progress.

The other two instances of the conceptual metaphor work in much the same way. The 'height' in chapter 66 is equally associated with virtue, as the hagiographer explains: 'And why should we endeavour to linger [...], but not be driven to tell quickly of which kind his virtue was and to how great a height he ran up to?' The paragraphs that follow indeed each focus on one specific virtue of the saint. The 'things longed for' (τῶν ὀρεκτῶν) in the last expression 'he ran up to that summit of the things longed for',[636] likely refers back to Gregory's desire to serve God through an ascetic lifestyle. The only other instance of ὀρεκτός in the narrative is in chapter 3, in which the saint makes known his desire to retreat from the world and to subject himself to Christ by means of 'angelical conduct'. In order to achieve this he is sent to some monks, who will provide guidance for him to 'grasp the desired'.[637] Moreover, the metaphorical expressions 'the path of ascesis' and 'the road which leads to virtue' are used in the next lines, thereby strengthening the idea that the summit is equated to the spiritual purpose of virtue and particularly to achieve an ascetic lifestyle.

The metaphorical language that conceptualises spiritual progress as climbing up also reflects the idea that achieving a virtuous *politeia* is difficult: not only is cultivating the ideal *politeia* a journey with obstacles, i.e. a process/development with impediments that may prevent the saint from reaching his goal, it is also not an easy flat road. Rather, the development towards virtuous conduct involves walking up, i.e. a route that requires more strength and resistance than walking on a plain. The metaphor SPIRITUAL PROGRESS OF RUNNING UP TO A HEIGHT thus represents the achievement of the saint as a difficult one, and

634 See e.g., Muehlberger (2008); Zecher (2013). Also in *Life of Euthymius* about Euthymius' monastic community at Brastamon, the hagiographer remarks: 'You might say that a visitor to that holy place would have seen angels endowed with flesh or mortals dematerialized into angels, so celestial and virtuous was their conduct and to such an extent did men of flesh practice the regimen of those without flesh'. And another ascetic would be 'living like an angel and conducting his life within the body as if he were incorporeal'. *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 27.1; translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016). There were also alternative cenobitic monastic discourses that did not glorify rigid asceticism so much, but rather focussed on moderation and community (extreme asceticism in this discourse was seen as leading to undesirable competition between monks outdoing each other in their asceticism, which was framed as an expression of the vices of vainglory and pride). See Krausmüller (2017).

635 Cf. chapters 2 and 3, in which I observed that spiritual perfection was often represented as a process, rather than reaching it in one go.

636 The full sentence is Ὅλον γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οἶκον πνευματικὸν δομησάμενος καὶ πολλῶν πλήρη τοῦτον ἀγαθῶν διαδείξας εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνέδραμε τὴν τῶν ὀρεκτῶν κορυφήν, εἰς ἣν πᾶσα ἔφεσις ἵσταται. (While he built himself entirely as a spiritual house and while showing clearly that he was full of many good things, he ran up to that summit of the things longed for, on which all yearning is brought to a standstill.) *Life of Gregory* 67, lines 1-3.

637 τοῦ ὀρεκτοῦ περιδράξαιτο, *Life of Gregory* 3, line 20.

thus more special. In the last linguistic metaphorical expression (chapter 67), Gregory is said to have reached the 'summit'.[638] So there, the hagiographer expresses the idea that Gregory cannot even climb up any further, but he has cultivated his *politeia* to perfection.

Another implication of metaphorical thinking in terms of life/*politeia* and journey for the conceptualisation of sainthood is that the path of virtuous conduct leads somewhere. In the example of chapter 67 discussed above, the idea is expressed that the virtuous conduct of Gregory is what leads him to heaven. This progress towards an ideal *politeia* is thus necessary for another aspect of sainthood: saints are thought to reside in the same space as God and the angels after their deaths. Although there seems not to have been a systematically developed and consistent theology of what happens to souls after the body dies,[639] the widespread belief in the Last Judgement in Christian thought, also evident in the middle-Byzantine period, is inconsistent with the idea that souls could immediately ascend to heaven after people die.[640] The Last Judgement requires that only at the end of time a final judgement of souls would be made, sending souls either to heaven or hell. This view thus also implies a belief in an intermediate, post-mortal state for souls between death and the Last Judgement.[641] Saints, however, were thought to reside together with God, and thus would be exceptions, going up to heaven immediately after they die. This gives them an even more special status compared to other (dead) humans. They alone had direct access to God and could therefore function as intercessors, helping the living in their life on earth and on behalf of their future salvation.[642]

The mappings from the source domain of travel towards the target domain of life and *politeia* thus mainly reflect two conceptions, which are both related to the construction of Gregory's sainthood. Firstly, living a life of virtue is a difficult process (in which the saint succeeds), and secondly, this way of life is the reason that the saint ascends directly to heaven. By using metaphorical language reflecting these ideas, the hagiographer represents Gregory as an exemplar through his *politeia*, but as an exemplar that is difficult to imitate. Additionally, the metaphorical language represents Gregory as a potential intercessor. Thus, also in his choice of metaphorical language, the hagiographer represents Gregory performing two key functions of saints.

This metaphorical travel language is not unique to the *Life of Gregory.* Similar linguistic metaphorical expressions are found in the *Lives* of Euthymius the Younger and of Elias the Younger. Moreover, the conceptual metaphors most likely reflect language use of the

638 εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνέδραμε τὴν τῶν ὀρεκτῶν κορυφήν; he ran up to that summit of the things longed for. *Life of Gregory* 67, lines 2-3.

639 And this is not a topic that the hagiographer discusses elaborately.

640 The belief in the Last Judgement is evinced e.g., by its visual representations in Byzantine art, see e.g., Brubaker (2009); Bergmeier (2020).

641 This issue has been discussed in Marinis (2016); Muehlberger (2019).

642 For the process of transformation in late antiquity in which people came to belief that Heaven and Earth were joined in the figures of saints and came to belief in the potency of their dead bodies, see Brown (1981).

discourse community to which the hagiographers belonged, and discourses beyond their own cultural circle, reflecting a long tradition of this kind of metaphorical thinking.[643]

An example of the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor, is found in a passage in the *Life of Elias*: 'the divine Elias was especially also a doctor of souls, if there was any other, driving back, by means of his counsel, many who were *travelling wrongly*'.[644] Here the metaphor does not refer to the virtuous life of the saint but to the (unvirtuous) conduct of others. What follows after the metaphor is the advice Elias gave to his visitors to change their life and, subsequently, the comment that whenever people went to the saint they would be changed towards good. The hagiographer thus explicitly explains the meaning of the metaphor in these subsequent phrases. That is, by means of his counsel, Elias leads people back on the right track after they have 'travelled wrongly'. The 'right road', i.e. the virtuous *politeia* that Elias advises, is essentially an ascetic lifestyle (which the hagiographer obviously presents Elias as embodying). According to the narrative, Elias advised people that they should not concern themselves much about their body, especially sensory delight, but rather focus completely on God.[645] The hagiographer of the *Life of Elias* thus makes use of the same metaphorical discourse as Ignatius in the *Life of Gregory*, equating *politeia* to a journey and presenting the saint as following the 'right road/*politeia*'.

The metaphorical thinking that virtuous conduct is a road leading to heaven is further reflected in the other two *Lives*. For example, in the *Life of Euthymius* we find the phrase '[Euthymius] prepared his feet to run without obstacle into the house of the Lord and into the courts of our God'.[646] Before the metaphor of running unhindered to heaven, Euthymius' (virtuous) way of life is described: he lived in humility in imitation of Christ, transcended passions, fasted, checked his senses and prayed.[647] In other words, the linguistic metaphorical expression suggests that Euthymius' virtuous *politeia* is how he 'prepared his feet' so he could go unhindered to heaven, whenever his time came.

643 This concurs with findings of studies in CMT, that show that conceptual metaphors reflect language use of a discourse community, rather than individual language use (see discussion above, p. 177). For the long tradition of the life is a journey metaphor, see e.g., Mantova (2023).

644 Italics by the present author; Ἦν δὲ καὶ διαφερόντως ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἠλίας ψυχῶν ἰατρός, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, πολλοὺς ἀνακόπτων τῇ παραινέσει κακῶς ὁδεύοντας; *Life of Elias the Younger* 31, lines 610-612.

645 My translation of the full passage: 'The divine Elias was especially also a doctor of souls, if there was any other, driving back, by means of his counsel, many who were travelling wrongly, persuading [them] not to excite the flesh against the spirit, not to offer to the body as much as it wants, but as much as it needs, to curb the eye, to protect the ear, to bar smell, to refrain from speech, to repress touch, to chastise passion, to not move away from measure, to completely long for God, to consider prayer a weapon and fasting fortification, to avoid arrogance, to love humility, not to examine the deeds of others, to think about the things above, to seek for the things above, according to the holy Apostle, neither to show off good things, nor to show only [good] works, but to have for them also the nobility of deliberate choice and faithful thought. While he taught these things and more to those who visited him, he sent them away not as he had received them, but as different from others, having made a good change'. *Life of Elias the Younger* 31, lines 610-625.

646 Translation by Talbot in Alexakis (2016); καὶ πόδας ἑτοιμάσαι, ὥστε τρέχειν ἀνεμποδίστως εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν; *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 11.2.

647 Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς ἀτιμοτέρας ἀγωγῆς καὶ χριστομιμήτου ταπεινώσεως τὸ παθῶν ὑψηλοτέρῳ γενέσθαι ἀξίως προσεγένετο, ἐξορίσαι τε ἀκηδίαν καὶ γαστρὸς μανίας κρατῆσαι, γλῶσσάν τε χαλιναγωγῆσαι καὶ ἀκοὴν ἀποκαθᾶραι, χεῖρας ἁγνίσαι, ὥστε ὁσίως ἐν προσευχαῖς αἴρεσθαι χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμῶν; *Life of Euthymius the Younger* 11.2.

These similarities in metaphorical language use aside, we may observe a variation of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in the *Life of Elias* compared to the *Life of Gregory.* In the *Life of Elias,* the hagiographer does not only present *politeia* as a journey, but represents the saint and his disciple Daniel also as a road themselves. In chapter 2 we find the phrase 'for it is truly a wonderful and saving road, leading those who take it unswervingly to heaven, the life of that great ascetic' and in chapter 30 we find 'for many they [Elias and Daniel] became a road of salvation, turning them from evil towards virtue'.[648] These metaphorical expressions emphasise Elias and his disciple Daniel as examples – others should follow them/the road in order to reach salvation. Simultaneously, the expressions compare Elias and Daniel directly with Christ, according to John 14:6 ('Jesus answered, 'I am the way, the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me').[649] This subtle difference in metaphorical language use may reflect a slightly different strategy of the author to promote the sainthood of Elias, i.e. by placing more emphasis on the relation between Elias and Christ and on his life as an example. Nonetheless, the hagiographer still draws from the same LIFE/POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor also found in the *Life of Gregory.*

4.4 Immobility, stability and virtue

Metaphors of mobility aside, the *Life of Gregory* also includes metaphors of immobility. I listed the metaphors found in the *Life* in appendix 9. They all use immobility as source domain, drawing from the language of remaining in the same place, or the same position and posture of objects and bodies. I identified the following conceptual metaphors: BEHAVIOURAL STABILITY IS A ROCK, WITHSTANDING TEMPTATIONS IS IMMOBILITY, A PERSEVERING PERSON IS A STONE, IMMOBILE OBJECT (and A VIRTUOUS EXEMPLARY PERSON IS AN UPRIGHT STONE MONUMENT), PERSISTING AND CORRECT IS IMMOBILE AND STRAIGHT. These metaphors all express the general conceptual metaphor INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY.[650] Inner stability here refers to stability of character, beliefs and perseverance. The INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY metaphor moreover reflects an overarching conceptual metaphor already identified in CMT research: PERSISTENCE IS REMAINING ERECT.[651] INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY is dependent on this metaphor and so are others. For example, CMT research identified the conceptual

648 Ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς θαυμαστή τις ὁδὸς καὶ σωτήριος, πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνάγουσα τοὺς ἀκλινῶς αὐτὴν αἱρουμένους, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου βίος ἀσκητοῦ: *Life of Elias the Younger* 2; and καὶ πολλοῖς ἐγένοντο σωτηρίας ὁδός, ἀπὸ κακίας τούτους εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐπιστρέφοντες: *Life of Elias the Younger* 30.

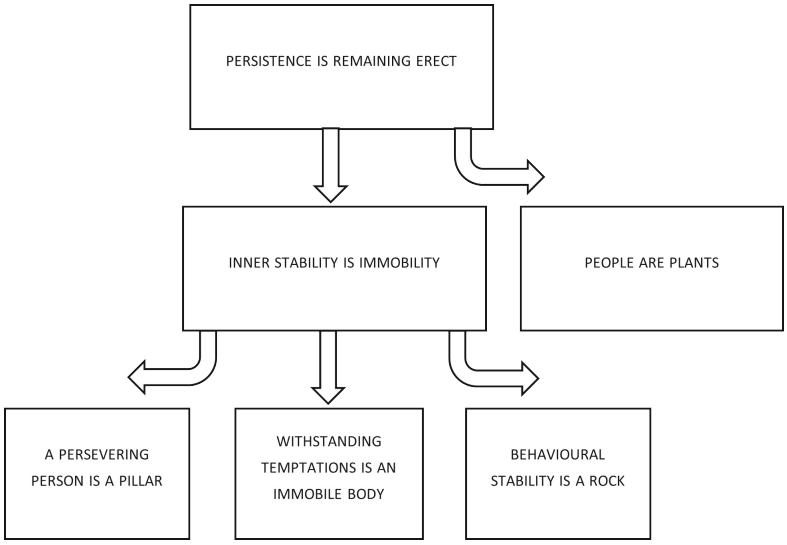
649 John 14:6 (*NIV*); λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή· οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ. Edition: Aland et al. (1968).

650 This conceptual metaphor has not been identified as such in the scholarly literature and is therefore introduced here by the present author.

651 This metaphor, according to some metaphor scholars, is a 'primary metaphor': a metaphor which reflects a close correspondence in bodily experience between one domain and another. In the words of Gibbs: 'the existence of things in the world that persist is correlated to a significant, positive degree with things that are capable of remaining upright. [...] these correlations in our experiences are not perfect, yet they are strong enough in a positive direction to help serve as the concrete foundation in structuring certain abstract concepts'. A primary metaphor, including PERSISTENCE IS REMAINING ERECT, gives rise to various more complex conceptual metaphors. Gibbs (2017a), p. 323.

metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, which can also reflect PERSISTENCE IS REMAINING ERECT.[652] An example found in the *Life of Gregory,* will illustrate that, in that case, it does. The relation between the main conceptual metaphors discussed in the analysis below may be visualised as follows:

Figure 2: metaphors dependent on PERSISTENCE IS REMAINING ERECT



The examples of metaphors of immobility in the *Life* are almost all found in chapter 70.[653] Therefore, I will discuss this passage below, examining what conceptual metaphors of immobility are reflected and what the mappings tell us about conceptions of the target domain. Like the passage in chapter 67 discussed in section 4.3, chapter 70 elaborates on Gregory's virtues:

> Ὑπομονῇ δὲ κραταιῶς ἑαυτὸν συνέζευξεν, ὡς μὴ ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις τῶν πειρασμῶν παλιῤῥοίαις σαλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δι' αὐτῆς ὁδεύσαντας μιμησάμενος αἰσίως προπάτορας καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰὼβ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι, τὸν δὲ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἀνεπαίσθητον Ἰωσὴφ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας πειρασμοῖς χαρακτηρίσας, στῦλον ἑαυτὸν ἀκλινέστατον ἐν τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἀνιαροῖς διερῥίζωσεν. Ὅθεν καὶ θεὸς αὐτῷ προσέσχε καὶ τῆς δεήσεως εἰσήκουσε καὶ ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀσφαλοῦς βιοτῆς τοὺς τῆς

652 PEOPLE ARE PLANTS as conceptual metaphor is identified in e.g., Lakoff and Turner (1989); Kövecses (2002), p. 335; Alec (2006).
653 For some other examples, see the appendix 9.

> ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ πόδας ἐνήρεισε καὶ τὰ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ διὰ θεὸν αὐτοῦ κατηύθυνε διαβήματα.[654]
>
> He firmly joined himself together with perseverance, as to not be shaken by the forcibly coming reflux of temptations, but imitating the forefathers fittingly, who travelled with perseverance and imitating Job in his sufferings, and imitating Joseph of the never-witnessed self-control when subjected to the temptations of the Egyptian woman, he planted himself as an extremely unswerving pillar in between the troublesome assaulters. Whence God indeed gave heed to him and listened to his supplication and he lifted him up from the pit of hardship and he firmly fixed the feet of his soul upon a rock of a steadfast way of life and he directed his steps according to God['s will] and through God.

The passage exalts the virtue of perseverance. Particularly, the hagiographer suggests that Gregory persevered in a virtuous way of life, a life dedicated to and guided by God, while accepting hardship (like Job) and resisting temptations (like Joseph). Linguistic metaphorical expressions related to immobility found in this passage include 'as to not be shaken by the forcibly coming reflux of temptations' (WITHSTANDING TEMPTATIONS IS AN IMMOBILE BODY),[655] 'he planted himself' (PEOPLE ARE PLANTS),[656] 'as an extremely unswerving pillar in between troublesome assaulters' (A PERSEVERING PERSON IS A PILLAR, as well as WITHSTANDING TEMPTATIONS IS BEING A PILLAR)[657] and 'a rock of a steadfast way of life' (BEHAVIOURAL STABILITY IS A ROCK).[658]

The metaphorical language in the last sentence (e.g., 'a rock of a steadfast way of life') is biblical, as the hagiographer references Psalm 39 (and a similar passage in Psalm 118).[659] Ignatius apparently thought the metaphorical language of particularly this passage of Psalm 39 was suitable to communicate his message, namely that of Gregory's perseverance, of Gregory's devotion to God, and of God's guidance of Gregory's life. So although the metaphorical language derives from a text originating centuries before, the ninth-century hagiographer expected that the metaphorical language was still understandable for his audience – who most likely were deeply familiar with the psalms – and applicable to the

654 *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* 70.

655 ὡς μὴ ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις τῶν πειρασμῶν παλιῤῥοίαις σαλεύεσθαι; *Life of Gregory* 70, lines 1-2.

656 ἑαυτὸν [...] διερῥίζωσεν; *Life of Gregory* 70, lines 5-6. This conceptual metaphor is already identified in previous metaphor research, see e.g., Kövecses (2002), p. 335; Alec (2006).

657 στῦλον [...] ἀκλινέστατον ἐν τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἀνιαροῖς; *Life of Gregory*, lines 5-6.

658 πέτραν ἀσφαλοῦς βιοτῆς *Life of Gregory* 70, lines 7-8. The conceptual metaphor is identified by this author.

659 The sentence references Psalm 39/40. Psalm 39:2-3 in the Septuagint: Ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν κύριον, καὶ προσέσχεν μοι καὶ εἰσήκουσεν τῆς δεήσεώς μου καὶ ἀνήγαγέν με ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος **καὶ** ἔστησεν ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ κατηύθυνεν τὰ διαβήματά μου [...]. Edition: Rahlfs (1935b).\ ('I waited patiently for the Lord; and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings'. *KJV* translation of the same passage). Psalm 118:133 uses similar vocabulary as psalm 39:3 in the Septuagint (κατηύθυνεν τὰ διαβήματά μου in 39:3 and τὰ διαβήματά μου κατεύθυνον in 118:133). Psalm 118:133: τὰ διαβήματά μου κατεύθυνον κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου, καὶ μὴ κατακυριευσάτω μου πᾶσα ἀνομία. Edition: Rahlfs (1935). ('Order my steps in thy word: and let not any iniquity have dominion over me'. *KJV* translation of the same passage).

narrative context.[660] The conceptual metaphor INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY was an ancient one, but still alive in the medieval period. The fact that the hagiographer used other (non-biblical) linguistic metaphorical expressions manifesting INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY indicates that the conceptual metaphor was still part of the metaphorical thinking of ninth-century language users.

Ignatius used mostly the same vocabulary of the psalm in the Septuagint, but it is not an exact citation.[661] Most relevant for the present discussion, the hagiographer added the words ἀσφαλοῦς βιοτῆς (a steadfast way of life) to the psalm verse, thus specifying that the metaphor of the rock relates to the perseverance of a virtuous way of life (a nuance that is absent from the psalm). The resulting linguistic metaphorical expression πέτραν ἀσφαλοῦς βιοτῆς (a rock of a steadfast/immovable way of life) maps the immobile quality of a rock onto lifestyle. Remaining in the same place is thus equated with behavioural stability (BEHAVIOURAL STABILITY IS A ROCK).

Additionally, the hagiographer added the phrase τὰ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ διὰ θεόν (according to God and through God) to the psalm verse. The hagiographer thus uses the language of the psalm, but alters it slightly to steer the interpretation of the psalm to fit his narrative context.[662]

Several other linguistic metaphorical expressions further illustrate which aspects of the source domain are mapped unto the target domain. In the expression 'as to not be shaken by the forcibly coming reflux of temptations' several metaphors are at play.[663] The expression 'forcibly coming reflux' likens temptations to a body of water (ἡ παλίρροια) which, under influence of the tides, rhythmically comes forward and retreats again. This metaphorical expression mirrors various episodes in the *Life of Gregory* in which demons come and go and in which they attack and retreat again after they are (temporarily) defeated.[664] The earlier part of the expression, 'as to not be shaken', continues to draw upon the same source domain: the stormy reflux is capable to shake or move a person – presumably when that person is standing in the water or at the shore. The fact that the verb σαλεύω is used signals the continuation of the water-metaphor as the verb is often used in the contexts of ships being tossed by the sea during a storm.[665] Because the saint

660 That a monastic audience would have known and recognised the reference to the psalm may be expected, as reciting the psalter in its entirety (generally in the course of a week) formed the core of monastic prayer and liturgy. See Parpulov (2010).

661 Most notably Ignatius changed the psalm from a first person to a third person perspective (with God as subject), omitted some words, added others, and sometimes used slightly different words and grammatical forms (compare the psalm in the Septuagint, rendered in footnote 659 and *Life of Gregory* 70, lines 6-9).

662 For a discussion of how the Old Testament, including the psalms, played a role in the shaping of the monastic self-image from the fourth until the twelfth centuries, in which the monastic life was seen as a 'reenactment of biblical modes of life', see Krueger (2010), pp. 217–219.

663 ὡς μὴ ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις τῶν πειρασμῶν παλιῤῥοίαις σαλεύεσθαι; *Life of Gregory* 70, lines 1-2.

664 E.g., episodes in the cave (*Life of Gregory* 6-10); or in the tower in Syracuse (*Life of Gregory* 27-33).

665 See entry σαλεύω, II, in The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon (LSJ); the only instance of the corresponding noun σάλος, tossing motion, esp. the 'rolling swell of the sea' (LSJ), in the *Life of Gregory* is used in just the same context: τὸν σάλον τῶν κυμάτων, the tossing motion of waves. Like σαλεύω in paragraph 70, σάλος in paragraph 28 implies the dangers of the sea: the fragment tells about 'those who escaped the tossing of the waves', meaning those marine travellers who arrive at the port of Syracuse alive.

'joined himself together with perseverance', his body is *not* shaken. The image of the saint resisting the force of the water, not being moved, but remaining in the same posture, maps the immobility of the saint's body, as source domain, unto the target domain of resisting temptations. The phrase thus involves the conceptual metaphors TEMPTATIONS ARE A STORMY BODY OF WATER and WITHSTANDING TEMPTATIONS IS AN IMMOBILE BODY.

How Gregory achieved the virtue of perseverance is specified more closely by referring to the Old Testament figures of Job and Joseph. Gregory followed their example by enduring hardship and resisting temptations. The 'troublesome assaulters' referred to later in chapter 70 might thus refer to these potential difficulties (temptation and hardship). In addition, 'troublesome assaulters' may be interpreted as demons; they may again recall Gregory's previous interactions and defeats of demons. Demons appear in the narrative whenever Gregory retreats to enclosed spaces. In these episodes, they are represented as using various tactics in an attempt to lure Gregory out of his isolation, to disturb his *hesychia* and to make him give up on his ascetic lifestyle.[666] Like these narrative passages, in which Gregory is always represented as defeating the demons and persevere in his way of life, the metaphorical expression in chapter 70 indicates that Gregory could withstand such adversaries: 'he planted himself as an extremely unswerving pillar in between the troublesome assaulters'.

The latter phrase consists of multiple conceptual metaphors: 'he planted himself' expresses the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS[667] and 'as an extremely unswerving pillar' expresses A PERSEVERING PERSON IS A PILLAR and WITHSTANDING TEMPTATIONS IS BEING A PILLAR. The latter two conceptual metaphors do not necessarily imply that it is the 'stable' and 'immobile' aspects of a pillar that are mapped unto the target domain. Other qualities of a pillar could also have been intended to be mapped, such as the fact that they are the product of craftsmanship or that they are made of stone. However, by using the adjective 'ἀκλινέστατον' (very unswerving/steadfast) the quality of straightness, specifically the quality of not being able to bend or change direction (i.e. remaining in the same position and shape) of a pillar is mapped unto the target domain (the saint, specifically his perseverance). In the phrase 'he planted himself as a pillar' the logic of the two conceptual metaphors PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and A PERSEVERING PERSON IS A PILLAR interact. An image of a pillar that is rooted in the ground, at a particular spot, emerges. The pillar of the source domain is thus not only defined as remaining in the same shape, but is also tied to a certain place. Therefore, both these aspects of the pillar-metaphor, remaining in the same shape ánd place, are mapped onto the target domain: the perseverance of the saint.

---

666 Of course the narrative always presents Gregory as defeating the demons, continuing his ascetic lifestyle, and thus embodying the virtue of perseverance. Demons appear in the narrative for example during the episodes in the cave (*Life of Greogry* 6-16); or in the tower in Syracuse (*Life of Gregory* 27-31).

667 This conceptual metaphor has been identified in CMT literature and is still part of metaphorical thinking today, see e.g., Kövecses (2002), p. 335.

From these examples we can conclude that various specific source domains (rocks, bodies, plants, pillars) all map a physical immobile quality unto the target domain. These various metaphors thus all express the conceptual INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY, and more generally PERSISTENCE IS REMAINING ERECT.[668] Language of immobility is used to express the ideas of withstanding temptations and maintaining a virtuous *politeia.*

This metaphorical thinking, linking immobility with perseverance and inner stability, also has implications for the conceptualisation of sainthood. While the conceptual metaphor POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY expressed the idea that virtue is a quality that can be developed, INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY on the other hand expresses the idea that a virtuous *politeia* requires stability: one needs to persevere, be stable, remain erect, remain at the same place. Both conceptual metaphors imply that it is difficult to achieve virtue: difficulties are expressed as obstacles on the road in the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor and as forces to overthrow physical stability (waves, and assaulters) in the INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY metaphor. While in the metaphor of POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY more agency is implied for the monk (he himself overcomes obstacles), the linguistic expression in the passage of chapter 70 discussed above expresses the idea that God guides people to remain stable/persevere in a virtuous way of life: God would have 'fixed the feet of his [Gregory's] soul upon a rock of a steadfast way of life'.[669] In this phrase it is thus not only the monk who is responsible for remaining erect, but it is God who ensured that his soul remains steady.

We find similar metaphorical language in the *Life of Euthymius*. In a passage where the hagiographer exalts Euthymius for having overcome the desire for pleasure and attachment to friends and family, he uses similar imagery as we have seen in the *Life of Gregory*: 'Taken captive by none of the previously mentioned [temptations], even though he was often besieged by them, he was immovable no less than a solid and unshakeable rock [was movable] by assaults of waves'.[670] Similar to the passage in the *Life of Gregory,* this text thus also includes a metaphorical image of the saint unmoved by waves and uses the source domain of rocks to map its immobile quality unto the target domain. Additionally, waves are equated to temptations.

Also in the *Life of Elias* we find metaphorical language that illustrates the INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY metaphor. For example, in a passage in which Elias is condemned to death

668 PERSISTENCE IS REMAINING ERECt has been identified in earlier CMT research, see See Gibbs (2017a), p. 323. Also see footnote 651 above.

669 Moreover, if God is still interpreted as the subject in τὰ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ διὰ θεὸν αὐτοῦ κατηύθυνε διαβήματα – which would be in line with the psalm – God would direct/guide Gregory's steps. Although the addition τὰ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ διὰ θεόν also could suggest that the subject has changed to Gregory ('Gregory directed his steps according to god and through God); it is well possible that the passage could have been interpreted differently (God or Gregory as subject) by different audiences. If God is interpreted as subject, this would communicate the idea that God guides Gregory's behaviour. If Gregory is interpreted as subject, this would give greater emphasis to the agency of Gregory, choosing to live a life dedicated to God.

670 οὐμενοῦν οὐδενὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἁλούς, καίτοι πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολιορκούμενος, ἀπερίτρεπτος ἦν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ κυμάτων προσβολαῖς πέτρα στερρὰ καὶ ἀτίνακτος; I adapted the translation from Talbot's translation in Alexakis (2016). *Life of Euthymius* 10.3.

after he had converted Muslims to Christianity in Ifriqiya,[671] Elias is described as ἀκλινής (unswerving, steady) – the same adjective also used for the pillar (στῦλον [...] ἀκλινέστατον) in the passage of the *Life of Greogory*. In the passage of the *Life of Elias* the metaphor is equally used to refer to his inner stability. In this case, it specifically refers to Elias' lack of fear and strong faith in God in a life-threatening situation:[672]

> He did not dread the death-bringing sentence that was pronounced against him, but he remained steadfast [*ἀκλινής] and undaunted, expecting God's help*, which also happened: for a voice came towards him from above, saying: 'May you rejoice, combatant! You [will] get out of this prison tomorrow.[673]

In this passage, immobility is thus used to express Elias' control over emotions and faith in God. The metaphorical language of immobility in the *Life of Gregory* is not unique, but reflected in other hagiographies as well.

In the metaphorical language reflected in the three saints' *Lives* the immobility of the saint is expressed as something impressive: he remained immobile/steadfast in the face of difficulties, particularly demons and temptations. These are conceptualised as forces that could make the saint change position and posture. Particularly the expressions in which temptations are equalled with forceful waves conceptualise movement as an impediment to the saint's inner stability. So, not only is immobility, in contrast to mobility, conceptualised as a virtuous quality of the monk - contributing to his sainthood – movement (of water) is also explicitly conceptualised as endangering inner stability. In other words, virtue is conceptualised in terms of immobility, and temptations in terms of movement.

4.5 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter aimed to establish whether studying conceptual metaphors would advance our understanding of Byzantine conceptions of mobility and immobility, with a focus on the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis.* Because mobility and immobility were used as source domains rather than target domains, the conceptual metaphors did not directly reveal conceptualisations of mobility or immobility. Language of travel and immobile objects were used to express something else (life, *politeia,* virtue). However, the conceptual metaphors do suggest connections between mobility, immobility and virtue in the minds of medieval Greek language users, and therefore do indirectly suggest

671 I agree with Taibbi Rossi that it is likely that the episode is supposed to have taken place in Ifriqiya. For the discussion whether the Aghlabid ruler in Ifriqiya or the caliph of the Abbasid Caliphate in Bagdad is referred to, see Rossi Taibbi (1962), p. 138.

672 The narrative portrays Elias as if he already knew the outcome of the situation, namely that he would be released again.

673 [...] οὐκ ἔπτηξε τὴν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν κατ' αὐτοῦ θανατηφόρον ψῆφον, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἀπτόητος, ἐκδεχόμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἀντίληψιν, ἥς δὴ καὶ τέτυχεν· φωνὴ γὰρ γέγονε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν· «Χαίροις, ἀθλητά!—λέγουσα—· αὔριον ἐξέρχῃ ταύτης τῆς φυλακῆς ἀβλαβής». *Life of Elias* 17, lines 322-327.

positive connotations with both immobility and mobility. Moreover, studying how mappings structured and shaped the understanding of the target domains, we can learn about conceptions of life, *politeia* and virtue. The analysis thus revealed contradictory thought patterns, conceptions of virtue, conceptual connections between mobility, immobility and sainthood, and suggested parallels between metaphorical language use and the narrative.

While recognising the communicative potential of metaphor, the chapter mainly used a cognitive approach to metaphor and identified various conceptual metaphors. The analysis focussed first on metaphors of mobility and secondly on metaphors of immobility. The linguistic metaphorical expressions of mobility found in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* expressed the conceptual metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY. CMT research on contemporary and past languages already identified the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which is thus not unique to the middle-Byzantine hagiography. It was suggested in the analysis that many expressions found in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* more specifically reflect POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY, as a (possibly hagiographical) variant of the enduring LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The target domain *politeia* in the examples specifically referred to virtuous *politeia*, or way of life. Other more specific conceptual metaphors were identified as well, such as SPIRITUAL PROGRESS IS RUNNING UP TO A HEIGHT. In addition to metaphors of mobility, various linguistic metaphorical expressions using various specific source domains (rocks, pillars) also expressed a conceptual metaphor of immobility, namely IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY. Metaphorical expressions in the *Lives* of Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger reflect these conceptual metaphors as well. These parallel findings indicate that the assumption that metaphorical thought patterns are shared with other language users (in near-contemporary writings in the same genre) is justified, which is in line with other CMT research.

In one and the same text, the *Life of Gregory,* we thus found metaphors reflecting the conception of a virtuous way of life as a journey, but also metaphors reflecting the conception of virtue, particularly perseverance, as an immobile object. Both mobility and immobility are thus used as a source domain to express aspects of virtue. The understanding of virtue in terms of both mobility and immobility has implications for the construction and perception of sainthood, as the manifestation of virtue is one of the essential criteria for being recognised as a saint. The metaphorical language conceptualises virtue in the POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY metaphor as something that can be developed, as a process, and thus involves change. In the IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY conceptual metaphor, on the other hand, virtue – particularly perseverance – is conceptualised as remaining the same, as something that does not involve movement. In both conceptual metaphors the desired outcome (virtue) is understood as difficult to reach, as the monk can expect difficulties along the journey or in staying still, and the saint is thus represented as impressive. Mobility and immobility are thus essential source domains for the construction and conception of sainthood.

The fact that virtue is conceptualised as both development, through POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY, and as an unchangeable quality, through IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY, suggests contradictory thought patterns. This contraction may be explained by a metaphor identified in CMT research as a 'primary metaphor', namely CHANGE IS MOTION.[674] Primary metaphors are directly rooted in an embodied perception of the world and give rise to more specific conceptual metaphors (for a visualisation of this hierarchical relation, see figure 2). CHANGE IS MOTION accounts both for the conceptual metaphor TEMPTATION IS MOVEMENT and for POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY. As we saw in the examples, linguistic expressions of TEMPTATION IS MOVEMENT are used in combination with the metaphorical opposite, IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY. In these metaphors, forceful movement/temptations are presented as attempting to throw off balance the immobility/inner stability of the saint. The metaphorical expression recalls earlier episodes in the narrative in which demons attacked Gregory and tried to lure him away from his virtuous conduct. CHANGE IS MOTION thus enables two contradictory conceptions of virtue, as development (POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY) and as a stable quality (IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY, interacting with the opposite metaphor TEMPTATION IS MOVEMENT). The contraction lies in the nature of the change in each metaphor. In the conceptual metaphor POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY, motion expresses a good change: an increasingly virtuous way of life. In MOVEMENT IS TEMPTATION, on the other hand, motion conveys a bad change: the potential disruption of the inner stability or perseverance of the monk.[675]

These opposite conceptions of virtue correlate to diverse conceptions of sainthood. One position is that individuals develop in their lifetime as saints, through their virtuous way of life. The other position is that individuals do not *become* saints, but they are born as saints: God already decided that they would be saints before they were born, and everything they do, and all the saintly qualities they possess, are just outward manifestations of their holy status. In other words, on the one end of the scale, sainthood is conceptualised as development, on the other hand, sainthood is conceptualised as innate.

It is tempting to think that the parallel in metaphorical thinking and conceptions of sainthood reflects a causal relationship, although the nature of this relationship cannot be proven by this analysis. Possibly, the embodied origin of conceptual metaphors in addition to the continuous literary tradition of metaphorical language use reflecting LIFE/POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY and IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY somehow contributed to ideas of sainthood. Moreover, since metaphors highlight but also hide aspects of reality to the

674 See e.g., Gibbs (2017a), p. 325.

675 To these conclusions, reached through an embodied understanding of metaphor, may also be added the general observation that contradictions are common to cultures. Discussing contradictory views on sins and the soul's fate in the afterlife, Rico Franses, based on ideas of Bourdieu, expressed the idea that the persistence of contradictions means that both positions are considered essential and that a society can 'hold two contradictory principles simultaneously, but also to keep them apart in separate, different conceptual blocs that are never allowed to interrelate, so that no contradiction appears to the agents themselves'. In other words, applied to our type of analysis, language users most likely would not have been conscious of their contradictory thinking, but still firmly believing in both positions. Franses (2018), p. 125.

people using them, frequently used metaphors – such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY and IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY – may contribute to a 'collective bias in understanding the world'.[676]

I return to the question asked in the beginning: does an analysis of conceptual metaphors further our understanding of Byzantine conceptions of mobility and immobility? While conceptual metaphors do not directly reflect ideas on mobility and immobility, they do reveal thought patterns that associate both positive (virtue) and negative (temptation) concepts with mobility and immobility. Moreover, the analysis reveals contradictory thought patterns, conceptions of virtue, connections between mobility, immobility and sainthood, and suggests parallels between metaphorical language use and the narrative.

Using CMT to study metaphorical language enabled us to observe patterns in metaphorical language use. While another close reading approach might also have established these patterns, CMT makes the premises of the theory explicit: metaphors reflect and shape thinking. Supported by evidence from research in social psychology and neuroscience, CMT thus also allows us to draw conclusions based on the observance of patterns, namely that patterns reflect how language users think about the abstract target domains. In addition, CMT offers a possible explanation for contradictory thought patterns through primary metaphors and the connection between metaphors and embodied perception. The focus on one text enables us to find more linguistic metaphorical expressions, especially those for immobility which are expressed in multiple specific source domains (e.g., pillars and rocks), than could be found if opting for a key-word search in a large corpus. In addition, because the text was already studied from different perspectives, the analysis allows us to establish connections between the metaphorical language use and passages elsewhere in the narrative.

676 This view is expressed by Alice Deignan, who stresses that metaphors 'have a normative and reinforcing effect, limiting our understanding as well as developing it'. Deignan (2005), p. 24.

Conclusion

What can we learn about middle-Byzantine perceptions of monastic mobility and immobility by studying hagiography? This dissertation has explored various ways to answer this question. One major observation from the outset has been that discourses on mobility inevitably also reflect discourses on immobility: value judgements on those who move also imply (opposite) value judgements on those who stay. Throughout this thesis mobility and immobility have therefore been studied in tandem, sometimes with more emphasis on mobility, in other places on immobility.

In order to re-assess discourses and mentalities on monastic (im)mobility, hagiography has been approached from multiple perspectives. This analysis therefore also served as a methodological experiment, illustrating what we can learn from each of the perspectives taken. Three hagiographical texts were chosen as case studies to test each of the perspectives. These are three *Lives* of frequently travelling 'new saints', who lived in the ninth century and whose *Lives* had been written soon after their deaths: the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis,* the *Life of Euthymius the Younger* and the *Life of Elias the Younger.* Due to the nature of the sources, the analyses also resulted in insights into another topic. Studying *Lives* of new saints from the perspective of (im)mobility laid bare discursive strategies that authors used to promote their monastic heroes as saints. This dissertation discovered ways in which (im)mobility was intertwined with the construction of sainthood in narrative representation as well as on a conceptual level.

Approaches to study perceptions on monastic (im)mobility: a summary

Before turning to the three middle-Byzantine saints' *Lives,* this study has first reviewed several texts from earlier periods in **chapter 1**: the *Rules* of Basil of Caesarea, canon 4 of the Council of Chalcedon and several *Novels* of Justinian. The rationale for doing so was that these texts have been used in modern historiography to identify an ideal of stability (*stabilitas loci*), in Eastern Roman monasticism. Considering the authority and legislative nature of these late-antique texts the ideal derived from these texts was regarded relevant for later periods as well. Consequently, Byzantine mobility of all periods, including the middle-Byzantine period, is habitually discussed in relation to *stabilitas loci*. Chapter 1 has critiqued this scholarly discourse on two grounds. Firstly, the chapter has found fault with the term itself, which is taken from an interpretation of Benedictine monasticism and therefore imposes a western model to our understanding of Eastern Roman monasticism. The danger of not fully appreciating a past culture on its own terms is apparent. Secondly, the discussion of the three types of texts laid bare that each text represented ideas and ideals which were determined by their own specific cultural-historical contexts and they do not represent one unified ideal. Close reading of these texts has shown that they do not prescribe immobility or forbid monastic mobility as strongly and unambiguously as often has been put forward in the scholarly discourse. On the other hand, each of these texts did reveal certain preoccupations with monastic mobility in specific contexts and

reflecting specific concerns, such as community building or the separation of spheres of influence. They do not reflect a unified ideal that can be captured by the term or concept of *stabilitas loci,* but instead illustrate that at various points in time diverse attitudes existed, from particular societal groups or individuals to particular aspects of monastic mobility.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 examined the *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis, Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger from three different perspectives, each chapter analysing discourses and perceptions of (im)mobility from the perspective taken. These approaches were: studying an emic term in its narrative contexts by means of a semantic and discourse analysis in chapter 2, analysing the representation of a thematic narrative building block in chapter 3, and examining patterns in metaphorical language use in chapter 4. The main discoveries from these respective approaches will be summarised below for each chapter.

Chapter 2 approached the *Lives* from an emic perspective by selecting an emic term and study it in its narrative contexts. The chapter chose to focus on a term for 'rest', the spiritually significant term *hesychia,* and studied how it was connected to mobility and immobility in the three narratives. The semantic analysis of the term was informed by a maximalist view of semantics in linguistic theory. It revealed various layers of meaning of *hesychia*, which were broadly continuous from a late-antique understanding of the term. The subsequent analysis was informed by discourse analysis and close reading. It revealed both positive and (anticipated) negative discourses on monastic mobility: positive in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, as well as an anticipated negative discourses in the *Life* of Elias. The varying discourses were dependent on the authors' understanding of *hesychia,* particularly considering its connection to space, mobility and immobility.

Chapter 3 approached the *Lives* from a representational perspective. The chapter analysed the representation of a narrative building block: it examined how the authors represented the saints' travel motivations. The analysis used mobility models from migration studies as a starting point, particularly the identification of push and pull factors and a model for categories of travel motivations. The model for analysis was enhanced by other motivations found in the narratives that were not originally reflected in the mobility model. The analysis showed that many different types of travel motivations were represented. The hagiographers thus did not present only one type of monastic mobility as legitimate or beneficial and others as undesirable. From the way in which these various motivations were represented, we could with some caution suggest two views on monastic mobility that the hagiographers may have expected from their audiences. The first position is that the author did not expect that the audience found high mobility of monks problematic – this envisioned position was especially suggested for the *Life of Gregory.* The second position is that the author did expect that (a part of) the audience potentially found monastic mobility problematic. This position was particularly suggested for the *Life of Elias.*

Chapter 4 approached the texts from a cognitive linguistic perspective, informed by conceptual metaphor theory. This chapter centred on an analysis of metaphorical language

of travel and stability found in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis* and tested the patterns found with examples from the *Lives* of Euthymius and Elias. The analysis revealed understandings of the target domains of metaphors, which in our analysis were conceptions of life, virtue and perseverance. The analysis did not directly reveal conceptions of mobility and immobility, as they were used as source domains. However, the conceptual connections made between mobility, immobility and virtue in the minds of medieval Greek language users do, indirectly, suggest positive connotations with both immobility and mobility. At the same time, a metaphor conceptualising temptation as movement suggests that movement could also have negative associations. The analysis therefore suggested that metaphors in the *Life of Gregory* reflect contradictory thought patterns concerning mobility, immobility and movement.

Each of the approaches taken in the various chapters revealed discourses on mobility and immobility on multiple levels: on the level of the narrative (chapters 2 and 3) and on the level of specific aspects of language use (chapter 4, and, to a degree, chapter 2). From all these perspectives we could observe a tension between mobility and immobility in the narratives. This tension was related to the construction and conceptualisation of sainthood. The various connections between mobility, immobility and sainthood will be discussed below in the sections '(im)mobility and sainthood: the how and why of narrative representation' and 'mobility, stability and diverse conceptions of sainthood'.

Multivocality and complexity

In the general introduction we reflected briefly on modern discourses on mobility, which raised the issue whether we could perceive similar phenomena in the past. They prompted us to take into account the following: 1) assess whether mobility and immobility were perceived as neutral, or whether people had value judgements (and which ones), 2) be attuned to the possibility of a plurality of discourses, rather than trying to construct a single pervasive discourse, 3) ask which factors contribute to particular views on mobility and immobility, and 4) ask whether discourses on mobility and immobility reveal deeper societal concerns of discourse communities. Let us turn to each of these questions in turn.

1. Assess whether mobility and immobility were perceived as neutral, or whether people had value judgements (and which ones).

Although it is difficult to judge what people in the past actually thought, it is possible to at least assess how they wrote about monastic mobility and immobility. The authors of the three saints' *Lives* represented certain types of mobility as having positive effects on both monks and the people around them. This finding is unsurprising in a genre that aims to celebrate its protagonists: their actions, including their mobility, are presented as positive. Various types of mobility are represented as having positive effects. Educational

mobility allowed the celebrated individuals to become a monk and train in monastic virtues. Mobility for spiritual development allowed them to live an exemplary ascetic life and to gain spiritual authority. Mobility to found monastic establishments contributed to represent the monks as monastic leaders. Mobility that enabled contact with other people, both lay and monastic, enabled the holy men to give advice, communicate prophecies, heal people and inspire others to follow their exemplary lifestyle. These types of mobility were thus presented to have positive effects on both the mover and the communities he moved to.

Other types of mobility were represented more ambiguously in terms of their positive, negative or neutral effects on the mover or society. One such example concerned involuntary mobility. While involuntary mobility was not presented to have disadvantages from a moral perspective, occasionally negative consequences for the mover from another perspective were represented. For example, the representation of Elias' enslavement and deportation from Sicily to North Africa is represented as having both positive and negative effects. On the one hand, Elias' deportation is framed as the unfolding of God's plan and his divine destiny: as a child, Elias would have received a divine revelation that he should go to North Africa to convert people there. His enslavement is also represented as positive for his new owners, who profited from his servitude and admired his virtue, and as positive for the receiving society, since Elias converted Muslims to Christianity after his manumission. On the other hand, the narrative also provides a glimpse of a grievous emotional response to enslavement, particularly revealing Elias' homesickness. Moreover, Elias' residence in foreign territory is represented as having potentially endangered his life, when he was sentenced to death for converting Muslims. In this case, involuntary mobility is thus presented ambiguously in terms of the positive or negative effects it may have on the mover and on society.

The question remains whether these representations also reflected the actual value judgements of authors and audiences. For the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius I have suggested that since mobility enabled *hesychia* and a transformative development towards sainthood and a monastic career, that probably the author did not expect a negative value judgement from his audiences on these types of monastic mobility. For the *Life* of Elias, on the other hand, I have suggested that the author anticipated critical discourses on mobility, specifically on pilgrimage and on the high degree of mobility of the saint. Patterns in metaphorical language use, shared by all three authors and probably reflecting a larger discourse community, suggested positive connotations with mobility and immobility, which were both linked to virtue. Simultaneously and contradictory, metaphorical langue use also suggested a negative connotation of movement, which was conceptually connected to temptation. The various approaches in this study thus revealed value judgements on mobility, both positive and negative, certainly on the level of representation, but probably also reflecting ways of thinking by authors and audiences.

2. Be attuned to the possibility of a plurality of discourses, rather than trying to construct a single pervasive discourse.

The general introduction recognised that a perception of travel as dangerous surely was one of the associations Byzantine people had with reference to mobility. This perception has been presented as the dominant one in modern historiography. This dissertation has found that other associations with mobility existed as well, and that there was a diversity of discourses. Multivocality was most apparent from the discourse analysis of *hesychia,* where we observed that the *Lives* of Euthymius and Gregory represented one discourse, and the *Life* of Elias another. In addition, opposing conceptual metaphors implied contradictory thought patterns. These metaphorical patterns suggested that both ways of thinking were deeply ingrained in the way medieval-Greek language users of the ninth and early tenth century thought and perceived the world. So both on a narrative level as well as on a conceptual level, we perceived diversity with regard to Eastern Roman reflections on mobility and immobility.

3. Ask which factors contribute to particular views on mobility and immobility

With regard to the identity of the movers, we should recognise the limitations of this study. We only studied male monastic movers. This means that we do not yet have a comparison with other types of movers, although this may be a fruitful avenue for future research. We did observe that the monastic identity of the movers in question mattered, as the represented travel motivations were often connected to this identity. They moved to become a monk, to achieve monastic ideals, to visit other monks and to establish monasteries. Particularly their constructed identity as ascetics aiming to cut bonds with worldly affairs represented mobility in search of isolation and separation as positive.

The represented reasons why monks moved correlated, to a degree, to particular (positive) discourses on mobility. The monks travelled for many different reasons in the narratives, and as discussed above, most of these were shown to have positive effects on the mover and/or on the receiving society. However, certain types of mobility were represented more prominently than others, and particularly these were reflected positively on their identities and constructions as saints. These motivations can be summarised as mobility as a divine quest, mobility for spiritual or monastic development, and mobility as the fulfilment of God's plan. These types of mobility presumably reflected, or else aimed to impose, a positive moral evaluation of these journeys.

The types of spaces of the destinations, regardless of the specific location, mattered greatly in the narrative representation of monastic mobility. Caves, islands, mountains, and other places of relative isolation were represented as conductive for spiritual development. In evaluating whether the place of origin or of the destination mattered for normative

discourses it should be recognised that the represented mobility mostly took place within one political entity (the Eastern Roman Empire). Elias, according to his *Life,* did cross borders. The different circumstances and the hostilities between Aghlabids and the Eastern Roman Empire had consequences for his reception by communities abroad (as is evinced by his enslavement in context of war and his imprisonment in North Africa due to his missionary work). Even within the borders of the same political entity people could have a hostile reception. Gregory, for example, was taken captive twice by local inhabitants (at Otranto) and authorities (at Buthrint), because he was perceived as a potential traitor. Considering that all three *Lives* were deeply rooted in the cultural-historical context of the ninth- and early tenth-century these representations most probably also represented possible hostile reactions to movers from another region, or who were in other way considered suspect, in and beyond the Eastern Roman Empire.

Identity, travel motivation, the types of destinations and the political circumstances in which the monks moved therefore were all contributing factors shaping views on mobility (and consequently on immobility) in the ninth- and early tenth-century Mediterranean.

4. Ask whether discourses on mobility and immobility reveal deeper societal concerns of discourse communities

The societal concerns that are most prominently revealed by the identified discourses on (im)mobility are concerns for spiritual integrity and spiritual development. These were captured in part by the ideal of *hesychia* and diverse ideas on how to reach it. The search for this ideal in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius resulted in a tension between mobility and immobility in the narratives. In the *Life* of Elias a concern for the monk's spiritual integrity in combination with his mobility was also addressed. In addition, in chapter 1 we observed that earlier normative discourses on mobility presented some aspects and effects of monastic mobility as potentially problematic. These reflected concerns of community building (cq. Basil's *Rules,* and to a degree, Justinian's *Novels*) or the separation of spheres of influence (cq. canon 4 of the Council of Chalcedon). Each of the texts discussed, including the saints' *Lives,* represent a different cultural-historical context and we should therefore refrain from seeing a unified ideal as the origin of tensions between monastic mobility and immobility.

(Im)mobility and sainthood: the how and why of narrative representation

In the general introduction the issue was raised that answering the question 'what can we learn about perceptions of monastic mobility by studying hagiography?' inevitably also needed to deal with representation. This study therefore also sought to address a consecutive question: how did hagiographers represent monastic mobility and to what end? The 'how' and the 'why' are closely connected, but the latter is difficult to establish. As outlined in the introduction, the aims and social functions of hagiography were diverse,

ranging from devotion to providing normative examples to entertainment. Moreover, certainty on authorial intentions – especially of dead authors – is a near impossibility. However, by considering the (possible) narrative effects of the way in which mobility and immobility are represented, it is possible to hypothesise about the authorial aims. The following will therefore elaborate on how (im)mobility is represented in the saints' *Lives* as brought to light in the analyses in this thesis. Subsequently the discursive implications of this representation will be reflected on. Finally, we may hypothesise to which authorial aims as outlined in the introduction the representation of (im)mobility is connected.

There are striking similarities between the three *Lives.* They all represent mobility mostly as translocation, they all pay attention to a variety of travel motivations, and in all three *Lives* the representation of (im)mobility is intertwined with the construction of sainthood. One of the explanations for these similarities is that the genre and the representation of particular themes within the *Lives* stand in a long literary tradition. Another is that these texts were written around the same time in a comparable political, cultural and literary context. These continuities and similarities aside, the analysis also revealed different strategies of representation between the three *Lives.* Different authorial techniques were used to connect (im)mobility to aspects of the saints' identities. Traditionally, hagiographies have been characterised as narratives woven together out of *topoi*. While the *Lives* of Gregory, Euthymius and Elias equally include *topoi*, the high frequency of their mobility is not one of them. Perhaps for this reason, this study has been able to contribute to seeing diversity in the hagiographical genre. While the *Lives* are otherwise very comparable, produced around the same time, in the same language, featuring comparable types of saints, the analysis laid bare the creativity of individual hagiographers.

Mobility as translocation

As stated, one aspect of the representation of the saints' mobility that is similar to all three *Lives* is that travel is mostly represented as translocation. That is, the narratives give attention to the changes from one place to another and in varying degrees give attention to the representation of the saints' motivations to change place. The journeys that would have happened in between these translocations feature relatively little in the narratives.[677] In chapter 2, for example, we concluded that it is not so much the travelling in search of *hesychia* that is emphasised in the narratives, nor is the journey itself presented as an important element in reaching *hesychia.* Rather, the arriving at a fitting place or the leaving of an unsuitable place is relevant for *hesychia* and thus the spiritual advancement of the saint. The implication of this finding is that, contrary to what some scholars have argued

677 This aspect of representation was not discussed elaborately in this thesis, but the briefness of travel descriptions has already been observed by Mantova. The ninth until the eleventh centuries would be a transition period, in which some hagiographies represent more elaborate travel scenes, particularly when they detail miracles of the saints performed while travelling, although still relatively little. My reading of the *Lives* of Gregory, Euthymius and Elias confirms Mantova's observations about this period. Mantova (2014).

for forms of late-antique monastic mobility, in these middle-Byzantine *Lives* mobility itself was not represented as a spiritual practice.[678] As will be elaborated on below, the narratives equally represent travel as a means to advance monastic careers. Also in this regard, it is not the movement itself that is portrayed as facilitating social mobility, but the transfer to new places and new communities. It was not about the journey, but about the destination.

Diverse travel motivations

Another similarity between all three *Lives* is that the represented motivations for travel are manifold. Rather than representing the journeys of monks as falling in one category, the *Lives* of Gregory, Euthymius and Elias include multiple types of motivations. Several of these motivations fall into categories that are not specific to moving monks, but reflect that the monks are part of broader patterns of movers. Such journeys include, for example, involuntary mobility, educational mobility, professional mobility and pilgrimage. By representing all these various types in the *Lives*, the authors connect their stories to a recognisable reality of Mediterranean mobility and show that the monks share experiences with other movers. This strategy of representation may be related to various authorial aims and social functions of hagiography: hagiography as commemoration and hagiography as persuasion. The travel motivations may align with what the hagiographer knew about the actual motivations of the monks, and they may have wished to document these. It is also likely that the hagiographers aimed to relate the moving monks to a recognisable reality in order to make their narratives plausible and believable. This could enhance the persuasive character of their texts. Some travel motivations represent the monks instead as special movers, connecting (im)mobility and sainthood.

(Im)mobility and sainthood

The representation of (im)mobility turns out to be interwoven with the construction of sainthood in the three *Lives* in at least four ways. The first is that immobility itself is understood as a virtue in the narratives. For example, we saw in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius that staying at particular places is instrumental for reaching the ideal of *hesychia.* The semantic analysis moreover confirms that the term *hesychia,* among other sematic layers, signifies physical rest. This conclusion may seem to corroborate the existing scholarly discourse that identifies *stabilitas loci* as a monastic ideal of immobility. However, it does not. Whereas *stabilitas loci* implies the primacy of monasteries as loci for monks to stay and remain, reaching *hesychia* is not limited to monastic establishments: I showed that other types of spaces are associated with *hesychia* as well. Moreover, the sources from which scholars infer an ideal of *stabilitas loci* reflect normative discourses according to which monks ought to stay in a (monastic) community. *Hesychia* in a way embodies the opposite. *Hesychia* is associated with a degree of social isolation, not with community

678 This was argued for in e.g., Dietz (2005).

building. The interconnection between *hesychia,* immobility and sainthood works differently for the *Life* of Elias. In this *Life,* the author plays down the connection between *hesychia* and physical immobility. However, in the other two *Lives*, immobility in the form of *hesychia* represents the monks as embodying a monastic spiritual ideal.

The second way in which (im)mobility is essential for the construction of sainthood concerns the representation of monks as combining two opposing modes of living. This discursive strategy was revealed through a discourse analysis of *hesychia* in its narrative contexts. That is, the analysis allowed us to see how the hagiographer could unite in one person two contradictory ideals necessary for the construction of sainthood. Holy men embodied (at least) two ideals: living an exemplary life and being of benefit to society. The ideal of a monastic exemplary life, which is particularly dominant in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, is a life of isolation from society, completely dedicated to God, and indeed in pursuit of *hesychia.* This ideal stands in a long tradition of monastic literature and practice. However, an exemplary life was not considered enough to be celebrated as a saint. Saints were also represented as being of benefit to society, by life (as holy men) as well as after their death. The representation of the saint's life was especially challenging for the hagiographer of ascetic saints: how to represent monks as rejecting society while at the same time serving it? If a monk was also to be of benefit to others, he needed to interact with people, for example, to give advice, to give prophesies, to heal people, to expel demons, or just to be seen so he might inspire others with his lifestyle. Combining these two ideals – retreat and interaction – creates a tension in many monastic hagiographies. One of the narrative strategies that hagiographers used to resolve this tension involves mobility. The hagiographers used the frequent translocations of the monks to alternate between episodes centred on interaction (e.g., in a monastic community or in a city) with episodes centred on isolation (e.g., on uninhabited islands or in caves). In other words, mobility is used as a narrative bridge between spaces facilitating isolation and spaces facilitating interaction, between an ascetical lifestyle of retreat and serving society.

The discourse analysis of *hesychia* also revealed a narrative strategy in episodes of immobility. The places where the monks stay in order to attain *hesychia* are represented as having particular characteristics. One of these characteristics is the narrative choice to represent the boundaries between exterior-interior and between city-wilderness as permeable. This means that the search for isolation still allowed for interaction. These interactions gave the hagiographer the opportunity to present the monk as miracle-worker (e.g., when Gregory exorcised a demon while staying in a monastic cell in Rome) or as a counsellor (e.g., when many people visited Euthymius and asked for advice when he was sitting on his column outside Thessaloniki). Both mobility and the particular representation of episodes of immobility were thus used strategically to portray Gregory and Euthymius as holy men. The focus on *hesychia* served as a lens to see authorial strategies at work and to perceive discourses on mobility and immobility. Nevertheless, the findings may also

have been found using other approaches. We saw, for example, that *hesychia* featured less strongly and differently in the *Life* of Elias. Also in this *Life,* however, translocations allowed the hagiographer to represent Elias as fulfilling various roles of a holy man, particularly regarding his monastic leadership and spiritual counsel. Some episodes in the *Life* also feature Elias and his disciple travelling to mountains as a way of spiritual retreat, although the desire for isolation features less emphatically in the *Life* of Elias compared to the other two.

The third aspect of narrative entanglement between mobility and sainthood concerns the representation of travel motivation. Like the previous two points, this aspect reveals both similarities and differences between the three *Lives.* In all three *Lives,* the representation of travel motivations is used as a discursive strategy. All three authors emphasise particular travel motivations and use these motivations to communicate aspects of the monks' identities. However, the narrative strategies that the authors use to give prominence to particular travel motivations differs. The type of motivations emphasised and the aspects of identity stressed both display overlap and differences. Travel motivations in all three narratives represent the protagonists as ascetics in search of spiritual development, as monks alternating and progressing through various modes of monasticism, and as holy men possessing extraordinary abilities. Notwithstanding these similarities, the degree of emphasis on each of these identities display differences between the *Lives.* Table 4 illustrates the various overlaps and differences regarding the representation of travel motivation.

Table 4: Travel motivation as discursive strategy in the *Lives* of Gregory, Euthymius and Elias

	Life of Gregory of Decapolis	*Life of Euthymius the Younger*	*Life of Elias the Younger*
1. Narrative strategies to give prominence to travel motivations			
a. Omission	x		
b. Distribution		x	
c. Narrative framing			x
2. Travel motivations emphasised			
a. Divine revelation	x		x
b. Desire for spiritual progress	x	x	
c. Advance in a monastic career	x	(x)	(x)
3. Aspects of identity portrayed			
a. As ascetics	x	x	(x)
b. As monastic leaders	x	x	x
c. As holy men	x	x	x
i. Direct connection to the divine	x		x
ii. Course of life as God's plan	x		x
iii. Prophetic powers			x
iv. Concern for own spiritual progress	x	x	

In each *Life* a different narrative strategy is used to give prominence to particular travel motivations: omission, distribution and narrative framing. The hagiographer of Gregory gives prominence to particular motivations by omitting the motivation of many other journeys. The narrative consequently reveals two main clusters of journeys: journeys that are motivated by the desire to progress in a monastic career and journeys that are motivated by one single divine revelation that frames the many journeys to come in the narrative. The remaining journeys that are preceded by a travel motivation are mostly motivated by a desire for spiritual progress. In the *Life* of Euthymius the number and distribution in the narrative of mobility motivated by the desire for spiritual progress emphasise this motivation over others. The hagiographer of Elias in turn uses a strategy of narrative framing to draw attention to journeys motivated by divine revelations. The emphasised motivations portray the protagonists, in varying degrees, as ascetics, as monastic leaders and as holy men. The communicated aspects of identity particularly display differences in the portrayal of the monks as holy men. In the *Lives* of Gregory and Elias, but not in the *Life* of Euthymius, particular journeys are inspired by divine revelations. Their special status as holy men is communicated by presenting them as having a direct

connection to the divine, and in addition by suggesting that the course of their life is part of God's plan. The *Life* of Elias, additionally, shows the monk's extraordinary abilities by representing travel motivated by prophesies. Finally, travel in search of *hesychia* and retreat, as emphasised in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius, but less in the *Life* of Elias, communicates the concern of the monks for their own spiritual progress.

Finally, the fourth way in which (im)mobility and the construction of sainthood are connected concerns metaphorical language use. Although this was not the main focus of the analysis in chapter 4, metaphorical linguistic expressions were equally used by the authors in support of their authorial aims. The hagiographer used linguistic expressions that he found most suitable in specific narrative contexts, based on prevailing metaphorical language and thinking. Chapter 4 mainly stressed that these expressions all drew from the same source domains of travel and immobility to express the target domains of life, *politeia*, virtue and inner stability, but these findings on conceptual metaphors does not preclude that individual metaphorical expressions were used for discursive ends. That is, the authors used metaphorical language to communicate to the audience the sanctity of their subjects. The passage in which Ignatius adapted the metaphorical language of the psalms in chapter 70 of the *Life of Gregory* is one example. It not only shows that the conceptual metaphor IMMOBILITY IS INNER STABILITY is reflected across time and languages, but in addition reflects the author's discursive strategy to place the saint in a biblical tradition and to endow his narrative with an authoritative truth.[679]

The representation of (im)mobility in these *Lives* is thus integral to the construction of the protagonists' sainthood. We may conclude, therefore, that all three authors deployed the monks' frequent travels strategically into the narratives. The differences between the various narratives, particularly regarding the discourses on *hesychia* and the narrative strategies to emphasise travel motivations, reflect some authorial creativity in the genre of hagiography. Exposing these diverse authorial strategies, the analysis confirmed that sainthood needed to be constructed and to be continuously expressed. For new saints like Gregory, Euthymius and Elias, such construction and promotion was necessary to spread devotion and to keep the cult of these saints alive. The representation of (im)mobility in hagiography played a part in this process.[680]

Mobility, stability and diverse conceptions of sainthood

While this thesis set out to investigate perceptions and representations of (im)mobility, the analysis of the three *Lives* also revealed insights into additional questions that were not initially the driving force of this research. The analysis revealed diverse conceptualisations

679 See pp. 192-193.

680 More research into the reception and development of these saints' cults may contribute to our understanding whether the mobility of these monks was an enduring aspect in the construction of their sainthood, or whether the other, more traditional, aspects of models of sainthood gained the upper hand, such as their asceticism or miracle-working powers.

of sainthood, both on the level of language and on the level of representation. The entanglements between (im)mobility and sainthood discussed above lay bare a general function of mobility in saints' *Lives*: mobility can facilitate a progressive and transformative development of the protagonists. In other words, geographical mobility and social mobility are interconnected. In all three *Lives* mobility allowed the monks to advance through various steps of the monastic career ladder, culminating in monastic leadership. In the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius (but less clearly in the *Life* of Elias), a search for *hesychia* and retreat allowed the saints to progress spiritually and gain spiritual authority as a result. The ways in which mobility was used or not used in the narratives with regard to spiritual development correspond to two conceptualisations of sainthood: one in which sainthood is conceptualised as a transformative development that the saint goes through, the other in which sainthood is conceptualised as a gift from God that is constant. Hagiographers generally do not express explicit theological views on the essence of sainthood, neither do they necessarily clearly hold on to one position over the other. Based on observations on the three *Lives* central to this thesis, it is my hypothesis that hagiographies may display elements of both conceptions, although a *Life* may lean more towards one position in comparison to another one.

We have already discussed how the literal and metaphorical journey towards spiritual perfection is reflected in the *Lives* of Gregory and Euthymius. This narrative representation possibly reflects the view that sainthood can be developed through the course of a lifetime. On the other hand, hagiographies often also stress that the celebrated individuals already possess 'saintly' qualities from the start, for example by emphasising the virtuousness of their childhood and even of their parents, as is the case in both the *Life of Gregory* and the *Life of Euthymius.* Such representations lean towards the position that they were divinely chosen individuals who possessed saintly qualities all the time. The *Life of Elias* in particular leans more towards a conception of sainthood as stable. At the beginning of the narrative, for example, the hagiographer expresses that God had already 'sanctified' his soul before he was born. Moreover, in chapter 2 we saw that the hagiographer expressed the view that Elias possessed *hesychia* all the time, no matter how much he travelled or where he was: in other words, he possessed an ideal spiritual state as a stable rather than a changeable quality. Throughout Elias' *Life*, the narrative does not present him to improve spiritually, nor was spiritual maturation necessary before Elias started working miracles. Rather, Elias is presented to possess these qualities all along.

These diverse conceptions of sainthood are also reflected in metaphorical language, by the conceptual metaphors POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY and INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY. *Politeia* mostly signifies a virtuous way of life in the linguistic metaphorical expressions of POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY. Inner stability refers to a stability of faith, withstanding temptations and persevering a virtuous *politeia* in the linguistic metaphorical expressions of INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY. A virtuous *politeia* and stability of faith and perseverance are essential

elements in the construction of sainthood. Mobility and immobility are therefore essential source domains for the construction and conception of sainthood in conceptual metaphors. In this metaphorical thinking, aspects of sainthood are either constructed as development (POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY) or as stability (INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY).

However, the way in which the hagiographer conceptualised sainthood on the narrative level did not determine the choice for metaphors. In other words, the metaphors that connect virtue to movement and development are not exclusively expressed in the *Life* of Gregory and Euthymius, where in the narrative the mobility of the monks correlate to their transformative development towards sainthood. Nor is the conceptual metaphor that connects immobility to virtue (and the opposing metaphor connecting movement to temptation) exclusively found in the *Life of Elias,* in whose *Life* the hagiographer focusses less on a connection between the saint's mobility and a development towards sainthood, but instead represents his saintly qualities as unchangeable and derived from God. On the contrary, we find both conceptual metaphors – POLITEIA IS A JOURNEY AND INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY – expressed in all three texts.

This suggests that both ways of thinking – associations of both movement and immobility with virtue, of development and stability with sainthood – were deeply ingrained in these discourse communities. The embodied nature of conceptual metaphors as well as the long tradition of continued use of these metaphors may have contributed to the occurrence of both in all three *Lives:* these age-old conceptual metaphors still worked for ninth- and tenth-century language users and reflected and shaped thought of the hagiographers and the wider discourse communities to which they belonged.

Final concluding thoughts

This study contributes in various ways to the field of Byzantine studies and to related fields. Firstly, by studying discourses on monastic mobility and immobility, we were able to perceive themes and values that were considered of great importance to Eastern Roman monastic culture, particularly spiritual integrity and development. Secondly, this study has contributed to the history of the cults of saints and examined how in the specific time and place of the ninth and early tenth century in the Eastern Roman Empire some individuals in society were considered to be more special than others. This investigation has contributed to our understanding of the authorial techniques hagiographers used to construct these individuals as saints and allowed us to perceive which ideals were projected on these individuals. Thirdly, this study has illustrated how hagiography can be approached from different angles to study the same questions. This thesis has particularly advocated to use emic terms and categories to understand the past in careful combination with etic categories of analysis. Finally, I hope to have contributed to viewing the past as equally multivocal and complex as the present by uncovering a diversity of perceptions and discourses on (im)mobility in Eastern Roman monastic contexts.

Appendices

Appendices to chapter 2

Appendix 1 - *Hesychia* in Photius' *Lexicon*

Referring to persons		**Referring to surroundings**
Referring to a state of the body	**Referring to character or mind**	
ἀγλωττία, ἀκή - no sound, silent ἀτρεμία, ἀτρέμα, ἠρεμία, ἠρέμα - no movement, still, physical rest	πραϋπάθεια, πραότης – gentleness, mildness πράως, ἠρέμα, ἀτρέμα – mildly, gently ἠρεμία - quietude of the mind	ἀγλωττία, ἀκή - no sound, silence ἀτρεμία, ἀτρέμα, ἠρεμία - no movement, still

Appendix 2 - *Hesychia* and cognates in the saints' *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis, Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger

		Connected to space					
Saint's *Life*	**Ch.**	**Enclosed space**	**Height**	**Island**	**Other usage**	**As travel motivation**	**Used in a passage involving mobility (including, but not limited to travel motivation)**
1. Gregory	17				X (stop/rest)		X
2. Gregory	25	X (monastic cell)				X	X
3. Gregory	26	X (tower)				X (implied)	X
4. Gregory	39	X (monastic cell)					
5. Gregory	46						
6. Gregory	49		X (mountains)			X (desire for)	X
7. Gregory	54						
8. Gregory	55	X (monastic cell)				X (more or less: monk wants to be near saint for his *hesychia*)	X (probably local mobility)
9. Gregory	57	(X monastic cell, but does not seem direct relation to space)					
10. Gregory	65				X (*hesychast* for a stylite/ ascetic)		X (the *hesychast* sends one of his disciples for an errand)
11. Euthymius	9						X (after being instructed in *hesychia* Euthymius was sent to a cenobitic monastery as next step monastic training)
12. Euthymius	12						
13. Euthymius	14		X ('peaks of Athos') (+ suggestion he did not find *hesychia* in cenobitic monastery)			X	X
14. Euthymius	21	X (cave)					

Appendix 2 - *Hesychia* and cognates in the saints' *Lives* of Gregory of Decapolis, Euthymius the Younger and Elias the Younger

		Connected to space					
Saint's *Life*	**Ch.**	**Enclosed space**	**Height**	**Island**	**Other usage**	**As travel motivation**	**Used in a passage involving mobility (including, but not limited to travel motivation)**
15. Euthymius	22	X (hut near village; space is not clearly defined, but its conditions seem to be considered important)				X	X
16. Euthymius	23		X (on top of column)			X	X
17. Euthymius	24			X		X	X
18. Euthymius	27	X (semi-enclosed: a ravine)				X	X
19. Euthymius	27		X (Athos)			X	X
20. Euthymius	34	X (anchoritic monastic cells)				X	X
21. Euthymius	37		X (goes to Athos, for not finding hesychia on column)			X	X
22. Elias	30						X
23. Elias	38				Cognate: *hesychasterion* for the monastery at Salinas		X
24. Elias	38	(in city, Patras, but unspecific about type of space)			verb cognate		
25. Elias	39		X (mountains)				X

Appendices to chapter 3

Appendix 3 - List of Gregory's journeys in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis*

1. Eirenopolis to mountains in the region of Dekapolis (ch. 3)
2. Mountains region of Decapolis to a monastic community nearby (ch. 3)
3. Monastic community in Decapolis to a monastery in the region (ch. 4)
4. Monastery to another monastery (headed by Symeon) (ch. 5)
5. Monastery (headed by Symeon) to a cave (ch. 6)
   a. Gregory sends a messenger two times on a journey to deliver a letter to his brother and to summon his uncle Symeon (ch. 11, 13, 14-15)
6. Cave to a monastery at Ephesus (ch. 17)
7. Ephesus to Proikonesos (island in the sea of Marmara) (ch. 17-19)
8. Proikonesos to Ainos (ch. 20)
9. Ainos to Christopolis (ch. 21)
10. Christopolis to Thessaloniki (ch. 22)
11. Thessaloniki to Corinth (ch. 22)
12. Corinth to Reggio Calabria (ch. 22)
13. Reggio Calabria to a nearby coast (ch. 24)
14. Coast to Rome (ch. 25)
15. Rome to Syracuse (ch. 25-26)
16. Syracuse to Otranto (ch. 33)
17. Otranto to Thessaloniki (ch. 36)
18. Thessaloniki towards mountains in Slavic territory and back to Thessaloniki (ch. 49)
19. Thessaloniki to Constantinople (narrated by monk Anastasios) (ch. 53)
20. Constantinople to Mount Olympus (ch. 53)
21. Mount Olympus to Constantinople (ch. 53)
22. Constantinople to Thessaloniki (not narrated, implied in the narrative)
23. Thessaloniki to Constantinople (ch. 76)

Appendix 4 - Travel motivation categories in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis*

Travel motivation category	**journeys (several journeys fit into multiple categories)**	**Chapters in the *Life***
Educational mobility (monastic training)	1, 2, 3, 4	3, 4, 5
Mobility due to loyalty or a breach of personal connections	4,**** 21, 23	5, 53, 76
Spiritual development (motivated by *hesychia,* solitude and spiritual perfection)	5, 6,* (14)***, 15, 16, 18	6, 17, 25-26, 33, 49
Involuntary mobility	(17?)**	36
No explicit motivation provided	7,* 8, 9, 10, 11,* 12, 13, (14),*** 17, 19, 20, 22	17-19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 36, 53

* See the elaborate discussion of the motivation for journey 6 at pp. 130-135, which is multi-layered; for journey 7 no motivation is provided for the specific journey, but the narrative does recall the earlier divine revelation of journey 6 (see p. 136); equally for journey 11 the hagiographer does not explicitly represent a travel motivation for this journey, but does remind the audience of the motivation provided for journey 6 (see pp. 136-137).
** The hostilities encountered by Gregory are not explicitly represented as motive for him to travel away from Otranto, but could be interpreted in this way from the narrative context.
*** No explicit motivation provided, but see the discussion of journey 14 to Rome and an implied motivation to reach *hesychia* in chapter 2, p. 79.
**** Gregory moved away from the monastic community because of a theological dispute and confrontation with the abbot. This journey is therefore partially motivated by strained interpersonal relations; the monastic community he moved to was instead headed by his uncle Symeon, for which interpersonal connections also appear to have been an important factor for the choice of his destination.

Appendix 5 - List of Euthymius' journeys in the *Life of Euthymius the Younger*

1. Opso to Mount Olympus (monastic community of Ioannikios) (ch. 6-7)
2. Local travel to a different part of Mount Olympus (ch. 8)
3. Local travel to different monastery in region of Mount Olympus (ch. 9)
4. Region of Mount Olympus to Mount Athos, via Nicomedia (ch.14-16)
5. Mount Athos to Mount Olympus to pick up previous spiritual father (Theodore) (ch. 22)
6. Return Mount Olympus to Mount Athos (ch. 22)
7. Local travel Mount Athos to Makrosina, a village near Athos (ch. 22)
8. Mount Athos to Thessaloniki (ch. 23)
9. Local travel to Thessaloniki to a little outside the city to sit on a column (ch. 23)
10. Column outside Thessaloniki to Mount Athos (ch. 24)
11. Mount Athos to the Island Neoi (ch. 24)
12. Away from island Neoi and back again (ch. 25)
13. Island Neoi to Mount Athos (ch. 26)
14. Mount Athos to Brastamon (ch. 26)
15. Local travel to nearby ravine and back to monastic community at Brastamon (regular travel described by narrator) (ch. 27)
16. Brastamon to Mount Athos (regular travel described by narrator) (ch.27)
17. Mount Athos to Peristera, via Thessaloniki (ch. 28)
18. Peristera to Sermelia and back (ch. 34)
19. Peristera to column outside Thessaloniki (ch. 37)
20. Column outside Thessaloniki to Mount Athos (ch. 37)
21. Mount Athos to Island Hiera (ch. 37)
22. Island Hiera to Thessaloniki (translation of his relics) (ch. 38)

Appendix 6 - Travel motivation categories in the *Life of Euthymius the Younger*

Travel motivation category	**Journeys**	**Chapters in the *Life***
Educational mobility (monastic training)	1, 2, 3	6-7, 8, 9
Mobility inspired by monastic leadership (duties founding and leading monastic community)	15*, 17, 18	27, 28, 34
Mobility due to loyalty personal connections	5, 6, 7, (8)**	22, 23
Spiritual development	4, 9, 10, 11, 16*, 19, 20, 21	14-16, 23, 24, 27, 37
Pilgrimage	(8)**	23
Involuntary mobility	12, 13, 14	25, 26

*Journeys 15 and 16 consist of multiple journeys, but they are not narrated by the author as individual journeys. The hagiographer describes a pattern of regular journeys between Brastamon and Mount Athos, motivated by monastic leadership and personal spiritual development, respectively. Journey 15 refers to Euthymius' journeys from Mount Athos to Brastamon and a nearby ravine to guide his fellow disciples, while journey 16 refers to the journey in reverse to seek *hesychia*.
** Journey to Thessaloniki to visit the tomb Theodore, his former spiritual father.

Appendix 7 - List of Elias' journeys in the *Life of Elias the Younger*

1. Enna towards North Africa and, mid-journey, turning back (ch.6-8)
2. Enna to North Africa (ch. 9)
3. North Africa to Jerusalem (ch. 14 – 18)
4. Jerusalem to Jordan (ch. 19)
5. Jordan to Genesaret (ch. 19)
6. Genesaret to Mount Tabor (ch. 19)
7. Mount Tabor to 'place of the twelve thrones' (ch. 19)
8. To Sinai (ch. 19)
9. Sinai to Alexandria (ch.21)
10. Alexandria towards Persia, but changed to Antioch (ch.22)
11. Antioch to Palermo (ch. 22-25)
12. Palermo to Taormina (ch. 26)
13. Taormina to Sparta/Peloponnese (ch.26-27)
14. Sparta to Butrint (ch. 28)
15. Butrint to Corfu (ch. 29)
16. Corfu to Calabria (Salinas) (ch. 30)
17. Salinas to 'other places' (ch. 30)
18. Salinas to Pentadaktylos (ch. 35)
19. Pentadaktylos to Salinas (ch.36)
20. Salinas to Rome (ch.36)
21. Rome to Calabria (Salinas, presumably) (ch.36)
22. To Reggio Calabria (ch.37)
23. Reggio Calabria to Salinas (not narrated, but implied)
24. Salinas to Patras (ch.38)
25. Patras, via Reggio Calabria, to Salinas (ch.38)
26. Salinas to the mountains of 'Mesobianos' (ch.39)
27. Mountains to Salinas (ch.39)
28. Salinas to the 'castle of saint Cristina', nearby (ch.42)
29. Castle to Salinas (ch.43)
30. Salinas to Taormina (ch.49)
31. Taormina to Amalfi (ch.52)
32. Amalfi to Salinas (ch.55)
33. Salinas to a 'desert'/dry places (ch.60)
34. Salinas to the 'castle of saint Kyriakis' (possibly, Gerace) (ch.62)
35. Salinas to the *strategos* of Calabria, no location mentioned (ch. 64)
36. Salinas towards Constantinople (ch. 66)
    a. Salinas to Epicusa (island in front of coast of Epirus) (ch. 66-67)
    b. Epicusa to Naupaktos (ch. 68)
    c. Naupaktos to Thessaloniki (ch. 69)

Appendix 8 - Travel motivation categories in the *Life of Elias the Younger*

Travel motivation category	**Journeys**	**Chapters in the *Life***
Educational mobility (monastic training)	3, 8	14-18, 19
Founding a monastery	11, 16	22, 30
Returning back to the monastery	19, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32	36, 38, 39, 43, 55
Mobility due to loyalty family connections	1, 11, 21	6-8, 25, 36
Seeking solitude/avoid distractions	26, 33	39, 60
Pilgrimage	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 16, 20, 30	14-18, 19, 22, 30, 36, 49
Visiting sick people	34	62
Diplomacy (and an invitation by the Emperor)	35, 36	64, 66-69
Involuntary mobility	1, 2, 13, 24, 27, 28, 31	6-8, 9, 26-27, 38, 39, 42, 52
No motivation provided	9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22	21, 26, 28, 29, 30, 35, 37

Appendices to chapter 4

Appendix 9 - Travel and stability metaphors in the *Life of Gregory of Decapolis*

9A. LIFE IS A JOURNEY METAPHORS

Ch.	Passage	Translation	Notes on metaphor
***POLITEIA* IS A JOURNEY** (AND: **MAKING LIFE DECISIONS IS CHOOSING A PATH**)			
3	Συνοδοιπόροις δὲ τούτοις πρὸς ὀλίγον χρησάμενος	After having occupied himself for a while with these travel-companions	May be interpreted both literal and metaphorical: metaphorical as people who accompany him in his lifestyle, or literal as travel companions on the road to arrange things for his marriage.
3	δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ τὸ ποθούμενον ἀνύειν κατέσπευδε	He made haste, via another road, to accomplish the thing he desired	Another road = changing the 'course' of his life, i.e. with the aim of becoming a monk
4	κατ' οὐδὲν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὁδοῦ τε καὶ γνώμης πορεύεσθαι τοῦτον διεκώλυσε	She in no way prevented him to travel the devout path and decision	Devout path = monastic, ascetic lifestyle
22	Μείνας οὐν παṕ αὐτῶ οὐ συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἤλγει καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ κατείχετο, πόθεν ἆρα καὶ ποίᾳ τρίβῳ χρήσαιτο.	After he had not remained with him [Mark, the *hegumen* of an ascetical community in Thessaloniki] for many days, he grieved and he was seized by discouragement, from where and what kind of path he should take.	Possibly refers both to a literal and a metaphorical usage of τρίβος: Gregory literally does not know where to travel to, but the choice to use two interrogative words (πόθεν and ποίᾳ), emphasising Gregory's despair, and the fact that there is no motivation provided (see pp. 130-137), suggest that the 'path' may also be interpreted metaphorically. Which next actions should he take, which lifestyle should he follow?

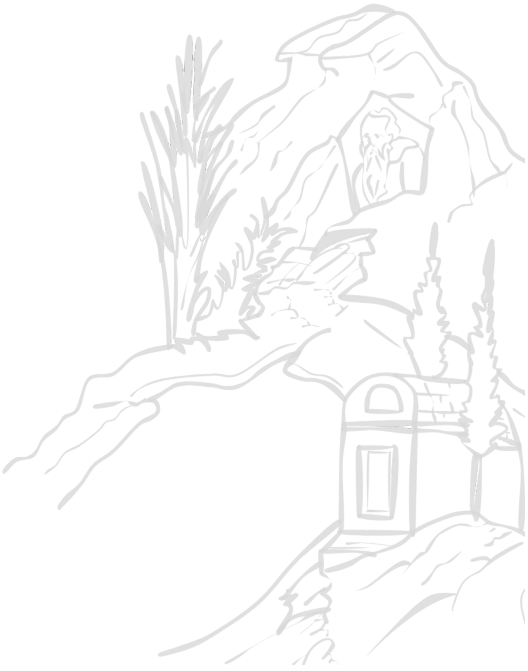
Ch.	Passage	Translation	Notes on metaphor
67	Καὶ διὰ μὲν θείας μελέτης τὴν τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐξομαλίσας τρίβον ἅπαν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκῶλον ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ, καὶ λείαν ἑαυτῷ ταύτην κατασκευάσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἄνω βασιλείας ἀνάκτορον ἔφθασεν.	And through divine exercise, while making even the path of ascesis, he removed every obstacle and hindrance from the road which leads to virtue, and after having prepared it [the road] even for himself, he reached the royal dwelling-place of the kingdom above.	See discussion of this passage on pp. 182-183
70	τοὺς δι' αὐτῆς [=ὑπομονή] ὁδεύσαντας μιμησάμενος αἰσίως προπάτορας	imitating the forefathers fittingly, who travelled with [in a manner of] perseverance	Travelling = following a particular lifestyle (in this case of virtue/perseverance)
70	ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀσφαλοῦς βιοτῆς τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ πόδας ἐνήρεισε καὶ τὰ κατὰ θεὸν καὶ διὰ θεὸν αὐτοῦ κατηύθυνε διαβήματα	he firmly fixed the feet of his soul upon a rock of a steadfast way of life and he directed his steps according to God['s will] and through God.	Directing his steps towards = taking a particular direction of a journey = choosing a way of life (in this case 'a steadfast way of life' with the aim of serving God)
Dying is an unknown path			
Pro	τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἐξαπιναίως τῷ ᾅδῃ παραπομπήν	The sudden transport of (human) nature to Hades	Dying = a (passive) journey
43	μέλλεις γὰρ οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τρίβον διανύειν ξένην	You will shortly travel (or: complete) a foreign path	Travelling a foreign path = dying; prophecy of the saint
Virtue is (the destination of) a path			
57	τοῦ δρόμου τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐχομένῳ	When [the holy man] took hold of the 'highway' (*cursus publicus*) of virtue	
67	τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ	The road leading to virtue	

Ch.	Passage	Translation	Notes on metaphor
Ascesis is a (uneven) path			
67	τὴν τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐξομαλίσας τρίβον	While he made even the path of ascesis	Ascesis = an uneven path, but Gregory has the power to even it out; uneven implies that ascesis is difficult
Combination of CMs: **Ascesis is a path & virtue is the destination of a path** & **divine is up**			
67	Καὶ διὰ μὲν θείας μελέτης τὴν τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐξομαλίσας τρίβον ἅπαν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκῶλον ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ, καὶ λείαν ἑαυτῷ ταύτην κατασκευάσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἄνω βασιλείας ἀνάκτορον ἔφθασεν.	And through divine exercise, while making even the path of ascesis, he removed every obstacle and hindrance from the road which leads to virtue, and after having prepared it [the road] even for himself, he reached the royal dwelling-place of the kingdom above.	Ascesis = an uneven path; virtue = destination of that path; the path leads to the kingdom above (i.e. heaven) (divine is up); cf. Isaiah 40:3: 'make straight in the desert a highway for our God' (*KJV*)
Difficulties are obstacles on the road			
67	ἅπαν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκῶλον ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ	he removed every obstacle and hindrance from the road which leads to virtue	
Spiritual progress is running up to a height			
Pro	ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πολιτείας ὕψος ἀνέδραμε(ν)	he ran up to such height of way of living	
66	πρὸς πόσον ὕψος ἀνέδραμε(ν)	to how great a height he ran up to	
67	εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνέδραμε τὴν τῶν ὀρεκτῶν κορυφήν	he ran up to that summit of the things longed for	
Being wrong is wandering			
57	Πεπλάνησαι, ἀδελφέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς σῆς, ὡς φής, ὀπτασίας ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὶ σημεῖον γέγονεν.	You wander, brother: because there was no sign from your vision over me.	Wandering/being led astray signifies being wrong. In this case, the saint tells a disciple that the disciple has misinterpreted what he saw.

Ch.	Passage	Translation	Notes on metaphor
9b. Metaphors and metonyms for travel (travel as target domain)			
Metonyms			
18	τὴν ὑγρὰν τρίβον	Moist path	Moist = sea -> journey over sea
52	τὴν δίυγρον ὁδὸν	Moist road	Moist = sea -> journey over sea
49	ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον μετα-βιβάσαι τὸν πόδα	Transfer my foot from one place to another	Foot = entire body
Metaphors			
24	τοῖς βυθίοις ὁμιλῆσαι μυχοῖς	[he prays that he will not] meet the deep abyss	Sea = an abyss; in an episode of misfortune during sea-travel
49	ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον μετα-βιβάσαι τὸν πόδα	Transfer my foot from one place to another	Travel = transfer from one place to another (travel as something passive)
49	ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν μερῶν ὄρη	To rush to the mountains of the Slav-territory	Travel = rushing
76	πίστις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀκλινὴς πρὸς τὸν ἤδη καθηγησάμενον εἶλκε	Because his unwavering faith drew him to his former master	Travelling = being pulled/drawn (as something passive)
77	τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ [...] πέλαγος	the ocean of the journey	Vast distance (of a journey) = an ocean; refers to journey from Thessaloniki to Constantinople
9c. Metaphors of stability: INNER STABILITY IS IMMOBILITY			
INNER/BEHAVIOURAL STABILITY IS A ROCK			
70	πέτραν ἀσφαλοῦς βιοτῆς	A rock of an immovable/steadfast lifestyle	Immovable/steadfast lifestyle = a rock -> immobile aspect of a rock is mapped unto lifestyle (of perseverance)

Ch.	Passage	Translation	Notes on metaphor
Persistence is remaining erect/ withstanding temptations is immobility			
70	Ὑπομονῇ δὲ κραταιῶς ἑαυτὸν συνέζευξεν, ὡς μὴ ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις τῶν πειρασμῶν παλιῤῥοίαις σαλεύεσθαι	He firmly joined himself together with perseverance, as to not be shaken by the forcibly coming reflux of temptations	Perseverance causes the saint not to be moved/stirred (σαλεύω: cause to rock; move; in passive voice: to be shaken); withstanding temptations = immobility
70	στῦλον ἑαυτὸν ἀκλινέστατον ἐν τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἀνιαροῖς διεῤῥίζωσεν.	He planted himself as an extremely unswerving pillar in between troublesome assaulters	Troublesome assaulters = demons/ temptations; withstanding temptations = immobility
70	πέτραν ἀσφαλοῦς βιοτῆς	A rock of an immovable/steadfast lifestyle	βιοτή probably refers to perseverance, which is 'immovable'
A persevering person is a stone, immobile object			
70	στῦλον ἑαυτὸν ἀκλινέστατον ἐν τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἀνιαροῖς διεῤῥίζωσεν.	He planted himself as an extremely unswerving pillar	Gregory = an unswerving pillar (i.e. remaining the same in shape); Gregory planted himself (i.e. remaining the same in place); see discussion at pp. 191-195
A virtuous exemplary person is an upright stone monument			
Pro	πρόκειται πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις στήλη βιωφελὴς καὶ σωτήριος	He was set before all people as a life-aiding and saving *stele*	King David, as an example of virtue to imitate = a stone monument (*stele*)
Persisting and correct is immobile and straight			
76	πίστις ἀκλινὴς	his unswerving faith	ἀκλινὴς = lending to neither side: not changing in shape and straight (cf. ch. 70 στῦλον ἀκλινέστατον: extremely unswerving pillar); Gregory persists and is correct in his faith

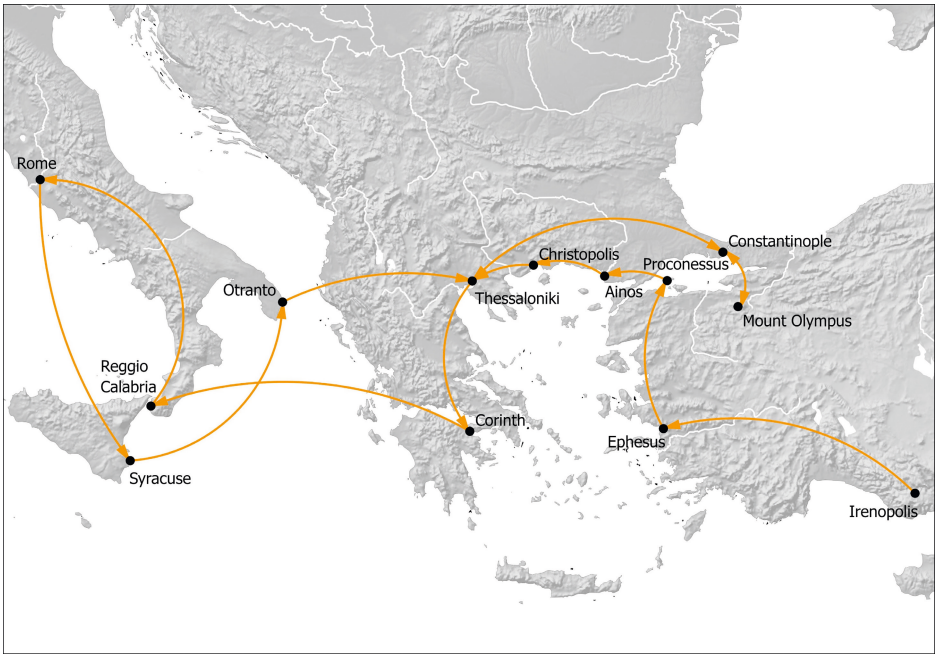
Ch.	Passage	Translation	Notes on metaphor
Temptation is movement			
70	ὡς μὴ ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις τῶν πειρασμῶν παλιῤῥοίαις σαλεύεσθαι	to not be shaken by the forcibly coming reflux of temptations	Temptation is movement ('the reflux of temptations'); Temptations are disturbers of physical stability
Related metaphors			
89	ἐπὶ λιμένα εὔδιον προσώρμησε, τὴν τοῦ ὁσίου σορόν	She came to anchor at a calm harbour, the tomb of the holy man	The 'calm harbour' is equated to the 'tomb of the holy man', possibly expressing the idea that the saint equals calmness and safety
52	τῶν ἰχνῶν τοῦ ὁσίου ἀξιωθείς	After he was deemed worthy of the footsteps of the holy man	The passage refers to George (a government official whom Gregory advised), who comes back from Constantinople to Thessaloniki and reports to Gregory what happened along the journey; 'deemed worthy of the footsteps of the holy man' thus signifies that George was *in the presence of* the holy man.



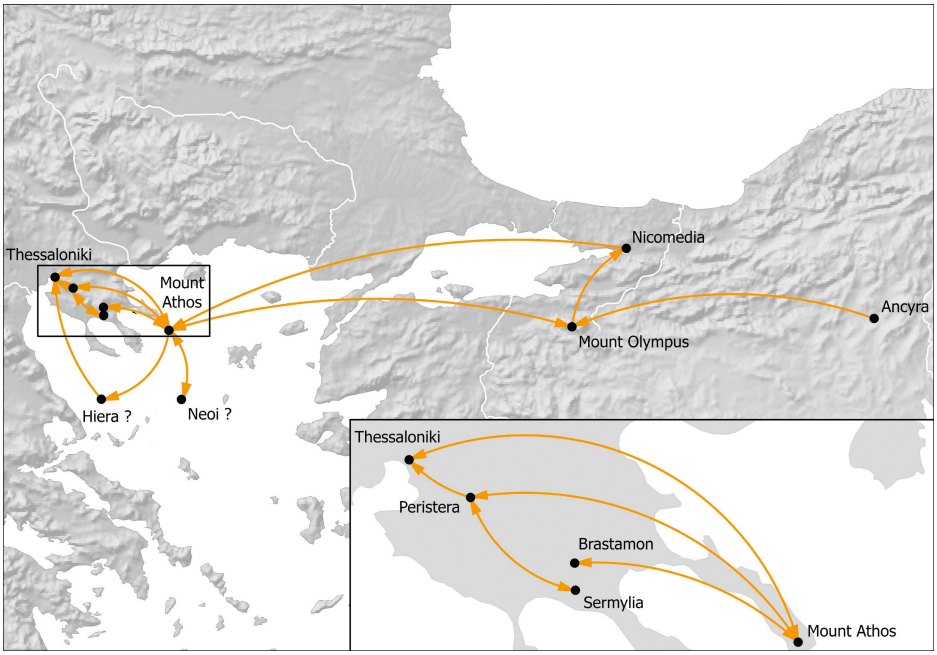
Maps

of the saints' journeys

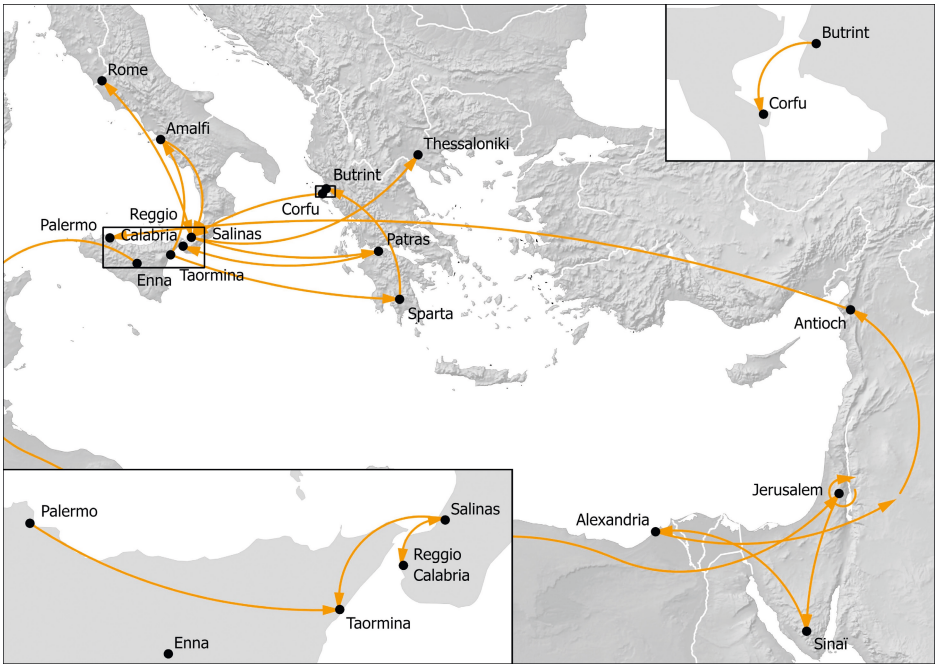
Journeys of Gregory of Decapolis



Journeys of Euthymius the Younger



Journeys of Elias the Younger



Bibliography

Adey, Peter, David Bissell, Kevin Hannam, Peter Merriman, and Mimi Sheller. 2014. "Introduction." In *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, edited by Peter Adey, David Bissell, Kevin Hannam, Peter Merriman, and Mimi Sheller, 1–20. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315857572-1.

Adler, Ada, ed. 1928. *Suidae lexicon*. Vol. 1. Lexicographi Graeci. Leipzig: Teubner.

Agar, Michael. 2007. "Emic/Etic." In *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by George Ritzer, J. Michael Ryan, and Betsy Thorn. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeose035.

Aland, Kurt, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, eds. 1968. *The Greek New Testament*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society.

Alec, Basson. 2006. "'People Are Plants'- a Conceptual Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible." *Old Testament Essays* 19 (2): 573–83. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC85793.

Alexakis, Alexander, ed. 2016. "Life of Euthymios the Younger." In *Holy Men of Mount Athos. Edited and Translated by Richard H. Greenfield and Alice-Mary Talbot*, translated by Alice-Mary Talbot, 1–125. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 40. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Amirav, Hagit. 2015. *Authority and Performance: Sociological Perspectives on the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451)*. Hypomnemata: Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666208683.

Ariantzi, Despoina, and Ina Eichner, eds. 2018. *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück: das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln*. Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 10. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.495.

Auzépy, Marie-France. 2009. "Les moines et l'errance à Byzance." In *Le monde de l'itinérance: En Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne*, edited by Claudia Moatti, Wolfgang Kaiser, and Christophe Pébarthe, 241–51. Pessac: Ausonius Éditions. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ausonius.1608.

Bitton-Ashkelony, Brouria. 2005. *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*. Transformation of the Classical Heritage 38. University of California Press. https://hdl-handle-net.ru.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.07960.

Booth, Phil. 2014. *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*. Transformation of the Classical Heritage 52. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520280427.001.0001.

Brown, Peter. 1971. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Roman Studies* 61: 80–101. https://doi.org/10.2307/300008.

———. 1981. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Haskell Lectures on History of Religions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb01044.0001.001.

———. 1983. "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity." *Representations* 2: 1–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928382.

Browning, Robert. 1975. "Homer in Byzantium." *Viator* 6: 15–34. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.VIATOR.2.301602.

Brubaker, Leslie. 2002. "The Conquest of Space." In *Travel in the Byzantine World: Papers from the Thirty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, edited by Ruth Macrides, 235–57. Aldershot: Ashgate.

———. 2009. "Byzantine Visions of the End." *Studies in Church History* 45: 97–119. https://doi.org/10.1017/S042420840000245X.

Brubaker, Leslie, and John Haldon. 2011. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era: C. 680-850, a History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cairns, Douglas. 2014. "Ψυχή, Θυμός, and Metaphor in Homer and Plato." *Études Platoniciennes* 11. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesplatoniciennes.566.

Caner, Daniel. 2002. *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 33. Berkeley: University of California press. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.08311.

Canivet, Pierre, and Alice Leroy-Molinghen, eds. 1977. *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie*. Vol. 1. Sources Chrétiennes 234. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.

Chitwood, Zachary. 2017. *Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition, 867–1056*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316861547.

Constable, Olivia Remie. 2003. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.30998.

Constantinou, Stavroula, and Christian Høgel, eds. 2020. *Metaphrasis: A Byzantine Concept of Rewriting and Its Hagiographical Products*. The Medieval Mediterranean 125. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004438453.

Corke-Webster, Christa Gray; James, ed. 2020. *The Hagiographical Experiment: Developing Discourses of Sainthood*. Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements 158. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004421332.

Cresswell, Tim. 2021. "Valuing Mobility in a Post COVID-19 World." *Mobilities* 16 (1): 51–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2020.1863550.

Da Costa-Louillet, Germaine. 1960. "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale." *Byzantion* 29–30: 89–173.

Dal Santo, Matthew. 2012. *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*. Oxford Studies in Byzantium. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199646791.001.0001.

Dalena, Pietro. 2003. *Dagli itinera ai percorsi: viaggiare nel Mezzogiorno medievale*. Bari: M. Adda.

Deferrari, Roy J., trans. 1929. *Basil: Letters 1-58*. Loeb Classical Library 190. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Deignan, Alice. 2005. "Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Language." In *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, 13–32. Converging Evidence in Language and Communication Research 6. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Delehaye, Hippolyte. 1962. *The Legends of the Saints*. Translated by Donald Attwater. New York: Fordham University Press. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.03035.

Della Dora, Veronica. 2016. *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316488386.

Delouis, Olivier. 2012. "L'autorité, l'ancien et l'higoumène à Byzance." In *Les personnes d'autorité en milieu régulier: Des origines de la vie régulière au XVIIe siècle*, edited by Jean-François Cottier, Daniel-Odon Hurel, and Benoît-Michel Tock, 267–88. Congrégations, Ordres Religieux et Sociétés 22. Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne.

Delouis, Olivier, Maria Mossakovska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot, eds. 2019. *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge (IVe-XVe siècle)*. Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.4202.

Delouis, Olivier, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot. 2019. "Introduction." In *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive Au Moyen Âge (IVe-XVe siècle)*, edited by Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakovska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot. Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.4206.

Díaz-Vera, Javier E., ed. 2015. *Metaphor and Metonymy across Time and Cultures*. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110335453.

Diem, Albrecht, and Claudia Rapp. 2020. "The Monastic Laboratory: Perspectives of Research in Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism." In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 1:19–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Diem, Albrecht, and Philip Rousseau. 2020. "Monastic Rules (Fourth to Ninth Century)." In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 1:162–94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dietz, Maribel. 2005. *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300-800*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Dimitroukas, Ioannis Ch. 1997. *Reisen und Verkehr im byzantinischen Reich vom Anfang des 6. bis zur Mitte des 11. Jh.S*. Edited by Evangelos K. Chrysos. Historical Monographs 18. Athens: Historical publications St. D. Basilopoulos.

Drijvers, Jan Willem. 2018. "Travel and Pilgrimage Literature." In *A Companion to Late Antique Literature*, edited by Scott McGill and Edward J. Watts, 359–72. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell. http://doi.wiley.com/10.1002/9781118830390.ch22.

Dunn, Marilyn. 2003. *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470754580.

Durak, Koray. 2022. "The Use of Non-Commercial Networks for the Study of Byzantium's Foreign Trade: The Case of Byzantine-Islamic Commerce in the Early Middle Ages." In *The 24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Proceedings of the Plenary Sessions*, edited by Emiliano Fiori and Michele Trizio, 423–51. Venice: Digital Publishing, Fondazione Università Ca' Foscari. https://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-590-2/023.

Dvornik, Francis. 1926. *La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle*. Paris: Champion.

Efthymiadis, Stephanos. 1996. "The Byzantine Hagiographer and His Audience in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries." In *Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, edited by Christian Høgel, 59–80. Oslo: Research council of Norway.

———. 2011a. "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (Eight-Tenth Centuries)." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume I, Periods and Places*, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis, 95–142. Farnham: Ashgate.

———. 2011b. "Introduction." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume I, Periods and Places*, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis, 1–14. Farnham: Ashgate.

———. , ed. 2011c. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume I, Periods and Places*. Farnham: Ashgate.

———. 2012. "Les saints d'Italie méridionale (IXe-XIIe s.) et leur rôle dans la société locale." In *Byzantine Religious Culture: Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, edited by Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth A. Fisher, and Stratis Papaioannou, 347–72. Leiden: Brill.

———. , ed. 2014. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume II, Genres and Contexts*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Efthymiadis, Stephanos, Vincent Déroche, André Binggeli, and Zissis Aïnalis. 2011. "Greek Hagiography in Late Antiquity (Fourth-Seventh Centuries)." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume I, Periods and Places*, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis, 35–94. Farnham: Ashgate.

Efthymiadis, Stephanos, and Nikos Kalogeras. 2014. "Audience, Language and Patronage in Byzantine Hagiography." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume II, Genres and Contexts*, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis, 272–309. Farnham: Ashgate.

Elsner, Jaś, and Ian Rutherford, eds. 2005. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Faist, Thomas. 2013. "The Mobility Turn: A New Paradigm for the Social Sciences?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (11): 1637–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.812229.

Flemming, Isabelle M. 2010. "Ethnography and Ethnology." In *21st Century Anthropology: A Reference Handbook*, edited by James H. Birx. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412979283.

Flusin, Bernard. 1983. *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.

———. 2011. "Palestinian Hagiography (Fourth-Eighth Centuries)." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume I, Periods and Places*, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis, 199–226. Farnham: Ashgate.

Foubert, Lien. 2016. "The Lure of an Exotic Destination: The Politics of Women's Travels in the Early Roman Empire." *Hermes* 144 (4): 462–87.

———. 2018. "Men and Women Tourists' Desire to See the World: 'Curiosity' and 'a Longing to Learn' as (Self-) Fashioning Motifs (First–Fifth Centuries C.E.)." *Journal of Tourism History* 10 (1): 5–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2018.1458909.

———. 2020. "The Spinning of the Wheels: Women's Travel Stories in Latin Funerary Inscriptions ('Ruedas que Giran: Historias de Viajes Femeninos en Inscripciones Funerarias Latinas')." *Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua* 38 (1): 137–56. https://doi.org/10.5209/geri.68588.

———. 2023. "Discourses of a Changing Society: Women's (Im)Mobility in Times of Civil War." In *The Public Lives of Ancient Women (500 BCE–650 CE)*, 194–219. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004534513_012.

Frank, Georgia. 2019. "Traveling Stylites? Rethinking the Pillar Saint's Stasis in the Christian East." In *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge (IVe-XVe siècle)*, edited by Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakovska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot, 261–73. Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.4202.

Franquesa, Jaume. 2011. "'We've Lost Our Bearings': Place, Tourism, and the Limits of the 'Mobility Turn'." *Antipode* 43 (4): 1012–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00789.x.

Franses, Rico. 2018. *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art: The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108290517.

Frazee, Charles A. 1982. "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation on the Monastic Life from the Fourth to the Eighth Centuries." *Church History* 51 (3): 263–79. https://doi.org/10.2307/3167117.

Galatariotou, Catia. 1993. "Travel and Perception in Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47: 221–41. https://doi.org/10.2307/1291679.

Gemeinhardt, Peter. 2015. "Wie der Fisch ins Meer, so muss der Mönch ins Kellion eilen. Die Anfänge der Wüstenaskese im spätantiken Ägypten." *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 32 (1): 60–83.

Gerrig, Richard J., and Zared R. Shawver. 2022. "Narrative Experiences of Metaphor." In *Dynamism in Metaphor and Beyond*, edited by Herbert L. Colston, Teenie Matlock, and Gerard J. Steen, 45–61. Metaphor in Language, Cognition, and Communication 9. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/milcc.9.

Gibbs, Raymond W. 2011. "Evaluating Conceptual Metaphor Theory." *Discourse Processes* 48 (8): 529–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2011.606103.

———. 2017a. *Metaphor Wars: Conceptual Metaphors in Human Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781107762350.

———. 2017b. "The Embodied and Discourse Views of Metaphor: Why These Are Not so Different and How They Can Be Brought Closer Together." In *Metaphor: Embodied Cognition and Discourse*, edited by Beate Hampe, 319–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108182324.

———. 2015a. "Do Pragmatic Signals Affect Conventional Metaphor Understanding? A Failed Test of Deliberate Metaphor Theory." *Journal of Pragmatics* 90: 77–87. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.05.021.

———. 2015b. "Does Deliberate Metaphor Theory Have a Future?" *Journal of Pragmatics* 90: 73–76. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.016.

Goehring, James. 1993. "The Encroaching Desert: Literary Production and Ascetic Space in Early Christian Egypt." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (3): 281–96. https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.0.0106.

Goodrich, Richard J. 2006. "Review of Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300-800." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14 (1): 132–33. https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.2006.0018.

Graumann, Thomas. 2021. *The Acts of the Early Church Councils: Production and Character*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198868170.001.0001.

Greenfield, Richard P.H., ed. 2000. *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Greenfield, Richard, and Alice-Mary Talbot, eds. 2016. *Holy Men of Mount Athos*. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 40. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hahn, Johannes. 2024, forthcoming. "Stylites on Pillars vs. Sanctuaries on Summits: The Conquest of Traditional Cult Sites by Christian Ascetics in Northern Syria." In *The Impact of Empire on Traditional Structures of Power*, edited by Sven Betjes and Olivier Hekster. Boston; Leiden: Brill.

Hahn, Johannes, and Volker Menze, eds. 2020. *The Wandering Holy Man: The Life of Barsauma, Christian Asceticism, and Religious Conflict in Late Antique Palestine*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Hampe, Beate. 2017. "Embodiment and Discourse: Dimensions and Dynamics of Contemporary Metaphor Theory." In *Metaphor: Embodied Cognition and Discourse*, edited by Beate Hampe, 3–23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108182324.

Han, Ying, Zhibin Peng, and Hong Chen. 2022. "Bibliometric Assessment of World Scholars' International Publications Related to Conceptual Metaphor." *Frontiers in Psychology* 13: 1–13. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.1071121.

Hannam, Kevin, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry. 2006. "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings." *Mobilities* 1 (1): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100500489189.

Hartmann, Wilfried, and Kenneth Pennington, eds. 2012. *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*. History of Medieval Canon Law. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ubnru-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3134964.

Hatlie, Peter. 2007. *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople: Ca. 350-850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hausherr, Irénée. 1966a. *Hésychasme et prière*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 176. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalum Studiorum.

———. 1966b. "L'hésychasme: Étude de spiritualité." In *Hésychasme et prière*, 163–237. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 176. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalum Studiorum.

Herman, Emil. 1955. "La 'stabilitas loci' nel monachismo bizantino." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21: 115–42.

Hildebrand, Stephen. 2018. *Basil of Caesarea*. The Early Church Fathers. Milton Park, Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Hinterberger, Martin. 2021. "Language." In *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature*, edited by Stratis Papaioannou, 21–43. New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199351763.013.18.

Hoerder, Dirk. 2002. *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*. Durham; London: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11hpmch.

Høgel, Christian. 2002. *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen.

———. 2014. "Symeon Metaphrastes and the Metaphrastic Movement." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume II, Genres and Contexts*, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis, 181–96. Farnham: Ashgate.

Horden, Peregrine. 2007. "Introduction: Towards a History of Medieval Mobility." In *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2003*, edited by Peregrine Horden, xvii–xxxiv. Harlaxton Medieval Studies 15. Donington: Shaun Tyas.

Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Humfress, Caroline. 2005. "Law and Legal Practice in the Age of Justinian." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, edited by Michael Maas, 161–84. Cambridge Companions to the Ancient World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521817463.007.

Isaïa, Marie-Céline. 2014. "L'hagiographie, source des normes médiévales. Pistes de recherche." In *Normes et hagiographie dans l'Occident Latin (VIe-XVIe siècle)*, edited by Marie-Céline Isaïa and Thomas Granier, 17–42. Hagiologia 9. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.HAG-EB.1.102180.

Isayev, Elena. 2017. *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jacobs, Andrew. 2020. "'I Want to Be Alone': Ascetic Celebrity and the Splendid Isolation of Simeon Stylites." In *The Garb of Being: Embodiment and the Pursuit of Holiness in Late Ancient Christianity*, edited by Andrew Jacobs, Georgia Frank, and Susan Holman, 145–68. New York: Fordham University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvq4bzgf.11.

Janin, Raymond. 1969. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Première partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Tome III: Les églises et les monastères*. 2nd ed. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines.

Kaldellis, Anthony. 2014. "The Hagiography of Doubt and Scepticism." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume II, Genres and Contexts*, 453–77. Farnham: Ashgate.

———. 2019. *Byzantium Unbound*. Leeds: Arc Humanities Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvpb3x5p.

Kaplan, Michel. 2002. "Les saints en pèlerinage à l'époque mésobyzantine (7e-12e siècles)." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56: 109–27.

Karpozilos, Apostolos, and Alexander Kazhdan. 1991. "Travel." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by Alexander Kazhdan, online. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.013.5569.

Kazhdan, Alexander, and Simon Franklin. 1984. *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kazhdan, Alexander, and Alice-Mary Talbot. 1998. "Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database: Introduction." https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography-database/hagiointro.pdf.

Kislinger, Ewald. 1997. "Reisen und Verkehrswege zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland vom 9. bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts." In *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, edited by Evangelos Konstantinou, 231–57. Köln: Böhlau Verlag.

———. 2011. "Reisen und Verkehrswege in Byzanz: Realität und Mentalität, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen." In *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Sofia, 22-27 August 2011*, edited by Iliya Georgiev Iliev, 1:341–87. Sofia: Bulgarian Historical Heritage Foundation.

Klaniczay, Gábor. 2014. "Using Saints: Intercession, Healing, Sanctity." In *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, edited by John H. Arnold, 217–37. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199582136.013.014.

Koder, Johannes. 2017. "Byzantinisches Mönchtum und Umwelt." In *A Most Pleasant Scene and an Inexhaustible Resource: Steps towards a Byzantine Environmental History*, 217–40. Byzanz Zwischen Orient und Okzident 6. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.

König, Jason. 2022. *The Folds of Olympus: Mountains in Ancient Greek and Roman Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2002. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2015. *Where Metaphors Come From: Reconsidering Context in Metaphor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190224868.001.0001.

———. 2022. "Extended CMT and the Dynamic Systems Theory of Metaphor: A Comparison." In *Dynamism in Metaphor and Beyond*, edited by Herbert L. Colston, Teenie Matlock, and Gerard J. Steen, 131–42. Metaphor in Language, Cognition, and Communication 9. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/milcc.9.

Kramer, Rutger, and Ekaterina Novokhatko. 2022. "Dead Authors and Living Saints: Community, Sanctity, and the Reader Experience in Medieval Hagiographical Narratives." In *The Past Through Narratology: New Approaches to Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Mateusz Fafinksi and Jakob Riemenschneider, 205–26. Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven Mediävistischer Forschung 18. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing. https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.921.c13624.

Krausmüller, Dirk. 2017. "From Competition to Conformity: Saints' Lives, Typika, and the Byzantine Monastic Discourse of the Eleventh Century." In *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in between: Papers from the 45th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, Oxford, 24-6 March 2012*, edited by Marc Diederik Lauxtermann and Mark Whittow, 199–215. London: Routledge.

———. 2020. "Swimming against the Tide: How the Monks of Medikion Challenged Traditional Notions of Sainthood." *Scrinium* 16 (1): 375–89. https://doi.org/10.1163/18177565-00160A22.

Kreiner, Jamie. 2014. *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kreutz, Barbara. 1996. *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Krönung, Bettina. 2010. "The Life of Elias the Younger." In *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900-1050)*, edited by David Thomas, Alexander Mallett, and Barbara Roggema. Leiden: Brill.

Krueger, Derek. 2004. *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East*. Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2010. "The Old Testament and Monasticism." In *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, edited by Paul Magdalino and Robert S. Nelson, 199–221. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Krueger, Derek, and Robert S. Nelson, eds. 2016. *The New Testament in Byzantium*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Külzer, Andreas. 2018. "Pilgerwege und Kultorte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum. Das Meer und seine Heiligen: Zum Einfluss naturräumlicher und geopolitischer Realitäten auf byzantinische Pilgerstätten." In *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen: Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Mediterraneum*, edited by Nikolas Jaspert, Christian A. Neumann, and Marco Di Branco, 177–204. Mittelmeerstudien 18. Leiden: Brill.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Turner. 1989. *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lanata, Giuliana. 1984. *Legislazione e natura nelle Novelle giustinianee*. Storia del pensiero giuridico 7. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

Leary, Jim. 2014. "Past Mobility: An Introduction." In *Past Mobilities: Archaeological Approaches to Movement and Mobility*, edited by Jim Leary, 1–19. London; New York: Routledge.

Lifshitz, Felice. 1994. "Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative." *Viator* 25 (January): 95–114. https://doi.org/10.1484/j.viator.2.301209.

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes. 2009. "Strassen und Verkehrswesen in Byzanz." In *Die Welt der europäischen Strassen: Von der Antike bis in die frühe Neuzeit*, edited by Thomas Szabó, 19–32. Köln: Böhlau.

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, Claudia Ludwig, Beate Zielke, and Thomas Pratsch. 2013a. "Barsakios: Βαρσάκιος." In *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, online. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ22972/html.

———. 2013b. "Basileios: Βασίλειος." In *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, online. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ23011/html.

———. 2013c. "Elias der Jüngere: Ἠλίας ὁ Νεός." In *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, online. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ23792/html.

———. 2013d. "Euthymios: Εὐθύμιος." In *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, online. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ24065/html.

———. 2013e. "Ignatios Diakonos: Ἰγνάτιος." In *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, online. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ13785/html.

Loud, Graham A. 2009. "Byzantium and Southern Italy (876–1000)." In *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500–1492*, edited by Jonathan Shepard, 560–82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521832311.022.

Luckhardt, Courtney. 2020. *The Charisma of Distant Places: Travel and Religion in the Early Middle Ages*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture. New York: Routledge.

Macrides, Ruth, ed. 2002. *Travel in the Byzantine World: Papers from the Thirty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*. Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 10. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Majid, Asifa, and Niclas Burenhult. 2014. "Odors Are Expressible in Language, as Long as You Speak the Right Language." *Cognition* 130 (2): 266–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2013.11.004.

Makris, Georgios, ed. 1997. *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des Hl. Gregorios Dekapolites: Edition und Kommentar von Georgios Makris. Mit einer Übersetzung der Vita von Michael Chronz*. Translated by Michael Gronz. Byzantinisches Archiv 17. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Makris, Giorgos. 2015. "Entering the Monastic Cell in the Byzantine World: Archaeology and Texts." In *AEGIS: Essays in Mediterranean Archaeology: Presented to Matti Egon by the Scholars of the Greek Archaeological Committee UK*, edited by Zetta Theodoropoulou Polychroniadis and Doniert Evely, 191–200. Oxford: Archaeopress. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvr43k1p.22.

Maladakis, Vangelis. 2018. "Des moines athonites en voyage: Réseaux de relations, mobilité monastique et financements du IXe au XIe siècle." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 84 (2): 371–84.

Malamut, Élisabeth. 1993. *Sur la route des saints byzantins*. Paris: CNRS.

———. 2004. "Les itinéraires sacrés de Grégoire le Décapolite." In *Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente (Secoli VI-XI): 24-30 Aprile 2003*, 1191–1220. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo.

Mango, Cyril. 1985. "On Re-Reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite." *Byzantina* 13 (1): 633–46.

Mantova, Yulia. 2014. "Путешествия в Византийской Агиографии VIII-XII Вв.: Особенности Художественного Воплощения/Travel in Mid-Byzantine Hagiography: Peculiarities of the Literary Implementation." In *Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology - XVIII: Proceedings of the 18th Conference in Memory of Professor Joseph M. Tronsky*, edited by Nikolai N. Kazansky, 610–26. St Petersburg: Nauka.

———. 2023. "The Metaphor of Road in Middle Byzantine Hagiography." In *Holiness on the Move: Mobility and Space in Byzantine Hagiography*, edited by Mihail Mitrea, 230–45. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003299943.

Marinis, Vasileios. 2016. *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium: The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316488850.

Matlock, Teenie. 2022. "Fictive Motion in the Wild." In *Dynamism in Metaphor and Beyond*, edited by Herbert L. Colston, Teenie Matlock, and Gerard J. Steen, 9:109–27. Metaphor in Language, Cognition, and Communication 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/milcc.9.

McCormick, Michael. 2001. *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McGuckin, John Anthony. 2000. "Aliens and Citizens of Elsewhere: Xeniteia in East Christian Monastic Literature." In *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider; Papers from the Thirty-Second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998*, edited by Dion C. Smythe, 23–38. Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publication 8. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Meester, Placidus de. 1942. *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam*. Codificazione canonica orientale 10. Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis.

Messis, Charis. 2014. "Fiction and/or Novelisation in Byzantine Hagiography." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume II, Genres and Contexts*, 313–41. Farnham: Ashgate.

Messis, Charis, Margaret Mullett, and Ingela Nilsson, eds. 2018. *Storytelling in Byzantium: Narratological Approaches to Byzantine Texts and Images*. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 19. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Messis, Charis, and Stratis Papaioannou. 2021. "Orality and Textuality (With an Appendix on the Byzantine Conceptions)." In *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature*, edited by Stratis Papaioannou, 241–72. New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199351763.013.23.

Migne, Jacques Paul, ed. 1857. *S.P.N. Basilii, caesareae cappadociae archiepiscopi, opera omnia quae exstant, vel quae sub ejus nomine circumferuntur.* Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca 31. Paris: Migne.

Miller, David J.D., and Peter Sarris. 2018. *The Novels of Justinian: A Complete Annotated English Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mitrea, Mihail, ed. 2023a. *Holiness on the Move: Mobility and Space in Byzantine Hagiography*. Routledge Research in Byzantine Studies. London; New York: Routledge.

———. 2023b. "Introduction." In *Holiness on the Move: Mobility and Space in Byzantine Hagiography*, 1–13. London; New York: Routledge.

Moatti, Claudia. 2019. "Mobility in the Roman World: New Concepts, New Perspectives." In *Migration and Migrant Identities in the Middle East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, edited by Justin Yoo, Andrea Zerbini, and Caroline Barron, 15–25. London: Routledge.

Montiglio, Silvia. 2006. "Should the Aspiring Wise Man Travel? A Conflict in Seneca's Thought." *The American Journal of Philology* 127 (4): 553–86. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/4496934.

Morris, Rosemary. 1995. *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mougoyianni, Penelope. 2018. "Pilgrimage and Greek Identity in Byzantine and Norman Southern Italy (9th-12th Century)." In *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück: Das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln*, edited by Despoina Ariantzi and Ina Eichner, 73–82. Byzanz Zwischen Orient und Okzident 10. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.495.

Muehlberger, Ellen. 2008. "Ambivalence about the Angelic Life: The Promise and Perils of an Early Christian Discourse of Asceticism." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16 (4): 447–78. https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.0.0226.

———. 2019. *Moment of Reckoning: Imagined Death and Its Consequences in Late Ancient Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190459161.001.0001.

Müller, Barbara. 2017. "Ruhe von Kirche und Kaiser? Reflexionen zur monastischen *Hesychia* ausgehend von Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 85." In *Kirche und Kaiser in Antike und Spätantike*, edited by Uta Heil and Jörg Ulrich, 153–78. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH.

Müller, Cornelia, and Benjamin Marienfeld. 2022. "Feeling for Speaking: How Expressive Body Movements Ground Verbal Descriptions of Emotions." In *Dynamism in Metaphor and Beyond*, edited by Herbert L. Colston, Teenie Matlock, and Gerard J. Steen, 77–94. Metaphor in Language, Cognition, and Communication 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/milcc.9.

Mullett, Margaret. 2002. "In Peril on the Sea: Travel Genres and the Unexpected." In *Travel in the Byzantine World: Papers from the Thirty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, edited by Ruth Macrides, 259–84. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Nicol, Donald M. 1985. "Instabilitas Loci: The Wanderlust of Late Byzantine Monks." *Studies in Church History* 22: 193–202. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0424208400007944.

Nikolaou, Katerina. 2019. "Women's Journeys in the Middle Byzantine Era: An Impulse to Monasticism, an Urge to Meet Holy Men." In *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge (IVe-XVe siècle)*, edited by Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot, 353–70. Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.4334.

O'Meara, Carolyn, Laura J. Speed, Lila San Roque, and Asifa Majid. 2019. "Perception Metaphors: A View from Diversity." In *Perception Metaphors*, edited by Laura J. Speed, Carolyn O'Meara, Lila San Roque, and Asifa Majid, 1–16. Converging Evidence in Language and Communication Research 19. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Oldfield, Paul. 2014. *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511719936.

———. 2016. “Problems and Patterns in Medieval Migration: The Case of Southern Italy (1000-1200).” In *Journeying along Medieval Routes in Europe and the Middle East*, edited by Alison L. Gascoigne, Leonie V. Hicks, and Marianne O’Doherty, 3:90–113. Medieval Voyaging 3. Turnhout: Brepols.

Oltean, Daniel. 2020. *Devenir moine à Byzance: Coutumes sociales, règles monastiques et rituels liturgiques*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 291. Leuven: Peeters publishing.

Oort, Johannes van, and Johannes Roldanus. 1997. *Chalkedon: Geschichte und Aktualität: Studien zur Rezeption der christologischen Formel von Chalkedon*. Studien der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft 4. Leuven: Peeters.

Ousterhout, Robert G. 2019. *Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Papadakis, Aristeides. 1991. “Hesychasm.” In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by Alexander Kazhdan, online. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.013.2276.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios. 1901. *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*. Vol. 2. Saint Petersburg.

Papaioannou, Stratis. 2021. “Readers and Their Pleasures.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature*, edited by Stratis Papaioannou, 525–56. New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199351763.013.40.

Papavarnavas, Christodoulos. 2021a. “Imprisoned Martyrs on the Move: Reading Holiness in Byzantine Martyrdom Accounts.” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 114 (3): 1241–61. https://doi.org/10.1515/bz-2021-0061.

———. 2021b. *Gefängnis als Schwellenraum in der byzantinischen Hagiographie: Eine Untersuchung früh- und mittelbyzantinischer Märtyrerakten*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110725780.

Parpulov, Georgi R. 2010. “Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium.” In *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, edited by Paul Magdalino and Robert S. Nelson, 77–105. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Pasquali, Giorgio, ed. 1959. *Gregorii Nysseni epistulae*. Gregorii Nysseni Opera 8.2. Leiden: Brill.

Passarelli, Gaetano. 1982. *L’Eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII: (sec. X)*. Ανάλεκτα Βλατάδων 36. Thessaloniki: Πατριαρχικόν Ίδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών.

Peels, Saskia. 2015. *Hosios: A Semantic Study of Greek Piety*. Mnemosyne Supplements 387. Leiden: Brill.

Penna, Daphne, and Roos Meijering. 2022. *A Sourcebook on Byzantine Law: Illustrating Byzantine Law through the Sources*. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004520684.

Petit, Louis. 1901. “Les évêques de Thessalonique (suite).” *Échos d’Orient* 4 (4): 212–21. https://doi.org/10.3406/rebyz.1901.3345.

———. 1903. “Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune.” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 8 (2): 155–205.

Pratsch, Thomas. 2005. *Der hagiographische Topos: griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyantinischer Zeit*. Millennium-Studien. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes, and Ekaterini Mitsiou. 2018. “Moving Hands: Types and Scales of Labour Mobility in the Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean (1200-1500 CE).” In *Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labour*, edited by Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen, 29–67. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2019. “Mercantile and Religious Mobility between Byzantines, Latins and Muslims, 1200-1500: On the Theory and Practice of Social Networks.” *Medieval Worlds* 9: 187–217. https://doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds_no9_2019s187.

Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes, Lucian Reinfandt, and Yannis Stouraitis, eds. 2020a. *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone: Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300-1500 C.E.* Studies in Global Social History 39/13. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004425613.

———. 2020b. "Migration History of the Medieval Afro-Eurasian Transition Zone, c. 300-1500 C.E.: An Introduction (with a Chronological Table of Selected Events of Political and Migration History)." In *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone*, 1–49. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004425613.

Price, Richard. 2009. "The Development of a Chalcedonian Identity in Byzantium (451–553)." *Church History and Religious Culture* 89 (1): 307–25. https://doi.org/10.1163/187124109X408069.

Price, Richard, and Michael Gaddis. 2007a. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*. Vol. 1. Translated Texts for Historians 45. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

———. 2007b. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*. Vol. 2. Translated Texts for Historians 45. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

———. 2007c. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*. Vol. 3. Translated Texts for Historians 45. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Price, Richard, and Mary Whitby, eds. 2009. *Chalcedon in Context*. Vol. 1. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vjnmz.

Prieto Domínguez, Óscar. 2021. *Literary Circles in Byzantine Iconoclasm: Patrons, Politics and Saints*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108868129.

Rahlfs, Alfred, ed. 1935a. *Septuaginta*. 9th ed. Vol. 1. Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society.

———., ed. 1935b. *Septuaginta*. 9th ed. Vol. 2. Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society.

Rapp, Claudia. 2006. "Desert, City, and Countryside in the Early Christian Imagination." *Church History and Religious Culture* 86 (1/4): 93–112. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23922509.

———. 2013. *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 37. Berkeley: University of California Press. https://www.fulcrum.org/concern/monographs/qz20ss93k.

———. 2015. "Author, Audience, Text and Saint: Two Modes of Early Byzantine Hagiography." *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, no. 1: 111–29. https://journals.lub.lu.se/sjbmgs/article/view/12849.

Rapp, Claudia, Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Giulia Rossetto, and Elisabeth Schiffer. 2017. "Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 67: 173–211.

Rapp, Claudia, Matthew Kinloch, Dirk Krausmüller, Ekaterini Mitsiou, Ilias Nesseris, Christodoulos Papavarnavas, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Giulia Rossetto, Rustam Shukurov, and Grigori Simeonov, eds. 2023. *Mobility and Migration in Byzantium: A Sourcebook*. Moving Byzantium 1. Göttingen: Brill; V&R unipress.

Re, Mario. 2008. "From Greek Southern Italy to Jerusalem: Monks, Saints and Pilgrims." In *Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean: History, Monuments, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives: International Symposium, Thessaloniki 7-10/ 11/ 2007. Proceedings*, edited by Evangelia Hadjitryphonos. Thessaloniki: European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments.

Ritter, Max. 2019a. *Zwischen Glaube und Geld. Zur Ökonomie des byzantinischen Pilgerwesens (4.-12. Jh.)*. Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 14. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.

———. 2019b. "Inspired by the Same Desire? Divergent Objectives, Routes and Destinations of Byzantine Monks and Latin Pilgrims from the 8th to the 11th Centuries." In *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge (IVe-XVe siècle)*, edited by Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakovska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot, 275–309. Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.4313.

———. 2020. "Do Ut Des: The Function of Eulogiai in the Byzantine Pilgrimage Economy." In *Pilgrimage and Economy in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Anna Collar and Troels Myrup Kristensen, 254–84. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 192. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004428690_012.

Rossi Taibbi, Giuseppe, ed. 1962. *Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane: Testo inedito con traduzione italiana pubblicato e illustrato da Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi*. Vite dei santi siciliani 3. Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici.

Rousseau, Philip. 1998. *Basil of Caesarea*. Berkeley: University of California Press. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.08380.

Safran, Linda. 2014. *The Medieval Salento: Art and Identity in Southern Italy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Schilbach, Erich, and Alexander Kazhdan. 1991. "Modios." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by Alexander Kazhdan, online. Oxford University Press. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3588.

Schlesier, Renate, and Ulrike Zellmann. 2004. "Preface." In *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, edited by Renate Schlesier and Ulrike Zellmann, 7–8. Reiseliteratur und Kulturanthropologie 1. Münster: LIT.

Schöll, Rudolf, and Wilhelm Kroll, eds. 1959. *Novellae*. *Corpus iuris civilis*. 6th ed. Vol. 3. Dublin; Zürich: Apud Weidmannos. https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.beal/crpsirs0003&i=52.

Schwartz, Eduard, ed. 1933. *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*. Vol. 1.2. Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum 2. Berlin; Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Secord, Jared. 2018. "The Celibate Athlete: Athletic Metaphors, Medical Thought, and Sexual Abstinence in the Second and Third Centuries CE." *Studies in Late Antiquity* 2 (4): 464–90. https://doi.org/10.1525/sla.2018.2.4.464.

Ševčenko, Ihor. 1982. "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period." In *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World*, V: 1-42. Collected Studies Series. London: Variorum Reprints.

Ševčenko, Nancy Patterson. 1998. "Canon and Calendar: The Role of a Ninth-Century Hymnographer in Shaping the Celebration of the Saints." In *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996*, edited by Leslie Brubaker, 101–14. Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 5. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Silvas, Anna M. 2005. *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2006. *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters*. Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements 83. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004152908.i-283.

Sinkewicz, Robert. 1987. "An Early Byzantine Commentary on the Jesus Prayer: Introduction and Edition." *Mediaeval Studies* 49: 208–20. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.MS.2.306884.

———. 2003. *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sophoulis, Pananos. 2020. *Banditry in the Medieval Balkans, 800-1500*. New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Speed, Laura J., Carolyn O'Meara, Lila San Roque, and Asifa Majid, eds. 2019. *Perception Metaphors*. Converging Evidence in Language and Communication Research 19. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Stammler, Lilly. 2014. "Old Traditions and New Models: Travelling Monks in the Late Byzantine Hagiography from the Balkans." In *Cultures in Motion: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, edited by Adam Izdebski and Damian Jasiński, 131–54. Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press.

Steen, Gerard. 2015. "Developing, Testing and Interpreting Deliberate Metaphor Theory." *Journal of Pragmatics* 90: 67–72. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.013.

Sterk, Andrea. 2004. *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Stiernon, Daniel. 1973. "La Vie et l'oeuvre de S. Joseph l'Hymnographe: A propos d'une publication récente." *Revue des études byzantines* 31: 243–66. https://doi.org/10.3406/rebyz.1973.1468.

Stolte, Bernard. 2009. "The Social Function of Law." In *A Social History of Byzantium*, edited by John Haldon, 76–91. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 2019. "'Law Is King of All Things'? The Emperor and the Law." In *The Emperor in the Byzantine World*, edited by Shaun Tougher, 171–78. London; New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429060984-9.

Stouraitis, Yannis. 2020. "Migrating in the Medieval East Roman World, ca. 600–1204." In *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone: Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300-1500 C.E.*, edited by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinfandt, and Yannis Stouraitis, 141–65. Studies in Global Social History 39/13. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004425613_006.

Strezova, Anita. 2014. *Hesychasm and Art: The Appearance of New Iconographic Trends in Byzantine and Slavic Lands in the 14th and 15th Centuries*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Sullivan, Denis, ed. 1987. *The Life of Saint Nikon*. The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources 14. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press.

Tacoma, Laurens E. 2016. *Moving Romans: Migration to Rome in the Principate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Talbot, Alice-Mary, ed. 1996. *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*. Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation 1. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. http://www.doaks.org/resources/publications/doaks-online-publications/holy-women-of-byzantium.

———. 2002. "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56: 153–73. https://doi.org/10.2307/1291860.

———. 2008. "A Monastic World." In *The Social History of Byzantium*, edited by John Haldon, 257–78. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444305906.ch11.

———. 2016. "Caves, Demons and Holy Men." In *Le saint, le moine et le paysan: Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*, edited by Olivier Delouis, Sophie Métivier, and Paule Pagès, 707–18. Byzantina Sorbonensia 29. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

———. 2017. "Mealtime in Monasteries: The Culture of the Byzantine Refectory." In *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium*, edited by Leslie Brubaker and Kallirroe Linardou, 109–25. Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 13. Aldershot: Ashgate.

———. 2019. *Varieties of Monastic Experience in Byzantium, 800-1453*. The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ubnru-ebooks/detail.action?docID=5751635.

Temmerman, Koen de, Julie van Pelt, and Klazina Staat. 2023. *Constructing Saints in Greek and Latin Hagiography: Heroes and Heroines in Late Antique and Medieval Narrative*. Fabulae 2. Turnhout: Brepols. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.FABULAE-EB.5.131816.

Theodoridis, Christos, ed. 1982. *Photii patriarchae lexicon (A—Δ)*. Vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter.

———. , ed. 1998. *Photii patriarchae lexicon (E—M)*. Vol. 2. Berlin: De Gruyter.

———. , ed. 2013. *Photii patriarchae lexicon (N—Φ)*. Vol. 3. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Thomas, John, and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds. 2000. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*. Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Tinnefeld, Franz, and Ioannis Vassis. 2006. "Photius." In *Brill's New Pauly*, edited by Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, and Christine Salazar, 11:186–87. New Pauly Online. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e923920.

Tounta, Eleni. 2016. "Saints, Rulers and Communities in Southern Italy: The Vitae of the Italo-Greek Saints (Tenth to Eleventh Centuries) and Their Audiences." *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (4): 429–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2016.1190781.

Trim, Richard. 2015. "The Interface between Synchronic and Diachronic Conceptual Metaphor: The Role of Embodiment, Culture and Semantic Field." In *Metaphor and Metonymy across Time and Cultures: Perspectives on the Sociohistorical Linguistics of Figurative Language*, edited by Javier E. Díaz-Vera, 95–120. Berlin; München; Boston: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110335453.95.

Troianos, Spyros. 2017. *Die Quellen des byzantinischen Rechts*. Translated by Dieter Simon and Silvia Neye. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Urbainczyk, Theresa. 2002. *Theodoret of Cyrrhus: The Bishop and the Holy Man*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.17075.

Vauchez, André. 1997. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Translated by Jean Birell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Veikou, Myrto. 2015. "Mediterranean Byzantine Ports and Harbours in the Complex Interplay between Environment and Society. Spatial, Socio-Economic and Cultural Considerations Based on Archaeological Evidence from Greece, Cyprus and Asia Minor." In *Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems*, edited by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller and Falko Daim, 39–60. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum - Tagungen 23. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.

———. 2016. "Space in Texts and Space as Text: A New Appraoch to Byzantine Spatial Notions." *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, no. 2: 143–76.

Venarde, Bruce, ed. 2011. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 6. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vos, Nienke. 2016. "The Desert Sayings (Apophthegmata Patrum) as Mystagogical Path: Images of 'Hesychia' in the Systematic Collection, Chapter 2." In *Seeing through the Eyes of Faith: New Approaches to the Mystagogy of the Church Fathers*, edited by Paul van Geest, 511–32. Late Antique History and Religion 11. Leuven: Peeters. http://www.peeters-leuven.be/toc/9789042931985.pdf.

Vos, Nienke M. 2020. "'Father, Give Me a Word': Transforming Traditions and Spiritual Direction in Early Christian Monasticism." In *Rituals in Early Christianity: New Perspectives on Tradition and Transformation*, edited by Albert Geljon and Nienke Vos, 221–58. Vigilae Christianae, Supplements 164. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004441729_012.

Waaijman, Kees. 2000. *Spiritualiteit: vormen, grondslagen, methoden*. Gent: Carmelitana.

Wagner, Monica M., ed. 1950. *Saint Basil: Ascetical Works*. Translated by M. Monica Wagner. New York: Catholic University of America Press.

Wagschal, David. 2015. *Law and Legality in the Greek East: The Byzantine Canonical Tradition, 381-883*. Oxford Early Christian Studies. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ward, Benedicta, trans. 1984. *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications.

Whalin, Douglas. 2021. "Mountains and the Holy in Late Antiquity." In *Mountain Dialogues from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by Dawn Hollis and Jason König, 89–108. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Whiting, Marlena. 2020. "Braided Networks: Pilgrimage and the Economics of Travel Infrastructure in the Late Antique Holy Land." In *Pilgrimage and Economy in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Anna Collar and Troels Myrup Kristensen, 62–90. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 192. Leiden: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004428690_004.

Wilson, Nigel Guy. 1996. *Scholars of Byzantium*. Revised ed. London: Duckworth. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb30913.0001.001.

Wipszycka, Ewa. 2018. "The Canons of the Council of Chalcedon Concerning Monks." *Augustinianum* 58 (1): 155–80. https://doi.org/10.5840/agstm20185817.

Wolska-Conus, Wanda. 1970. "De quibusdam Ignatiis." *Travaux et Mémoires* 4: 329–60.

Woolf, Greg. 2016. "Movers and Stayers." In *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire*, edited by Luuk de Ligt and Laurens E. Tacoma, 438–61. Studies in Global Social History 23. Leiden: Brill.

Yang, Julian. 2020. "Author and Audience: Creating 'Sanctification' in Middle Byzantine Hagiography." Queen's University. http://hdl.handle.net/1974/28626.

Zecher, Jonathan L. 2013. "The Angelic Life in Desert and Ladder: John Climacus's Re-Formulation of Ascetic Spirituality." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 21 (1): 111–36. https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.2013.0006.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Waardeoordelen over de migratie en mobiliteit van specifieke groepen mensen zijn van alle tijden. *Moving Monks* onderzoekt maatschappelijke ideeën over de mobiliteit en immobiliteit van Byzantijnse monniken in de negende en tiende eeuw. Lang werd gedacht dat Byzantijnen een negatieve houding hadden ten opzichte van reizen. Monniken in het bijzonder zouden in hun klooster moeten blijven, vanwege een ideaal van immobiliteit (*stabilitas loci*). **Hoofdstuk 1** herziet een aantal laatantieke teksten waarop historici het ideaal van *stabilitas loci* baseren. De laatantieke ideeën over (im)mobiliteit bleken echter context-afhankelijk en allesbehalve eenduidig. Gecombineerd met de westerse oorsprong van de term, pleit *Moving Monks* er daarom voor om deze term niet meer te gebruiken in een Oost-Romeinse context.

De andere hoofdstukken focussen op drie heiligenlevens als *case studies* – de *Levens* van de monniken Gregorius van Decapolis, Euthymius de Jongere en Elias de Jongere – om te achterhalen welke waardeoordelen de auteurs door lieten schemeren. **Hoofdstuk 2** toont aan hoe een spiritueel concept, *hesychia*, verweven is met monastieke mobiliteit en immobiliteit in de drie heiligenlevens. De discourse-analyse legt zowel positieve (in de *Levens* van Gregorius en Euthymius) als negatieve associaties (in het *Leven van Elias*) met mobiliteit bloot. **Hoofdstuk 3** analyseert hoe de auteurs de reismotivaties van de heiligen representeerden. De auteurs bleken niet alleen bepaalde reizen als legitiem te representeren, maar droegen een veelvoud aan redenen aan. De analyse suggereerde daarnaast twee posities van het beoogd publiek: één waarbij de auteur niet verwachtte dat het publiek de vele reizen problematisch achtte (voor het *Leven van Gregorius*) en één waarbij de auteur dat wel vermoedde (voor het *Leven van Elias*). **Hoofdstuk 4** bestudeert conceptuele metaforen. De metaforen die middeleeuws-Griekse taalgebruikers bezigden onthullen conceptuele verbanden tussen mobiliteit en immobiliteit aan de ene kant en deugdzaamheid aan de andere kant. Vanuit het idee dat taal gedachten reflecteert en (mede-) vormt, suggereert deze observatie dat taalgebruikers een positieve connotatie met zowel mobiliteit als immobiliteit hadden.

De conclusies uit de verschillende hoofdstukken samen leggen een divers beeld bloot: in sommige gevallen werd de mobiliteit van monniken als positief bezien, en in andere als potentieel problematisch. In dat laatste geval moest de auteur van een heiligenleven extra zijn best doen om dit oordeel te pareren (zoals in het *Leven van Elias*). *Moving Monks* biedt daarnaast inzichten over narratieve representatie. Auteurs binnen hetzelfde genre wisten eigen, diverse narratieve strategieën te gebruiken om hun protagonist als heilige te positioneren.

Curriculum vitae

Irene Jacobs studied Liberal Arts and Sciences at University College Roosevelt (part of Utrecht University), obtaining her Bachelor of Arts *summa cum laude* in 2013. At this international college she majored in art history and antiquity studies, while also taking courses in other fields such as religion studies and cultural anthropology. In 2015 she completed her Master of Arts with distinction at The Courtauld Institute of Art in London. Here she specialised in Byzantine art history. She conducted predoctoral research at the Royal Dutch Institute in Rome (KNIR) in 2016-2017, focussing on Byzantine churches in southern Italy. She spent a year learning ancient Greek as a contract student at KU Leuven (2017-2018) and during summer schools at Trinity College Dublin (2016 and 2017). This thesis is the result of her doctoral research at Radboud University between 2018 and 2023. During this period she took additional courses at Boğaziçi University and Dumbarton Oaks and she spent research stays at the Universität Wien and the KNIR.

In addition to her academic research, Irene taught courses in ancient and medieval history at Radboud University, she was part of the organisation of the Radboud Studiedag Middeleeuwen, and she developed teaching materials in collaboration with a colleague and Stichting Zenobia. The course materials *Patria Konstantinoupoleos: de stadsgeschiedenis van Constantinopel* aim to introduce Byzantine history and medieval Greek language to secondary school pupils.