

Spirituality in Late Byzantium

Spirituality in Late Byzantium:
Essays Presenting New Research
by International Scholars

Edited by

Eugenia Russell

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P U B L I S H I N G

Spirituality in Late Byzantium: Essays Presenting New Research by International Scholars,
Edited by Eugenia Russell

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St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonica; photography, Derek Smith

Nunc Lento Sonitu Dicunt, Morieris

Now this bell, tolling softly for another, says to me, Thou must die

God employs several translators; some pieces are translated by age, some by sickness, some by war, some by justice

As therefore the bell that rings to a sermon calls not upon the preacher only, but upon the congregation to come, so this bell calls us all

The bell doth toll for him that thinks it doth

Any man's death diminishes me

—John Donne, Meditation 17, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1623)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Preface	xi
Acknowledgements	xv
Glossary	xvii
Introduction	1
<i>Eugenia Russell</i>	

Part I: The Seeds of *hesychia* and the Theologians of hesychasm

Chapter One.....	13
The Reforming Abbot and his Tears: Penthos in late Byzantium	
<i>Hannah Hunt</i>	
Chapter Two	21
The Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos and His Defence of Hesychasm	
<i>Norman Russell</i>	
Chapter Three	33
Symeon of Thessalonica and his Message of Personal Redemption	
<i>Eugenia Russell</i>	
Chapter Four	45
Reading Denys in late Byzantium: Gregory Palamas's Approach to the Theological Categories of 'apophasis' and 'union and distinction'	
<i>James Blackstone</i>	

Part II: Four Case Studies on Late Byzantine Spirituality

Chapter Five	57
The 'Testament of Job': From Testament to Vita	
<i>Maria Haralambakis</i>	

Chapter Six	99
Donors and Iconography: The Case of the Church “St. Virgin” in Dolna Kamenitsa (XIV c.) <i>Teodora Burnand</i>	
Chapter Seven.....	107
The Church of the Most Pure Virgin at the Village of Graeshnitsa <i>Robert Mihajlovski</i>	
Chapter Eight.....	119
Journey of the Soul to Perfection: Nicetas Stethatos <i>Jozef Matula</i>	
Afterword	131
<i>Eugenia Russell</i>	
Illustrations	133
List of Contributors	151
About the Editor	153
Index.....	155
<i>Hallowed be thy name</i>	163

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Front Cover

St George, the Rotunda, Thessalonica (courtesy Derek Smith, Lear Productions Ltd., from the TV documentary ‘An Exile in Paradise: the adventures of Edward Lear’, as all other photographs by him in this volume)

Glossary

Fig. G-1: Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), St Sebastian, 1577-78
Oil on canvas, 191 x 152 cm, Museo Catedralicio, Palencia (Image in the public domain)

Fig. G-2: Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), St. Martin and the Beggar, c. 1597-99

Portrait, 38.58 inch wide x 75.20 inch high, National Gallery Of Art, Washington, DC, USA (Image in the public domain)

Introduction

Fig. I-1: St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonica (interior) (Derek Smith)

Fig. I-2: St Nicholas Orphanos (exterior) (Derek Smith)

Fig. I-3: St Klimis (Kliment), Ochrid (modern church on the original foundation) (Derek Smith)

Fig. I-4: St Jovan, Ochrid (Derek Smith)

Chapter Three

Fig. 3-1: Colour-coded *prosomoion* of Symeon of Thessalonica: ‘E/ar noiton’ (Eugenia Russell)

Fig. 3-2: Thessalonica and its hinterland (Eugenia Russell)

Chapter Six

Fig. 6-1: The donors’ portrait (narthex) (T. Burnand)

Fig. 6-2: The monk donors (nave) (T. Burnand)

Fig. 6-3: The Virgin Gorgoepikoos (nave) (T. Burnand)

Fig. 6-4: The Lamentation (nave) (T. Burnand)

Fig. 6-5: St. Theodore Stratilat and St. Theodore Tiron (narthex) (T. Burnand)

Chapter Seven

Fig. 7-1: The church of Bogoroditsa Prechista in Graeshnitsa (Robert Mihajlovski)

Fig. 7-2: Plan and elevation of the church at Graeshnitsa (Robert Mihajlovski)

Fig. 7-3: Façade of the apse (Robert Mihajlovski)

Fig. 7-4: The composition of Melismos (Robert Mihajlovski)

Fig. 7-5: The floral ornament in the altar space (Robert Mihajlovski)

Fig. 7-6: Prothesis with the figure of St Stephen (Robert Mihajlovski)

Fig. 7-7: Inscription of the monk Ravuil (Robert Mihajlovski)

PREFACE

The Christ Child

The lips of the Christ-child are like two twin leaves;
They let roses fall when he smiles tenderly.
The tears of the Christ-child are pearls when he grieves;
The eyes of the Christ-child are deep as the sea.
Like pomegranate grains are the dimples he hath,
And clustering lilies spring up in his path.

—Saint Gregory of Narek (951-1011)
Translated from the Armenian
by Alice Stone Blackwell (1857-1950)

In a recent paper by the American scholar Kenneth Scott Parker, it was made plain to me how the Christians of the Near East were defined by their answers to Christological questions. Scott's reference to the Christology of the Chalcedonean and of the Non-Chalcedonean Churches was made all the more poignant through his discussion of shifting political powers in the Near East during the thirteenth century. Their Christological concerns are reflected, too, in their rich and varied liturgical practices. There is a link between the study of the liturgies of the Christians of the Near East and the study of the Byzantine Greek rites of Thessalonica, Constantinople and Jerusalem, as they have been defined mainly by Oliver Strunk. Such connections made me consider the elusiveness of our cluster of disciplines as well as their many resonances. Kenneth Levy calls them sister disciplines, which is what all the humanities are.

On the surface, this book is about devotional practice, be it in a monastic context or in a civic environment. Yet, the conference from which these essays have sprung had originally a strong Christological flavour. There were provisional papers on the Christology of the mystical poet Gregory of Narek (or Grigor Narekatsi), on the devotion to the person of Jesus in the fourteenth century as well as several more papers on the Christology of Gregory Palamas and his contemporaries. In keeping with this theme I have provided here the original poem that was used on conference publicity. The translator is the pioneering New Jersey scholar and human rights activist Alice Stone Blackwell.

The poetry of Gregory of Narek has been relatively unknown in the past but in the current scholarly climate this may well change. There is evidence of interest in sacred and secular Byzantine poetry alike in some of the latest available and forthcoming publications. To give just a handful of recent examples, one would turn to the respective books by Athanasios Markopoulos and Christos Simelidis of the poetry of Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory of Nazianzus (also called the Theologian by the Church). Floris Bernard, on the other hand, is working on the heterogeneous poetic corpus of two contemporaries of Michael Psellos, John Mauropous and Christopher of Mytilene (or Mytilenaios), the former poet being of course also a hymnographer. In contrast to the angles chosen by the above authors, Michel de Dobeeler takes a more panoramic view of literature and strives to assess cultural and political movements from the perspective of Aristotelian and Bakhtinian poetics. In this he is arming us with a useful tool: the Bakhtinian notion of polyphony is an asset in the intertextual environment of our related disciplines, where the need to assess and re-evaluate a sea of newly emerging texts never ceases. Eva Nyström responds to the same question of intertextuality in a different way: her recent doctoral thesis *Containing Multitudes. Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective* is a mighty stab at giving a bird's eye view of late Byzantine literature through the multi-text codex she studies. In the work of the last two scholars, poetry is included in a wider treatment of literary materials.

Three more studies must be mentioned here for their engagement with the liturgical life of the Eastern Church. Continuing the scholarly excellence of George Amargianakis and M.I. Manoussakas, Wim F. Bakker recently edited the beautiful *Θρῆνος τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου λεγόμενος τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ* (Athens, 2005), which he presented in a superb and handsomely typeset study in Modern Greek. An earlier study of post-Byzantine hymnographical traditions, Manolis K. Hatzigiakoumis, *Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832)*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1975), based on rare Greek manuscript collections, still remains unsurpassed. Thirdly, Paul Chr. Mantovanis, 'The eucharistic theology of Nicolas Cabasilas', University of Oxford, DPhil thesis (1984) is a satisfying overview of the works of the great theologian with the fullest bibliography available to date.

No volume is 'an island, entire of itself'. Several more forces in scholarly practice have influenced the present book. On that principle, some more representative exponents of them will be briefly discussed. The treatment of the notion of *interiority* as devotional practice in the Middle

Ages as expressed in a lecture by Evan Francis Kuehn, has influenced my thought. Coming at it from a different angle, it is anticipated that Dan Batovici, whose intimate knowledge of Eriugena's *Periphyseon* has distinguished him in the past, will assess the impact of Eriugena in forthcoming publications in terms of the latter's Christology; Dan uses Biblical exegesis and historical evidence very effectively in his work. All of this is connected not only to the original kernel of my conference concept but also to the fact that many of us writing in this volume explore Christological themes in different aspects of our investigations (whether or not connected with the present book). For instance, one of them is the study of saints' lives, another is the study of the cults of saints. Both touch on redemption, grace and salvation: that is, on Soteriology. They can also touch on other aspects of Christology, such as the Incarnation and the Resurrection of the Lord, in terms of liturgical and other devotional practice. Close to this subject matter, even though outside Christological concerns, stands Jane Baun's recent monograph on apocalyptic literature *Tales from Another Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2007), where there are excellent treatments of devotion to the Theotokos and St Anastasia. I first came across Jane's work by reading her article in *Palgrave Advances: Byzantine History* (New York, 2005), edited by Jonathan Harris. The volume of essays as a whole has helped me explore the boundaries of our disciplines, and its Bibliography has been a staple reference tool for me. Furthermore, the discussion of current debates in it has been a springboard for my own daring constructions.

'All mankind is of one author' and all books are unwritten in our book. Though only implicit, I would like to invite the reader to detect any of the above threads here and especially to detect any Christological elements present in this volume. Bearing in mind that many Christian sects were defined by their Christology and that the subject matter of Ecumenical Councils had primarily been Christological, I would like to put forward the view that all theology is essentially Christology. At the same time, as the veneration of the Virgin is addressed in parts of this book, the question is also raised as to whether Mariology is an appropriate methodological approach within Byzantine Studies or whether a Christocentric view of the devotion to her person is the most effective for the understanding of redemption and grace in Byzantium. The interdisciplinary skills of the team of authors presenting work in this volume stand them in good stead in tackling such a complex topic. Ultimately, the question the reader may like to ask of them could be whether a treatment of devotional practice in a historical book like this can be Christological.

These influences relate to my overall concept but the way authors address a topic is a very personal matter. Further responses to scholarship and scholarly debts, individual or collective, are evident in our chapters and notes. The authors have brought to the volume the strengths of their different backgrounds and broad skillbase. They have created an internal dialogue between their contributions that brings oneness to this book. In paying tribute to the richness of the traditions they represent in their writing, their preferences regarding methodology, style, punctuation, transliteration and scholarly approach have been respected.

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*

This international conference on Late Byzantine Spirituality took place in leafy Bloomsbury in the summer of 2007. The venue was the Bedford Square postgraduate base of Royal Holloway, an impressively restored Georgian Townhouse on Gower Street that forms part of the legacy of Bedford College for Women, the first college for women in England, founded in 1849 by the abolitionist and social reformer Elizabeth Jesser Reid (1789-1866).

Edward Willatt, whom I had met at the University of Greenwich, gave me the idea of organising a conference through talking about how he was putting together his. Since, it was not the Palaiologan Eagle but the Cutty Sark that would represent for me the debates of Byzantine Spirituality. I must also express my thanks to Mike Carr, then an MA student, for providing me with invaluable help during and after the conference. Mike's current research on the Frankish Aegean in the fourteenth century is yielding some impressive results.

To my publisher, Cambridge Scholars, my grateful thanks for their support of Byzantine Studies. Another volume of papers on Byzantium, *Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies: Sailing to Byzantium*, edited by Savvas Neocleous, came out in August 2009 on the same series. It is a volume written by young scholars seeking to bring together what is 'fresh in Byzantine Studies'. I wish and hope that more Byzantine titles by CSP will follow.

In the context of promoting new and exciting scholarship and supporting those who are at the beginning of their writing careers, as many

of us who are contributing to this book are, a special mention is deserved by Caroline Barron, of Royal Holloway. Caroline invests tirelessly in the welfare of young scholars and is known to all historians who live or work in London for her inspiring leadership.

GLOSSARY OF LITURGICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TERMS

Aer (or *Aër*)

Rectangular liturgical vestment, the largest of three that cover the Sacred Vessels. It takes its name from the thinness of its material and also the fact that it is waived above the Gifts of the Eucharist while the Nicene Creed is said, thus symbolising the Holy Spirit. During the Procession of the Presanctified Gifts of the Lenten Liturgy, the Priest (or Deacon if there is one) carries the Aer on his head and shoulders.

Amnos

The Lamb of God; a name of Christ.

Τῇ ἐπαύριον βλέπει τὸν Ἰησοῦν Ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ λέγει· Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου (John, 1. 29).

Cf. the Western Agnus Dei. Musically, Agnus Dei is often the most expressive part of a liturgical choral work, perhaps because it is the freest from doctrinal and structural considerations.

Antirrhetic

A polemical speech against one's doctrinal opponents.

Areopagitical Corpus

The works of Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite.

Basileus	<p>The Byzantine term for their emperor. The title is of Mycenaean origin, <i>gwasileus</i>; in classical times it was used by the Spartans for their two King-Generals and by the Athenians for one of their ten <i>archontes</i>, called <i>Archon basileus</i>. In Byzantium, the Basileus has an important role to play in Church ritual.</p>
Catechesis	<p>A teaching of the Christian faith. Cf. the Liturgy of the Catechumens.</p>
Dodecaorton	<p>Greek: Δωδεκαόρθον. The twelve most important feasts of the Eastern Church. These are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Annunciation 2. Nativity 3. Hypapante (Presentation of Christ in the Temple) 4. Baptism of Christ 5. Transfiguration 6. Raising of Lazarus 7. Entry into Jerusalem 8. Crucifixion 9. Anastasis (Harrowing of Hell) 10. Ascension of Christ 11. Pentecost 12. Koimesis (the Dormition of the Virgin Mary) <p>It is noticeable that the Feast of the Eisodia tis Theotokou (the Presentation of the Virgin), a feast especially important in late Byzantium, is not part of the Dodecaorton.</p>
<i>E/ar noiton</i>	<p>‘A Notional Spring’: the title of a hymn to St Demetrius modelled on the</p>

Easter hymn 'Pascha Ieron'. Also see *prosomoion*.

enkainia

It means inauguration. In an ecclesiastical context, it refers to the inauguration of a new temple.

Symeon of Thessalonica composed relevant hymns, studied by Ioannes Phountoules. Other examples of hymns corresponding to the inauguration are:

Ἐγκαινίζου ἡ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ, κοινωνικὸν Ἐγκαινίων, first mode, Petros Bereketis (fl. 1700), MS 8, ff. 253v-54v (Manolis Hatzigiakoumis classification: number, 70), Mone Leimonos, Lesvos

Κύριε ἡγάπησας εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου σου', Ἐγκαινίων

1) first plagal mode, Petros Bereketis MS 12, ff. 284r-85r (Hatzigiakoumis, 55) Merlier Collection, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens; MS 251, ff. 309r-10v (Hatzigiakoumis, 62) Mone Leimonos; MS 8, ff. 199r-199v (Hatzigiakoumis, 70), Mone Leimonos

2) fourth mode, Demetrius Lôtos of Chios, Protopsaltis in Smyrna (18th c.) MS 7, ff. 297v-98r (Hatzigiakoumis, 95) Merlier Collection; MS 5, ff. 246r-246v (Hatzigiakoumis, 100) Mone Taxiarchon, Aigion

eusebeia

Piety. A word often used by Gregory Palamas to denote the correct faith.

Holy healers

The healing saints. The most famous among them are Kosmas and Damian

(or Damianos), who are also called Aghioi Anargyroi because they did not accept payment for their services.

Holy warriors

Another name for the military saints or soldier saints. Many military saints are mentioned in this volume. The Brother Saints Boris and Gleb are modelled on the Saints Demetrius and George, often depicted together riding on different coloured horses. St Theodore Stratilates and St Theodore Tiron also appear together in the majority of instances. St Nestor and St Loupos appear in different versions of the legend of St Demetrius as his companions. The Byzantine saints Sergius and Bacchus were the protectors of the Byzantine army. Other important military saints include St Maurice, St Mercurius, and St Menas, all three highly revered by the Coptic Church. The Archangel Michael (or Taxiarch Archangel Michael or St Michael), the Christian angel of death, is also included. It is often forgotten that St Sebastian and St Martin are also military saints. Their paintings by Domenikos Theotokopoulos are shown at the end of this glossary.

iconographic programme

The planned, pre-meditated total of images of a church interior.

Illuminated Menologion

A lavish ecclesiastical book showing a month's appointed feasts. Not all Menologia were illuminated. The Menologion is also called Synaxarion and, especially in the Slavonic tradition, Prologue. It is to be distinguished from the Menaion

(plural: Menaia), a book also arranged by the month but containing the relevant Services. The Typikon, originally of monastic origin, has replaced the Menologion.

Know yourself (or Know thyself)

οὗτοι οὖν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀφικόμενοι ἐς
Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰ
ῥδόμενα Γνωθὶ σαυτὸν καὶ Μηδὲν
ἄγαν. (Pausanias, *Description of
Greece*, 10.24.1)

The ancient Greek motto is used by Nicetas Stethatos in a theological context. Cf. the learned treatise *Ethica* or *Scito Te Ipsum* by the Scholastic philosopher Pierre Abélard.

ktismata

A term used frequently by the hesychasts. Also *egra* and *poiemata*. The following examples from a hymn by Philotheos Kokkinos, Marc. Gr. 582, ff. 352v-353, show the words ‘κτησάμενος’ and ‘ἔργα’ as used in a hymnographical context.

(5)

Ὁ κτησάμενος ἡμᾶς
περιούσιον λαόν
τῷ αἵματί σου Κ(ύρι)ε.

(8)

τοὺς ὁσίους σου παῖδας,
ἐν τῇ φλογὶ ἐδρόσισας κρᾶζοντας.
εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν+

Melismos

The ritual dismemberment of the Bread of Life by the celebrant priest in preparation for Communion. The term also refers to the visual representation of the naked Christ-Child ready for

	sacrifice. Such representation became prominent in Byzantine art after the twelfth century when it started replacing the metaphor of the Lamb of God.
<i>metamorphosis</i>	In English the word has connotations of Kafka but in this context it refers to the Transfiguration of the Lord.
<i>methorion</i>	A theological term to describe Man as ‘boundary’ between the mundane and the divine.
monody	A monody is a literary work in honour of a fallen city or a distinguished dead person and the secular equivalent of a <i>threnos</i> or <i>encomion</i> . Having said that, in Byzantine literature monodies have many religious connotations. A good example of a <i>threnos</i> is the <i>Threnos of the Theotokos</i> , one of the most moving late Byzantine literary pieces.
<i>naos</i>	The main part of a Church.
narthex (or <i>pronaos</i>)	The entrance area of the Church from where the Catechumens would have attended the first part of the Liturgy.
<i>nous</i>	Mind. A Platonic term. (See also <i>pneuma</i> and <i>sarx</i>)
<i>passiones</i>	Medieval literary texts narrating the life and sacrifice of Christian martyrs.
<i>penthos</i>	Grief. The word has an intense spiritual dimension.
<i>pneuma</i>	Spirit.

prosomoion

A hymn modelled on a more well-known template. Most Byzantine hymns are *prosomoia*. Hymns with their own original music are called *idiomela* and are rarer and of high research interest. The modern *Four Idiomela for Christmas Offices* by composer Michalis Adamis (b. 1929) allude to the newness of the melodies.

The *prosomoion* is equivalent to the Western *contrafactum*, which is also known as *parody*, the latter term being used in its proper sense. The English part-song by Thomas Tallis ‘Fond youth is a bubble’ is a *contrafactum* or *parody* of ‘Purge me, O Lord’ (For the latter, see set of part-books, Anon. (c. 1550): British Library, Additional MSS 30480–4). Whether Thomas Tallis’s more famous and equally beautiful ‘If ye love me (keep My commandments)’ is a *contrafactum* of the Corpus Christi hymn ‘Caro mea, vere est cibus’ has divided musicologists the world over.

Prothesis

Also called Proscomedia or Proscomide. The quiet preparation of the Eucharistic Gifts behind the Iconostasis. It symbolizes the quiet life the Lord led during his early years.

Protos

Primate, ‘First Monk’. A monastic office of Mount Athos. The seat of the Protos in Karyes is called Protaton and was established in the tenth century.

sarx

Flesh.

synaxarion

In its simplest form, it is a list of the feasts of each day of the month. More elaborate *synaxaria* include biographical details of saints, summaries of *vitae* and Lessons to be read during Services. Because of the contents of these more elaborate *synaxaria*, the term *synaxarion* has also come to mean the brief *vita* of the saint of the day read during the Orthros.

‘the tranquil hiatus’

The period between 1347 and 1351, when Gregory Palamas was able to devote himself to writing.

theanthropos

A word denoting the dual nature of the Lord.

theosis

Deification. A key hesychast term.

to Kyriako sôma

The Lord’s sacrificial body. Examples like the treatise ‘Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἀπαθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ κυριακὸν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ’ (Library of the Monastery of St Gregory, Mount Athos, MS 44, number 591 in the classification given by Spyridon P. Lambros in his invaluable *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos* (1895-1900)) show how practitioners grappled with the theological aspects of the rituals. See also *melismos* above.



Fig. G-1: Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), St Sebastian, 1577-78
Oil on canvas, 191 x 152 cm, Museo Catedralicio, Palencia
Image in the public domain

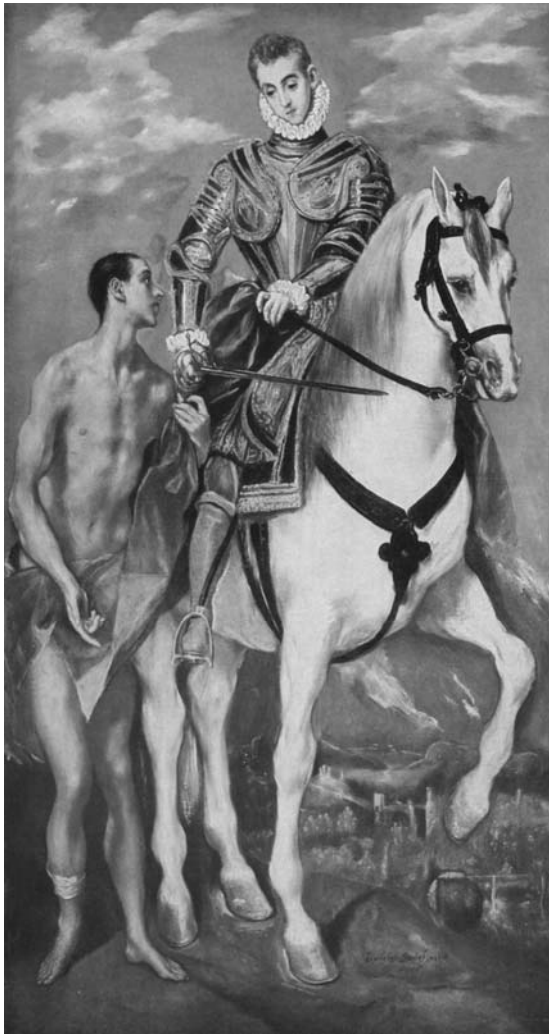


Fig. G-2: Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), St. Martin and the Beggar, c. 1597-99

Portrait, 38.58 inch wide x 75.20 inch high, National Gallery Of Art, Washington, DC, USA

Image in the public domain

INTRODUCTION

EUGENIA RUSSELL

I will start this Introduction with a word on methodology and an example. Musicologist Klimis Voskidis, as part of his doctoral research, compares passages of Italian opera as transcribed by different late Romantic composers for the piano. The resulting piano pieces have their own musical life and his approach has shown me that essentially translation is a transformation between media. Taken to the context of this material, if ‘translation’ in the broader sense is seen as such, it can make interdisciplinary work possible even when the conditions are quite resistant. As the nature of Byzantine Studies is to have to cross boundaries between languages, disciplines, genres, methodological approaches and geographical regions, such a view of ‘translation’ may be helpful to bear in mind. In my view, such attempts to transform between media in this volume have been successful.

There is still much to be done in the field of late Byzantine spirituality. In spite of the two recent works on Scholarios that have been published, for instance, there is still a great deal about him to be examined and analysed. The complete edition of his works by Petit, Siderides and Jugie will require the study of many more scholars in order to appreciate the full implications of his writings. What is more, the excellent monograph on Scholarios by Theodore Zeses, which includes insightful comments on the Council of Florence and its sources, is vastly underutilized, and hardly ever used outside Greece. Norman Russell points out in his present essay how sorely a fuller study on Philotheos Kokkinos is needed. Many other theologians have not enjoyed recent scholarly attention. Equally, the religious works of Byzantine authors who are not regarded as theologians but offer insights useful to our appreciation of cult and devotion in the Middle Ages also need to be analysed. Franz Tinnefeld in his article ‘Intellectuals in late Byzantine Thessalonike’ shows the richness of the city’s cultural life in the later period, which indicates how much is still to be done on the interface between religious and secular intellectual activity. The same goes for the majority of anonymous texts of saints’ lives and hymnographical material. On the other hand, the much awaited study of

Andrew Louth on Gregory Palamas and his era will be a great addition to the literature of the period and is expected to have the same impact as his influential work on Maximus the Confessor. This may be the next *magnum opus* to look out for on the subject. The expertise of Louth on hesychasm is underlined by James Blackstone in his essay on this volume.

So, as in much of Byzantine scholarship, in terms of Byzantine Spirituality the later period is significantly less populated than the early and middle periods. In this respect, by filling the gap in the market, this volume is already providing the intellectual community with a service. It is hoped that this is only one of its legacies. It gives me great pleasure to introduce the authors and their essays presented in this volume as a way of indicating some further legacies.

Although I think the order of the chapters is logical and linear, it would be equally possible to organise them in an infinite number of different ways, as the connections between the different contributions are so many and so complex that they defy this type of successive order. It would please me and amuse me greatly if I could organise articles in a circle or even in some 3-dimensional model, to show the multiple links that give this book its unique flavour. Such presentation would also have attempted to answer the codicological question of What is a book. As this may be slightly impractical for the time being, I will introduce the essays in the order given in the table of contents.

Many scholars have claimed to be at the forefront of the discussion of womanhood in Byzantium but Hannah Hunt, who does not make such a claim, has to be one of the finest. Her opening essay on Symeon the New Theologian brings a whole new dimension to our understanding of how the Byzantines thought about women and womanhood. The case of Symeon is felicitous: it is not often that we have such intimate and profound accounts of femininity seen through male eyes. Symeon discusses womanhood and motherhood in a very open and all-embracing way that is bound to make an impression on the modern reader. Furthermore, he does so in the context of his Soteriology (discussion of Salvation through Christ). It is very interesting to record how he uses womanhood as a metaphor for redemption.

Hannah is a champion of interdisciplinarity. Originally an English Graduate from Royal Holloway, she now works in the field of Religious Anthropology. At the same time, her background in music and performance complements her scholarly understanding of liturgical and other religious texts, which cannot be divorced from their performative contexts. Apart from her interest in Symeon the New Theologian, she is

known for her work on John Klimakos, Armenian and Syriac sources, including Gregory of Narek and Ephraem the Syrian, ascetic monasticism, and the scholarly treatment of key Christian concepts such as *penthos* (grief) and redemption. A course on pre-Chalcedean Christology forms part of her Undergraduate teaching. This essay ties in well with another engaging study of femininity from Hannah: 'Sexuality and Penitence in Syrian Homilies on Luke's Sinful Woman' (forthcoming in *Studia Patristica*, XLIV-XLIX, 2010).

Norman Russell brings to his essay his broad acquaintance with the latest theological work, which he evidently has at his fingertips. Being highly acclaimed for his translations of theological sources and of scholarly works from the Modern Greek, he brings to the international platform the works of scholars such as Christos Yannaras, Panayiotis Nellas and Stelios Ramfos. His ability to explain dense doctrinal topics to the general public with great finesse and clarity is also evident in the clarity of his translations. In the essay for this volume he has made light work of the turbulent times of the hesychast controversy and has enhanced our theological and historical understanding. Through the encounter with Philotheos Kokkinos, his essay discusses some of the lesser known aspects of the work of the great Byzantine polymath and philosopher Nikephoros Gregoras, perhaps the greatest mind Byzantium ever produced. It is good to see some other works of Gregoras being studied apart from his History; in this he has made excellent use of the scholarship of Demetrius Moschos on the personality and theology of Gregoras. The argument of neo-Platonic thought in Gregoras adds another dimension to our perception of the intellectual debate of hesychasm, something that is not often discussed. This will hopefully spark fresh debate, much needed in an area that is still not completely out of the shadow of John Meyendorff.

In terms of publications, many will be already known to experts but it would be a great omission not to mention his book *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* where he discusses the concept of deification (*theosis*) in Patristic thought up to the time of Maximus the Confessor. He has also written extensively on the Early Church Fathers and is a leading expert on hesychasm and the Catholic brothers Demetrius and Prochoros Kydones. It is hoped that the piece in this volume will be seen in the future as a significant addition to the literature regarding Philotheos Kokkinos.

My essay explores the message of personal redemption in the words of Symeon, the last metropolitan of Byzantine Thessalonica. I have had to

become familiar with the bulk of Symeon's writings in order to distill for the reader what his message would mean: a) for a celebrant priest, b) for a King (hereafter Basileus), c) for Everyman, and d) for someone who has tasted failure and despair. All four present great opportunities for reconstructing some of the action in late Byzantium. The experience of the priest gives us insights into the idiosyncracies of the rituals in Thessalonica at the time. The experience of the Basileus speaks of the relationship between his person and the Church. Thirdly, everyday life in late Byzantine Thessalonica was not easy and therefore Everyman was not quite so ordinary. The citizens would have had to deal with emotional tensions similar to those known to the Christians of the Near East mentioned in the Preface. Lastly, the person who has tasted failure in this case is no ordinary man: he is a prince, a son of Manuel II. He is the young Despot of Thessalonica Andronicus, who, as a monk, assumed the name Akakios. This fourth category of the redemption of one who has tasted failure and despair is at the heart of the Christian message.

Symeon's message throws light on his motives as a metropolitan and his pastoral concern for his congregation. I have argued elsewhere the historical implications of this for the city of Thessalonica. Here I would like to make a separate point. Symeon's worldview is useful as a contribution to the wider ecumenical idea of redemption and the history of its development. The argument is very open-ended but it is worth mentioning a couple of significant examples that have permeated modern practice. Martin Luther's hymn 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott', based on Psalm 46, is often translated into English as 'A Mighty Fortress is our God' or, by Thomas Carlyle, as 'A Stronghold Sure our God is Still' and is an explicit reference to the redemptive power of God. The finishing section of another Psalm, number 19, has become a very popular ending of a public prayer, especially in the Methodist tradition. In the Authorised Version the passage runs as follows: 'Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength, and my redeemer'. In this light, Symeon's voice is both modern and ecumenical. At present, in my personal work I am satisfied with the more modest pursuit of addressing the implications of Symeon's message in the context of post-Byzantine identity and culture. The themes of exile, immigration and cultural transmission are currently the anchors of my scholarship.

James Blackstone has contributed a very ambitious essay to this volume. He examines the view, current in recent scholarship, that notions implicit in the work of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (hereafter Denys) become