

Philotheos of Opsikion: A New Saint in Twelfth-Century Thessalonike?

PÉTER BARA



Eustathios of Thessalonike, the twelfth-century polymath is well-known for preserving such pearls of the classical *paideia* as Homer¹ and Pindar² commenting upon the works of these authors. On the other hand the learned archbishop of Thessalonike showed interest not only in the Hellenic tradition, but exploited the Christian tradition, as well. In his episcopal period Eustathios wrote hagiographic orations, which are highly understudied pieces. His hagiographic *œuvre*, as far as I can tell, comprises the following five works. *Enkomion of Demetrios*,³ the *Enkomion of the so-Called Kalytenoi Martyrs*,⁴ the *Life of Philotheos of Opsikion*,⁵ and the *Oration to the Three Hebrews*.⁶ It has been argued that the *Life of Photios of Thessaly* is also part of Eustathios' hagiographic works.⁷

Eustathios as a hagiographer bishop praised Demetrios, the patron saint of Thessalonike, who was popular even outside Byzantine lands.⁸ He promoted the cult of local saints, as the so-called Kalytenoi martyrs and Photios of Thessaly. The three Hebrews called Eustathios' attention as Biblical figures. Philotheos however, the protagonist of *Eustathios' Life of Philotheos of Opsikion* was an obscure saint. The

¹ *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*. Ed. M. van der Valk, Leiden 1971-87; *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*. Ed. G. Stallbaum, Leipzig 1825-1826.

² Eustathios von Thessalonike. *Proömion zum Pindarkommentar*. Ed. A. Kambylis, Göttingen 1991.

³ S. A. Paschalidis. *Ἡ γραμματεία τῶν Δημητρίων Β': Μαρτύρια, συλλογὲς θαυμάτων καὶ ἐγκώμια στὸν Ἅγιο Δημήτριο. Πρωτοβυζαντινῆ-Μεσοβυζαντινῆ Περιόδου*, Thessalonike 2005, 327-358.

⁴ *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*. Ed. G. L. F. Tafel, Frankfurt 1832, 30-35.

⁵ *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*. Ed. G. L. F. Tafel, Frankfurt 1832, 141-152.

⁶ *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula, accedunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*. Ed. G. L. F. Tafel, Frankfurt 1832, 49-54.

⁷ S. A. Paschalidis, "The Hagiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, Vol. 1. *Periods and Places*. Ed. S. Efthymiadis, London 2011, 157; *Reden auf die grosse Quadragesima*. Ed. Sonja Schönauer, Frankfurt 2006, 19*; S. A. Paschalidis, "Τὸ ἀνώνυμο Ἐγκώμιο στὸν ὅσιο Φώτιο τὸ Θεσσαλὸ (BHG 1545). Ἐνα ἀκόμη ἔργο τοῦ Εὐσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης;" *Byzantina* 28 (2008), 529-547; Eustathios mentioned the martyr Nikephoros (BHG 1331-1334) in his *Fourth Lenten homily, Reden*, Ed. Schönauer, 70*.

⁸ See "Demetrios, Saint." in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Ed. A. Kazhdan et al., New York-Oxford 1991, 606.

surviving evidence about him consists of a short synaxarion entry in the so-called *Menologion of Basil II* (henceforth: *men. B.*), and Eustathios' *vita* about Philotheos (*v. Phil.*). Starting from the comparison of the two texts this paper scrutinizes why such a little-known saint might have been important for a Thessalonian audience.

What do we know about the two surviving redactions of Philotheos' *vita*? The *men. B.* is one of the most lavishly decorated Byzantine liturgical manuscripts. Despite its title the *men. B.* is in fact a *synaxarion*, which can be dated to between 979 and 1005. It was dedicated to emperor Basil II (976–1025). The *men. B.* was further copied, and the imperial (i.e. imperially commissioned) illustrated *menologia* of the eleventh century clearly imitate the *men. B.*⁹ in their iconography.¹⁰ Besides these data present scholarship does not have much to say about the dissemination and use of imperial *menologia*.¹¹

The *v. Phil.* has survived, with a good number of smaller works which Eustathios produced during his episcopal period, in one single manuscript, the *Basilieensis A. III. 20*.¹² Gottlieb Tafel made a diplomatic transcription in 1836, the so-called *Opuscula* of Eustathios. The *lemma* introducing the *v. Phil.* provides some information about the circumstances in which the oration was written and performed.¹³ The *lemma* testifies that the oration was delivered on a certain occasion (λόγος ἐπελευστικός) from the person (ἐκ προσώπου) of a monk, Philotheos. It is probable that Philotheos the monk was not a fictitious person, because according to the *lemma* he asked Eustathios, the well-known rhetorician, to write the oration. Nor did Eustathios apply an *ethopoia*, because the bishop delivered the *v. Phil.* ἐκ προσώπου of a monk, not using the “as if from the person of. ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ [προσώπου]” formula indicating an *ethopoia*.¹⁴

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

⁹ ODB, s. v. “Menologion of Basil II,” 1341.

¹⁰ C. Høgel. *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization*. Copenhagen 2002, 151–152.

¹¹ On the manuscripts see A. Ehrhardt. *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche I–III*. (Leipzig and Berlin 1936–1952), III, 341–442.

¹² S. Schönauer, “Zum Eustathios-Codex Basileensis A. III. 20,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 50 (2000), 231–246.

¹³ An occasional oration of the same [Eustathios] on the life of saint Philotheos of Opsikion, from the person of Philotheos the monk, a praiseworthy man, who invited [Eustathios] to write this oration. τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐπελευστικός βίου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Φιλόθεον τὸν Ὀψικιανόν, ἐκ προσώπου Φιλοθέου τοῦ μοναχοῦ, ἄνδρὸς ἀξίου λόγου, τοῦ καὶ προκαλεσαμένου εἰς ταύτην τὴν γραφήν.

¹⁴ On the term *ethopoia* see H. Lausberg. *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study*, Leiden 1998, §820–822, §1131; A. Riehle. *Funktionen der Byzantinischen Epistolographie. Studien zu den Briefen und Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Chumnos (ca. 1260–1327)*. PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, 2011, 265 fn. 1012.

metropolitan bishop of Thessalonike, might have been in a need to bolster his arguments with an authority of a monk?

The textual comparison between the *v. Phil.* and *men. B.* provides means to understand Eustathios' hagiographic technique and the message, conveyed by this technique, better. The *men. B.* "presents a standardised portrayal of Philotheos as priest and wonderworker devoid of any information."¹⁵ Philotheos is a wonderworker (θαυματουργός) and priest (πρεσβύτερος), who venerated God from young age by ascetic means.¹⁶ He was an all-bountiful person apportioning his wealth among the poor.¹⁷ According to the *men. B.* he spent his days in weep and lamentation contemplating the punishment of the sinners and the fire of gehenna.¹⁸ Philotheos was a teacher,¹⁹ a healer who helped everybody by deeds and prayer.²⁰ As a result of this lifestyle, he was given the capability of performing miracles.²¹ After his death, Philotheos' body was not subject to corruption and he became a myrrh-exuding saint.²²

What did Eustathios do when portraying "his" Philotheos of Opsikion compared to the Philotheos in the *men. B.*? He featured some characteristics of the saint differently, such as the fear of the eternal fire and Philotheos' rain-making capability.²³ I group the differences between Eustathios' version and that of the *men. B.* into three categories. First, as we know from the *lemma* of the *v. Phil.*, Eustathios was asked to compose an oration (λόγος), which required a new form compared to the short, indecorous description of Philotheos' deeds in the *men. B.* The most prominent result the new form entailed is the *prooimion* which aims at catching the attention of the audience based on the personality of the orator (*ex persona auctoris*),²⁴ by exposing Eustathios' opinion about genuine religious wisdom. Eustathios' narrative makes a flowing unity, while the synaxarion-entry is only a list of details. Eustathios inserted Biblical quotes and allusions to embellish his redaction.

Second, Eustathios obeying the rules of composing a *vita*,²⁵ inserted two paragraphs introducing Philotheos' parents, his birthplace, and re-ordered the information given in the *men. B.* chronologically following Philotheos' course from birth to his posthumous miracles. Additionally Eustathios presented some of Philotheos' miracles on the same way, while others are only part of his redaction to demonstrate his new hero's divine power. Eustathios applied amplification (αὔξησις) accor-

¹⁵ ODB, s. v. "Philotheos of Opsikion," 1663.

¹⁶ PG 117.50.C τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ νέας ἡλικίας θεραπεύσας νηστεύων, ἀγρυπνῶν, προσευχόμενος.

¹⁷ PG 117.50.C τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ σκορπιζῶν εἰς τοὺς πένητας.

¹⁸ PG 117.50.C ἐν θρήνῳ καὶ κλαυθμῷ τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ διάγων διὰ τὸ ἐννοεῖν τὰς ἐκεῖθεν τῶν ἁμαρτῶλων κολάσεις καὶ τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς.

¹⁹ PG 117.50.D πολλοὺς ἐπιστηρίζων καὶ ὠφελῶν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας.

²⁰ PG 117.50.D τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἐτοιμῶς τὰς αἰτήσεις παρέχων.

²¹ PG 117.50.D καὶ ἀμέμπῳς τῷ θεῷ λειτουργῶν ἐδέξατο χαρίσματα θαυματουργίας.

²² PG 117.50.D ταφεῖς βρούει παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν ὁστέων αὐτοῦ ἔλαιον μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.

²³ See the structure of the *v. Phil.* in Section 1 of the *Appendix*, in which I indicated the differences in Eustathios' version. In Section 2 of the *Appendix* you find my translation of the *v. Phil.* found in *men. B.* with the indication of items Eustathios omitted or applied in his redaction.

²⁴ H. Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, 128.

²⁵ H. Lausberg, *Rhetoric*, 107, §246; Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos: griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit*. Berlin 2005, 56–68.

ding to the rhetorical practice of his age to praise Philotheos on a worthy manner.²⁶

The third group of differences between the *v. Phil.* and *men. B.* comprises various elements which do not seem to have anything in common at first view. Alexander Kazhdan, the only scholar paying major attention to Eustathios' *Life of Philotheos*, stated that the bishop wrote "a vigorous polemic against the traditional monastic ideal. In this respect the *v. Phil.* corresponds to Eustathios' pamphlet, *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*" (*Vita Monachica*, *Vm.* thereafter).²⁷ Kazhdan collected the main points with which Eustathios inculcated the Thessalonian monks.²⁸ Complementing Kazhdan's list with other passages from the *Vm.* it is possible to find all the responding chapters to the third group of differences in the *v. Phil.* (see the *v. Phil.*'s analytic chart in the *Appendix*!).

Philotheos' eagerness was one of the characteristics of his saint, which Eustathios wanted to emphasise. Therefore he portrayed the former's countrymen virtuous calling his hometown "Ant" (4). Eustathios' Philotheos had mines, involved himself in trade (4), but on the other hand cultivated the soil himself (16). Philotheos helped other people with all his means (10). He became a "river of charity" to such extent that when he died and was carried to his shrine, he was risen to life just to reach his tomb on his own feet (20). Eustathios depicted the Thessalonian monks quite the opposite. They keep away their hands from good deeds as from a stain (οὔτε καλῶν ἔργων ἐπιβολή, ὡς ἀπέχουσιν τὰς χεῖρας ὡσεὶ καὶ τινος μῖσματος), they are definitely sluggish (οἱ ἀεργοὶ μοναχοὶ), and even the small things they accomplish are bad (μικρὸν τι ποιῶσι κακόν).²⁹ The monks are interested in agriculture and involved in trade (τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἀπώναντο),³⁰ but just to make profit (πτόθεν δὲ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἢ πλείων φορολογία),³¹ and they even rob the poor living in their neighbourhood (πένητα ἀπολαβόντες).³² While Philotheos in the *v. Phil.* was walking on his feet as an established saint of the community after his death, the Thessalonian abbots were not satisfied travelling on an ass, but used precious steeds (οὐδὲ ἡμίονος ἐθέλουσι χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ δι' ἵπων εὐγενῶν κατορχεῖσθαι πραγματεύονται).³³

The archbishop of Thessalonike portrayed Philotheos as an educated person. Education was significant for Philotheos' mother,³⁴ for the young Philotheos who spent his time on assiduous reading of the Scriptures,³⁵ and for Philotheos the priest who prepared his sermons.³⁶ Therefore the learned Philotheos is a mirror for Thessalonian monks who "hate intellectual debate." and if a literate person arrives

²⁶ L. Pernot. *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde Gréco-Romain*. Paris 1993, 676.

²⁷ ODB, s. v. "Philotheos of Opsikion," 1663.

²⁸ A. Kazhdan and S. Franklin. *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Cambridge 1984, 150.

²⁹ *Eustathii Thessalonicensis De emendanda vita monachica*. Ed. Karin Metzler, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 45. Berlin-New York 2006, 154.9-10, 19-20.

³⁰ *Vm.* 60.2.

³¹ *Vm.* 178.30.

³² *Vm.* 123.1.

³³ *Vm.* 168.7.

³⁴ *v. Phil.* 7.

³⁵ *v. Phil.* 8.

³⁶ *v. Phil.* 14.

to their circles "they expel him stoning him with their railings."³⁷ While Eustathios portrayed Philotheos as a priest who prepares his sermons by assiduous reading, the Thessalonian monks do not even talk about religious topics during their meetings.³⁸

Eustathios characterised Philotheos, whose religiosity was not an external show-off.³⁹ The metropolitan bishop argued for the active life in an urban community as opposed to the lifestyle of hermits and monks. While monks left aside the crowd and the contest of life (τὴν τὸρβην λιπόντες καὶ τὸν κατὰ βίον ἀγῶνα),⁴⁰ Philotheos "thought that life in this world is a theatre and spectators give applause to each living people one by one. The judge and umpire of the contest is the great God."⁴¹ Philotheos did not choose a secluded lifestyle which avoids "to mingle in the crowd, the life in a community, [to have a] companion, as things which might not lead to God."⁴² It is interesting to notice that on the other hand Philotheos observed the monastic principal of *stabilitas loci* with respect to his church.⁴³

Eustathios emphasised the requirements of canon law when his protagonist chose priesthood and was anointed.⁴⁴ The metropolitan bishop accurately described Philotheos' initiation to priesthood: calling witnesses, inquiry, anointment, performance of services and duties. The procedure was sealed by the statement: "They observed the commands of the most righteous canon law."⁴⁵ This is a reply to Eustathios' main charge against the monks of Thessalonike, who did not accept his personal authority, which is the embodiment of the commands of canon law.⁴⁶ Throughout the *Vm.* the word κανών (canon, canon law) occurs in a number of passages.⁴⁷ The word referred to the tradition and those requirements which made a monk holy: the monks of full right (τοῦ μεγάλου σχήματος) are "angelic through the demand and affirmation of canon law, and through mystical attainment."⁴⁸

The elements which are common in Eustathios' *v. Phil.* and in the *men. B.* are equally important to the differences between the two texts. One of the most significant element present in either of the redactions is Philotheos' priesthood. Eustathios presented it with lofty words: Philotheos "desired to take wings to reach the

³⁷ *Vm.* 126, μισολόγον τὸ τοιοῦτον φῶλον ἐστὶν [...] ὅτε δὲ καὶ τις γραμμάτων τρόφιμος πρὸς τῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς λιμένι γένηται, αὐτίκα πανθυμαδὸν ὀκρίωνται λοιδορίαῖς ἀντι λίθων βάλλοντες.

³⁸ *Vm.* 178.11-12, ὅτε τοίνυν ὁμήγουρις ἀδελφικὴ γένηται, τότε διὴ ὁ ἡγούμενος γίνεται τοῦ λαλεῖν· καὶ ἡ λαλιὰ οὐ προβλήματα γραφικὰ, οὐ λύσεις ἱερῶν αἰνιγμάτων, οὐ διηγήματα πατέρων ἁγίων.

³⁹ *v. Phil.* 10.

⁴⁰ *Vm.* 1.1.

⁴¹ *v. Phil.* 10, συνελογίσαστο γὰρ θέατρον εἶναι τι καὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς βίον, θεαταῖς μὲν συγκροτούμενον τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν βιούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀγωνοθέτη δὲ βραβευτῇ τῶν ἄθλων πρυτανευόμενον τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ.

⁴² *v. Phil.* 10, τὴν σύγχυσιν, τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ σύμβιον, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενον προσάγειν θεῷ.

⁴³ *v. Phil.* 15; cf. *Vm.* 147.5 about monks spending their time in the streets of Thessalonike.

⁴⁴ *v. Phil.* 14.

⁴⁵ *v. Phil.* 14, κανόνος γὰρ εὐθυτάτου ἐκεῖνοι ἐκπλήρουν παράγγελμα.

⁴⁶ K. Metzler, *Eustathios von Thessalonike und das Mönchtum. Untersuchungen und Kommentar zur Schrift "De emendanda vita monachica"*. Berlin 2006, 328.

⁴⁷ K. Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 328.

⁴⁸ *Vm.* 7.3, ἀγγελικοὶ κατὰ τὴν κανονικὴν καὶ ἀπαίτησιν καὶ κατάθεσιν καὶ μυστικὴν τελείωσιν.

height of priesthood."⁴⁹ Eustathios added to the version of *men. B.* that Philotheos married a pious woman, begot children, and they were seeking virtue together.⁵⁰ This is in sharp contrast with the monks of Thessalonike who had base intercourse with women (μούλλοντες).⁵¹

The textual comparison shows that Eustathios portrayed a holy priest as his clear antimonastic reaction and the demonstration that the metropolitan defended the position of clergy against monks who "think that, if there were no bishops, they would be in all respect on their own in the world, and the church would not be under the supervision of anybody else, than in its entirety under black-wearing men' [i.e. monks]."⁵²

When did Eustathios write the *v. Phil.* and what did trigger the composition of the *v. Phil.*? Eustathios did not state explicitly what happened between him and the Thessalonian monks besides some scattered hints in the *Vm.* According to the reconstruction of Karin Metzler, the editor of Eustathios' *Vm.*, the conflict between Eustathios and the Thessalonian monks led to a judicial trial against the bishop.⁵³ Karin Metzler supposes that the trial took place in Constantinople.

Modern scholarship emphasises that Eustathios' position after 1180, the death of Manuel I, became unstable.⁵⁴ Paul Magdalino noticed that the bishop in his homilies became more severe towards his flock.⁵⁵ Unlike during the first years of his incumbency, the central theme of the orations are the greed and hypocrisy of his flock, which are, according to Eustathios, tokens of disorder in a Christian society. Eustathios was trying to force his flock to accept his episcopal authority, which, as he saw it, showed the way out of this disorder.⁵⁶ Eustathios was in need of the help of the emperor.

Thessalonike rears such brave monks who bravely oppose the canons and laws. They despise their archbishop and no one raises a word against them. How can we stay mute as if panic-struck and not having hands and mouth? And immediately they arouse the fury of their soul – if it ever was asleep – as a "terrible soldier and commander" equipped with abundance of complete armour, which they know how to obtain with their evil tricks: they set themselves into the arrays of a holy war. And as many abbot, and

⁴⁹ *v. Phil.* 13, γίνεται πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶ εἰς ἱεροσύνης ὕψος ἀναπτῆναι.

⁵⁰ *v. Phil.* 12.

⁵¹ *Vm.* 147.9.

⁵² *Vm.* 187.4–6, λογίζονται, εἰ μὴ ἀρχιερεῖς τινες ἦσαν, αὐτοὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλοις ὑποκεῖσθαι τισὶν ὅτι μὴ τοῖς δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος μελαμφοροῖς. K. Metzler, *Mönchtum*, 18.

⁵³ S. Schönauer, "Flucht vor den Gläubigen? Abenteuerliches aus dem Leben des Eustathios von Thessalonike." in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*. Ed. L. Hoffmann and A. Monchizadeh, Wiesbaden 2005, 712.

⁵⁴ P. Magdalino, "Eustathios and Thessalonica." in *Philellēn: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*. Ed. C. N. Constantinides, et al., Venice 1996, 231.

⁵⁶ See f. i. *Vm.* 180 about monks precipitating themselves to fall into evil without the guidance of their bishop.

monk of great rank⁵⁷ are amongst them, they [...] order the ranks and send forth the army of the monks of small rank to accomplish through them as much as they can, even if not all they want because of circumstances from God, the aid of the holy emperor.⁵⁸

From the passage cited above it is clear that the initiatives of the opposing Thessalonian abbots could not be curbed by their bishop alone. No evidence has survived that Eustathios got any official aid to solve the controversy, as had happened in 1178, when John Dukas, the *megas hetaireiarches* was sent by Manuel I to settle a local controversy with the help of imperial troops.⁵⁹

Further details about Eustathios' controversy with the Thessalonian monks are unclear. What one can securely do is to locate the *v. Phil.* into the context of the Thessalonian monastic controversy, which can be dated, as the *Vm.* itself, between 1180 and 1185. It is plausible to link the composition and delivery of this occasional oration (λόγος ἐπελευστικός) to the feast-day of Philotheos of Opsikion, 15 September.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ μεγαλοσχῆμων, The word σχῆμα originally in a monastic context denoted the clothing, or habit of a monk in Late Antique Egypt. Besides this, it referred to monastic life and monastic order in general. In order to distinguish between monks being on a different, so to say, level of their spiritual development, what meant at the same time their position in a monastic community, from Late Antiquity adjectives were added to the word σχῆμα. Monks of lesser rank were labelled as being of "a small rank" (μικρὸν σχῆμα), while the outstanding and established monks were called as that of "an angelic, or great rank" (ἀγγελικὸν, μέγα σχῆμα), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Ed. G. W. H. Lampe, Oxford 1964, s. v. σχῆμα, 1359.

⁵⁸ *Vm.* 167.2-16, ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη οὕτως ἀνδρείους ἐκτρέφει μοναχοὺς, οἱ καὶ κατὰ κανόνων καὶ νόμων ἀνδρίζονται καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα περιφρονοῦσιν καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ λόγον ἀνταίρει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, τί δὴ ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐνεοὶ καθήμεθα ὡς οἶα καὶ ἐκπεπληγότες καὶ μηδὲ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι διοικούμενοι; καὶ αὐτίκα τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς θυμούμενον, εἴ που καὶ ἐκοιμάτο, ἀφωπνίσαντες καὶ ὅσα δεινὸν ὀπλίτην ἢ στρατηγὸν καταφράζαντες χορηγία παντευχίας, ὅποιαν αὐτοὶ μεθοδεῦειν κακομηχάνως οἶδασιν, ἀποκαθίστανται εἰς ἱεροῦ τινοῦ πολέμου στρατίαν· καὶ ὅσον μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλόσχημον καὶ ἡγουμενικόν, [...] τὴν τάξιν κοσμήσαντες ἐπαφιάσι τὴν μικροσχῆμονα φάλαγγα καὶ ἀνύουσι δι' αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰ θελητὰ σφίσι διὰ τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἁγίου ἐπικουρίαν, ὅσα γοῦν δύνανται.

⁵⁹ P. Magdalino, "Eustathios and Thessalonica," 231; Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies*, 134-135.

⁶⁰ ODB, s. v. "Philotheos of Opsikion," 1663.

Appendix: 1. The structure and content of the vita Philothei

| Ms. (fol.) | C. No. Tafel | Title | Content | Criticism on monks in the <i>Vm.</i> |
|------------|--------------|--|---|---|
| 118a | | | From the person of monk Philotheos Occasional oration | |
| 118a | 1 | THE IMAGE OF THE BEE | Two types of bees and the honey produced: this bee-lifestyle is useful for every social rank (from paupers up to the emperor) | |
| | 2 | Eustathios as such a bee | Eustathios offers this oration as the honey of a flower of his spiritual meadow | |
| | 3 | the <u>Great</u> ⁶¹ Philotheos | Faithful servant (πιστὸς δοῦλος) Good worshipper (ἀγαθὸς θεράπων) FRIEND OF GOD (φίλος θεῶ) <u>Instructor of all</u> Eustathios' and everybody's wonder (θαῦμα καὶ μέλημα) | |
| 118b | 4 | HIS HOMELAND AND HOMETOWN | 1. Opsikion thema A. THE INHABITANS: GREAT WARRIORS ('LIONS'), VIRTUOUS PEOPLE ⁶² B. HIS HOMETOWN: μύρμηξ (ANT) B1. Symbol of eagerness B2. Ethopoia: Encourages from the person of Salomon THE SAINT TO INVOLVE HIMSELF IN TRADE B3. and <u>distribute his incomes between the poor</u> (charity) | 36-41 154.15-20 60 121 181.8-10 178.8-45 |
| | 5 | PARENTS | Father: virtuous as his son | |
| 119a | 6 | | Mother: Theophila (beloved by God) Virtuous Keen on the formation and EDUCATION of the child | |

⁶¹ I underlined the elements which one might find in the men. B. too.

⁶² I CAPITALIZED the differences in Eusathios' v. Phil. compared to the men. B.

| | | | | |
|------|----|---|--|--|
| | 7 | | 1. Becoming divine 2. IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION 3. meditation on Scripture 4. austerity toward the body, spiritual progress (θεωρία) 5. <u>despite of earthly things</u> 6. <u>prayer</u> 6a. <u>standing with stretched arms</u> 6b. <u>bending his knees</u> | 144 127 |
| 119b | 8 | Childhood adolescence | | |
| 120a | 9 | | 1. HIS RELIGION WAS NOT AN EXTERNAL SHOW OFF 2. HE USED EARTHLY THINGS 2 A. THESE ARE BLESSED BY GOD 2b. <u>helped the poor with his richness</u> ('river of charity') 3. FOLLOWER OF EVANGELIC EXAMPLE (lily of God, being everything for everyone) 4. SOLITARY LIFE VS. LIFE IN COMMUNITY: fight against the <u>demons</u> on his own and fight against the same in a community 4A: IT IS A MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT TO LIVE IN A COMMUNITY 4B. IT IS MORE DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW SOLITRITY LIFE STYLE IN THE WORLD THAT IS MORE COMPLEX THAT SOLITUDE 5. HE, WHO FOLLOW THIS LIFESTYLE IS SIMILAR TO THE SUN | 168.1-8 147.5-15 148.8-10 123 |
| 120b | 10 | Use of his talents | | Cf. prooimion |
| | 11 | CHOICE OF SECULAR LIFE AND HIS MARRIAGE | 1. He chooses secular life (not monastic, though both are equal) 2. He marries a woman and begets a number of children | 147.5-35 |
| | 12 | PRAISE OF MARRIAGE | Philotheos retains his virtues He and his wife seek together virtue | |

| | | | | |
|--------------|----|------------------------------------|---|-------|
| | 13 | | <p>1. Advancing in virtues Philotheos becomes similar to angels</p> <p>2. He wants to become a priest (εις ιερωσύνης ὕψος ἀναπτῆναι)</p> <p>2a. MAIN REASON: THE UNITY WITH GOD IN THE HOLY COMMUNION</p> | |
| | 14 | <u>Priesthood</u> | <p>1. ACCORDING TO THE CANON LAW with the utmost accordance of the people of Opsikion he is anointed priest</p> <p>1a. He is the angel of light (φωτὸς ἄγγελος) and servant of the flame (φλόγεος λειτουργός)</p> <p>2. HE DEDICATES HIMSELF TO HOLY SERVICES, HYMNS, AND DAILY READING (to deliver good sermons)</p> | |
| | 15 | | <p>3. HE LIVED IN THE CHURCH</p> <p>4. He cultivated the soil himself</p> | 147.5 |
| 122a | 16 | PRAISE OF AGRICULTURE | <p>1. It is good because strengthens the body with sweating</p> <p>2. It gives food (to his family and to others)</p> | 154 |
| | 17 | | <p>1. Multiplication of food</p> <p>1a. HE TURNS AN ENTIRE RIVER INTO WINE</p> | |
| 122b | 18 | Philotheos as <u>wonder-worker</u> | <p>2. HE LIFTED UP AND MOVED AWAY A GREAT STONE ONLY WITH HIS WORDS</p> <p>2a. Due to this miracle all vice (idololatry, theft) ceased to exist</p> | |
| 123a 123b | 19 | Philotheos' <u>death</u> | <p>1. His body did not putrefy for a year, but exuded fragrant odours</p> <p>2. He was transferred to a martyr.</p> <p>2a. DURING THE TRANSLATION HE WAS RISEN AND HELPED PEOPLE TO CARRY HIS BODY</p> <p>3. SAINTS AS INTERCESSORS FOR LIVING PEOPLE:</p> <p>Eustathios' en- couragement to</p> | |

The *Vita Philothei* in the *Menologion* of Basil II (PG 117.49 CD)

τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φιλοθέου
τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ

On the same day (15 September)
Commemoration of the holy father
Philotheos the Wonderworker

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

Philotheos the Wonderworker was sprung from the theme of Opsikion. He was a priest. He venerated God from his young age, with fasting, keeping vigil, and prayers. He apportioned his wealth among the poor. He spent his days LAMENTING AND WEeping TEARS WHILE THINKING ABOUT THE PUNISHMENT OF THE SINNERS [coming from] ABOVE, ABOUT THE FIRE OF THE GEHENNA, AND ABOUT THE EVER-SCOUTING WORM.⁶³ He confirmed and helped many people by his teaching and his blameless service to God. He received the gifts of performing miracles: he chased out demons, he healed the weak, cleansed people from leprosy, he drew down heavy showers during drought. For the Lord makes the will of those who fear him and listens to their supplication. Performing miracles this way and willingly supplicating for the needs of those who visited him, he finished his life in peace. After he was buried, his honourable bones were gushing with salutary oil until this day.

Legenda:

Philotheos the Wonderworker: present in the *v. Phil.*

LAMEntinG And WEePinG: not present in Eustathios' redaction

⁶³ This refers to the Devil. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa. *Oratio catechetica* 40, PG 45.105 A.