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## Saint Iakobos the Confessor, the Baptiser of the Patriarch Photios

**Abstract:** This paper aims to identify the baptiser of the patriarch Photios: Iakobos, the hegoumenos of the monastery of Maximina, who is only recorded in the chronicle of the Pseudo-Symeon (10th century). The analysis of the relationship between the outstanding iconophile leaders mentioned by this historian (namely Michael of Synada, Hilarion of Dalmatos and Ioannikios) leads us to the conclusion that Iakobos of Maximina (*PmbZ* # 2635) and the confessor Iakobos Stoudites (*PmbZ* # 2632) are one and the same person. However, Iakobos of Anchialos (*PmbZ* # 2630), the iconophile saint recorded in the Synaxarion of Constantinople, should be considered a different individual.

The data on the childhood of the patriarch Photios that have come down to us are scarce and not always particularly revealing<sup>1</sup>. Although it is plausible to assume that a *\*vita Photii patriarchae CP* in which the news of his birth would be positive could have been composed after his death by one of his followers<sup>2</sup>, the main and unique extant source is the “anti-Photian pamphlet” written by the historian Pseudo-Symeon in the second half of the 10th century<sup>3</sup>. This document did not go unnoticed due to its combative tone and the serious accusations that it levelled against Photios, who was said to be the Antichrist<sup>4</sup>. However, despite the increased attention given to this matter, to date it has not been possible to identify Iakobos, the baptiser of the patriarch Photios. This will be the main aim of this paper.

According to the historian Pseudo-Symeon, Photios was predestined to rule the patriarchate and to lead many astray. His destiny outside Orthodoxy was predetermined before his birth, since his conception was the result of the abduction of his mother Eirene<sup>5</sup>, who was kidnapped from her nunnery<sup>6</sup>. Despite this disrespectful act, Sergios, Photios’ father<sup>7</sup>, was a respected member of the community and his acquaintances included outstanding iconophile leaders who foretold the future of his son. The Pseudo-Symeon states that the first to speak of him was Michael of Synada, a close friend of the

<sup>1</sup> On Photios, the Patriarch of Constantinople between 858–867 and 877–886, see *PmbZ* # 6253 and 26667; The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire. I: 641–867, ed. J. Martindale. Aldershot 2001 (henceforth *PBE*): Photios 1; J. HERGENRÖTHER, Photios von Konstantinopel: sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma nach handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen (3 vols.). Regensburg 1867–1869 [reprint Darmstadt 1966]; O. PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ – P. VARONA CODESO, Deconstructing Photios: Family Relationship and Political Kinship in Middle Byzantium. *REB* 71 (2013) 105–148. A point of reference is still provided by the monograph and the pages in P. LEMERLE, Le premier humanisme byzantin: Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle. Paris 1971, 177–204; N.G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*. London 1983, 89–119.

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence on the existence of such a text, see PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ – VARONA CODESO, Deconstructing Photios 105, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 668–670 (ed. I. BEKKER, Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus. Bonn 1838, 603–760).

<sup>4</sup> J. GOUILLARD, Le Photius du Pseudo-Syméon Magistros. Les sous-entendus d’un pamphlet. *RESEE* 9 (1971) 397–404; H. AHRWEILER, Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarcat. *BZ* 58 (1965) 348–363; W.T. TREADGOLD, Photius before his Patriarchate. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002) 1–17.

<sup>5</sup> On Eirene, see *PmbZ* # 1450; *PBE*: Eirene 6; C. MANGO, The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios, in: *Iconoclasm. Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (University of Birmingham, March 1975)*, ed. A. Bryer – J. Herrin. Birmingham 1977, 3–16; PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ – VARONA CODESO, Deconstructing Photios 129–135.

<sup>6</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 668, 17–20: ὁ γὰρ Σέργιος ἐθνικοῦ αἵματος ὢν, εἰς μοναστήριον γυναικεῖον εἰσπεπηδηκῶς καὶ μονάστριαν ἐκεῖθεν ἀρπάσας καὶ ταύτην ἀποσηματίσας ἔλαβε γυναῖκα.

<sup>7</sup> On Sergios, see *PmbZ* # 6665; *PBE*: Sergios 16; A. NOGARA, Sergio il Confessore e il cod. 67 della Biblioteca di Fozio patriarca di Costantinopoli. *Aevum* 52 (1978) 261–266; PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ – VARONA CODESO, Deconstructing Photios 116–121 and 136–137.

patriarch Tarasios and a participant at the Second Council of Nikaia (787), which restored the honoring of icons<sup>8</sup>. When this saint saw Sergios' pregnant wife in his home, he wanted to hit her and wished her dead along with the creature in her womb. Michael of Synada declared that she was a new Eve, pregnant with the snake, and that the future baby would become the patriarch of Constantinople and would cause the ruin of many Christians<sup>9</sup>. On hearing these words, Sergios wanted to kill his wife and his future son, but the saint warned him that he could not oppose God's will<sup>10</sup>. In view of these circumstances, immediately after Photios' birth, his mother addressed Iakobos, the hegoumenos of the monastery of Maximina<sup>11</sup>, casting the baby at his feet and asking him, with tears in her eyes, to baptise the child, because when pregnant she dreamt that she was conceiving a dragon. Moreover, another major leader of Constantinopolitan monasticism, Hilarion of Dalmatos<sup>12</sup>, had told her that she carried within her the seed of Satan<sup>13</sup>. Finally Iakobos of Maximina agreed, and baptised Photios in the hope that God's wrath would not fall on the baby<sup>14</sup>.

The Pseudo-Symeon summarises Photios' childhood in a series of suspicious signs which led Sergios to believe that his son was the Antichrist, and resulted in a request for the monks' prayers in order to intercede on Photios' behalf and on his own<sup>15</sup>. When the boy was already a lad (μειράκιον), he was introduced to St. Ioannikios, the leader of the iconophiles in Bithynia and a good representative of Byzantine asceticism<sup>16</sup>, who was asked to intercede for him. However, Ioannikios answered that Photios' heart did not wish to know the path of God, as would be shown by his future acts<sup>17</sup>. After this declaration Sergios sprinkled ashes on himself as a sign of contrition, imploring divine mercy<sup>18</sup>,

<sup>8</sup> *PmbZ* # 5042; *PBE*: Michael 6; J. PARGOIRE, Saints iconophiles. *EO* 4 (1901) 347–356, here 347–350.

<sup>9</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 668,20–669,8: συνέβη τὸν ἅγιον Μιχαὴλ τὸν Σινάδου, φίλον Σεργίου ὄντα, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐνθεωρήσας ἐγκυον οὖσαν ἀπέστειλεν τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥάβδον, πληξάσας βουλόμενος αὐτήν, καὶ οὕτως εἶπεν “εἴθε ἦν τις αὐτὴν ἀποκτείνειν δυνάμενος καὶ τὸ ἔμβρυον τὸ σὺν αὐτῇ. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἄλλην Εὐάν ὄφιν ἐγκυμονοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ ἔμβρυον ἄρσεν. καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ συγχώρησιν θεοῦ πατριάρχῃν ἐσόμενον βλέπω ἐπὶ ἀθετήσει τοῦ πανσέπτου καὶ τιμίου σταυροῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἀποκλινεῖ, καὶ πολλοὺς εἰς σταυροπατίαν μεταστήσει, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν πολλοὺς ταῖς πολυτρόποις αὐτοῦ στερήσει μηχαναῖς.”

<sup>10</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 669,8–11: πρὸς ὃν ὁ Σέργιος “καὶ εἰ τοιοῦτος ἔσσεσθαι μέλλει, μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελῶ.” πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἅγιος “οὐ δυνήσῃ τὴν συγχώρησιν τοῦ θεοῦ διακωλύσαι. πρόσεχε οὖν σεαυτῷ.”

<sup>11</sup> *PmbZ* 2635; *PBE*: Iakobos 2.

<sup>12</sup> *PmbZ* 2584; *PBE*: Hilarion 1; T. ΜΑΤΙΑΝΤΣΕΒΑ, La Vie d'Hilarion, higoumène de Dalmatos, par Sabas (*BHG* 2177). *RBSN* 30 (1993) 17–29; G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, Saints de Constantinople aux. VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles. *Byz* 27 (1957) 788–794.

<sup>13</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 669,11–16: εἶτα γεννηθέντος ἡ μητὴρ Ἰάκωβον τὸν Μαξιμίνης ἡγούμενον μεταπεμψαμένη ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ κλαίουσα τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι ἐγκυος οὖσα εἶδον ὄναρ ὅτι ἐσχίσθη ἡ κοιλία μου καὶ ἐξῆλθε δράκων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ὅσιος καὶ ὁμολογητὴς Ἰλαρίων ὁ τῆς Δαλμάτου εἰρηκὲ μοι ὅτι σεσωματωμένον Σατανᾶν βαστάζεις.

<sup>14</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 669,16–18: λαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐβάπτισεν, Φώτιον ὀνομακῶς, “ἴσως” λέγων “παρέλθοι ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.”

<sup>15</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 669,18–22: Σέργιος δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὁρῶν τινὰ σημεῖα ἐν αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν “μὴ ἄρα ἡ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐλπίζομένη μονάστρια, ἡ τὸν Ἀντίχριστον μέλλουσα τίκτειν, ἡ γυνὴ μου ἐστίν;” ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλομόναχοι ἦσαν, τοὺς μοναχοὺς προσδεχομένης, ἡξίου εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Φωτίου.

<sup>16</sup> *PmbZ* # 3389; *PBE*: Ioannikios 1 and Ioannikios 2.

<sup>17</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 669,22–670,6: τοῦτόν ποτε τὸν Φώτιον μειράκιον σκεπὶ τυγχάνοντα εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰωαννήκιον ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ἀνήγαγεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὐξασθαι τοῦτον παρεκάλει. ὁ δὲ ἐτοιμῶς ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη “Φώτιος ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὁδοὺς σου, κύριε, εἰδέναι οὐ βούλεται.” ὁ δὲ στενάζας εἶπεν “τί τοῦτο ἔφης, πάτερ;” αὐτὸς ὁ γέρων “ὅτι τὰ μέλλοντα πραχθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δηλῶ σοι.”

<sup>18</sup> According to Biblical tradition, to sprinkle oneself with or sit in ashes was a mark or token of grief, humiliation, or penitence, see LXX, Job 42,6: διὸ ἐφαύλισα ἑμαυτὸν καὶ ἐτάκην ἡγῆμαι δὲ ἑμαυτὸν γῆν καὶ σποδόν. “Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.” LXX, Judith 4,11: καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ παιδία οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔπεσον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἐσποδώσαντο τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξέτειναν τοὺς σάκκους αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον κυρίου. “All the Israelites in Jerusalem, including women and children, lay prostrate in front of the Temple, and with ashes on their heads stretched out their hands before the Lord.”

and decided to send Photios away to study<sup>19</sup>. However, the future patriarch was not especially interested in ecclesiastical matters as he preferred the pagan culture of ancient Greece. This strong interest resulted in his accepting the proposal of a certain Jewish magician, by virtue of which Photios acquired knowledge and wealth in exchange for denying Christ<sup>20</sup>.

The historiographical text echoes different legendary traditions, such as the abduction of a nun or an agreement with a Jewish sorcerer, and mentions the main religious leaders who were fighting iconoclastic heresy: Michael of Synada (*PmbZ* # 5042), Iakobos of Maximina (# 2635), Hilarion of Dalmatos (# 2584) and Ioannikios (# 3389). This impressive list of iconodule saints was probably used by Photios' followers to vindicate their leader, but the Pseudo-Symeon uses it to discredit him and states that they denounce the vileness of the future patriarch during his childhood<sup>21</sup>. The historicity of these encounters is difficult to evaluate and differs according to the reliability of the Pseudo-Symeon assessed by each scholar. Unfortunately, it is not possible to judge its originality, that is, to what extent the Pseudo-Symeon created this anti-Photian tradition or just echoed it<sup>22</sup>. That was the case of the accusation against Photios of having proclaimed the existence of two souls in every human being<sup>23</sup>, which the historian could have found either in the Acts of the VIII Council (869–870), which deposed Photios from the patriarchate, or in the writings by Anastasius the Librarian<sup>24</sup>. In fact, at the end of the ninth century, the followers of the patriarch Ignatios (847–858 and 867–877) created a discourse very hostile to Photios<sup>25</sup>. It included imaginary and unlikely elements that were disseminated by means of texts and pamphlets. Some of them are well known to us thanks to both the “anti-Photian Collection”<sup>26</sup> and their inclusion in the hagiography dedicated to Ignatios (*BHG* 817) by Niketas David Paphlagon, a contemporary of the Pseudo-Symeon<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 670,6–8: τότε ὁ Σέρργιος κόνιν σπασάμενος κατήλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους. Εἰς μαθήματα δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδούς, μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ φιλοτιμότερον διέκειτο ἢ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά.

<sup>20</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 670,9–18: διὸ καὶ Ἑβραίων τινὶ μάγῳ συντετυχώς, “τί μοι” ἔφη “δῶς, νεανία, καὶ ποιήσω σε πᾶσαν γραφὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐπὶ στόματος ἄγειν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ σοφία παρευδοκμεῖν.” ὁ δὲ φησι “τὸ ἡμισυ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ προθύμως ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ παρέξει σοι.” ὁ δὲ “οὐ χρήζω χρήματα, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα σου γνῶναι τὸ δρᾶμα· ἀλλ’ ἔλθε μετ’ ἐμοῦ εἰς τόνδε τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἄρνησαι τὸν τύπον ἐν ᾧ Ἰησοῦν προσηλώσαμεν, καὶ δώσω σοι παράδοξον φυλακτόν, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου πᾶσα ἐν εὐημερίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ πολλῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ χαρᾷ.” τὸν δὲ προθύμως ἀκούσαντα, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γόητος ἀρέσκειαν τετελεκότα.

<sup>21</sup> TREADGOLD, Photios before (as above note 3) 3.

<sup>22</sup> On the sources of the Pseudo-Symeon, see F. HIRSCH, *Byzantinische Studien*. Leipzig 1876, 303–355 (reprint Amsterdam 1965); A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ἡ χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεῶν καὶ οἱ πηγές της*. (PhD Dissertation) Ioannina 1978; F. WINKELMANN, *Hat Niketas David Paphlagon ein umfassendes Geschichtswerk verfasst? Ein Beitrag zur Quellenfrage des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos und des Pseudo-Symeon*. *JÖB* 37 (1987) 137–152; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*. Basingstoke 2013, 217–224.

<sup>23</sup> Pseudo-Symeon 673,9–13: αὐτὸς ὁ Φώτιος ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος δημηγορήσαι εἶπεν ὅτι οἱ σεισμοὶ οὐκ ἐκ πλῆθους ἀμαρτιῶν ἀλλ’ ἐκ πλησμονῆς ὕδατος γίνονται, καὶ ἕκαστος ἄνθρωπος δύο ψυχὰς ἔχει, καὶ ἡ μὲν μία ἀμαρτάνει, ἡ δὲ ἕτέρα οὐκ ἀμαρτάνει.

<sup>24</sup> For the accusation of the Council, see J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection*. Florence-Venice 1759–1798, XVI 404 and 456, lines 31–33. For Anastasius the Librarian see *MGH Epist.* VII 437; F. DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*. Cambridge 1948 [reprint 1970], 33–34.

<sup>25</sup> V. GRUMEL, *La liquidation de la querelle photienne*. *EO* 33 (1934) 257–288; DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism*; IDEM, *The Patriarch Photios in the Light of recent Research*, in: *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*. München 1958, vol. III/2, 1–56 [reprint in *Photian and Byzantine Ecclesiastical Studies*. London 1974, nr. VI].

<sup>26</sup> MANSI XVI 409–457. Together with other papal documents, the pro-Ignatian *libellus* of Theognostos, the Epistle to Manuel of Metrophanes of Smyrna, the letters of Stylianos, etc., were gathered by an anonymous author in an appendix that has been transmitted in the manuscripts after the Minutes of the Eighth Council. For an analysis of the texts included in the anti-Photian Collection, see DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism* 168–169 and 216–236; S. A. PASCHALIDES, *Ἡ συνείδηση τῆς Ἐκκλησίας γιὰ τὴν ἀγιότητα τοῦ Μ. Φωτίου καὶ ἡ ἔνταξή του στό ἑορτολόγιο: Καταγραφή καὶ ἀνάλυση τῶν φιλοφωτιανῶν καὶ ἀντιφωτιανῶν πηγῶν*. In: *Μνήμη Ἁγίων Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ Μεγάλου Φωτίου, ἀρχιεπισκόπων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. Thessaloniki 1994, 367–397.

<sup>27</sup> Nicetas David, *The life of Patriarch Ignatius*, Greek text and transl. by A. SMITHIES with notes by J. M. DUFFY [CFHB 51]. Washington, D.C. 2013; S. A. PASCHALIDES, *From Hagiography to Historiography: the Case of the Vita Ignatii (BHG 817)*

In any case, the space-time coordinates shared by all these figures allow us to think that in some way Photios did meet the religious leaders listed in the chronicle. This is why his supporters were able to protest the impeccable credentials of the patriarch's orthodox acquaintances when his enemies charged him with heresy. There is no doubt that in the second half of the 10th century, when this historian was writing, they were renowned: Ioannikios is the most famous, well known thanks to his important role in the triumph of Orthodoxy; Michael of Synada was an important diplomat and a collaborator with the patriarch Tarasios after the first restoration of the icons; and Hilarion of Dalmatos was a model of iconodule monasticism in Constantinople<sup>28</sup>. All of them played an important role in the fight against heresy and they are commemorated as saints in the *Synaxaria*<sup>29</sup>. But who was Iakobos of Maximina?

Iakobos's involvement with Photios and his family was significant as he was responsible for baptising the boy and introducing him into the Church. This fact, together with the social relevance of the other figures mentioned, indicates a possible identification that enriches our knowledge of Photios before his patriarchate and of ecclesiastical matters in Constantinople during the early years of the Second Iconoclasm. Modern prosopographies show that "Iakobos" was not a very popular name in early 9th century Byzantium in contrast to others such as Ioannes, Michael, Theophanes, etc. The "Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit" and the "Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire" list fewer than ten people named Iakobos who could be Photios' baptiser. We can narrow the search if we look at the milieu of the Stoudite community, since Theodoros of Studios seems to be the common denominator among the personalities of the story: with the exception of Ioannikios, all the other religious leaders were close to Theodoros and were praised by him to the point of promoting their sanctity.

Michael of Synada died in May 826 after being exiled and persecuted by the iconoclasts. At that time Theodoros Stoudites, who had already sent a letter to him in 817/818 calling him "a champion of Christ" and "a saint"<sup>30</sup>, dedicated his Parva Catechesis 21 to eulogising the bishop of Synada for his sufferings in the defence of icons<sup>31</sup>. This process, which was initiated by Theodoros himself, continued in the form of the composition of liturgical *kanones* in honor of Michael<sup>32</sup> and a later hagio-

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by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian. In: *Les Vies de Saints à Byzance. Genre littéraire ou biographie historique?* Ed. P. Odorico – P. A. Agapitos (*Dossiers byzantins* 4). Paris 2004, 161–173. According to some scholars, the Vita Ignatii and the Pseudo-Symeon had a common source, see MARKOPOULOS, Ἡ χρονογραφία.

<sup>28</sup> On the Constantinopolitan monastery of Dalmatos, see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Première partie. La siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Vol. III: Les églises et les monastères.* Paris 1969, 82–84. On its founders, see P. HATLIE, *The Encomium of Ss. Isakos and Dalmatos by Michael the Monk (BHG 956d): Text, Translation and Notes*, in: *EUKOSMIA. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, ed. V. Ruggieri – L. Pieralli. Catanzaro 2003, 275–311.

<sup>29</sup> Ioannikios was commemorated on 4th November (*SynaxCP* [ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae.* Brussels 1902] 191,3–193,9) and on 3rd November (*SynaxCP* 189/190,47–57 and 191/192,42–44; *Menologium Basilii* [*PG* 117, 20–613] 141C–D). Michael was celebrated on 23rd May (*SynaxCP* 703,1–704,14; *Typicon Mateos* [ed. J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix no 40, Xe siècle.* Rome 1962–1963], I 298; *Typicon Messinense* [ed. M. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr. 115 A. D. 1131.* Rome 1969] 153,22) and on 24th May (*SynaxCP* 704,56). The liturgical memory of Hilarion used to be performed on 6th June (*SynaxCP* 731, 47–734,60 = *BHG* 2177b).

<sup>30</sup> Theodoros Stoudites, *Epist.* 364 (ed. G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* [*CFHB* 31]. Berlin 1992, 497–498).

<sup>31</sup> Theodoros Stoudites, *Parva Catechesis 21* (ed. E. AUVRAY, S. P. N. et Confessoris Theodori Studitis Praepositi *Parva Catechesis.* Paris 1891, 76–79 = *BHG* 2275): Κατήχησις ΚΑ'. Περὶ μνήμης θανάτου ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Συνάδων. Cf. *Theod. Stoud.*, *Epist.* 533 and 542 (804–806, 818–819 FATOUROS).

<sup>32</sup> Three of these *kanones* have reached our time, but they are still inedited, see E. PAPAELIOPOULOU-PHOTOPOULOU, *Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων βυζαντινῶν ἁσματικῶν κανόνων. Seu analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta orientis christiani.* Athens 1996, 203–204, nr. 617–619.

graphy<sup>33</sup>. Similarly, Hilarion of Dalmatos (775–845) was a close friend of Theodoros Stoudites who sent him an epistle<sup>34</sup> and appointed him hegoumenos of the monastery of Dalmatos in Constantinople, as is mentioned in one of Theodoros' homilies (Catechesis Magna 89)<sup>35</sup>. As a hegoumenos of Dalmatos, Hilarion (as well as the hegoumenoi of Pikridion, Paulopetriou, Agrou and Kathara) signed the two letters to the Pope of Rome, Paschal I, that Theodoros of Stoudios had written to seek his support in favour of the veneration of icons<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, Hilarion is characterised as a prophet who foresees the death of the Stoudite abbot in a passage of the abridged *Vita A* of Theodoros of Stoudios (*BHG* 1755)<sup>37</sup>. An early *vita* completes the hagiographical dossier of this hegoumenos of Dalmatos<sup>38</sup>.

Hilarion endorsed the political measures of the patriarch Methodios and contributed towards the triumph of Orthodoxy, while the sufferings of Michael of Synada in defence of icons were considered worthy of imitation. Consequently both saints were included amongst the iconophile metropolitans acclaimed in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy (*BHG* 1392)<sup>39</sup>. And what of Iakobos of Maximina?

Little is known about the monastery of Iakobos, which was located in Constantinople and is referred to by the sources as Maximinos and Maximina<sup>40</sup>, but its commitment to icons is proven by the reprisals taken by the iconoclast Emperor Konstantinos V (741–775). In fact, according to the

<sup>33</sup> K.X. DOUKAKIS, *Μέγας συναξαριστής*. Athens 1891–1896, vol. 5: Maii 411–422 (*BHG* 2274x), vid. A. EHRHARD, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig 1937–1952, I 638, n. 7; III 974, n. 3; H.-G. BECK, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (*HdA* XII 2, 1). München 1959, 512; L. POLITIS, Συμπληρωματικοί κατάλογοι χειρογράφων Αγίου Όρους. *Hell* 21 (1968) 347–377, here 363, nr. 93.

<sup>34</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 90 (211 FATOUROS): Ἰλαρίωνι ἀρχιμανδρίτη. Theodoros also mentions him in three other letters dated between 816 and 818: Theod. Stoud., Epist. 214; 267 and 291 (336–337; 394–395; 430 FATOUROS).

<sup>35</sup> Theodoros Stoudites, Catechesis Magna 89 (ed. A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-KERAMEUS, Theodoros Studites, Μεγάλη κατήχησις. St. Petersburg 1904, 1–931, here 631–633): ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΙΣ ΠΘ'. Περὶ ψήφου τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς Δαλμάτου, καὶ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης, ὅτι αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἀληθινὴ ἢ γνῶσις, προτερεῦουσα τῆς θύραθεν σοφίας. Cf. T. PRATSCH, Theodoros Studites (759–826) zwischen Dogma und Pragmatik: der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch (*Berliner byzantinistische Studien* 4). Frankfurt / M. 1998, 149–150; O. DELOUIS, Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Stoudios à Constantinople. La contribution d'un monastère à l'histoire de l'Empire byzantin (v. 454–1204). (PhD) Université Paris I-Sorbonne 2005, 217–218 and 222–223.

<sup>36</sup> Theodoros Stoudites, Epist. 267,30–31 (395 FATOUROS). These were the letters no. 271 and 272 (399–403 FATOUROS). On the contacts between Theodoros and Rome, see C. VAN DE VORST, Les relations de S. Théodore Studite avec Rome. *AnBoll* 32 (1913) 439–447; DOBKROKLONSKIĬ, Prepodobnie Feodor', Ispovednik' i Igumen' Studijskij. Odessa 1913, I 624–628 and 673–675; P. BERNARDAKIS, Les appels au Pape dans l'Église grecque jusqu'à Photius. *EO* 6 (1903) 30–42, 118–125 and 249–257, here 252–254.

<sup>37</sup> V. LATYSEV, Zitie prep. Theodora Studita v miunhenskoj rukopisi n° 467. *VV* 21 (1914) 222–254, here 252–253: Ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰλαρίωνος τῶν Δαλμάτου (...) ἔστιν γεγραμμένον αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτως: Ποτὲ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰλαρίων (...) καὶ τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν εὗρεν ἐπαληθεύουσαν τὴν κοίμησιν τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Θεοδώρου. Cf. et. T. MATANTSEVA, Un fragment d'une nouvelle vie de saint Théodore Stoudite, vie D (*BHG* 1755f). *BF* 23 (1996) 151–163, here 151–152.

<sup>38</sup> MATANTSEVA, Vie d'Hilarion (as above note 11) 17–29.

<sup>39</sup> Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie (*BHG* 1392) (ed. J. GOULLARD, Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire. *TM* 2 [1967] 1–316) 53,130 (Hilarion of Dalmatos); 53,123 and 297,113 (Michael of Synada). Moreover, Hilarion is acclaimed together with Ioannikios and Symeon as the leaders of the hegoumenoi, the ascetics and the Stylites due to their fight against the iconoclasts, see J. DARROUZÈS, Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine. Paris 1966, 296,5; J. DARROUZÈS, Le patriarche Méthode contre les Iconoclastes et les Stoudites. *REB* 45 (1987) 15–57, here 54, line 12. These three saints are named as the main supports of Methodios in achieving the patriarchate, see Vita Ioannicii per Petrum (*BHG* 936) in *AASS* Nov. 2.1, 384–435, here 431A–B; D. SULLIVAN, Life of St. Ioannikios, in: Byzantine Defenders of Images, ed. A. M. TALBOT, Washington 1998, 243–351, here 340–342.

<sup>40</sup> JANIN, La siège de Constantinople (as above, note 21) 323. For the confusion between the male and the female name, see A. BERGER (ed.), Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar. (*Millennium Studies* 7). Berlin 2006, 40, n. 216. For a parallel case, see the monastery of Ta Paulinou/Ta Paulines: C. MANGO, On the Cult of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Constantinople, in: Thymiamia ste mneme tes Laskarinass Mpoura. Athens 1994, 189–192.

chronicler Theophanes the Confessor<sup>41</sup>, Konstantinos devastated Maximina (and also the monastery of Dalmatos). However, this establishment was immediately rebuilt, since its new hegoumenos Eustathios took part in the Second Council of Nikaia (787) and signed its Minutes<sup>42</sup>. We do not know how large it was during Photios' childhood, in the twenties of the 9th century (it may have been just a small *metochion* dependent on a main monastery), but we do know that Maximina was run by Iakobos<sup>43</sup>. The main defender of images with such a name in that decade is none other than a Stoudite monk praised by Theodoros himself. Iakobos Stoudites had led an ascetic life from childhood and was a disciple of Theodoros<sup>44</sup>. During the persecution under Leo V he was a partner of Thaddaios, the first Stoudite martyr for his adherence to the cause of the icons<sup>45</sup> and, like him, Iakobos suffered severe beatings and was left half dead and a permanent invalid. He is said to have foreseen that his death was imminent before he died in *ca.* 824<sup>46</sup>. Theodoros Stoudites recorded the death of this hero of Orthodoxy in one of his homilies (Parva Catechesis 115)<sup>47</sup> and considered him to be a "confessor of Christ"<sup>48</sup>.

In order to promote worship of Iakobos, Theodoros also composed an ecclesiastical hymn, which happens to be his only surviving *kanon* in honor of a contemporary saint of the Second Iconoclasm<sup>49</sup>. Although the piece does not specify the name of "Iakobos" and has been preserved under the generic title "dedicated to a dead monk", Theodoros' engagement in writing such a piece as edifying reading for all the Stoudites – as he himself stated –<sup>50</sup> allows us to conclude that he is the protagonist. According to its lines, he was a most exemplary monk who had followed an ascetic life, sought perfection in the monastic tradition of obedience and exercised *parrhesia* as a staunch supporter of icons<sup>51</sup>. After his persecution, he received the crown of martyrs and now enjoys the kingdom of Heaven.

These words match perfectly the information on Iakobos Stoudites provided by Theodoros in his epistle 441, where the hegoumenos of Stoudios also describes his multitudinous funeral<sup>52</sup>. Theodoros

<sup>41</sup> Theophanes, *s. a.* 6209, AM 6259 (ed. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis chronographia*. Leipzig 1883–1885, I, 443; transl. C. MANGO and R. SCOTT, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*. Oxford 1997, 611).

<sup>42</sup> MANSI XII 1111D; XIII 60C and 152A.

<sup>43</sup> *PmbZ* # 2635; *PBE*: Iakobos 2.

<sup>44</sup> *PmbZ* # 2632; *PBE*: Iakobos 14; DOBROKLONSKII, *Prepodobnie Feodor'* (as above, note 30) II 295ss. He was the addressee of two epistles from Theodoros Stoudites, who addressed him as Ἰακώβω τέκνω (Theod. Stoud., Epist. 189 and 328 [313, 469 FATOUROS]) and is mentioned in five further letters dated between 816 and 824 (Theod. Stoud., Epist. 186, 190, 195, 199, 441 [308–310, 314–315, 318–319, 322, 620–622 FATOUROS]).

<sup>45</sup> *PmbZ* # 7252; *PBE*: Thaddaios 1; J. PARGOIRE, *Saint Thaddée l'homologue*. *EO* 9 (1906) 37–41; CH. VAN DE VORST, *Saint Thaddée Studite*. *AnBoll* 31 (1912) 157–160; DOBROKLONSKII, *Prepodobnie Feodor'* (as above note 30) II 291–294; D.Y. AFINOGENOV, *The Church Slavonic Life of St. Thaddaios the Martyr of the Second Iconoclasm*. *AnBoll* 119 (2001) 313–338; P. HATLIE, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople (ca. 350–850)*. Cambridge 2007, 265.

<sup>46</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 441,39–40 (621–622 FATOUROS).

<sup>47</sup> Theod. Stoud., Parva Catechesis 115 (396 AUVRAY): Κατήχησις ΠΙΕ'. Περὶ μνήμης θανάτου καὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως ἀδελφοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ περὶ μετάνοιας. Vid. Theod. Stoud., Parva Catechesis 133,45 (466 AUVRAY).

<sup>48</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 441,2–4 (620 FATOUROS): τὴν ἱερὰν κοίμησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῦ ἀξιεράστου. Theod. Stoud., Epist. 441,9–10 (621 FATOUROS): τί γὰρ οἶε τὸν ἄνδρα; ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμολογητὴν; ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μάρτυρα; ἀλλ' οὐχ ὄσιον;

<sup>49</sup> M.A. MAGRÌ, *Un canone inedito di Teodoro Studita nel Cod. Messanensis gr. 153*, in: *Umanità e Storia. Scritti in onore di Adelchi Attisani*. Messina 1971, vol. 2, 85–101; A. MAGRÌ, *Il canone In requiem monachi di Teodoro Studita*. *Helikon* 18–19 (1978/1979) 276–292.

<sup>50</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 441,50–53 (622 FATOUROS): περὶ τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ λειψάνου, ὡς γέγραφα περὶ κανόνος, εἰ εὐδοκεῖ Κύριος, ποιήσω. ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ· καὶ γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀναγνωστέον.

<sup>51</sup> For the complex concept of *parrhesia* see P. HATLIE, *The Politics of Salvation: Theodore of Stoudios on Martyrdom (Martyrion) and Speaking Out (Parrhesia)*. *DOP* 50 (1996) 263–287; G. SCARPAT, *Parrhesia greca, Parrhesia Cristiana*. Brescia 2001.

<sup>52</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 441,41–44 (622 FATOUROS): ἐπειδὴ δὲ προεῖπας καὶ πολυάνθρωπον συνδρομὴν γενέσθαι τῆς κηδείας καὶ γε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιφανῶν κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, ἔτι μαρτύριον τοῦ λόγου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἀφανῆ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, εἰ μὴ θεοῦ νεῦσις, ἢ τοιαύτη συνάθροισις ἐγεγόνει.

states that Iakobos now finds himself in heaven among the martyrs<sup>53</sup>; he therefore urges his brothers to pray to him and to implore his assistance<sup>54</sup>. Theodoros' success in this endeavor is clearly visible in the different versions of his hagiography, since Iakobos' sacrifice made him worthy of being one of the loyal Stoudites recorded along with their leader<sup>55</sup>. As a model for all the monks of the Stoudite federation, Iakobos was celebrated annually on 28th June by means of an entry in the lectionaries that reminds us of his veneration of icons, his confession and tortures, his Slavonic origin and his affiliation to the monastery of Stoudios<sup>56</sup>.

Despite Theodoros' efforts, however, the cult of Iakobos did not cross the threshold of the monastic communities. The iconophile saint of the same name honoured in the Synaxarion of Constantinople and in the Menologion Basilii is not Iakobos Stoudites, because not only is the saint's day different (on 21st or 24th March) but this man was also a bishop<sup>57</sup>. The only bishop named Iakobos known to us is that of Anchialos (Thrace), who was a pastoral minister under the patriarchate of Tarasios (784–806)<sup>58</sup>. Iakobos of Anchialos renounced his see to become a humble contemplative monk in Bithynia, where he guided Petros of Atroa down the correct path of the ascetic life<sup>59</sup>. When he died in the late 830s, under the reign of Theophilos<sup>60</sup>, the former empress Prokopia (the mother of the patriarch Ignatios) tried to move Iakobos' body to her own monastery, but Antonios the Younger (one of Iakobos' disciples) resisted and ensured that his corpse remained interred in the monastery of the Eunuchs nestled in the foothills of Mount Olympos, in Bithynia<sup>61</sup>.

Although Bishop Iakobos was not living in the capital during Photios' early years, but in north-western Anatolia, his presence in the Synaxarion of Constantinople and the Menologion Basilii could well have attracted Pseudo-Symeon's attention to his namesake. If this is true and the chronicler wanted to find information on Iakobos Stoudites, it is highly probable that he read the letters of Theo-

<sup>53</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 441,45–47 (622 ΦΑΤΟΥΡΟΣ): Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν μετέβη πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ προσετέθη τοῖς συνάθλοις, καὶ ἠύξησεν ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁμολογητῶν καὶ μαρτύρων, ἐφ' ᾧ χαρὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ θυμηδία.

<sup>54</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 441,47–50 (622 ΦΑΤΟΥΡΟΣ): οὗ ταῖς εὐχαῖς σωθῆϊμεν, ἀδελφοί, εὐροῖτε δὲ μισθοποδοσίαν ἀζίαν τῆς ὀσίας ἐξυπηρετήσεως αὐτοῦ. εὐλογημένοι δὲ καὶ οἱ συναγεθῆντες ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐσεβεῖς, ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλομάτυρες· ὧν ἡ μερὶς μεθ' οὗ ἐξεκομίσαντο εἶεν.

<sup>55</sup> Vita B Theod. Stoud. (BHG 1754) 46 (PG 99, 233–328), 301D: ὁ καρτερικώτατος Ἰάκωβος; Vita C Theod. Stoud. (BHG 1755d), 56 (ed. V. LATYSEV, Vita S. Theodori in codice Mosquensi musei Rumianzoviani 520. *VV* 21 [1914] 258–304), 291; Vita A Theod. Stoud. (BHG 1755) (ed. V. LATYSEV, Zitie prep. Theodora Studita v miunhenskoj rukopisi n° 467. *VV* 21 [1914] 222–254) 205C.

<sup>56</sup> As shown by the *menologion* recorded in two lectionaries with the Stoudite tradition and its characteristic liturgical calendar. They are the manuscripts Parisinus gr. 382, late 10th century, and Venezia, Marcianus gr. II 115 (coll. 1058), 11th–12th centuries: Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ (sc. 28th June) τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Ἰακώβου μοναχοῦ τῶν Στουδίου τῷ γένει σκλάβος τυπτόμενος διὰ τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν τιμίων εἰκόνων ἐκοιμήθη. Ζῆτει τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ εἰς ὀσίους (Parisinus gr. 382, fol. 253v; Marcianus gr. II 115, fol. 265v). On these *menologia* see G. ANDREOU, Alcune osservazioni sul menologion del lezionario Paris gr. 382 (X sec. ex). *BollGrott* III serie 2 (2005) 5–16, esp. 14–15; IDEM, New Evidences relating to the Studite Rite. *BollGrott* serie III, 5 (2008) 27–40, esp. 37–38.

<sup>57</sup> *PmbZ* # 2637; *PBE*: Iakobos 16; SynaxCP 558,2–9 (24th March) and 551/552,42–54 (21st March); Menologium Basilii. PG 117,361D–363A (21st March). He is also included in the Synaxarion Evergetis, cf. R.H. JORDAN, The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: March–August. Belfast 2005, 28. In honour of Iakobos, Ignatios composed an ecclesiastical *kanon* to be sung on 21st March: I. SCHIRO, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*. Rome 1972, III 260–268.

<sup>58</sup> *PmbZ* # 2630; *PBE*: Iakobos 5.

<sup>59</sup> Vita Antonii Iunioris (BHG 142), 28–30 (ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Sylloge Palaistinês kai Syriakês Hagiologias*. St Petersburg 1907, I 186–216); Vita Antonii Iunioris (BHG 142 Addit.), 6 (ed. F. HALKIN, Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur. *AnBoll* 62 [1944] 210–225); Vita Petri Atroensis, by Sabas the monk (BHG 2364), 65–68 (ed. V. LAURENT, *La Vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* [*Subsidia Hagiographica* 29]. Brussels 1956). It was probably c. 826.

<sup>60</sup> The date was after 836 (the seventh year of Theophilos), see LAURENT, *La Vie merveilleuse* 206, n. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Vita Antonii Iunioris (BHG 142) 34–39. The monastery of the Eunuchs seems to have been identical with that of Hagios Porphyrios, vid. R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine*, II : Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique). Paris 1975, 149.

doros of Stoudios, where several references to a related episode appear: a certain Stoudite monk Iakobos, who was also an iconophile<sup>62</sup>, persuaded his monastic brother Erastos to baptise a dying child, even though he was not allowed to administer this rite as he was not a priest<sup>63</sup>. It is generally accepted that the baby was the son of the *hypatos* and *chartouarios* Thomas, whose two other infants had previously died unbaptised<sup>64</sup>. This baptism was criticised by Antonios, the metropolitan bishop of Dyrrhachion, which led to the involvement of Theodoros of Stoudios, who wrote a convincing defence of it in his epistle 462 and a letter on the matter to Iakobos himself (epist. 466).

Since the affair of that baptism occurred at the beginning of the twenties (*ca.* 823) to coincide with the historical birth and baptism of Photios, it might well be possible for the Pseudo-Symeon (or for his philo-Ignatian source) to draw an interesting parallel with whatever he had heard about the early years of the patriarch. In the absence of further evidence no definite answer can be given on the historicity of Pseudo-Symeon's account, but documentary evidence on Iakobos Stoudites accords with the figure of Iakobos of Maximina and with what we can reconstruct of him by a close reading of the text. By contrast, as discussed above, Iakobos the hermit, the former bishop of Anchialos in Thrace and iconophile saint recorded in the Synaxarion of Constantinople, cannot be identified with the baptiser of Photios and should be considered a different person.

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<sup>62</sup> *PmbZ* # 2633; *PBE*: Iakobos 13. For Efthymiadis this Iakobos and the bishop of Anchialos are the same person, see S. EFTHYMIADIS, Notes on the Correspondence of Theodore the Studite. *REB* 53 (1995) 141–163, here 146–148.

<sup>63</sup> Theod. Stoud., Epist. 462 and 466 (659–661, 667–669 FATOUROS). On Erastos, see *PmbZ* # 1604; *PBE*: Erastos 2.

<sup>64</sup> *PmbZ* # 8462; *PBE*: Thomas 59; Theod. Stoud., Epist. 467 (669–671 FATOUROS).