

Constantinople as Center and Crossroad

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Crossing the Straits in the Search for a Cure

Travelling to Constantinople in the Miracles of its healer saints^{*}

GRIGORI SIMEONOV

In his *Enkomion* on St Therapon whose relics were sent to Constantinople from Cyprus to save them from Arab raiders, the author—most probably Andrew of Crete (died after 740)¹—calls upon local people and those from abroad to come and praise the martyr.² Yet another source, the Miracles of the Mother of God of the Life-Giving Spring (Zoodochos Pege) in the suburbs of the capital stresses that the Virgin Mary protected predominantly those pilgrims from close by who were devoted to her.³ Furthermore, the author explains that most of the miracles per-

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¹ J. Haldon, “The Miracles of Artemios and Contemporary Attitudes: Context and Significance,” in V. S. Crisafulli & J. W. Nesbitt (eds.), *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, New York & Cologne 1997), 33–73, here 34 and n. 10. The Greek text is a reprint of A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), *Varia graeca sacra. Sbornik grecheskikh neizdannikh bogoslovskikh tekstov IV–XV vekov* (Saint Petersburg 1909), 1–75 (reprint Leipzig 1975). On the Life of Andrew, see M.-F. Auzépy, “La carrière d’André de Crète,” *BZ* 88 (1995), 1–12, on his *Enkomion* on Therapon, 9–10.

² L. Deubner (ed.), *De incubatione capita quattuor. Accedit laudatio in miracula sancti hieromartyris Therapontis e codice Messanensi denuo edita* (Leipzig 1900), ch. 27, p. 133, 13–17: πᾶσα ἡ ποίμνη τοῦ καλοῦ ποιμένος μὴ ἀποδράμοιτε, πτωχοί τε καὶ πένητες, παρθένοι καὶ σώφρονες, οἱ ἐν γῆρᾳ ὁμοῦ καὶ νεότητι, ὀνητοί τε καὶ αὐτόχθονες, πάντες ἅμα τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεραπευτὴν εὐφημήσωμεν, χεῖρας ψυχῆς εὐτόνως ἀνακροτήσωμεν καὶ Θεῷ ἐνθάδε συναλαλάξωμεν.

³ A.-M. Talbot (ed.), *Anonymous Miracles of the Pege*, in *Miracle Tales from Byzantium*, tr. by A.-M. Talbot and S. F. Johnson (Cambridge & London 2012), mir. 33, 1, 276–78: Καὶρὸς δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς εἰς τινα μοναχὸν τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς κατὰ πάροdon διηγήσασθαι καὶ παραστήσαι, ὅπως τε τῶν ἐξ ἁλλοδαπῶν χωρῶν καταλαμβάνοντων ἱκετῶν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀφροντιστεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐγγυτάτω καὶ ταύτη ὑπηρετουμένων τὰ μάλιστα ὑπερμαχεῖ, ὥς ἐστιν ἐντεῦθεν ἰδεῖν.

formed on those who asked the Theotokos for a cure and came to the church and the nearby spring from far away were not written down and thus got lost.⁴ Despite this peculiarity, we still possess some stories that reveal the miraculous healing of people who travelled to Constantinople and asked different saints for their help. This article presents miracles performed by the saints Artemios,⁵ Therapon,⁶ St Mary of the Spring,⁷ and Cosmas and Damian⁸ during the Early and the Middle Byzantine eras, all of which describe travels to the capital. It will try to analyze the way of travel, the stay in the city, the healing itself, and, last but not least, the ideological framework expressed in these stories.⁹

The miracles of Cyrus and John

The cult of the *Anargyroi* (Holy Unmercenaries)—healer saints who granted miraculous healing for the sick without any payment in return—developed in the Eastern Mediterranean, the area where these saints lived and had already occupied

⁴ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 42, 1, p. 290: Τὰ δὲ γε εἰς τοὺς ἀγνώτας καὶ ἀφανείας τοῦ βίου σεσχημένους καὶ ἀπὸ τόπων διεστηκότων ἀφικνουμένους καθ' ἑκάστην τελούμενα ποῖος μὲν ἀνθρώπινος καταλήψεται νοῦς, ποία δὲ γλῶσσα τρανώσει καὶ διὰ στόματος ἀγάγει καὶ παραστήσει τὰ μήτε λόγῳ ῥητὰ διὰ μέγεθος, μήτε πάλιν ἀριθμητὰ διὰ πλήθους ὑπερβολήν;

⁵ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, 76–225. On the collection, see V. Déroche, “Pourquoi écrivait-on des recueils de miracles? L'exemple des Miracles de Saint Artemios,” in C. Jolivet-Lévy et al. (eds.), *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance. Textes, images et monuments* (Paris 1993), 95–116.

⁶ Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, 120–34.

⁷ Talbot, *Pege*, 203–97. On the collection, see A.-M. Talbot, “The Anonymous Miracula of the Pege Shrine in Constantinople,” in P. Schreiner & O. Strakhov (eds.), *Χρυσαὶ Πύλαι. Zlatnaja vrata. Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Eightieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, Mass.), 222–28, and “Two Accounts of Miracles at the Pege Shrine in Constantinople,” in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron* (Paris 2002), 605–15; S. Efthymiadis, “Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople et ses deux recueils de miracles. Entre hagiographie et patriographie,” *REB* 64/65 (2006/2007): 283–309, here 288–302.

⁸ L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig & Berlin 1907). On this collection, see A.-M. Talbot, “Metaphrasis in Early Palaiologan Period: The Miracula of Kosmas and Damian by Maximos the Deacon,” in E. Kountoura-Galake (ed.), *The Heroes of the Orthodox Church. The New Saints, 8th–16th c.* (Athens 2004), 227–37.

⁹ On different aspects concerning pilgrimage in Early Byzantium, see P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris 1985) and “The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (before the Seventh Century),” *DOP* 56 (2002), 63–74; A.-M. Talbot, “Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts,” *DOP* 56 (2002), 153–73. On medicine and healings, see H. J. Magoulas, “The Lives of the Saints as Source of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries,” *BZ* 57 (1964), 127–50; B. Caseau, “Parfum et guérison dans le Christianisme ancien et byzantin: des huiles parfumées des médecins au myron des saints byzantins,” in V. Boudon-Millot and B. Pouderon (eds.), *Les Pères de l'Église face à la science médicale de leur temps* (Paris 2005), 141–91; On the miracle collections as a hagiographical genre, see H. Delehay, “Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1925), 5–85 and 305–325; R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris 1953), 178–81; S. Efthymiadis, “Collections of Miracles (Fifth–Fifteenth Centuries),” in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 2: *Genres and Contexts*, ed. (Farnham & Burlington 2014), 103–42, esp. 108–13; V. Déroche, “Tensions et contradictions dans les recueils de miracles de la première époque byzantine,” in D. Aigle (ed.), *Miracle et karâma. Hagiographies médiévales comparées 2* (Turnhout 2000), 145–66; I. Csepregi, “Who is behind Incubation Stories? The Hagiographers of Byzantine Dream-Healing Miracles,” in S. M. Oberhelman (ed.), *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present* (Farnham & Burlington 2013), 161–87. See also S. Constantinou, “The Morphology of Healing Dreams: Dream and Therapy in Byzantine Collections of Miracle Stories,” in C. Angelidi and G. T. Calofonos (eds.), *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond* (Farnham & Burlington 2014), 21–34, and “Healing Dreams in Early Byzantine Miracle Collections,” in Oberhelman (ed.), *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine*, 189–97.

themselves with healings during their lifetime. One of the most famous pairs of *Anargyroi* is the Egyptian saints Cyrus and John (Figs. 1–2).¹⁰ Their relics were placed first in a church in Alexandria and in the fifth century they were moved to a church at Menouthis standing on the site of a pagan temple of Serapis (near modern Abu Qir) which soon became an important pilgrimage centre where sick visitors from the whole Near East and even Rome¹¹ came together in order to be cured by the saints.¹² In the collection of their miracles written by Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem (died 638), who himself suffered from an eye disease and was healed by Cyrus and John, it is mentioned that sometimes citizens of Constantinople (*Byzantioi*) travelled to the shrine of the *Anargyroi* in Egypt searching for a cure.



Figs. 1–2. Ss Cyrus and John. Church of St Panteleimon in Gorno Nerezi / Republic of Macedonia. Photo by the author.

The author of the *Miracles of Cyrus and John* gives us few details on travel itself. In the case of a certain Theodoros, Patriarch Sophronios says only that the sick man rashly took a ship after he had read a letter from his friend and fellow citizen John the Deacon, who informed him about his miraculous healing in Menouthis.¹³ This explains why Theodoros arrived from Constantinople in Egypt and then returned to his home city, granted with a healing of the disease he had.¹⁴ Because we lack any further information, we cannot say what was the reason for persons from Constantinople appearing in the *thaumata* of Cyrus and John. We may only suppose that the author employed a *topos* and just wanted to stress the power and fame of his protagonists by counting numerous healings of suffering people from the whole Eastern and central Mediterranean.¹⁵ However, another explanation

¹⁰ *Los Thaumata de Sophronio. Contribucion al estudio de la Incubatio cristiana*, ed. N. F. Marcos (Madrid 1975).

¹¹ Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 51–68, 361–91.

¹² D. Montserrat, “Pilgrimage to the Shrine of SS Cyrus and John at Menouthis in Late Antiquity,” in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, Boston & Cologne 1998), 257–79, esp. 261–66. *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (Extraits), Saint Georges*, tr. A.-J. Festugière (Paris 1971), 215–37; Delehay, “Les recueils,” 19–32.

¹³ Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 60, 3–4, 376–77: “Ὁς Ἰωάννου τὸ γράμμα δεξάμενος, καὶ πιστεύσας τοῖς γράψαι κελεύσαντι (ἡγγόνει γὰρ ὁ διάκονος εἰ πάθει τοιοῦτω κρατεῖται Θεόδωρος), εἰς πλοῖον εὐθέως εἰσέρχεται, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἁγίων κατέλαβε τέμενος, ἀψευδὲς ἀρραβῶνας ἔχων τῆς ῥώσεως τὰ πρὸς τῆς αὐτῶν γραφέντα κελεύσεως γράμματα.

¹⁴ Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 60, 5, p. 377: Θεόδωρος γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ γράμματος τυχὼν τῆς ἰάσεως, ἤσας ᾧδὴν χαριστήριον, εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπλευσεν.

¹⁵ Cf. T. Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin & New York 2005), esp. 225–97.

may be proposed—could it be that the capital city of Constantinople simply still lacked its own healer saints who could offer the sick cure and relief from all the diseases that tormented them?

No certainty exists about the exact chronology of the majority of the miracles apart from the Shrine at Pege, but a parallel coexistence of cults in Constantinople (Cosmas and Damian, the Virgin Mary at the Source, Artemios) and Egypt (Cyrus and John, Menas) during Late Antiquity seems possible. But it is still the miracle collection of Sophronios of Jerusalem that contains the largest number of miraculous healings granted to pilgrims from the whole Mediterranean (20 in total). Again the *thaumata* of Cyrus and John have a special chapter about miracles εἰς ξένους γραφέντα (performed on foreigners) in which the hagiographer praises the zeal of those coming from far away, having overcome all the troubles and challenges of a journey on land or by sea.¹⁶ This peculiarity indicates an author who is aware of the aspect of travelling to a certain sanctuary from near and/or remote destinations and reflects an older and deeper tradition in the field of Christian pilgrimage.

In contrast to the Egyptian saints Cyrus and John, the collections of miracles of the ‘Constantinopolitan’ healers Cosmas and Damian, Artemios, and Therapon feature no strict division of miracles performed for local inhabitants and healings granted to pilgrims from distant regions.¹⁷ The author of the *thaumata* of the Life-Giving Spring points out such an attribution¹⁸, but we should remember that he compiled his text in the second half of the tenth century.¹⁹ The imperial city and its sanctuaries needed time in order to face the competition of pilgrimage centers like Menouthis and Abu Mena in Egypt.²⁰ The origins of this significant change may be traced to the late sixth—early seventh century when the Persian and Arab raids in the East combined with the growing prestige of Constantinople made it a place to send holy relics that were held in the Eastern provinces of the Empire up to this date. Thus, the direction of the main stream of travellers searching for a cure underwent a change, and from the seventh century onwards the sick inhabitants of the Mediterranean had to cross the Straits and head towards Constantinople.²¹ There they could attest to their belief in Christ and his saints and in this way find themselves relieved from suffering and pain. We can trace this tendency in a London codex with miracles of Cosmas and Damian, dated by

¹⁶ Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 51, 1–2, 361–62: Καίτοι προκρίνεσθαι ἡμεῖς ἂν εἴμεν ἄξιοι, πολὺν ὑπομένοντες κάματον, ὁδοπορίας τε κόπον ἀνύοντες, καὶ θαλαττίου καταπύοντες κλύδονος, καὶ κινδύνων χαλεπῶν ἀνεχόμενοι, καὶ ἀναρίθμητα διαστήματα τέμνοντες, καὶ πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς μάρτυρας ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐσχατιῶν ἀπερχόμενοι, καὶ πανταχόσε κηρύττοντες Κύρου καὶ Ἰωάννου τὰ θαύματα, καὶ τὴν ἄρρητον αὐτῶν καὶ θεόσδοτον δύναμιν.

¹⁷ On dating the oldest miracle collection of Cosmas and Damian in the late sixth century, see Delehay, “Les recueils,” 10–11.

¹⁸ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 42, 1, p. 290.

¹⁹ Talbot, “Miracula,” 223–26; Efthymiadis, “Le monastère de la Source,” 297–300.

²⁰ On the Miracles of St Menas, see I. Pomialovskii (ed.), *Zhitie prepodobnago Paisiia Velikago i Timotheia Patriarkha Aleksandriiskago povestvovanie o chudesakh Sv. Velikomuchenika Mina* (Saint Petersburg 1900), 62–89, and Delehay, “Les recueils,” 46–49; on his sanctuary, see P. Grossmann, “The Pilgrimage Centre of Abū Minā,” in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space*, 281–302; on the transfer of relics to the new capital on the Bosphorus, see S. Diefenbach, “Zwischen Liturgie und civitas. Konstantinopel im 5. Jahrhundert und die Etablierung eines städtischen Kaisertums,” in R. Warland (ed.), *Bildlichkeit und Bildorte von Liturgie. Schauplätze in Spätantike, Byzanz und Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden 2002), 21–49, here 24, and Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 93–100.

²¹ Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 92–3, 104 and 149–50.

Rupprecht to the early tenth century.²² The saints themselves told the sick Thomas staying in their shrine in the Syrian town of Cyrrhus that he would not receive a cure there, but that he had to go to the church of the *Anargyroi* in the Blachernai.²³ This documents the beginning of a new era in Christian pilgrimage in the Eastern Mediterranean, dominated by the capital of the Byzantine Empire.²⁴

The miracles of Artemios

For the purpose of this study the most informative source is the *Miracles of St Artemios*. He was a *dux* of Alexandria in the second half of the fourth century, who was tortured and killed during the reign of Emperor Julian for his faith in Christ (Fig. 3). His relics were initially deposited in Antioch, the city where his martyrdom took place, and were later transported to Constantinople in a lead coffin by a deaconess named Ariste. Scholars date this *translatio* to the late fifth century during the reign of Emperor Anastasios when the saint, who was quite possibly of Arian persuasion, became popular with his healing power and was venerated not only by Arians, but by Orthodox Christians as well.²⁵ Artemios' remains were preserved in a chapel in the church of St. John Prodromos that used to be the former home of Emperor Anastasios I in the quarter called Oxeia.²⁶



Fig. 3: St Artemios. Church of St Nicolas in Manastir (Republic of Macedonia).

Photo by the author.

²² E. Rupprecht (ed.), *Cosmae et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vitam et miracula e codice Londinensi* (Berlin 1935), IX.

²³ Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani, mir.* 18, p. 45, 9–15: ὅς προσέφυγε τὸ τέμενος τῶν ἁγίων τὸ ἐν Κυρρεστικοῖς κάτω διακείμενον τῆς Συρίας, δεόμενος τοὺς ἁγίους ἀπαύστως τῆς ἰάσεως τυχεῖν. ἐκεῖνῳ φανέντες εἶπον οἱ ἅγιοι· ‘οὐ δύνασαι μένων ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἰάσεως τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθε ταχέως εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις κείμενον’. On a similar passage in the *Life of St Daniel Stylites*, see H. Delehay, *Les saints stylites* (Bruxelles & Paris 1923), chap. 10, p. 12, 12–16: μὴ ἀπέλθῃς ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα, ἀλλ’ ἀπέλθε εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ βλέπεις δευτέραν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν· ἀπολαύεις καὶ τῶν μαρτυρίων καὶ μεγάλων εὐκτηρίων, καὶ ἐὰν θέλῃς ἡσυχάσαι ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ εἴτε ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ εἴτε ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, οὐκ ἔχει σε ὁ Κύριος ἐγκαταλεῖψαι, and the commentary of Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 92 and n. 155.

²⁴ Cf. Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 92–104, esp. 104.

²⁵ J. W. Nesbitt, “Introduction,” in V. S. Crisafulli & J. W. Nesbitt (eds.), *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 1–30, here 1–4; C. Mango, “On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople,” *Zograf* 10 (1979), 40–43, here 40–41. P. Maas, “Artemioskult in Konstantinopel,” *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920), 377–80.

²⁶ *Patria Konstantinoupoleos in Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger, vol. I (Leipzig 1901), ch. 3, 51, 235–36; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinoupoleos* (Bonn 1988),

The etymology of the name derives from the hill's steepness towards the Golden Horn, contrary to the name of the other quarter Plateia which means "flat." As the author of the Miracles says, the church of St John the Baptist was located near the colonnade of Domninos, a structure which is placed by Mango along one of the north/south axes of Constantinople that reached the main street, the Mese, at the bronze Tetrastylon.²⁷ Other buildings in the vicinity of the church were the church of St Anastasia, the Bath of Dagistheos, and smaller sites as well where commercial and craftsman activity was organized.²⁸ Nowadays this area (Oxeia) is the location of the Süleymaniye Camii.

Although scholars disagree about the date of the composition of the Miracles, thanks to the information of the text itself citing the names of the emperors Maurice and Constance II, we can assume that the miracles were performed in the late sixth and during the seventh century.²⁹ Since the source material on Byzantine history in this period is scarce, the Miracles of Artemios present important information about such topics as urban development, daily life, the spiritual and ideological atmosphere in Constantinople in the period under consideration, medicine, and, last but not least, travelling in Byzantium.

The Miracles of Artemios contain seven stories dealing with sick or injured persons who visited the saint's chapel in order to be cured.³⁰ In six of them the traveller's place of origin is mentioned (Africa,³¹ Chios,³² Rhodes in two stories,³³ Gaul,³⁴ and Argypopolis³⁵) together with information concerning the travel by sea. Two Miracles, however, only mention that the protagonists were from Amastris (Paphlagonia)³⁶ and Phrygia³⁷, but the lack of any details on the way these persons reached the city, as the use of the verb πλεῖν (sail) for example, does not specify whether they arrived in Constantinople by land or sea. It is even possible that the sick persons were simply citizens of Constantinople and immigrants of Paphlagonian or Phrygian origin, such as Theodoros, the blacksmith from Cilicia, and

458–59; *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria*. Tr. A. Berger (Cambridge, Mass. & London 2013), 168–69; Nesbitt, *Introduction*, 8–9; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin. Part I. Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarchat Œcuménique. Vol. III. Les églises et les monastères* (Paris 1969), 419–20, and "Études de topographie byzantine (suite): Τὰ Ναυροῦ. Ὁξεία," *Échos d'Orient* 36 (1937), 288–308, here 299–305; P. Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," in P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot & Burlington 2007), 1–111, here 2–3; Delehay, "Les recueils," 32–35.

²⁷ Nesbitt, *Introduction*, 8; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles)* (Paris 2004), 30–31 and Plan II; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et repertoire topographique* (Paris 1964), 344–45; Idem, "Études de topographie byzantine: Εμβόλοι τοῦ Δομνίνου. Τὰ Μαυριανῶν," *Échos d'Orient* 36 (1937), 129–56.

²⁸ M. Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *DOP* 54 (2000), 189–207.

²⁹ Déroche, *Artemios*, 97 and n. 7; Nesbitt, *Introduction*, 7–8; Haldon, "Miracles," 33–36.

³⁰ See an overview in Nesbitt, *Introduction*, 19–21; E. Kisliger, "Reisen und Verkehrswege in Byzanz. Realität und Mentalität, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen," in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies*. Sofia, 22–27 August 2011. Vol. I, Plenary Papers (Sofia 2011), 341–87, here 363, and L. Rydén, "Gaza, Emesa and Constantinople: Late Ancient Cities in the Light of Hagiography," in L. Rydén and J. O. Rosenqvist (eds.), *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium. Papers Read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul 31 May – 5 June 1992* (Stockholm 1993), 133–44, here 140–44.

³¹ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 4, 82–84.

³² Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 5, 84–86.

³³ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 9 and 35, 92–94 and 184–88.

³⁴ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 27, 152–54.

³⁵ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 32, 164–70. Mir. 14, p. 102 presents the miraculous healing of a sailor, performed by the saint on board a ship, but does not mention the sailor's place of origin.

³⁶ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 3, 80–82.

³⁷ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 8, p. 92.

the anonymous actor born in Alexandria, who accompanied the sick relative of the senator Sergios to the church of St John in Oxeia.³⁸

The Miracles tell the story of a certain man from Africa whose son fell ill. The father learned about Artemios from local inhabitants who assured him that the child would be cured if the father travelled to the saint's chapel in Constantinople. The man wrote the name of St John's church in Oxeia on a piece of papyrus and headed to the capital. There he made a votive lamp with wine and oil for his son, who was miraculously restored to health at the moment his father offered the lamp.³⁹ The only detail about the trip from Africa to the Bosphorus is the way the father travelled (on ship) and that he took with him the burnt residue from the lamp in a glass vessel.⁴⁰

Another man, a merchant from Chios, suffered from a hernia, but his health problem was no severe obstacle for his commercial activity. While he dwelled in Constantinople he learned about the holy relics of Artemios and went to his chapel where the sick man remained for three months without success. Since the sailors of the ship that carried him to the capital were in a hurry, he had to leave both chapel and city. However, by divine providence a head wind forced the ship to anchor at the Hebdomon.⁴¹ That same night St Artemios appeared in his dream and asked the sick man about his sufferings. The merchant told his story, saying it was his sins that prevented him from being cured. As a reward for his faith the saint freed him from the disease on board the ship. The happy man took some food and got off in order to give St Artemios his thanks, despite the sailors' warnings that they would sail away if the wind started blowing again. Nevertheless, when the merchant from Chios came back to the Hebdomon, he found the ship still at anchor and was able to sail back home.⁴²

Similar is the story of Theodoros from the island of Rhodes. He was also afflicted with a hernia and headed to Constantinople once he heard about Artemios' miracles. Because his healing was delayed and his stay in the capital was prolonged, the necessities for his stay grew short. The text is not fully preserved and does not tell what actually happened to Theodoros. We are only informed that he intended to leave Constantinople by ship and was miraculously healed at his home.⁴³

³⁸ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 26, p. 148, 4–17 and mir. 17, 108–114. See also Rydén, "Gaza," 143.

³⁹ On this and other kinds of treatment, see Caseau, "Parfum et guérison," 151–70.

⁴⁰ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 4, p. 84, 8–10: ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀποπλεῖν, τὸ ἀπόκαυμα τῆς κανδήλης εἰς ἄγρος βαλὼν ὑέλουν εἰς Ἀφρικὴν ἀπεκόμισεν. On childhood diseases in Byzantine hagiography, see D. Ariantzi, *Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert* (Berlin & Boston 2012), 299–324.

⁴¹ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 5, p. 84, 21–26: καταλαβόντος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ ἀποπλεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἐντεύθεν, καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐπειγόντων, ἐν ᾧ ἐνέβαλεν πλοῖω ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπρακτος, πάνυ συγκεχυμένος τὴν ψυχὴν. κατὰ δὲ θεῖαν πρόνοιαν ἀνέμου ἐναντίου πνεύσαντος, ὥρμησεν τὸ εἰρημένον πλοῖον τὸ Ἑβδόμον, εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Μαγναύραν. On the Hebdomon, see A. Külzer, *Ostthrakien (Europé), Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 12 (Vienna 2008), 391–95 (henceforth cited as *TIB* 12); R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris 1945); H. Glück, *Das Hebdomon von Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1920); T. K. Makrides, "Τὸ Βυζαντινὸν Ἑβδόμον καὶ αἱ παρ' αὐτῷ Μοναὶ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος καὶ Μάμαντος," *Θρακικά* 10 (1938), 137–98, and 12 (1939), 35–80; N. Tziras, *Το Ἑβδόμον του Βυζαντίου καὶ ἡ ἐλληνικὴ κοινότης Μακροχωρίου* (Athens 1992); A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London 1899), 316–41; A. Taddei, "Some Topographical Remarks on Pope Constantine's Journey to Constantinople (AD 710–711)," *Eurasian Studies* 11 (2013), 53–78, here 61–69; T. Tuna, *Hebdomon'dan Bakırköy'e: From Hebdomon to Bakırköy* (Istanbul 2000), 15–56.

⁴² Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 5, p. 86, 11–21. See also H. Magoulas, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Commerce in the Byzantine Empire in the 6th and 7th Cent.," *Kleronomia* 3, no. 2 (1971), 303–30, here 316.

⁴³ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 9, 92–94, 18–1: ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Ἀρτεμίου καὶ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ δοθείσης αὐτῷ χάριτος, ἐπεδήμησεν ἐν τῇ πανευδαίμονι πόλει, καὶ προσκαρτερήσας αὐτῷ χρόνον

Because Constantinople was the heart of the Byzantine economy, it was an important station not only for merchants but also for sailors, shipbuilders, and ship-owners. Two of them—a sailor whose name and homeland are unknown and a shipbuilder from Gaul—suffered from an andrological disease. Both men tried to combine their stay in Constantinople with a visit to St Artemios' chapel where they hoped to be cured. The sailor waited for one month and was forced to leave because the other sailors urged him to set sail. Artemios miraculously cured him onboard the ship after it had passed beyond Abydos.⁴⁴ The saint intervened in the same way in the case of the sick shipbuilder from Gaul who had generously completed a great deal of carpentry work during his long stay at the church in Oxeia, with the slight difference that he cured the man in a night vision on the open sea.⁴⁵

George from Rhodes was another man suffering from a hernia, the treatment of which Artemios was famous for. George was a ναύκληρος, a ship-owner. While he was on business in Constantinople together with his sons he heard about the saint and decided to visit the church in Oxeia. Although he took enough food and let his sons sail back, the man could not expect that his stay in the chapel of Artemios would last for three years and his healing would be prolonged for this length of time. During this period his two sons visited him and brought their father necessary provisions.⁴⁶ At the end of the third year, the old man decided to leave, believing that his sins prevented the healing. But George's stay in Constantinople was not in vain; his humble behaviour was appreciated by the saint as a sign of his faith in God, and Artemios healed him. Because the cured man was a ship-owner, he got back to Rhodes on ship.⁴⁷

These stories present us with people who headed to Constantinople on long sea routes. The case with Menas, a 20-year-old young man from Alexandria who lived in Argyropolis on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, describes a sail to Constantinople straight from one side of the inlet to the other.⁴⁸ The young Menas worked for a wine merchant and severely wounded his abdomen and testicles in an

τινὰ ἐν ῥαθυμίᾳ περιπεπτώσει, ἅτε δὴ ὥρων ἑαυτὸν τῇ νόσῳ ἐγχρονίζοντα μερίμνη τε περὶ τῶν οἰκείων σφιγγόμενον καὶ ἰάσεως μὴ τυγχάνοντα, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντα. καὶ δὴ ἀπειρηκώς, βουλῆς τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐγένετο.

⁴⁴ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 14, p. 102, 1–18: Τὶς ναύτης τῷ αὐτῷ νοσήματι περιπεπτωκώς προσεκάρτερην τῷ ἁγίῳ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· τῶν δὲ συνναυτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπειγόντων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλεῖσαι, ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ ναοῦ ἀπέπλευσεν· μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐξαβυδῆσαι αὐτοῦς, πλεόντων αὐτῶν φορῶν ἄνεμῳ, ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ἑώρων τινὰ χλαινοφόρον ἐστῶτα παρὰ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ἐπιτάττοντα, καὶ ἐξεθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τῷ ξένῳ θεάματι, ὁρῶντες ἐν τοιοῦτῳ σχήματι ξένον αὐτοῖς συμπλέοντα.

⁴⁵ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 27, p. 152, 8–28: κατέλαβεν δὲ καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποπλεῖσαι αὐτόν, καὶ δὴ ἐξέπλευσεν ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν πλοίῳ εἰς Γαλλίαν. καὶ ἐν τῷ πελάγει πλεόντων αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀπὸ τινος διαστήματος ὀλίγου τοῦ Γαλλίων κλίματος, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ ἅγιος Ἀρτέμιος ἐν εἰδὲ τοῦ ναυκλήρου αὐτοῦ φορῶν χλαμύδα, καὶ ἡλλοιοῦτο θεωρῶν αὐτὸν χλαινοφόρον. ἦν δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου τὸ πλοῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἔπλεεν, ὑπομείναν τι κατὰ τὴν τρόπιν, καὶ ἔτυχεν κατελθεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν νοσοῦντα κολύμβῳ καὶ ποιῆσαι ὅπερ ἔχρηζεν τὸ πλοῖον. λέγει οὖν αὐτῷ ὅ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁράματι ὡς ἐν εἰδὲ τοῦ ναυκλήρου, ὁ ἅγιος· “Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ἀδελφέ, εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐποίησας, καὶ καλῶς ἐποίησας”. Magoulas, “Lives,” 328–29.

⁴⁶ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 35, p. 184, 12–29: Γεώργιος τις ὀνόματι, τῷ γένει Ρόδιος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ρόδῳ κτήσιν κεκτημένος, ὦν καὶ ναύκληρος ἰδίου πλοίου, ἔχων καὶ δύο υἱούς· οὗτος ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν ἦν καταβαρῆς, πάσῃων τοὺς δύο αὐτοῦ διδύμους. καταπλεύσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πανευδαίμονι μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο τέκνων, ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς ἀκoάς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἀρτεμίου, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐκβαλέσθαι αὐτὸν λέγει τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ· “Φέρετέ μοι σιταρχίαν τὴν ἀρκοῦσάν μοι εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀρτέμιον, τοῦ προσπαρᾶμειναι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐκπορίσατε”. καὶ ποιήσαντες τὸν πατέρα ἀνέπλευσαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια ... εἶτα ἀπέπλευσαν δύο καὶ τρεῖς καθόδους καὶ κατέπλευσαν. ταῦτα ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη.

⁴⁷ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 35, p. 188, 16–19. Magoulas, “Lives,” 315–16.

⁴⁸ On Argyropolis, see *TIB* 12, 263–64, and the contribution of I. Kimmelfield to this volume.

accident while loading clay jars onto a ship.⁴⁹ A friend advised him not to rely on physicians but to seek help at Artemios' chapel in Oxeia. The youth was placed on a boat (ἁκάτιον) and transported to Constantinople through the Golden Horn.⁵⁰ There is no need to say that the saint granted him the miraculous healing because the young man had already demonstrated his firm belief in Christ and his martyr by refusing to visit a regular physician.

The miracles of Therapon

The next healer saint who offered his power to the sick was Therapon, a bishop and martyr in Cyprus whose holy relics were sent to Constantinople because of the Arab raids in the seventh century.⁵¹ Therapon's remains were placed in the church of the Mother of God in Elaia, an area located on the northern shores of the Golden Horn.⁵² Although the author of the saint's *Enkomion* invites all local and foreign inhabitants to come and praise the martyr,⁵³ there are surprisingly few Miracles presenting stories of travellers afflicted by disease who headed to Therapon's relics in search of a cure. Florinus from Italy was possessed by a legion of demons who tried to kill him by making him jump from the city walls in the Blachernai. However, he was prevented from committing suicide and was taken to the above-mentioned church in Elaia.⁵⁴ From the *Enkomion* we learn that the man became possessed not in Italy but in Constantinople; this eliminates the possibility that he travelled to the Byzantine capital in order to be healed. It is not certain either whether the soldier Stephanos from Armenia who was half paralyzed headed to the capital city or if he lived there.⁵⁵

There is only one miracle telling us about a man living in Bizye (nowadays Vize in Eastern Thrace)⁵⁶ called Anastasios, whose arm was paralyzed and was healed thanks to a period spent in the church where Therapon's relics were preserved. Although we are informed that the man headed to Constantinople in order to be cured, it is not clear how he reached the city.⁵⁷ Bizye lies close to the capital, which

⁴⁹ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 32, 164–66: οὗτος ἐνεβάλλετο ἐν καράβῳ μαγαρικῷ ἐγγομα, καὶ δὴ ἀβαθοῦς οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι εἰσιόντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξιόντων, τοῦ καραβίου κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ὁρμούντος, ἔτυχεν τὸν ρηθέντα Μηρᾶν ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ὠμοῦ αὐτοῦ καταγαγεῖν τὸ μαγαρικὸν καὶ ἀποθέσθαι ἐν τῷ καράβῳ καὶ αἰφνης ὑπὸ σκευοδαίμονος ἀπορρήξει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ καραβίου. τοῦ δὲ θαρροῦντος τῇ νεότητι καὶ θελοντος σῶσαι τὸ μαγαρικόν, ἐπιλαβέσθαι δὲ θελοντος καὶ τοῦ καράβου καὶ κρατῆσαι αὐτόν, ἐπιπίπτει αὐτὸ τὸ μαγαρικὸν ἐγγομον κατὰ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ, ἅμα δὲ προσρήγνυται αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ κάραβος· καὶ ἐκ τῆς βίας ἐκατέρων ἔπαθον μὲν τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ, συνέπαθον δὲ καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πίπτει ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἡμιθανής, ὥστε κινδύνῳ πολλῷ ἐξείλαντο αὐτὸν βασταγμῷ καὶ ἀνέκλιναν αὐτὸν ἐν κλίνῃ.

⁵⁰ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 32, p. 168, 13–18: καὶ ἀπεπέμψατο τὸν ἱατρὸν εἰπών· “Ἀπάγαγέ με εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀρτέμιον, καὶ ὁ δαπανήσεις, τάξον μοι εἰς τὰς δοχάς μου”. βάλλει αὐτὸν ἐν ἀκατίῳ καὶ ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου, ἐνθα λιμνάζει τῶν ἱαμάτων ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάρις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ θεράποντος Ἀρτεμίου. On *akation*, see LSJ and H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VI^e–XV^e siècles* (Paris 1966), 183.

⁵¹ Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, cap. 5–12, 123–126.

⁵² Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, cap. 12, p. 126, 9–11; Delehay, “Les recueils,” 38. On Elaia, see TIB 12, 344–345 and the contribution of i. Kimmelfield to this volume.

⁵³ Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, cap. 27, p. 133, 15–16.

⁵⁴ Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, cap. 12, p. 126–27, 1–23.

⁵⁵ Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, cap. 19, p. 129, 1–4.

⁵⁶ TIB 12, 288–294.

⁵⁷ Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, cap. 15, p. 127–28, 1–11: Ἀναστάσιός τις ὀνόματι, Βιζύνῃ οἰκῶν, ξηρὰν ἐκ χρόνων τὴν χεῖρα ἐκέκτητο, πάντῃ τε ταύτῃ ἀκίνητος ἦν, τῶν δακτύλων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ θέναρος ἀργῶς καὶ μάτῃ ἀπαιωρημένων τοῦ πῆχους. οὗτος κατήρην εἰς τὸν λιμένα τοῦτον τῆς ἀπαθείας, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀνάψας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γαληνιὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, οὕτω τε πλήρης τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος γίνεσθαι, ὥστε

strengthens the possibility that Anastasios reached Constantinople by the land road. If he travelled by sea, he had to go to Kiyıköy (the ancient Medeia), to sail along the Black Sea coastline and the shores of the Bosphorus before reaching the capital.⁵⁸

The miracles of the Virgin of the Spring

For centuries the citizens of Constantinople have addressed their prayers for salvation and prosperity to the protector of the city—the Mother of God.⁵⁹ Therefore it is no surprise that she also had a sacred site where all kinds of diseases could be cured. This place was the church and monastery of the Theotokos in Pege (nowadays Balıklı Meryem Ana Rum Manastırı in Istanbul).⁶⁰ It is the only one of the sanctuaries presented in this article that still can be seen in the city on the Bosphorus although in a rebuilt form from the nineteenth century (Fig. 4). The legend says that the spring and its water healed Emperor Justinian who then built a great church at the site that collapsed and was restored by Empress Irene and later by Basil I.⁶¹ Many miracles occurred involving imperial relatives, patriarchs, and high officials.⁶² Thus,



Fig. 4. The Sacred Spring in the Church of St Mary at Pege (Zeytinburnu / Istanbul).

Photo by the author.

Θεοφανίων ἐπικειμένων ἄμφω τῷ χεῖρε κινεῖν πρὸς ἔργα· τήν τε γὰρ κολυμβήθραν μόνος ἀνεπλήρωσεν ὕδατος, αἰρων τὸ ἄγγος τῇ τεθλασμένῃ πρώην χειρὶ καὶ πρὸς ὤμους εὐμαρέστατα λίαν ἀναβιβῶν, τήν τε ἄλλην διακονίαν εὐρώστως ποιούμενος· οὕτως οἶδε Θεὸς ἀναπλάσσειν καὶ εἰς φθορὰν καταχθέντα τὰ σώματα.

⁵⁸ There is information about two sick persons, the one from Thrace and the other from Paphlagonia, who were granted with a miraculous healing in the church of the Prophet Isaiah in Constantinople (dedicated in earlier times to St Laurence). Unfortunately, the thaumata say nothing about the way both persons got there. Cf. H. Delehye, ed., “Synaxarium et miracula S. Isaiae Prophetæ,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 42 (1924), 257–65, mir. 2, p. 260, 8–37 and mir. 4, p. 261, 11–25. On the church, see J. Papadopoulos, “L’église de St Laurent et les Pulchériana,” *Studi bizantini* 2 (1927), 57–63; Janin, *Églises et monastères*, 301–4; Delehayé, “Les recueils,” 39–40.

⁵⁹ Cf. L. Brubaker and M. B. Cunningham (eds.), *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium* (Farnham & Burlington 2011).

⁶⁰ On this church and its past, see Janin, *Églises et monastères*, 223–228; M. Gedeon, *H Ζωοδόχος πηγή καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς προσαρτημένα* (Athens 1896); M. I. S. N(omides), *H Ζωοδόχος Πηγή* (Istanbul 1937); S. Benay, “Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople,” *Échos d’Orient* 3 (1899–1900), 223–28 and 295–300; Efthymiadis, “Le monastère de la Source,” 284–88; *TIB* 12, 573–75; van Millingen, Constantinople, 75–76; N. Atzemoglu, *Τ’αγιάσματα της Πέλης* (Athens 1990), 64–69.

⁶¹ Preger, *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, cap. 3, 142, 259–260; Berger, *Patria*, 685–87.

⁶² Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 42, 1, p. 290; Efthymiadis, “Le monastère de la Source,” 288 and 296; Talbot, “Two Accounts” 609–15; Kislinger, “Reisen und Verkehrswege,” 363.

the water from the spring in Pege became famous even in the periphery of the Empire.

This explains why a man from Thessaly had desired during his whole life to visit the church at Pege and to drink from the holy spring. His pre-occupation with duties and affairs delayed the fulfillment of his wish. When he finally set sail to Constantinople he was stricken with a severe disease and died at Athyra.⁶³ Shortly before his death he made the other passengers swear that they would bring his body to the church at Pege, pour three buckets of holy water over it, and bury his corpse there. The ship reached Constantinople and the passengers disembarked at one of its harbours. When they reached the church and fulfilled the wish of the dead Thessalian, he was miraculously resurrected by the Mother of God and spent the rest of his life as a monk at the monastery in Pege. His miraculous resurrection thanks to the water from the spring is perpetuated in an epigram on his gravestone still visible in the church at Pege.⁶⁴

The collection of miracles performed at the sanctuary contains a story about monks from Chaldea in North-East Asia Minor, who were cured in their homeland by the Mother of God dwelling at Pege. John Peperis fell ill and asked the Virgin Mary, ἡ ἐν Πηγῇ κατοικοῦσα, to heal him. The only payment he could give her in return was three *nomismata*. The Mother of God accepted the coins as a sign of his thankfulness, and the monk John went to the sanctuary in Pege.⁶⁵ When his disciple, stricken by a severe disease, was also miraculously healed at the monastery in Chaldea, the monks sent five golden coins from the province of Chaldea to the church at Pege as a reminder of the miracle performed by St Mary of the Source at one of the outermost regions of the Byzantine world.⁶⁶ The text does not include any details describing the way the monks got to the capital city.

Studying the miraculous healings at the shrine in Pege, we have to pay attention to variations in the different collections of *thaumata*. The works of the Anonymus from the tenth century and the collection of Nikephoros Xanthopoulos dating from the Palaiologan time present the story of a nun troubled by an evil spirit but they vary in their accounts of her origin. The earlier author says nothing about this

⁶³ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 12, 1–2, 228–32: Ἀνθρῶπος γάρ τις, ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ὁρμώμενος, κατὰ τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον ἔργον εὐχῆς καὶ σπουδῆς τιθέμενος εἰς τὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου ναὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ καὶ τὰ εἰκότα ἀφροσύσασθαι καὶ εἰς κόρον τε ἀπολαῦσαι τοῦ ἀγιασματος, εἴτε δημοσίαις δουλείαις ἢ καὶ ταῖς κατ’ οἶκον ἐνασχολούμενος καὶ περιτλεκόμενος περιστάσειν, εἴτε καὶ ὀκνῶ τῷ ἐκ δαιμόνων παρακρατούμενος, ὃ καὶ μάλιστα τίθεμαι, ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. Καὶ δῆποτε πᾶσαν ἀποσεισάμενος πρόφασιν, ἔτεινε τὸ πτερὸν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν. “Ἡ μέλισσα,” φασί, “πρὸς τὰ ἄνθη”. Καὶ νόσῳ βαρεῖα κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συσχεθεὶς κατὰ τὸν Ἀθυραν ἐξέπνευσεν. On Athyra, see *TIB* 12, 270–73. The Late Byzantine collection of miracles of the Shrine at Pege also includes this tale, see *Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου περί συστάσεως τοῦ σεβασμίου οἴκου τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ζωοδόχου Πηγῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπερφῶς τελεσθέντων θαυμάτων. Καὶ ὁ βίος τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Κλήμεντος ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγάρων, συγγραφεὶς παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς κυρίου Θεοφύλακτου* ed. A. Pamperis (Leipzig, 1802), mir. 9, 24–26.

⁶⁴ Gedeon, *Η Ζωοδόχος πηγῇ*, 33–34; Nomides, *Η Ζωοδόχος Πηγῇ*, 192–93; Talbot, “Miracula”, 227–28.

⁶⁵ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 30, 1, 70–272: Καί τις μοναχὸς τοῦνομα Ἰωάννης, ὃ Πέπερις ἡ ἐπίκλησις, τοῖς ἐνδοτέροις μέρεσι τῆς Χαλδίας οἰκῶν, ἀρρωστήσας, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ ἀπειρήκεσαν πρὸς τὸ βίαιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοσήματος, εἰς νοὺν ἔλαβε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ· καὶ δάκρυσιν ἐπεβοάτο τὴν Θεομήτορα. “Πάνανγε Θεοτόκε,” λέγων, “ἡ ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ κατοικοῦσα, τῷ κατακειμένῳ ἐπὶ κλίνῃς ὀδύνης βοήθει μοι.”... καὶ ὅς ἰαθεὶς καὶ πιστεύσας τῷ νυκτερινῷ ῥήματι καὶ μὴδὲν κακουργήσας πρὸς τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν σὺν τοῖς τρισὶν ἐκείνοις νομίμασιν ἀπάρας οἰκοθεν κατέλαβε τὴν μονήν· καὶ τὸ τῆς Θεομήτορος εἰς βοήθειαν πρόχειρον ἀνεκρήρυττεν καὶ ὅπως αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἐπικαλεσάμενος καὶ βοηθὸν ἐτοιμοτάτην εὑρετο.

⁶⁶ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 30, 2, 272–74: ἐξ ἐκείνου σὺν μέχρι καὶ σήμερον πέμπονται παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐξ ἄκρας Χαλδίας τὰ πέντε νομίματα εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ ναὸν πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ δηλωθέντος θαύματος ἀνεπιλήστων. On Chaldea, see C. F. W. Foss, “Chaldea,” in *ODB*, vol. I, 404–5.

topic but Xanthopoulos, who used the text of the Anonymus in writing his work, tells us that the woman was from “the land on the other side,” most probably Bithynia.⁶⁷ We can only speculate on the reasons for this addition.

The miracles of Cosmas and Damian

The most famous names under the *Anargyroi* are the Saints Cosmas and Damian who began healing during their lifetime (Fig. 5). They had a church that later became a centre of a monastery located outside the city walls of Constantinople and was named for one of the saints Kosmidion.⁶⁸ This building was one of the most venerated places that were famous for granting miraculous healing,⁶⁹ and it was a common thing to see sick people within the monastery. Unfortunately, most of the Miracles do not include information about travels from Byzantine provinces to the shrine in Constantinople. In the story of Martha, a woman from the Syrian town of Cyrrhus,⁷⁰ the author of the collection merely says that she reached (καταλαβούσα) the capital, this Christ-loving city.⁷¹ The same verb (καταλαμβάνειν) without any further details is used in the miracle of the wife of the soldier Constantine. Because he had to fulfill his duty as soldier, he had to leave Constantinople and settle down in the Phrygian town of Laodikeia, where he married. After the wedding his wife was afflicted with a severe abscess in her jaw, but the husband did not know what to do because he was in a foreign town. The only thing he did was tell his wife the stories about the miraculous healings that occurred at the church of Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople. Thanks to their common belief in the saints, strengthened by the icon of the *Anargyroi* that Constantine had taken with him to his new home, Cosmas and Damian appeared in a vision and healed the jaw of the sick woman. Showing their gratitude to the saints the family went to Constantinople and visited the sanctuary on the shore of the Golden Horn.⁷²

⁶⁷ Compare Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 16, p. 248 and Pamperis, *Περὶ συστάσεως*, mir. 15, 37–38.

⁶⁸ On Kosmidion, see *TIB* 12, 471–73, van Millingen, *Constantinople*, 169–71, and the critique of C. Mango, “On the Cult of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Constantinople”, in *ΘΥΜΛΑΜΑ στη μνήμη της Λαοκαρίνας Μπούρα*, vol. I (Athens 1994), 189–92, on the remarks and the location offered by Janin, *Églises et monastères*, 286–89. N. Özaslan, “From the Shrine of Kosmidion to the Shrine of Eyüp Ensari,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 40/4 (1999), 379–99, here 385–88, on his side, rejects the location suggested by Mango and argues that the monastery of the *Anargyroi* was situated at the Pierre Loti Tepesi near Eyüp Sultan Camii. Without archaeological excavations the question about the site of the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian has to remain open.

⁶⁹ K. Heinemann, “Die Ärzteheiligen Kosmas und Damian. Ihre Wunderheilungen im Lichte alter und neuer Medizin,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 9 (1974), 255–317; Ch. Toul, “Τὰ ἰάματα τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀναργύρων,” *Ἑπετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 42 (1975–76): 253–97, here 253–75; M. L. Salvá, “Actividad asistencial y terapéutica en el *Kosmidion* de Constantinopla”, in P. Bádenas, A. Bravo & I. Pérez Martín (eds.), *Ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. El cielo en la tierra. Estudios sobre el monasterio bizantino* (Madrid 1997), 131–45; Festugière, *Saints Côme et Damien*, 86–95; Caseau, “Parfum et guérison,” 163–91.

⁷⁰ On Cyrrhus, see Festugière, *Saints Côme et Damien*, 121, n. 43. The town claimed to possess the relics of the saints, a fact also mentioned in the miracle. Cf. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 12, p. 128, 10–13.

⁷¹ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 12, 128–129, 10–15. See also the miracle performed to another person who travelled from Syria to Constantinople, in Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani*, mir. 18, p. 45, 6–22. This text from the London codex lacks any details concerning the way the sick Thomas reached the capital.

⁷² Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 13, p. 132–134, 1–60, on the pilgrimage in Kosmidion p. 134, 55–60.



Fig. 5. The saints Cosmas, Damian and Panteleimon. Church of St George in Staro Nagorichane / Republic of Macedonia. Photo by the author.

The only clue about how people from more distant regions travelled to Constantinople in order to visit the shrine of Cosmas and Damian is found in a miracle involving a starving and angry teacher (*παιδαγωγός*). He is said to have originated from outside Constantinople but had a great desire to settle down in the capital and to earn his living there. This was the reason why he made his way to the church of Cosmas and Damian and solicited them to fulfill his request. Since his stay there was prolonged, he spent all his money and found himself starving and in great need.⁷³ Because the teacher lacked any provision, he had to leave Constantinople and because his homeland was far from the capital, he intended to leave the city by ship.⁷⁴ When someone living close to Constantinople became sick he could reach the city on horseback—such was the case with Blemmides who lived in a village near the Byzantine capital and suffered from a strong pain in his arm. The travel on the land road took him approximately one day.⁷⁵ However, it should be pointed out that this miracle belongs to a later collection originating from the Palaiologan period.⁷⁶

For citizens of Constantinople or pilgrims, who reached the capital after a long trip, there was another way to get to the sanctuary that sat on a hill close to the southern shore of the Golden Horn. In his work on the buildings of Justinian, the sixth-century historian Procopius describes how people afflicted by diseases that no physician could heal sailed through the Golden Horn to the shrine of Cosmas

⁷³ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 18, p. 144, 6–26.

⁷⁴ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 18, 147–48, 112–17: μίας τοίνυν ἡμέρας διαγενομένης καὶ μελλόντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐξῆς τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀποπλεῖν ὁ τοῦ ὑποδειχθέντος αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀγίων σκρινιαρίου συναλλακτῆς, ἐν γνώσει τούτου ἐκ ψιλῆς συντυχίας κατ’ οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, πέμψας ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ αὐτῷ ὅτι· “σκύληθι ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ· τινὰ γὰρ σοι διαλεχθῆναι βούλομαι”.

⁷⁵ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 42, p. 200, 12–16.

⁷⁶ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 29–30; Talbot, “Metaphrasis”, 229–237; Delehay, “Les recueils”, 10; Efthymiadis, “Collections of Miracles”, 126.

and Damian on flat-bottomed boats (ἡ βάρις).⁷⁷ Such was the story of the old man suffering from hydropsy. He hoped to be restored to health in a couple of days, but because this did not happen he began to deliberately offend the saints and was about to leave the shrine. His servants helped him take all the things he had brought with him and placed them in a boat (ἁκάτιον) while he sat in his litter on the shore, cursing the saints for their failed assistance and tending the loading of the boat. His stay in the church had to end at sunset, when he was about to get in the boat and sail away.⁷⁸ Although the author of the Miracle uses three words for the vessel in this passage—ἁκάτιον (light boat),⁷⁹ καράβι(ον) (ship),⁸⁰ and πλοῖαριον (small ship),⁸¹ the information of the sources on the landing places in this area is ambiguous. According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperor sailed (πλοῖ) to the church of the *Anargyroi* on 1 July but the text says nothing about the type of the vessel that might have been large in size or the place where the emperor landed⁸². This place might have been located to the city walls because of the shallow waters in the upper part of the Golden Horn. When in the autumn of 923 Emperor Romanos Lacapenos met the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon near the monastery of Kosmidion, the Byzantines had to build a strong landing place that suited the size of the imperial trireme.⁸³ As for the small vessels such as boats, there was obviously no obstacle on their way to the shrine of Cosmas and Damian.

Some methodological remarks

Before we analyse the data presented above, we must discuss briefly the historicity of hagiographical texts and their value as historical sources.⁸⁴ Although

⁷⁷ *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, Vol. IV. *De Aedificiis libri VI*, ed. J. Hauray, *addenda et corrigenda adiecit* G. Wirth (Leipzig 1964), lib. I, ch. 6, 5–8, p. 30, 3–23: Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πέρας ἐν τε τῷ ἀνάντει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθίῳ τέμενος ἐκ παλαιῶν Κοσμᾶ τε καὶ Δαμιανῶ ἁγίοις ἀνεΐται ... ἐπειδὴν τέ τινες ἄρρωσθήμασιν ὁμιλήσαιεν ἰατρῶν κρείττοσιν, οἶδε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀπογνόντες ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν μόνην αὐτοῖς ὑπολελειμμένην ἐλπίδα χωροῦσι, καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν ταῖς βάρεσι πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ κόλπου ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν. ἀρχόμενοι τε τοῦ εἰσπλου εὐθὺς ὁρῶσιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο ἀποσεμνυνόμενον τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλείας εὐγνωμοσύνῃ καὶ παρεχόμενον τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύειν. On *baris* see *LSJ* 307.

⁷⁸ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 1, 98–99, 13–22: εἴτα ταύτης τῆς δόξης κρατυνθείσης ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ καταγαγὼν διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ ἅπερ ἐπεφέρετο διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν σκεύη καὶ ταῦτα ἐμβάλλων ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἐν τῷ φορέῳ ἐκάθητο μόνος, φυλλάτων τὰ ἐν τῷ καράβῳ κάκεισε κακολογῶν τοὺς ἁγίους ὡς τὸ ἀπροσωποληπτὸν, φησὶν, μὴ κεκτημένους ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ παριδόντας αὐτόν. ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος καὶ μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ πλοιαρίῳ εἰσέναι περὶ τὰς δυσμᾶς τοῦ ἡλίου συντυχάνουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ ἅγιοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τοῦ Χριστοῦ Κοσμᾶς καὶ Δαμιανῶς ἐν σχήματι οὐ τῷ εἰωθότι αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιοῦνται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίαν, γινῶναι θέλοντες ὃν ἡπίσταντο αὐτοῦ σκοπόν. Compare the same story in Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani*, mir. 5, 17–18.

⁷⁹ *LSJ* 48.

⁸⁰ *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. I, A-K (ed. E. Trapp et al.) (Vienna 2001), 763.

⁸¹ *LSJ* 1422. Festugière, *Côme et Damien*, 98 translates all three words as “barque” (boat).

⁸² J. J. Reiske (ed.), *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo* (Bonn 1829), lib. II 13, p. 559–60.

⁸³ *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838), lib. VI, ch. 15, p. 406, 11–13; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin & New York 1973), 219–20, 20–46; *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, ed. S. Wahlgren (Berlin & New York 2006), ch. 136, 30–34, 321–23, 230–70.

⁸⁴ On reality and fiction in Byzantine hagiography, see the classical study of H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons la méthode hagiographique* (Bruxelles 1934), esp. 7–41, and the new works of C. Messis, “Fiction and/or Novelisation in Byzantine Hagiography,” in Eftymiadis (ed.), *Ashgate Companion* vol. 2, 313–41; A. Kaldellis, “The Hagiography of Doubt and Scepticism,” in Eftymiadis (ed.), *Ashgate Companion* vol. 2, 453–77; C. Rapp, “Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of Diegesis,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, no. 3 (1998), 431–48; G. Dagron, “L’ombre d’un doute: L’hagiographie en question, VI^e–XI^e siècle,” in A. Cutler and S. Franklin (eds.), *Homo*

hagiography contains a vast amount of information on different aspects of human life in the past, we cannot take this data for granted simply because we lack other sources on these topics, especially for the time between the seventh and the tenth century. Since Hippolyte Delehaye published his studies dealing with methodological questions on the field of hagiography,⁸⁵ however, several scholars have tried to go beyond the mere counting of facts from hagiographical texts to offer a methodological approach for this kind of source material. Harry Magoulas,⁸⁶ Michel Kaplan, and Eleonora Kountoura-Galaki⁸⁷ proposed the use of texts from other genres in order to prove the plausibility of hagiographical works as a source for economic and social history. In what follows I apply this methodology to analyzing the miraculous healings performed in Constantinople, in order to give an answer to the question whether the hagiographical data on travelling to the capital city of Byzantium in search for a cure could offer us a plausible source of information, or whether these stories should be considered fiction invented by the authors with no connection to the reality of daily life during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Fortunately, we possess works from other literary genres that confirm and supplement our knowledge about travel to sanctuaries and about the harbours that are mentioned in them. The story of the old angry man who arrived at the church of Cosmas and Damian using a boat corresponds to the account of Procopius describing how sick people were transported to the shrine on flat-bottomed boats.⁸⁸ From the *Book of Ceremonies* we learn how the emperor visited the church in Pege on the day of Ascension and disembarked at the quay of the *brachialion* lying south from the Golden Gate.⁸⁹ According to a military treatise written by Constantine VII, the same facility was used during the triumphs of Theophilus and Basil I for the transportation of war prisoners and booty from Asia Minor to the suburbs of Constantinople.⁹⁰ As for the Hebdomon, its harbour (or harbours) was used not only by emperors,⁹¹ high state and church officials,⁹² and even one pope,⁹³ but also by other passengers. The harbour in the complex at the seventh milestone of Constantinople where the ship with the merchant from Chios was forced to anchor because of severe winds was also used by the army because of its

Byzantinus: Papers in Honour of Alexander Kazhdan (Washington, D.C., 1992), 59–68. Cf. A. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot, “Hagiography,” in *ODB*, vol. 2, 897–99.

⁸⁵ Delehaye, “Les recueils,” 64–73; Idem, *Cinq leçons*, 7–41.

⁸⁶ Magoulas, “Lives,” 303–30.

⁸⁷ M. Kaplan and E. Kountoura-Galaki, “Economy and Society in Byzantine Hagiography: Realia and Methodological Questions,” in Eftymiadis (ed.), *Ashgate Companion* vol. 2, 389–418.

⁸⁸ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 1, p. 98, 8–19; Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani*, mir. 5, 17–18; *De Aedificiis*, lib. I, cap. 6, 5, p. 30, 15–23 (ed. Haury and Wirth).

⁸⁹ A. Vogt (ed.), *Le livre des cérémonies. Tome I. Livre 1. – Chapitres 1–46 (37)* (Paris 1935), cap. 27, 101, 5–23 – 102, 1–13: καὶ εἰ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπελθεῖν διὰ τοῦ πλοῦς, κατὰ συνήθειαν, εἰσέρχεται τάχιον εἰς τὸ χελάνδιον μεθ’ ὧν ἂν κελεύει, καὶ ἀπέρχεται μέχρι τοῦ βραχιαλίου τῆς Χρυσῆς πόρτης, κάκεισε ἐξέλθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χελανδίου αὐτοῦ. On this structure, see n. 124.

⁹⁰ J. Haldon (ed.), *Constantine Porphyrogenitus Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions* (Vienna 1990), Text (C), 140–42, 742–44 and p. 146, 826–31.

⁹¹ Haldon, *Treatises*, Text (C), p. 138, 685–98 and p. 140, 724–32.

⁹² The visit of Epiphanius of Cyprus in 402 began from the Hebdomon where he celebrated a liturgy in the church of St John the Baptist. On this event, see G. C. Hansen (ed.), *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin 1995), ep. 288, p. 88, 13–17. At the so-called Round Castle in the eastern part of the Hebdomon Emperor Justin I met the delegates of Pope Hormisdas, see L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis*, Vol. I (Paris 1886), ch. 54, 5, p. 270, 6–12.

⁹³ Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis* I, ch. 90, 5–6, p. 390, 12–17. On this visit, see K.-P. Todt, “Die letzte Papstreise nach Byzanz: der Besuch Papst Konstantins I. in Konstantinopel im Jahre 711,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 113/1 (2002), 24–50; Taddei, “Journey,” 53–78.

vicinity to the Campus Martius. According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, a combination of a storm and an earthquake damaged a number of ships and knocked down many military tents at the Hebdomon in 407.⁹⁴

Furthermore, when trying to “separate the wheat of history from the chaff of fiction” in a hagiographical text, one should also have in mind the peculiarities of this genre. The first thing to analyze is the divergence between the aims of medieval hagiographers and the purposes of modern scholarship today.⁹⁵ Hagiography was a powerful means of Christian homiletics that presented and propagated the teachings of the religion using humans as models who have already followed the prescriptions of the Church.⁹⁶ By doing so, they set an example for righteous behaviour. It should be stressed that the ties between hagiography and religious propaganda do not implicitly mean falsification of reality. Quite the contrary: religious propaganda needed an appropriate approach to its audience in order to fulfill its aims. This is why the authors of hagiographical texts needed to find ways to situate their narratives within a milieu with which the reader or listener was familiar. Consequently, the different aspects of health care and travel offered appropriate and plausible contexts for the miraculous stories.

Thanks to the works of the historian Harry Magoulas and the physicians Käthe Heinemann and Chares Toul, we know more about the different aspects of medicine in hagiographical texts.⁹⁷ The articles of Heinemann and Toul published in the 1970s convincingly showed how medical knowledge was incorporated into the *thaumata* of Cosmas and Damian. Other hagiographers, such as the author of Artemios’ *Miracles* and Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, possessed reliable knowledge about human medicine, which make this kind of text a useful and trustworthy source on medicine in Byzantium. What about the texts concerning travel? Did the people we presented in the first part of this paper really travel to Constantinople in the ways described in the *Miracles*? We may never be able to answer this question completely, but the analysis of the data on travel indicates that historical facts are embedded in these stories.

If we examine what may be the strangest of all miracles—the resurrection of the dead Thessalian because of the water of the shrine at Pege—we see that although this miraculous healing may appear implausible to some modern readers, it does include the fact that a real person travelled to the church of St Mary of the Life-Giving Spring. As Alice-Mary Talbot suggested, perhaps when the hagiographer was compiling his collection he referred to the inscription on the grave of the dead man from Thessaly.⁹⁸ In another *Miracle* written by Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, we learn that a sick merchant from Sparta (Lacedaemonian) wanted to commemorate his miraculous healing from cancer. That is why he donated a mural painting to the church depicting this event.⁹⁹ If we compare the place of origin of people travelling to the shrines in Constantinople during the Early and the Middle Byzantine periods with the same places in the *Miracles* written during the Palaeo-

⁹⁴ *Chronicon Paschale*, Vol. I, ed. L. Dindorf, (Bonn 1832), p. 570, 3–8.

⁹⁵ F. Halkin, “L’hagiographie byzantine au service de l’histoire,” in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Oxford 5–10 September 1966* (London 1967), 345–54, here 346 (= Halkin, *Recherches et documents d’hagiographie byzantine* [Bruxelles 1971], 260–69, here 261–62).

⁹⁶ Cf. Efthymiadis, “Collections of Miracles,” 264–65; Michel Kaplan, “Le miracle est-il nécessaire au saint byzantin?,” in *Miracle et karāma*, 166–96.

⁹⁷ Magoulas, “Medicine,” 127–50; Heinemann, “Die Ärzteheiligen,” 255–317; Toul, “Τὰ ἱάματα,” 253–97.

⁹⁸ Talbot, “Miracula,” 227–28.

⁹⁹ Pamperis, *Περὶ σωτηρίας*, mir. 49, 67–68.

logan period, however, we can trace a pattern corresponding to the facts we know from historiographical works. In the first group, we have individuals from Africa, Gaul, Chios, Rhodes, Thessaly, Phrygia, Syria, Chaldea, Argyropolis, and Bizye. The Late Byzantine Miracles include travellers originating from Sparta, Serres, the island Daphnousia lying northwest of the mouth of Sangarios, a village near Nicaea, and two Varangians, one of whom served as a mercenary in the East.¹⁰⁰ The Palaiologan collections omit places in the former Eastern provinces of the Empire. The only exception is the region of Nicaea that lies close to Constantinople while the places of origin of the other travellers seeking healing in the capital are located in Macedonia, Peloponnesos or areas close to the Straits. This reflects the political situation of the time when the majority of Asia Minor was lost to the Byzantines, not to mention Africa or the Western Mediterranean. We see the same situation when we examine those stories about Constantinopolitan citizens who originate from outside the capital. While the Miracles of Artemios, Therapon, and Isaiah deal with people from Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Cilicia, and Italy, the Late Byzantine *thaumata* of St Mary at Pege tell stories of Constantinopolitan monks coming from Serres and the valley of Meander.¹⁰¹ Regardless of whether the individuals cited in the Miracles actually travelled to Constantinople, or the hagiographers simply “invented” these stories drawing on data and events from the world around them, the authors paid attention to the realities of the day in order to convince their audience. This helped them accomplish the aims of their hagiographical works. Mere fiction would have been a false friend in the fulfillment of this task.

Based on these remarks and considerations, we can assume that the authors of the miracle tales used data on travel in Byzantium that was rooted in the real lives of its population. In addition, this information may be used as a relatively plausible source on travel in the Eastern Mediterranean in the area of the Straits from Late Antiquity through the end of the Middle Ages.¹⁰²

Conclusions

This rationale for travelling to Constantinople—sick people searching for a cure—limits the possibilities of finding numerous accounts on the topic under consideration.¹⁰³ Those who visited the city were either suffering from such a disease that allowed them to leave their homes, or critically wounded people from the vicinity of Constantinople such as the young Menas. The maladies that caused

¹⁰⁰ Pamperis, *Περί συστάσεως*, mir. 49, p. 67; mir. 50, p. 68; mir. 51, p. 69; mir. 53, p. 71; mir. 56, p. 78 and mir. 58, p. 82. On Daphnousia, see “Daphnusia,” *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 4, no. 2 (1901), 2149 and “Apollonia” (14), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2, no. 1 (1895), 115. On the Varangians in Palaiologan time, see S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium. An Aspect of Byzantine Military History Translated, Revised and Rewritten by* Benedikt S. Benediktz (Cambridge 1978), 173–76. On short-distance travel in the late *thaumata* of Cosmas and Damian, see Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 46, 203–5.

¹⁰¹ Pamperis, *Περί συστάσεως*, mir. 62, p. 87 and mir. 63, p. 89.

¹⁰² On the other process when it was the saint who travelled, see E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris 1993); S. Euthymiades, “Νοεῖροι καὶ πραγματικοὶ ταξιδιώτες στὸ Βυζάντιο τοῦ 8ου, 9ου καὶ 10ου αἰώνου,” *Byzantina* 20 (1999), 155–65.

¹⁰³ Kislinger, “Reisen und Verkehrswege”, 363. On the motives to undertake such a journey, see C. Mango, “The Pilgrim’s Motivation,” in *Akten des 12. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 22.-28. September 1991, Teil 1* (Münster), 1–9, here 4 and 7–9, and Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 149–50.

sick people to visit a sanctuary were as follows: three men and a child from Egypt whose father sailed to the chapel of Artemios were afflicted with severe sufferings in their testicles¹⁰⁴; two men had hernias (καταβροχή)¹⁰⁵; the arm of the inhabitant of Bizye was paralyzed;¹⁰⁶ the old man who was angry about Cosmas and Damian and tended his boat on the shore of the Golden Horn suffered from hydropsy.¹⁰⁷ Apart from that, one woman was possessed by an evil spirit and committed adultery,¹⁰⁸ while one man was diseased in his eyes.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, two people did not suffer from any malady, one of them just wanted to fulfill his life-long wish by visiting the church at Pege and drinking from its spring¹¹⁰ and the other was an intellectual who strived for a better life in the capital of the Empire.¹¹¹ The family from Laodikeia visited the church of Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople as a sign of their gratitude after the woman was miraculously healed in her homeland¹¹² and the monks from the province of Chaldea sent five *nomismata* to the church in Pege.¹¹³ As for the young Menas, who severely wounded his abdomen and testicles while loading a ship with jugs, he lived on the northern shores of the Golden Horn.¹¹⁴

In cases of both long- and short-distance travel the easiest and fastest way to reach the city was by sea. This should be stressed when we deal with accidents such as the injury of Menas whose fellows chose to transport him on a boat through the Golden Horn although there was a bridge over the inlet.¹¹⁵ However, it lay further west and using it could have made the transport of the dying young man slower and longer. In the case of pilgrimage, all Miracles with only two exceptions (the sick man from Bizye in Thrace and Blemmides whose village is not called by name) refer to travelling by ship or boat depending on the distances.¹¹⁶ Thanks to the information about these places of origin we can reconstruct the routes of the travellers—those from Chios and Rhodes and maybe the couple from Laodikeia and Martha from Cyrrhus in Syria frequented the important sea route B (following the classification by Kislinger) along the Western coastline of Asia Minor,¹¹⁷ which

¹⁰⁴ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 4, p. 82, 19–22; mir. 14, p. 102, 1–2 and p. 100, 10–11; mir. 27, p. 152, 8–10; mir. 35, 184, 12–15. Cf. A. P. Alwis, “Men in Pain: Masculinity, Medicine and the *Miracles of St. Artemios*,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36/1 (2012), 1–19.

¹⁰⁵ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 5, p. 84, 17–18; mir. 9, p. 92, 18–19.

¹⁰⁶ Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, ch. 15, p. 127–28, 1–10.

¹⁰⁷ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 1, p. 98, 1–2.

¹⁰⁸ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 12, p. 128, 1–9.

¹⁰⁹ Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani*, mir. 18, p. 45, 6–23.

¹¹⁰ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 12, 1, 228–230.

¹¹¹ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 18, p. 144, 6–26.

¹¹² Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 13, p. 134, 55–60.

¹¹³ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 30, 2, 272–274.

¹¹⁴ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 32, 164, 23–28 and 166, 1–7. For a summary of the maladies and their treatment, see Delehay, “Les recueils,” 12–17 (Cosmas and Damian), 24–31 (Cyrus and John), 35–36 (Artemios) and 39 (Therapon).

¹¹⁵ On the bridges over the Golden Horn, see M. Hurbanič, “A Topographical Note Concerning the Avar Siege of Constantinople: The Question of the Localization of St. Callinicus Bridge,” *Byzantinoslavica* 70 (2012), 15–24; R. Janin, “Les ponts byzantins de la Corne d’Or,” in *ΠΑΙΚΑΠΙΕΛΑ. Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (Bruxelles), 247–53, and *Constantinople*, 240–44; van Millingen, *Constantinople*, 174–77; C. Mango, “The Fourteenth Region of Constantinople,” in ed. O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst F. W. Deichmann gewidmet* (Mainz, 1986), 1–5, here 4–5.

¹¹⁶ Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 171–72.

¹¹⁷ E. Kislinger, “Verkehrsrouten zur See im byzantinischen Reich,” in E. Kislinger et al. (eds.), *Handelsgrüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (4. bis 15.

then passed through the Dardanelles at Abydos.¹¹⁸ Only two stations along the shores of the Propontis are mentioned—the ancient Greek colony of Athyra¹¹⁹ and the Hebdomon.¹²⁰

Those who travelled long distances and consulted a healing saint were all male and belonged to different social strata. There are only two women whose stories are presented in the Miracles. Both of them went to the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian, but these cases represent an important exception. The one was the anonymous wife of Constantine from Laodikeia who was miraculously cured in her town and went to the capital together with her husband in order to thank the *Anargyroi* in their shrine. The other one was Martha who committed adultery while being possessed by an evil demon, but after she realized her sinful behaviour she decided to visit the church of Cosmas and Damian. This is otherwise an indication that women, especially married ones, rarely undertook long-distance journeys without their husbands.¹²¹

As for the social background of travellers afflicted by disease, we can trace an interesting pattern. Since there is scarce evidence of organized travel of large groups during the early Middle Ages, the pilgrims had to arrange the journey by themselves and find someone who was sailing to the same destination.¹²² That is the reason why we find predominantly maritime occupations in the Miracles such as ship-owners, shipbuilders, sailors or merchants who combined their professional activities in Constantinople with the visit to a certain church or chapel. Another characteristic of the long-scale sea travel was its expenses. The hagiographer of Cyrus and John describes the journey of a woman and her two sons who were so poor that they could not even afford taking a mule and had to walk the whole distance to the sanctuary in Menouthis on foot.¹²³ The journey by sea and the necessary provisions were connected with increased expense that had to cover the lodging at a place far away from home. That is why pilgrims whose stay was prolonged had to be supplied with food by their relatives.¹²⁴ It is worth mentioning

Jahrhundert) Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005 (Vienna 2010), 149–74, here 149, 153–54 and 174.

¹¹⁸ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 14, p. 102, 4.

¹¹⁹ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 12, 2, p. 230.

¹²⁰ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 5, p. 84, 25–26.

¹²¹ The Martyrium of the 15 martyrs of Tiberiupolis (Republic of Macedonia) tells the story of the miraculous healing of a deaf and dumb child from the bishopric of Bregalnica who was brought to the town of Bregalnica by his mother. She is said to have condemned her woman's weakness and prepared for the long travel. See Θεοφύλακτος Ἀχρίδος, *Μαρτύριο τῶν δεκαπέντε μαρτύρων τῆς Τιβεριοῦπολης*. Κριτική ἐκδόση, ἀπόδοση στὰ νέα ἑλληνικά καὶ ὑπομνηματισμός (ed. E.-S. Kiapidou) (Athens 2015), ch. 48, p. 200, 1–9: Ὡςπερ οὖν καὶ γυναῖκά τινα ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς Βραγαλινίτζης οὖσαν, ἐφ' οὗ μὲν μονογενεὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας σαλευούσαν, ὅς ἐπταετὴς ὦν, κωφὸς τε καὶ ἄλαλος ἦν· ταύτην ἡ τῶν ἁγίων χάρις ἔλκυει. Καταφρονήσασα μὲν τῆς γυναικείας ἀσθενείας, καταθαρρήσασα δὲ καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ, καὶ δὴ παραλαβοῦσα τὸν παῖδα, τὴν τῶν θαυμάτων καταλαμβάνει πηγὴν, τὴν τοὺς ἁγίους ἔχουσαν, δηλαδὴ ἱερὸν καὶ θεῖον ναόν. On women and religious worship in Byzantium, see A.-M. Talbot, "Women", in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo (Chicago 1997), 117–43.

¹²² Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 172. Magoulas, "Lives," 314, discusses the case of Libyan and Egyptian pilgrims from Alexandria who chartered an entire ship on their way to Jerusalem. However, this separate case should be considered an exception from the rule.

¹²³ Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 34, 2, p. 315: Τὸ πλείστον δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ διοδεύσαντες, ὑπὸ τι δένδρον καθέζονται, τὸν ἐξ ὁδοπορίας ἀναλύοντες κάματον· πόσι γὰρ ἀπίεσαν, ἐπεὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ ἔνδεια, ζωοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιβαίνειν ἐκώλυεν. On travelling on mules, see Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 21, p. 156, 21–22; Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 33, 3 and 6, p. 313; cf. Klaus Belke, Verkehrsmittel und Reise- bzw. Transportgeschwindigkeit zu Lande im Byzantinischen Reich, in *Handels Güter und Verkehrswege*, 45–58, here 46–48, and Kisliger, *Reisen*, 375 and n. 202.

¹²⁴ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 35, p. 184, 15–30.

that the sick ship-owner organized a small banquet (ἄριστον) for the clergy before leaving the chapel of Artemios.¹²⁵ Other people, like the old man suffering from hydropsy, needed assistance and visited the sanctuaries together with their servants.¹²⁶ If we try to summarize this data we can argue that sea travel to a certain shrine was an activity for people from the middle and high social strata.

According to the Miracle of the man from Thessaly, his fellow passengers docked in one of the city harbours.¹²⁷ Since none of the Miracles says which harbours were frequented when landing in the city, one can only make hypotheses. The first thing to remember is the above-mentioned lack of organized pilgrimage to early medieval Constantinople, which caused the travellers to rely on the assistance of sailors, ship-owners or tradesmen in order to get to the capital. Above all, it was the crew of the ship and not the travellers, who decided in which harbour the vessel could anchor. Therefore, because pilgrims had little knowledge on the topography of the city, they were not always able to land in the nearest harbour to the church they wanted to visit. We may suppose that ships sailing on the routes B or A¹²⁸ landed in one of the big harbours in the southern part of Constantinople where the main economic activity was concentrated—the harbour of Theodosius or the harbour of Julian/Sophia.¹²⁹ Since the Hebdomon is mentioned in one of the miracle collections as a station where a ship had to anchor because of the strong head-wind,¹³⁰ we can assume that some pilgrims coming to or leaving the church in Pege could have used this harbour that lay outside the walls of Theodosius or the quay at the *brachialion*, the corner point where the land walls meet the sea walls at the Marmara shore.¹³¹ The man from Bizye, if he reached the capital by sea, should have come from the Black Sea and he could have used a scala in the Golden

¹²⁵ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 35, p. 186, 2–5.

¹²⁶ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 1, p. 98, 14–15, and 99, 38–46. See also mir. 34, p. 184, 32–33 and Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 5, 3, p. 250, in which the sick Menas was carried by 16 men.

¹²⁷ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 12, 2, p. 230: Οἱ οὖν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ συμπλέοντες μετὰ τὸ προσορμίσαι τὸ πλοῖον τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως τὸν νεκρὸν ἄραντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέλαβον.

¹²⁸ Kislinger, “Verkehrsrouten”, 151–153 and 173–174.

¹²⁹ On the southern harbors of Constantinople, see R. Guiland, “Les ports de Byzance sur la Propontide,” *Byzantion* 23 (1953), 181–238; Janin, *Constantinople*, 225–227 and 231–234; W. Müller-Wiener, *Die Häfen von Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul* (Tübingen 1994), 8–18, and *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion – Konstantinupolis – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1977), 60–63 and Photo 38; van Millingen, *Constantinople*, 268–300; Magdalino, “Medieval Constantinople”, 20–22, and “The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries,” *DOP* 54 (2001), 209–27, here 212–18 and plate 1 (= Idem, *Studies*, nr. III); U. Kocabaş (ed.), *The “Old Ships” of the “New Gate”* (Istanbul 2008); *TIB* 12, 466–68.

¹³⁰ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 5, p. 84, 24–26 and p. 86, 19–21. The miracles of Artemios are not the only hagiographical text that gives us information on the harbor at the Hebdomon. See also the *Life of St Daniel Stylites* in Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, ch. 73–76, 71, 15–26 – 74, 1–18 and the *Life of St Auxentios* in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* 114, cap. 6, col. 1405 D – 1408 A.

¹³¹ There a quay existed before the building of the shore street between the first tower of the land walls and Mermerkule. On this structure, see N. Asutay-Effenberger, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel – Istanbul. Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Berlin & New York 2007), 110–17; B. Meyer-Plath & A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel. Zweiter Teil* (Berlin 1943), 71–72 and plate 25; E. Dietz & H. Glück, *Alt-Konstantinopel. Hundertzechn photographische Aufnahmen der Stadt und ihrer Bau- und Kunst-Denkmäler* (Munich 1920), photo 21; van Millingen, *Constantinople*, 300–1. On the harbour in this area, see Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, I, ch. 27, 101, 5–23, 102, 1–13; *De cerimoniis*, lib. I 96, p. 438, 2–11 (on the *adventus* of Nikephoros II Phokas in Constantinople on 16 August 963); Haldon, *Treatises*, Text (C), 140–142, 742–744 and 146, 826–831 (for the use of this structure in the triumphs of Basil I and Theophilos); G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 102–3.

Horn in order to reach the chapel of Therapon in Pera. As for people from the city or its suburbs who knew the topography of Constantinople, we can assume that they docked at the port or dock that lay close to the shrine they wanted to visit. This should have been the case with the young Menas from Argyropolis whose injury caused his fellows to reach the city as soon as possible.

Except for Artemios' chapel at the church of St John the Baptist situated in the very heart of Constantinople, all the other shrines were located outside the land walls of Theodosius, in Pege and Kosmidion, or in Pera on the northern shores of the Golden Horn where the hospital for lepers was established.¹³² This peculiarity of the locations might have been a preventive measure against bringing a disease within the walls of Constantinople.

What can be said about the ideological aspect of travelling from far abroad in order to seek healing in the City on the Bosphorus? In some miracle collections we observe the reverse process—it was the saint who “travelled” and appeared in a dream in the homeland of the sick persons in Chaldea,¹³³ Laodikeia,¹³⁴ or on the island Plateia.¹³⁵ The grateful men and women showed their gratitude by visiting Constantinople and the chapel or monastery of the saint who healed them.¹³⁶ From some Miracles we also learn that cured people retold their story to the local inhabitants once they went back home.¹³⁷ This may have inspired other suffering people to also travel on a pilgrimage to a certain shrine.¹³⁸ After opening this article with the *thaumata* of Cyrus and John, I shall also conclude it with them. Having seen that a sick man from Constantinople has come to their church in Egypt with the firm belief in the saints,¹³⁹ the *Anargyroi* miraculously cured him. The healer saints needed proof of his firm belief in Christ,¹⁴⁰ that is why we can assume that travelling a long distance was seen as a clear manifestation of true belief and hope, and was accordingly granted with a miraculous healing.

¹³² E. Kislinger, “Zur Lage der Leprosier des Pantokrator-Typikon,” *JÖB* 42 (1992), 171–75.

¹³³ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 30, 1–2, 270–74.

¹³⁴ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 13, 133–34, 17–52.

¹³⁵ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 40, 204–10.

¹³⁶ Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 30, 2, p. 272.

¹³⁷ Crisafulli, *Artemios*, mir. 5, p. 86, 20–21; mir. 35, p. 188, 19–25.

¹³⁸ See Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 60, 3–4, 376–77 where the author describes how the Constantinopolitan Theodoros learned about the sanctuary of Cyrus and John from his friend John the Deacon, who had already been miraculously healed by the saints.

¹³⁹ Marcos, *Thaumata*, mir. 60, 4, p. 377: Ἐλθόντα γοῦν αὐτὸν καὶ πισθέντα ταῖς κλήσεσιν ἑωρακότες οἱ κλήτορες, θᾶπτον αὐτὸν ἀπολύουσιν ἀκεσάμενοι, δῶρον τὸ τάχος τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς χαρίζόμενοι πίστεως.

¹⁴⁰ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, mir. 26, p. 168, 70–89; Talbot, *Pege*, mir. 5, 1, p. 214, mir. 6, 216–218, mir. 30, 3, p. 274, mir. 39, 1, p. 284, mir. 40, 2, p. 286; Deubner, *Laudatio Therapontis*, cap. 19, p. 129, 9–15 and p. 130, 1–2.