

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
SAINTS AND HAGIOGRAPHY ACROSS NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE
(c.800-1200)
Bergen, 2-4 JUNE 2008

ABSTRACTS

June 2

Paul Antony Hayward (Lancaster University), *The Norman Conquest of England and the Tradition of Sanctifying of Murdered Kings and Princes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Scandinavia*

Though the affinities between the lives of Danish and Norwegian kings and princes who were sanctified having suffered a violent death at the hands of fellow Christians and those of their Anglo-Saxon counterparts have often been noted, one difference that has still to be fully explained is a contrast in the way in which they rationalize their subjects' martyrdoms. Whereas the authors of the English lives tend to stress God's role in covertly engineering the death of a prince as a means of preserving their perfect purity from corruption, the hagiographers of the Scandinavian saints treat their martyrdoms as a reward for the performance of good works, above all those that promoted the Christianisation of their kingdoms. This paper will show, however, that this contrast *may* be seen as further evidence of continuity between the two traditions. It will suggest that the Scandinavian lives—most of which are later in date than their English counterparts—continue a trend that began in England with the Norman Conquest and its impact on the English Church. The event that set this trend in motion was the attack on the cult of St Ælfheah by Lanfranc of Bec (1072-1089), the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury. To be sure, Ælfheah was a 'murdered archbishop' rather than a 'murdered prince', but the claims that were being made for his cult prior to Lanfranc's arrival were similar to those that were being made for the murdered princes at the same time. The questioning of Ælfheah's cult was followed, furthermore, by a similar assault on the authenticity of the cult of a Mercian royal martyr, St Wigstan. Lives were composed in the aftermath of both incidents, and in them we find a stress on positive virtue, including missionary work, which anticipates, albeit in a weaker form, the line taken by the lives of Ólafr and Knud IV. In England these emphases were a response to the criticisms of English cults made by Lanfranc and his peers. The implication is that the trajectory taken by the English tradition in the wake of 1066 *may help*—please note the emphasis—to account for the emphasis on positive virtue and good works in the Scandinavian texts.

Haki Antonsson (University College London), *The Early Cults of Saints in Scandinavia: A Comparative View*

This paper will provide an overview of the saints of the missionary era in Scandinavia as a whole. The point of departure will be Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae* which names many missionary martyrs in the Slavic lands and claims, via King Sven Estridssen, that many saints of this kind could be found in Denmark. Adam of Bremen was of course particularly interested in the missionary martyrs of Saxony and, in general, the cult of saint in that relatively recently converted region. I will deal with each of the Scandinavian countries: the conversion history of Iceland and in particular the role in that process of King Olaf Tryggvason; the near-absence of missionary saints in Denmark and Norway and the anomaly that is Sweden where a number of English and Swedish missionary saints are known from the Middle Ages. There is, however, a notable problem with the chronology of the cult of these saints. A question that is worth pondering is why "classical" cults of missionary saints appeared in Sweden but are, for the most part, absent in Denmark and Norway. The differing

pace and nature of Christianization process and the establishment of the Church may provide a conjectural answer to this question: in this respect the role of the kings; the establishment of bishoprics and monasteries are all relevant factors. I will also examine whether the early royal/princely saints were in fact presented as missionary saints in the earliest hagiographic literature. As time will permit I will make some very general comparisons with Central and Eastern Europe.

Anna Minara Ciardi (University of Lund), *Saints and Cathedral Culture in Denmark (c.1080-1200)*

In the early medieval kingdom of Denmark (as in other parts of Europe) the cult of saints was a crucial element both in the early formation of an ecclesiastical organization and in the whole process of Christianization. Saints were important not only to the spiritual life of the young church province - as examples and intercessors - but also in the very process of transplanting Catholic culture onto Danish soil. Universally venerated saints such as Clement of Rome, Lawrence and Nicholas of Myra, and foreign local saints such as Alban and Lucius (in Odense and Roskilde) were imported from abroad, while domestic saints such as Knud in Odense, Kjeld of Viborg and Niels of Aarhus helped form a national ecclesiastical identity similar in structure and ambitions to that of other regions of the church. Cathedral chapters were closely associated with, and in some respects responsible for, the cults of saints at their cathedrals. In particular, the chapter guarded and promoted the cult of the cathedral's patron saint, which is particularly noticeable in cases where that saint was also a local saint and/or of royal descent. Using examples taken from my research on the formation and functions of cathedral chapters in Denmark, with side-glances at similar phenomena on the continent and in the British Isles, I will present cathedral culture in Denmark, c. 1060-1200, as a milieu important for our understanding of the role played by the cult of saints in early medieval Scandinavia.

Lars Bisgaard (University of Southern Denmark, Odense), *St Samson and Twelfth-century Denmark*

In Denmark as well as in the rest of Scandinavia, St. Samson is a rare figure in medieval paintings and sculpture. However, there is one exception: the small and anonymous monastery of Halsted, situated on the island of Lolland in the western part of the Baltic Sea. Monks here obviously chose St Samson as their patron. Historians and art historians have neglected this fact, leaving it as one of many oddities in medieval hagiographical behavior. In my paper I will argue that by following the track of St Samson it will be possible to identify whom the saint was/were(?) and in the end be able to see the foundation of the monastery in an entirely new context. This will not only reveal an interesting story, related to the theme of the conference, but also make the Benedictine monastery of Halsted significantly older.

Åslaug Ommundsen (University of Bergen), *The Cults of Local Saints in Norway before 1200*

The local saints' cults known on mainland Norway before 1200 are closely linked with the first permanent episcopal sees. The saints not only provided the necessary authority for the newly founded sees, but served as identifying symbols of their respective bishoprics. St. Olaf of Nidaros, St. Hallvard of Oslo and St. Sunniva of Selja (translated from Selja to the cathedral of Bergen in 1170) all presumably had an organised cult from the late eleventh century onwards. The two bishops' sees established in the twelfth century, on the other hand, Stavanger and Hamar, were not connected to new saints from the surrounding area. Stavanger was closely linked to the English Saint Swithun, who in many ways played the role

of a local saint and gave the town its profile. Hamar, which had been a part of Oslo until 1152, remained connected to St. Hallvard and did not find an alternative figure. In this paper I want to discuss the evidence of the local saint's cult in Norway before 1200, and how local saints provided an identity for the Norwegian bishoprics.

Erik Niblaeus (King's College London), *The Offices of the Saints and the German Contribution to Religious Practice in Christianisation-period Sweden*

The paper will be a presentation of some aspects from the speaker's PhD thesis, an investigation of the influence of various German churches on Christian rite and practice during the establishment and consolidation of Christianity in Scandinavia, primarily through the investigation of liturgical sources. It will explore questions relating to the establishment of regular commemoration of the saints in the form of the divine office, particularly in the region of Småland in southern Sweden. With a long-established reputation as a wild and desolate place, with heathendom allegedly persisting well into the twelfth century, Småland may seem an unlikely place to find any evidence of Christianisation-period liturgical practice. In fact, however, a large number of twelfth-century breviary fragments survive from medieval Småland in the Swedish national archives, Riksarkivet, most of them in German handwriting, some from high-grade books. This may at first seem unexpected in a burgeoning church where material poverty and paucity of clergy would have been pressing concerns, and the apparent incongruence will be discussed with reference to breviaries where fragments of the sanctoral have been preserved. An attempt will be made to place them in a larger European context of changing attitudes to the divine office, to text and practice, to liturgical ideal and reality.

June 3

James Palmer (University of St Andrews), *Anskar's Imagined Communities and the Burden of Tradition*

This paper investigates the levels of identity expressed through Anskar's *Miracula Willehadi* (after 860) and Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* (c. 870). During the ninth century saints' cults in Saxony – many imported from elsewhere – developed as important focal points for an artificially imposed Christian topography, and thus established loci at which new identities could be forged. The traditions of Hamburg-Bremen developed both as an extension and as a response to patterns in the rest of Saxony. On the one hand, because Willehad and Anskar were 'new' saints, their power as patrons needed to be articulated as part of local identities defined geographically in order to compete with the 'old' imported saints (e.g. St Alexander at nearby Wildeshausen). On the other, the missionary ambitions of Anskar and Rimbert necessitated formulaic representations of northern *gentes* over whom archiepiscopal authority could be asserted. It will be argued that, to achieve their aims, Anskar and Rimbert drew heavily on established traditions of the intersection of identity, geography and saints' cults, particularly in ideas encountered through connections with Fulda and Reichenau. There was therefore a strong connection between constructions of sanctity and the conceptualisation of identities in literary form.

Cristian Gaspar (Central European University), *Exporting Saints, Importing Hagiography in Central European Christendom: Remarks on the Authorship and Influence of the Life of St Adalbert of Prague*

As saints go, St Adalbert of Prague was certainly a lucky one. It took a mere two years following his martyr's death among the pagan Prussians on 23 April 997 for an account of

his life and martyrdom to be written and diffused throughout the Ottonian Roman Empire and beyond. The so called Ottonian (or Imperial) version of the *Life of St. Adalbert* was written most probably in 999 in Rome, at the request of Emperor Otto III, on the basis of information provided by Gaudentius-Radim (d. ca. 1006), Adalbert's younger brother and longtime companion. This narrative accompanies Adalbert from his birth ca. 956 in Libice (Central-Eastern Bohemia), through his school days at the cathedral school in Magdeburg, his twice failed career as a bishop of Prague (*sed.* 983-989 and 991-995), his brief spells of wandering and settled monastic life in between (990-991 and 995-996), and finally to his death.

This first *Life of St. Adalbert* (known as the *Vita prior*) has not reached us in its original version. Modern research into the manuscript tradition of this text by Jadwiga Karwasńska has shown quite clearly that soon after the elaboration of the initial version of the *Life* in Rome, this original text was reworked on at least three different instances by three different authors, in three different intellectual environments, and with different motivations. All three versions were in circulation by the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth providing a source of inspiration for other hagiographic accounts of Adalbert, most notably the *Vita* composed (in two versions) by St Bruno of Querfurt (b. ca. 970-1009).

This paper discusses, based on my own research into the wealth of classical and patristic quotations contained in the first *Life of Adalbert*, the thorny question of the authorship of the *Vita prior*, focusing especially on the person, the intellectual milieu, and the ideological motivations of its author (an issue on which recent research has advanced several unsettling hypotheses). I will also address the further destiny of this text within the context of the spread of Adalbert's cult in twelfth-century Europe and especially in the wider framework of the emergence of Polish Christianity and of the Archbishopric of Gniezno, which claimed St Adalbert's special patronage. Of special interest in this context is the relationship between one of the Italian versions of the *Vita prior* and an intriguing anonymous narrative of Adalbert's martyrdom known as *The Passion of Tegernsee* (possibly written sometime between 1017 and 1038), for which Polish authorship has been recently suggested. This little researched relationship, which I will also briefly address, raises the interesting possibility that newly-born Polish Christianity was not a mere passive receptor of foreign hagiographic accounts, but also an active (albeit on a more modest scale) contributor of such hagiographic material(s) in addition to exporting the pieces of Adalbert's relics, which were instrumental in spreading his cult throughout Western Europe.

Aidan Conti (University of Bergen), *The Anglo-Saxon Origins of Danish Hagiography: Ælnoth of Canterbury and St Canute*

Ælnoth of Canterbury's generic hybrid prosimetrum, the *Gesta Swegnomagni Regis et filiorum eius et passio gloriosissimi Canuti Regis and martyris*, represents one of the earliest sustained attempts at integrating Northern realms into the sacred history of Western Christendom. In carrying out this effort, the martyrdom of Canute, the first royal saint to receive papal sanction, plays a centrifugal role. This paper will examine the *Gesta Swegnomagni* in relation to those works generally considered as formal models, the *Encomium Emmae*, the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, and Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*. This study will pay particular attention to the poetic and prosaic sources employed in each work, and the manner in which source material is manipulated and reconfigured. Such a study not only offers insight into a possible common *thesaurus* for ecclesiastical historiography in the eleventh and twelfth century, but also informs what kinds of books and knowledge would have been deemed essential for the young religious community in Odense as it grew within a land undergoing the processes of conversion.

Jonas Wellendorf (University of Bergen), *The Earliest Old Norse Vernacular Hagiography*

In surveys of Old Norse literature, the native saga genres and the eddic and skaldic poetry are often emphasized as original compositions at the expense of the bulk of the corpus that mainly consists of translations and ecclesiastical literature. By looking only at the texts actually preserved in manuscripts from the first hundred years of the Old Norse vernacular scribal culture (c. 1150–1250), I wish to underscore the role played by translations in the development of a local literature, including a literature dealing with local saints. I will give a survey of the complete corpus of preserved texts which will make clear how the texts that are valued highest today are almost completely absent from this earliest corpus (even though many of them are believed to have been composed within the relevant timeframe) and proceed to a discussion of the then most popular kind of texts in the vernacular, namely saints' lives.

Three lives are preserved in the oldest Norwegian vernacular fragment (AM 655 IX 4°, c1150), those of St Blaise, St Eustace and St Matthew. I will use these lives as a point of departure to discuss the main themes and concerns of the oldest Old Norse vernacular hagiography as these lives reflect very accurately the main kinds of lives preserved. Thematically speaking, the texts seem to be preoccupied with the conflict between Christians and pagans in the early phases of the Christianisation processes. It remains unknown in which contexts the translations were used, and what the more specific intentions behind the translations were, but the contents of the lives must have been consistent to some extent with the concerns of their producers and audiences.

Lars Boje Mortensen (University of Southern Denmark, Odense), *Passio Olavi and Twelfth-Century Textual Culture in Scandinavia*

By reviewing recent research into the Legend of St Olav the paper will attempt to gauge questions relating to stories in Latin and vernacular as well as to communication amongst the elite and between the elite and the masses. The emergence of strong local cults like Olav's will be seen as a result of elite agency, but the diffusion of stories about the saint can hardly have resulted from anything but a real wish by the masses to participate in elite culture (rather than "ecclesiastical propaganda"). Textual culture was in one way restricted to a part of the elite, but in another the very presence of liturgies based on books enhanced the impact of writing beyond literacy. It was meaningful to most people that oral stories were founded, in the last resort, in sacred books. Furthermore the relationship between the circulation of stories about local saints and universal saints in twelfth century Norway will be dealt with. In evaluating the meaning and import of "written Christian discourse" previous research has perhaps been too concerned with new local cults (which are better documented) than the numerous other saints' cults which were becoming popular in the same period. The interfaces between written and oral and between local and European will thus be central issues.

Lenka Jiroušková (University of Freiburg), *Textual Evidence for the Early Transmission of Passio Olavi*

The *Passio Olavi* is one of the oldest attested, and probably the first Latin hagiographical text from medieval Norway. The history of this text is significant for the question of the beginnings of the Latin written tradition in Norway. Nine extant Latin manuscripts were produced from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century yet none stems from Norway. Two versions of the *Passio Olavi* are known, a shorter and longer text, as well as two different late medieval redactions. There are different opinions about the "primacy" of both these versions. The difference between them becomes clear in examining the *passio*-part. But the miracle collection tacked onto the *passio*-part makes the issue more

complicated: not only does the account of the miracles in the manuscripts vary; the order of the miracles, the selection of certain portions of them and also the textual variants do so as well.

Three extant manuscripts from the end of the 12th century are crucial for research on the transmission and origins of the *Passio Olavi*: the Anchin manuscript (*D*), the Fountains manuscript (*CCC*) and the Helsinki-fragments probably of a Scandinavian origin (*H*). In analysing the textual variants in all manuscripts both in the miracles and in the *passio*-part, the relationships of these variants, style, and finally content of the miracles could offer new conclusions about the form of the first miracle collection and of the earlier version of the *Passio Olavi*.

The variety on all levels of the text as a special sign of the history of medieval texts as well as the tension between unity and diversity in a living Latin tradition will be illustrated on the basis of selected examples. The paper will focus (considering the three oldest manuscripts) on the *passio*-part and the miracles 1-21 which are – in selection – transmitted in all manuscripts and which reflect, in different way, the reality outside of the text: the reality of the medieval cult of St Ólafr.

June 4

Ildar Garipzanov (University of Bergen), *Veneration of Saints in Northern Russia in the Eleventh Century*

By looking at evidence from eleventh-century Rus'—most importantly, liturgical birch-bark fragments found in Novgorod in the last decade and the menologium (*mesiatslov*) of the Ostromir Gospels written for Hagia Sophia of Novgorod in 1056/7—this paper overviews international saints venerated in northern Russia, primarily in Novgorod, in the first century after official conversion (988-989).

The surviving liturgical evidence shows that, in addition to specifically Orthodox saints like St Luke, St Demetrios, St Barbara, and St Basil, saints highly regarded in Western Europe (St. Peter and St Paul, St Philip, St Cosma and St Damian, St Sylvester, and St Vitus) and specifically in the Christian North (St Clement and St Nicholas) were venerated in eleventh-century Novgorod. From this perspective, early Christian Novgorod was not only a key town on the trading route connecting Scandinavia with early Rus' and Byzantium but also an important hub in the cultural traffic of international saints across Northern Europe.

Furthermore, this paper addresses the following question: Why were certain international saints preferred to others in this region? The suggested answer is that, in the absence of local saints, two main factors contributed the most to the popularity of certain saints in Novgorod in the eleventh century. On the one hand, such saints as St Clement, St Luke, St Demetrios, and St Boris and St Gleb were promoted by Novgorodian bishops and Kievan princes. On the other hand, certain saints like St Cosma and St Damian and St Barbara seem to have become important due to their appeal to popular religiosity. In some cases, official promotion and popular pre-Christian beliefs blended in a peculiar way as happened in the case of St Basil and the pagan deity *Volos*; the early Russian clergy seem to have tolerated such syncretism.

Tatjana N. Jackson (Institute of World History, Moscow), *The Church and Cult of St Olaf in Novgorod*

Olaf Haraldsson, the King of Norway, was killed in the battle of Stiklestad on July 29, 1030. The process of his sanctification began almost immediately after the battle. According to Adam of Bremen, by *ca.* 1070 Olaf's feast had been 'worthily recalled with eternal veneration on the part of all the peoples of the Northern Ocean, the Norwegians, Swedes, Goths, Sembi, Danes, and Slavs'.

Four miracles in the *miracula* of St Olaf are connected with Old Rus. ‘Russian’ miracles, although examined earlier, are dealt with in this paper, which allows to specify some extra details. In two miracle stories, out of the four, the church of St. Olaf in Novgorod is mentioned. I find it reasonable to revert to the question of its dating. The composition of *Passio et miracula Olavi* in the 1160s being a *terminus ante quem*, we can move back in time and point to the Varangian (Scandinavian) church in Novgorod mentioned *s.a.* 1152 in the *Novgorodian Primary Chronicle*. Still, half a century earlier the carver *ØpiR*, who was active in a period extending from the second half of the eleventh century till the beginning of the twelfth century, produced a runic inscription at a boulder at Sjusta mentioning a certain Spjallboði who ‘died in Hólmgarðr in Óláfr’s church’. According to the *Tale of the Novgorodian posadnik Dobrynja* and a number of other Old Russian written sources, the church of St. Olaf in Novgorod was built in the lifetime of *posadnik* Dobrynja, *i.e.* at the turn of the centuries or at the beginning of the twelfth century. Correspondingly, we can state that the surviving sources point in the direction of the late eleventh or early twelfth century as the earliest date of the existence of the church of St. Olaf in Novgorod.

The question naturally arises whether the existence of a Varangian, *i.e.* a Catholic, church in the twelfth-century Novgorod was something exceptional, or it was a part of the overall picture. In my paper I present those data that are able to prove that source material about the church and cult of St Olaf in Novgorod is the reflection of a real historical situation, rather than a product of creative activity of medieval authors.

John Lind (University of Southern Denmark, Odense), *Veneration of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Saints in Rus’*

At least two Russian medieval manuscripts have preserved a text, which has become known either as the Prayer to the Holy Trinity or Kirill of Turov’s Prayer on Penitance. The prayer has attracted attention because in its litany it lists a number of saints usually not associated with the Russian Orthodox Church. Some of these, SS Viacheslav and Voitekh and perhaps Vitus, combined with the presence of SS Cyril and Method let some scholars believe that the prayer had Bohemian origin, imported from the St Sazava monastery, which until the end of the eleventh century was still allowed the use of Church Slavonic. However, in the category of martyrs the litany also contains this sequence, SS Magnus, Canute, Benedict, Alban, Olav, Botulf. In the Bohemian interpretation some of these were taken out of their context as martyrs and identified with Central-European non-martyr saints, so that only the passage of Canute, Olav and Botulf to Bohemia remained to be explained.

Some 20 years ago, when we had just marked the ninth centenary of the killing of Danish King Canute, his brother Benedict in St Alban’s Church in Odense in 1086, I happened to see the text and immediately recognized the sequence ‘Canute, Benedict and Alban’ as a direct reflection of the cult that had almost immediately arisen centered on Canute and his brother. Since it was difficult to explain how and why this sequence, preceded by a Magnus, most likely St Magnus of Orkney, and followed by SS Olav and Botulf, should have reached Rus’ via Bohemia, my conclusion was that the prayer was not an imported text but rather reflected a certain stage in Russian orthodoxy when widespread links between Rus’ and the rest of Europe still made it possible for Christian Rus’ to venerate a broad selection of saints, later to be banished from veneration.

In the paper I will reflect on which the links were that caused this sequence of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian saints to be venerated in Rus’ with particular attention given to the veneration of St Olav.

Savely Senderovich (Cornell University), *Thoughts on Early Russian Hagiography Facing North-western Europe*

The analysis of the historiosophic, historiographic and hagiographical texts dedicated to Prince Vladimir, the Baptizer of Rus' and that of the first Russian saints Boris&Gleb, in comparison with that of St. Olaf Haraldsson highlights the importance of the twin relationship between *vita* and historiography in both regions. In the Scandinavian context history comes in the form of saga, the latter being a carryover from the heathen culture; indeed, St. Olaf looks like a hero of olden times whose eternal place is in Walhalla rather than in heaven of spirits. On the contrary, Russian historiography was a thoroughly Christian enterprise — the very Christianity was received in Rus' as a historical frame of mind in contrast to the pagan fabulation — and Russian saints are clear opposites of heathen heroes. St. Vladimir is molded in the key of sophisticated typological exegesis, and SS Boris&Gleb are demonstratively meek — that is their main feature as new people.

The parallel between the cult of Boris&Gleb and that of the Anglo-Saxon young and innocent princely martyrs shows a very definite affinity and sheds a clear light on the historical conditions of the origin of this Russian cult, cuts through the traditional mystification and reveals its political expediency. But within the context of Russian historiography, the Russian cult acquires a dimension which is absent in its North-Western parallels and which makes it indeed unique though in a manner different than it was previously thought. In the narrative of chronicle and its twin, hagiography, it has an ultimate telos: setting up the cornerstone for the deciphering the early Christian history of Rus' as a providential design, that is, as a part of the universal history which is conceivable as an exegesis based on OT historical parallels. Thus, Russian hagiography has two intertwined originary purposes: a political expediency and a historiosophic telos; the latter must be seen as *la raison d'être*. It is aimed at creation of a foundational national narrative.

Marina Paramonova (Institute of World History, Moscow), *St Wenceslas and St Boris and Gleb: Intersections and Dissimilarity of the Hagiographic Traditions*

The Bohemian cult of Wenceslas is conventionally interpreted as a model for the cult of the Old Russian princes. During the last decades of the tenth century, the saintly reputation of Wenceslas spread to the West (the Latin hagiography of the saint was initiated through the efforts of the German religious institutions and Ottonian imperial court). In the eleventh century it reached the territory of the Kievan Rus. The penetration of the Wenceslas' cult into Russian religious tradition was supplemented by the reception of the Bohemian works written in Church Slavonic. These texts have been interpreted as the remains of the Church Slavonic culture, which flourished in Bohemia **during** the tenth and eleventh centuries and influenced the Old Russian literary tradition. The magnificent image of the "Great Moravian heritage," continued and enriched in Bohemia, was created by the great academic tradition of the Slavonic studies, which despite the scholarly controversies and criticism received widespread acceptance. In this chain of inheritances and influences the First Old Slavonic Life of Wenceslas (supposedly the first account about the saint and the only survived original narrative in Slavonic) is the most important element, signifying both the (Cyrillomethodian) heritage and the innovation. This work invented for Slavonic culture the new model of the saint ruler (a righteous victim of fratricide), which in the process of the dissemination of the Bohemian works influenced hagiographic tradition about Boris and Gleb. To **prove** this idea (and to prevent its reducing to uncertain concept of "example per se"), the scholars have pointed out the number of similarities between the Bohemian (Latin and Slavonic) and the Old Russian works. However, the common textual elements (motifs and brief citations) cannot verify the direct relationships between the concrete accounts on St Boris and St Gleb and St Wenceslas. All the attempts to verify the systematic character of these "borrowings" are based on the literary "phantoms" (the lost archetypes and/or sources for surviving Slavonic and Latin lives). I suggest, that both ideas, of the coherent literary model of the

Wenceslas hagiography or of the great impact of this model on the Russian authors, are highly generalizing concepts. Moreover, these concepts are not very useful for comparative study of the different referential sets (literary or extra-literary), which shaped the distinctive modes of hagiographic and narrative representations of the murdered ruler in the lives of St Wenceslas and St Boris and St Gleb.

Monica White (Stanford University), *Byzantine Military Saints in Rus and the Cult of Boris and Gleb*

Although much can be learned about the cult of Boris and Gleb from its northern European context, the saintly brothers can also be understood as products of certain Byzantine religious traditions which began to take root in Rus in the late tenth century. In the century before the official conversion of Rus, a previously unrelated group of martyrs gained new prominence in Byzantium as imperial patrons in war. The cults of these military saints – primarily George, Demetrios, Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates – were shaped by emperors, officers and intellectuals seeking to shore up the Empire’s defenses with the help of a heavenly army. Over the course of the tenth century, the *vitae* of these saints were rewritten to emphasise their prowess in war, and historians recorded their assistance in military operations.

The popularity of the military saints in Byzantium meant that their cults made an early appearance in Rus, where they became favourite patrons of the ruling clan. They also provided a model for the emerging cult of Boris and Gleb, who, as martyrs and defenders of the realm, had much in common with their Byzantine forebears. Comparisons between the brothers and the military saints are found in many of the early texts related to Boris and Gleb, and their iconography shows important similarities. Eventually, the brothers became fully incorporated into the corps of the military saints.

Sergejus Temcinas (Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius), *The Martyrdom of Pope St Clement I as a Textual Model for the Earliest (Non-extant) Vita of St. Vladimir*

As shown by A.V. Nazarenko (2001), at least two West European sources of the early eleventh century – Thietmar’s Chronicle (before 1018) and Peter Damian’s *Vita* of St. Romuald (1026-1030) – contain certain information on St. Vladimir-Vasilij of Kiev (†1015), which is absent from his Slavonic *Vita* (it is of a late date), but still corresponds to some early Kievan texts. This implies an early non-extant *Vita*, which must have contained the following motives: 1) before being baptised, Vladimir lived a dissolute life and attacked Christians; 2) he seized the city Cherson in the Crimea and married a Byzantine princess; 3) Vladimir became blind and paralytic as a result of his initial refusal of a missionary preaching; 4) the efforts of his virtuous wife contributed crucially to his conversion; 5) only after a priest put his hand on him, Vladimir was cured of his temporary blindness and paralysis; 6) the conversion changed Vladimir entirely; 7) impressed by the Holy Writ, he became a charity worker (Luke 11:41); 8) the citation of Luke 12:35: “Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning.” The paper aims to show that a very similar combination of motifs can be found in the episode describing the baptism of Roman noble Sisinnius as presented in the Byzantine Martyrium of St. Clement I of Rome, which might have served as a textual model for the non-extant *Vita* of St. Vladimir of Kiev. I will also comment on both the origin and the later fate of this early cult, reflected by both Western and Kievan sources.