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Summary :

Around 1030, the patriarch Alexios Stoudites forced the monastic community which was founded in the 10th century by the monk Eleutherios Paphlagon to be dissolved. Eleutherios' teaching allegedly focused on sexual freedom for the laics, whereas the monks were also allowed to have two wives. His followers were obliged to remove his relic from the monastery at Morokambos of Lykaonia and to destroy his books and images.

Date

Around 1030

Geographical Location

Morokambos of Lykaonia

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1. Historical conditions

Deviations of smaller or greater importance from the Orthodox dogma would often develop in the provinces of the Byzantine Empire, something which marked the difficulty to secure uniformity and an agreement with the capital. The local character of the various monastic communities encouraged the emergence of movements which could be characterized by the official ecclesiastic authority as heretic. Suitable conditions for the emergence of such movements, especially after the Iconoclasm, were usually established in the most isolated areas, such as Lykaonia and Pamphylia, where previously the Messalians had found refuge. Until approximately the mid-10th century, the official church manifested a certain tolerance concerning deviations of some monastic communities, provided they did not spread. On the contrary, during the second half of the 10th and in the 11th century it assumes a more dynamic action against such movements.

Around the mid-10th century, a group of believers was organized around the monk Eleutherios in central Asia Minor; they eventually formed a monastic community. According to the synodal act of the condemnation of Eleutherios' teaching, he was accused of being a member of the heresy of the Messalians, which was formed around the 4th century. It was a usual phenomenon to confuse the new movements which were characterized as heretical from the official church with older heresies, already documented, due to certain common points, since the official church faced with a simplistic, absolute and dogmatic manner any movement deviating from its established principles. Thus Eleutherios was accused as a Messalian, exactly as the Bogomils or the Paulicians previously. There are not, however, enough evidence to support the theory that his teaching was a neo-messalian movement and thus a revival and continuation of an older heresy. It was probably more of a reemergence of certain ideas of the Messalian dogma. Apparently his contemporaries on purpose reproached him with elements referring to Paulicianism and Messalianism, such as the breaking of oath and denial of the Cross worship, in order to achieve the most exemplary and effective condemnation of the movement and its followers.[1]

2. Foundation of the monastery and dogma

Eleutherios came from Paphlagonia. Around the mid-10th century he founded a monastery at Morokambos of Lykaonia, a region which is not mentioned in any other source.[2] The only information available (from the synodal act condemning the heresy) is that Morokambos belonged to the ecclesiastic province of Lystra, since the province's bishop was assigned by the patriarch of Constantinople Alexios Stoudites (1025-1043) to ordain priest any of the former followers of Eleutherios who wanted it, after the soundness of their faith had been ascertained. According to Eleutherios' teaching (as it is documented by the synodal act, thus by a non-objective reference from the beginning), each monk had the right to copulate with two wives, whereas every laic, after passing from an initiation stage which lasted a year and during which he was obliged in sexual abstinence and temperance, had full sexual freedom with no distinctions.[3] It is rather strange that the moral looseness should be the main element of Eleutherios' teaching. The emphasis laid by the official church on the immorality of his teaching suggests that obviously some of its other sides are concealed.

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Behind the typical freedom of sexual activity promoted by the heresy one must suppose the seeking of a different approach to apathy, according to which liberality was used as a mean towards discipline and perfection. The will to exercise the apathy was what led to excess, to extreme mystical experiences, and ended up being considered as undermining the prevailing ecclesiastic structures under the form of a heretic movement. Unfortunately the lack of sources prevents us from drawing more precise conclusions concerning the actual teaching of Eleutherios.

The patriarch Polyeuktos (956-970) was the first to condemn Eleutherios' heresy in a synodal trial, from which we only have an epistle, since the actual patriarchal document has not survived.[4] Eleutherios was not present at the trial. His followers pretended they repented and returned to Polyeuktos and Phokas, metropolitan of Ikonion, signed a denunciation of their creed and of their leader, but in reality remained unrepentant. Worse still, after Eleutherios' death his worship was diffused amongst his followers. He was buried inside the katholikon of the monastery, his followers composed hymns to honour him and worshiped his images, practically making a saint of him; this was also based on the fact that his body did not decay. They also developed a monastic community of interspersed cells dependent on the central monastery.

3. Trial and persecution

The only source available on Eleutherios Paphlagon's monastic community is the synodal act which prescribed the dissolution of the group of his followers, by decision of the patriarch Alexios Stoudites.[5] It is actually a summary of the second part of the trial on heresy, as recorded by a certain notary. More specifically, around 1030 and as Eleutherios' heresy and cult were still spreading, notwithstanding the previous condemnation by patriarch Polyeuktos, the metropolitan of Side Constantine sent his followers to the synodal court. Meanwhile, the protospathatios Sergios forced the abbot of the monastery Gregorios and the rest of the followers of the heresy to transport Eleutherios' relic in an isolated area and to destroy his books and images. They obeyed, but, due to the previous perjuring renounce of Eleutherios' teaching by his followers, the synod issued another decision according to which his monks-followers were dispersed in various orthodox monasteries, were obliged to a confession of faith, to renounce of Eleutherios and his teaching and to bury his body into the earth, according to the orthodox ecclesiastic rules. Also, it was determined that, if proved to have sincerely repented and changed, they would be gradually accepted in the church and they would again have the right to Holy Communion. They were only exempted from the service of the confessor, which would give them uncotrollable power. Furthermore, the bishop of Lystra was assigned to ordain but also to supervise any laic follower of Eleutherios who wanted to become a priest in the future.

4. Consequences

The lack of sources greatly hinders the documentation of the course of the followers of Eleutherios and the understanding of the inner logic of their beliefs. The official church easily equated Eleutherios' teachings with those of the Messalians; and the monastic community of his followers were treated as heretics and were forced into dissolution. Its members anathematized Eleutherios and his teaching in order to be incorporated in the Orthodox creed and they were thus allowed to gradually return to the Orthodox community, initially under supervision and deprived of some of their rights. Their movement apparently spread to some extent; we can not, however, know its impact in the Christian population of the region, due to the lack of sources. After the definite dissolution of Eleutherios' followers' community, their traces are lost and his cult as a saint fades out.

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1. Gouillard, J., "L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantine des origines au XIIe siècle", *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1975), p. 299-324, proposes a theory that Eleutherios' heresy was a neo-messalian movement. After his refutation by Loos, M., *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague 1974), p. 100, n. 5, Gouillard, J., "Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 36 (1978), p. 11-13, 18-19 and n. 61, accepts that he was carried away in the formulation of the abovementioned theory and talks of a revival and not a continuation of Messalianism.

2. Belke, K. – Restle, M., *Galatien und Lykaonien* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4, Wien 1984), p. 86, 208.

3. Gouillard, J., "Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 36 (1978), text I, 47-50.

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4. Grumel, V., *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* 1.2/3: *Les actes des patriarches. Les regestes de 715 à 1206* (Paris 1936), no.797.

5. Gouillard, J., “L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantine des origines au XIIe siècle”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1975), pp. 299-324, and Grumel, V., *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* 1.2/3: *Les actes des patriarches. Les regestes de 715 à 1206* (Paris 1936), no. 850.

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Glossary :

- Bogomilism

The heresy of Bogomilism appeared in the wider region of Thrace, in the mid-10th century. It combined neo-manichean beliefs with the views of Paulician migrants from Asia Minor and of local Slavonic ascetic mouvements. It proposed a dogmatic interpretation but also suggested an essential reformation of the ecclesiastical practice and of everyday life. The Bogomils survived up until the 15th c., despite the persecutions and repeated condamnation of their beliefs by the Church.

- katholikon

The main church in a monastic complex, heart of the monastic activity.

- Messalianism

A heretic ascetic movement that emerged in the eastern Byzantine provinces in the 4th c. Its followers considered Baptism inadequate for the salvation of the soul.

- notary (lat. notarius)

An official who registered transactions and certified documents.

- protospatharios

The first spatharios. A higher byzantine official of the imperial hierarchy which usually permitted participation in the senate. It was awarded even to

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eunuchs. After the 11th century, it gradually lost its importance. It was also an honorary title.

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Quotations

The heresy of Eleutherios of Paphlagon according to the synodal act of 1030:

Ταύτης τῆς πλάνης μετέσχε πλουσίως καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, ὃς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Παφλαγόνων ὥρμητο χώρας. Ἐπεχωρίασε δέ, ὡς μὴ ὤφειλε, τῇ τῶν Λυκαόνων ἐπαρχίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους ἀπατήσας, καὶ τὸν λύκον τῷ κωδίῳ περικαλύψας, καὶ εὐλαβὴς εἶναι πιστευθεὶς πειθηνίους ἔσχε πρὸς ἅπαντα. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ μοναστήριον συστησάμενος ὁ Μωρόκαμπος ὠνόμασται —μωρὰς γὰρ κεφαλὰς ἐκτρέφει καὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου πνεύματος ὑποπίμπλησι· κάπις γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ κάπος τὸ πνεῦμα— τοὺς φοιτῶντας ὑποδεχόμενος πρὸς ἀπωλείας κατῆγε βάραθρον. Καὶ ἠγνοήθη μὲν ἐπὶ πολύ, οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος διέλαθεν· ἐγνώσθη τε γὰρ τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας προβόλοις, καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας κεχώριστο, διότι πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον μετακληθεὶς φυγὰς ὤχετο. Οὗτος τοίνυν ταῖς τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν μυσαρίαις προσεξεῦρε καὶ ἕτερα αἰσχρουργήματα. Νενομοθέτηκε γὰρ τὸν μοναχὸν δυσὶ συνευνάζεσθαι γυναιξί, καὶ χρόνον ἕνα ἐγκρατῶς ζῆν τὸν τὰ ἐκείνου τετελεσμένον, καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀδεῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ταῖς μίξεσι, διαστέλλοντα μεταξὺ συγγενίδων καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν οὐδαμῶς· ἀδιάφορον γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ κεκωλυμένον παρὰ τῆς φύσεως. Ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐφειλκύσατο διὰ τὸ ἄνετον καὶ πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας ἐλεύθερον. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἔχων προδήλους καὶ προαγούσας εἰς κρίσιν, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπακολουθούσας αὐτῷ, χωρεῖ πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖθεν δικαιωτήρια· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου λύμης σπασάμενοι ἀδιόρθωτοι μεμενήκασι, καί τοι ἔδοξαν μεταβαλεῖν τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου καὶ Φωκᾶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἰκονίου, λίβελλον δόντες καὶ μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως τὴν πλάνην ἐξομοσάμενοι, ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο φαίνεται διαλαμβάνον τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἀπολυθὲν ὑπόμνημα καὶ ὁ λίβελλος.

Alexios Stoudites, *Κρίσις συνοδική*, Gouillard, J., "Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 36 (1978), text I, 36-59.

The survival of the community of Eleutherios' followers after its condamnation by the patriarch Polyeuktos:

Ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ὁ Αἰθίοψ μετὰ τὴν ἔκπλυσιν, καὶ ὁ καρκῖνος πρὸς πορείαν λοξός, καὶ ὁ χαμαιλέων ἀμέτοχος τῆς λευκότητος, κἂν πάσας τὰς λοιπὰς χρόας εὐχερῶς μιμεῖται καὶ περιτίθεται. Καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς ὀρθοδοξίαν καὶ θεοσέβειαν ἀμετάβλητοι· ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ περιεῖπον, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἔνδοθεν τοῦ ναοῦ θάψαντες, καὶ ὕμνους εἰς αὐτὸν συνθέντες ᾄδον, καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ ἐτίμων, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔπειθον τοῦτον σέβεσθαι, ἕως Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος μητροπολίτης Σίδης, ἱερὸς καὶ λόγιος ἀνὴρ καὶ ζηλωτὴς καλῶν ἔργων, τὴν πλάνην τούτων φωράσας ἐπὶ τὸ συνοδικὸν αὐτοὺς δικαιωτήριον εἵλκυσε καὶ διήλεγξε, τὰς ἀθέσμους αὐτῶν πράξεις παραγυμνώσας τῷ λόγῳ. Ἔφησε γὰρ ὥς ποτε θνήσεως ἐπιγενομένης τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις, μοναχός τις, ὁ τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης διδάσκαλος, ἀσχάλλουσι τοῖς ἀγροίκοις καὶ λυπουμένοις ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν κτηνῶν ἀπωλείᾳ συνεβούλευσε —τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου, Χριστέ— τον τίμιον σταυρὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς διεξόδοις τῶν ἐπαύλεων θεῖναι καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταπατηθῆναι ποιῆσαι, ὡς οὕτω λῆξαι μελλούσης τῆς θεηλάτου μάστιγος. Οὗ καὶ γενομένου, ἄρδην ἀπώλοντο ἅπαντα, τῆς θείας δίκης ἐνταῦθα μὴ ἀνασχούσης ἔνθα πολλοῖς ἔμελλεν ἡ ἀνοχὴ βλάβην ἐπενεγκεῖν. Καί τισιν δὲ ἀροτριῶσι δυσὶν ἐντυχεῖν καὶ διερωτῆσαι εἰ τὰ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου ἀσπάζονται δόγματα κἀκεῖνον σέβονται, καὶ τούτους μάλα προθύμως ὁμολογῆσαι αὐτόν τε τιμᾶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι δόγμασι. Ἄξιον δὲ κἀκεῖνο προσθεῖναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὃ Σέργιος ὁ περιφανέστατος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἔπαρχος, τούτων ἐξεταζομένων, διηγήσατο. Τὰς τοῦ θέματος κρίσεις τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, φησί, διέποντός μου, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Τζιλούγρων συνήθης μοι ἐγένετο, καί ποτε λόγου κινηθέντος περὶ τούτων, ἐκ μέσης στενάξας καρδίας, ἤρξατο λέγειν οὕτως· ἐμοί, φησί, συνήθεια ἐγένετο πρὸς τὸν Νεόφυτον καὶ συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων πρὸς αὐτόν. Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἡσύχῳ ἀπολαβών με κύκλον κατὰ γῆς διαγράψας μέσον τούτου καθεστῆναι πεποίηκε, καὶ προετρέψατο τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐξομολογήσασθαι. Ἐμοῦ δὲ ὑπακούσαντος καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν πεποιηκότος, οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἔνθους γενόμενος, διανοῖξαί μοι τὸ στόμα προσέταττεν. Ὡς δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐζήτουν μαθεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο· ἵν' ἐντὸς τούτου πτύσαντός μου, σωματικῶς θεάσῃ ἐπί σε τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐρχόμενον. Ἐγὼ δέ, τὸ τοῦ ἐπιτάγματος ἄτοπον μὴ ἐνεγκών, ἀναστὰς καὶ τὰ ὦτα συσχών, ὑπεχώρησα τοῦτον καταλιπών. Ταῦτα τοίνυν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀκηκοώς, τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τῶν ἀθλίων τεθαύμακα· οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου τοὺς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθέντες οὐ δύνανται διαβλέψαι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φῶς. Μετὰ γοῦν τινα χρόνον πρός με Γρηγορίου τοῦ καθηγητοῦ παραγεγονότος καὶ πρὸς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν ἀξιοῦντος, οὐκ ἠνεσχόμην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἔφην πρὸς

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αὐτόν· αἱρετικοῖς ὁμιλεῖν καὶ χαῖρε διδόναι παρὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κεκωλύμεθα· ἄπελθε τοίνυν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς κακοδοξίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβαλών, ἐν ἐρήμῳ ῥίψον καὶ πυρὶ τὰ βιβλία τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν πεποιημένα παραδός, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ ἀπόξεσον, καί τοτε καὶ ὁμιλίας σε ἀξιώσω καὶ παρρησίας μεταδώσω καὶ οὐκέτι ἀποστραφήσομαι. Ὑπέσχετο οὖν ὁ μοναχὸς προθύμως τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ τηνικαῦτα προσηκάμεθα αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ μοναχὸς Γρηγόριος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιλέγειν οὐκ εἶχον, κατετίθεντο δὲ καὶ τὸ λείψανον ἐκείνου ἐν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ναῷ μεταθεῖναι ἐν ὄρει τυγχάνοντι, καὶ τὰ βιβλία πυρὶ παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ διαξέσθαι καὶ διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ ἀποστραφῆναι.

Alexios Stoudites, *Κρίσις συνοδική*, Gouillard, J., “Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité”, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 36 (1978), text I, 60-109.

The condamnation of Eleutherios's heresy by the patriarch alexios Stoudites:

Ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ μία καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐντολὴ τὸ καὶ ἀναθεματίζειν προθύμως ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως ὀμνύειν τε ἀδεῶς, καὶ τὸ μετάμελον ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ἄρχουσι τῆς συγκλήτου ἀπεσταλμένοις παρὰ τοῦ γαληνοτάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν, ἢ μεταστῆναι τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἀποκαταστῆσαι ὀρθοδόξους δηλαδὴ καὶ μοναχοὺς ἔχουσιν ἢ δέξασθαι καθηγούμενον ὀρθόδοξον πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φῶς ὁδηγοῦντα ἀσφαλίσασθαί τε ἐν τῷ εὐαγεῖ χαρτοφυλακείῳ καὶ τὴν πλάνην ἐξομόσασθαι καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν Ἐλευθέριον ἀναθέματι καὶ τὰ τούτου καθυποβαλεῖν δόγματα, καὶ τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ θάψαι καθὰ δὴ νενομισμένον ἐστί. Καὶ εἴπερ πεῖραν ἀκριβῆ δοῖεν, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, τῆς ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἀλλοιώσεως, δεχθῆναί τε παρὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ εἶναι κοινωνικούς, τούτου αὐτοῦ φυλαχθησομένου καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς μοναστηρίοις ἃ κέλλια οὗτοι κατονομάζουσι ἐν διαφόροις ἐπαρχίαις τυγχάνοντα. Μελήσειε δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῖς κατὰ τὸν τόπον θεοφιλεστάτοις μητροπολίταις καὶ ἐπισκόποις· «ὁ γὰρ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλόν, φησί, ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν». Ἄσμενοι δὲ οἱ μοναχοὶ τὰ διορισθέντα ἐδέξαντο καὶ τὸν Ἐλευθέριον ἀνεθεμάτισαν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου μυσαρὰ δόγματα. Ἐπεὶ δέ, προφάσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι τοὺς τῶν μετανοούντων λογισμούς, πολλοὺς ἐξεπάτησαν καὶ τῆς λύμης μετέδωκαν, μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ δέχεσθαι ἐξαγορείας ὡρίσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τεταριχευμένους καὶ ἁγίους νομισθέντας διὰ τὸ διαμεῖναι τὰ σώματα ἀδιάλυτα, εἰς ἁπάτην τῶν ἁπλουστέρων, τῇ γῇ παραδοῦναι καὶ μηκέτι τοιοῦτό τι τολμᾶν. Τούς γε μὴν ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἱερωσύνην ἔρχεσθαι μέλλοντας, μαρτυρίας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς προβαινούσης, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου διάταξιν, οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀσκουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν, φανερῶς χειροτονεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Λύστρας —ἐκείνῳ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀνατιθέαμεν— πολυπραγμονοῦντος δηλαδὴ τὰ περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ τρόπου αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὀρθότητος τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις εὑρισκομένοις χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι καὶ διδόναι τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀξίωμα. Ταῦτα ἐκρίθη προκαθημένου πατριάρχου καὶ συνεδριαζόντων αὐτῷ θεοφιλεστάτων μητροπολιτῶν.

Alexios Stoudites, *Κρίσις συνοδική*, Gouillard, J., “Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité”, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 36 (1978), text I, 109-140.

Chronological Table

between 956 and 970: First condamnation of the heresy of Eleutherios of Paphlagon. His followers temporarily denounce it, but soon the cult of Eleutherios develops, as his followers make a saint of him

around 1030: Second condamnation of Eleutherios's followers, by the patriarch Alexios Stoudites. Definite dissolution of the community