Lazarus, the Making of a Saint: c.1100 -1300

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Submitted for the degree of PhD in History

2022

I, Alexander Good, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis sets out to analyse how and why Lazarus, the man who according to the *Gospel of John* was raised from the dead by Jesus, came to be acknowledged a saint in Western Christendom.

Despite the importance assigned to the miracle of his resurrection in patristic writing from the second century onwards, there is no evidence to suggest that Lazarus was thought of as a saint in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. During the centuries of Christian persecution martyrdom was the route to sanctity and Lazarus, raised from the dead, was martyrdom's mirror image. The early pilgrims who visited the tomb in Bethany where Lazarus was said to have lain dead for four days did not know the circumstances of his second final death, nor where his body lay.

However, at the end of the ninth century the bones of Lazarus were believed to have been discovered in Cyprus. They were brought to Constantinople and venerated as those of the island's first bishop. He was of especial interest to the emperor, who, it was said, shared through Lazarus friendship with Jesus. The new dynasty of German emperors founded by Otto I aspired to share in this friendship and the evidence provided by the distribution of relics of Lazarus indicates they were used to cement the authority of the German Church and state.

Ownership of the relics of Lazarus confirmed that the course of salvation history ran through the lands of the West. Churchmen from the end of the eleventh century reinterpreted theologians of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and in particular Augustine, to argue that with the resurrection of Lazarus guardianship of God's redemptive plan for humanity passed from the Jews to the Christian Church and, by extension, from East to West.

By the turn of the millennium Lazarus was venerated as a saint in the West but nowhere was his cult established. For this, Lazarus needed to become recognised as a local saint. This recognition emerged in two cities in France, Autun and Marseille, for different reasons and with varying success. In Marseille, the story of Lazarus was adapted to conform to the local tradition which attributed the

conversion of the West to legendary founding bishops with biblical authority. Here Lazarus had to vie with older and more recent saints for patronage of that city.

In contrast, following the construction of Saint-Lazare at Autun, his patronage of this city was never contested. The Church at Autun had adopted the Lazarus of the Ottonians in order to assert that they were the inheritors of a spiritual authority that originated in the New Testament. With the construction of Saint-Lazare, itself a product of the conviction that the city really did possess the body of Lazarus, they ensured the durability of his cult there.

In doing so, the Church in Autun also created a saint who was not only a means by which the Church could understand its institutional role in salvation history. His cult having been established, Lazarus also assisted Christians as individuals in the contemplation of their own final destination. These became possible with the construction of a purgatorial afterlife encompassing post-mortem redemption.

Impact Statement

At the core of this thesis lies a study about belief and how that belief is constructed and validated. Saints' cults have always been a way in which abstracts such as nationality, authority and legitimacy can be made real and are projected by their protagonists to the wider world. Saints assisted in the creation of identities for the communities that venerated them, a veneration that was all the more durable as the assumptions that underlay it were implicit.

The medieval term for the discovery of a saint's relics was 'invention', a word that is peculiarly appropriate in its various modern meanings. On the one hand it can suggest the creation of a fictitious story or event, yet it can also denote the discovery of a novelty based on a pre-existing true phenomenon. Those who were involved in the invention of Lazarus were of course complicit in the creation of a fiction. Whether anyone called Lazarus interacted with Jesus in the first century is open to question. That man was certainly not the first bishop of Citium or Marseille, or Jerusalem. However later churchmen would not have recognised the charge that they were cynically engaged in a creative act.

The structure of their belief would have allowed them truly to believe in the discoveries they made about the identity (and whereabouts) of Lazarus. This belief was crucial to the efficacy of their constructions and would have been validated by their perceived effectiveness. To the extent that the cult of Lazarus was successful, it was successful because it worked. The saint really did allow them to reflect in a way that they would have found convincing on the role of their Church in God's plan. Lazarus really did act as a guide to those who wished to understand what lay in wait for them in the next world.

A study into the relationship of complicity between the creators and consumers of belief might once have seemed 'merely' of historic interest to those who could look forward to a world ever more firmly grounded on generally accepted evidence-based truth.

In the title of this study I have deliberately avoided the use of the term 'cult'. Although a discussion of the nature of the cult of Lazarus forms part of this thesis, neither the nature of this saint's cult, nor a discussion of the what made a saint in the periods under examination is the sole purpose of this this work. Rather, the aim and, I believe, its novelty, is its attempt to pull together and set one aside of the other the various manifestations of saintly identity: cult, veneration, exegesis, relic, private and institutional. In doing so, it examines how these manifestations emerge and were constructed, how they relate to one another and what they can tell us about their creators. I argue that Lazarus is a peculiarly appropriate subject for such a study for what it can tell us about how a saintly identity was formed and changed by larger societal concerns and in turn how these concerns impacted on the way the name Lazarus was understood.

Acknowledgements

My first debt of gratitude is to Antonio Sennis. His enthusiasm for this project and confidence in my ability to carry it out has sustained me immeasurably. I owe a huge amount to his insights, his constant attempts to shape and sharpen my argument, and to our stimulating conversation.

I also wish to say thank you to the medievalists of UCL. From my very first encounter with David d'Avray at the start of my engagement with the Medieval and Renaissance Studies masters course, all have taken it for granted that my return to the study of history after thirty-five years was a natural and sensible course of action. As well as David, I should like to give particular thanks to Patrick Lantschner, John Sabapathy, Marigold Norbye and Andrew Reynolds for their kindness, support and instruction.

I have always found a welcome among my fellow students and I should like to thank Agata Zielinska, Jack Ford and others who have been active in organising the IMARS series of seminars.

I am grateful to the librarians at UCL, the Senate House, the Warburg Institute and the British Library. These institutions and especially the last, are a wonderful remnant of a more civilized State.

Neil Stratford, formerly of the British Museum, and André Strasberg, secrétaire perpétuel of the Société Éduenne des Lettres, Sciences et Arts in Autun have generously shared the knowledge gained from their long study of the cult of Lazarus at Autun, for which many thanks.

Writing may be a solitary activity, but its impact on others is palpable. I should like to thank those around me who have had to put up with bouts of self-doubt and grumpiness. In particular I thank Stella Tillyard for her support and enthusiasm.

Finally, and most especially I want to thank Diana. Her assiduity, encouragement and above all patience have been vital in the completion of this study. Over the last

years she has brought her forensic skills to this project and read every word, questioned every argument and tried to remove every stray apostrophe. Those that remain are my own.

Table of contents

Abbreviations

Albanés	Joseph Hyacinthe Albanès, Gallia Christiana Novissima. Histoire des archevêchés, evêchés & abbayes de France. (Montbéliard, 1895-1920).
BBKL	*Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, ed. F.W. Bautz (Herzberg, 1970-2018).
Bibl. Sanct.	*Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1961-1969).
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina.
BN	Bibliothèque national de France.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis (Turnhout).
CCSL	Corpus Scriptorum. Series Latina (Turnhout).
CMH	The New Cambridge Medieval History (Cambridge Histories Online, 2008).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Prague-Vienna-Leipzig).
Jn. (Lk., Mt., Mk.), KJV	The *Gospel of John* (*Luke, Matthew, Mark), The Bible: King James Version* (1611).
Leroquais	Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et Missels de bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1924).
MGH DD. H III	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Heinrich III.
MGH DD. Rudolf	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Die Urkunden der burgundischen Rudolfinger (1).
MGH rer. Germ	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi.
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in Folio.
PG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Graeca (Paris, 1844-55).
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina (Paris, 1841-49) .
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London, 1887-1897

Introduction

1. Thesis

In the year 1147 the bones of Saint Lazarus were moved a few yards from their resting place in the ancient cathedral of Saint Nazaire in Autun to the still incomplete church, destined to be the city's new cathedral and dedicated to the saint. According to a later account, Humbert bishop of Autun ordered the lifting of the stone that lay over the sarcophagus "*just as at the time of the Lord's resurrection of the blessed martyr*." [1] Odo duke of Burgundy, William count of Chalon, and other barons "*with great difficulty conveyed the lord Lazarus to his own house...because of the continuing press of the crowd*".[2] Whatever the authenticity of this account, what is undoubtedly true is that sometime in the first half of the twelfth century a decision was taken at Autun to build a new church adjacent to the old cathedral to house the bones of a man they believed to be Lazarus. Earlier in the above account reference is made to days of debate preceding the decision to translate these relics. The report of a debate is consistent with the lack of evidence suggesting a rooted tradition of veneration of Lazarus at Autun, let alone any evidence of his status as city patron predating the construction of Saint-Lazare.

This study does not attempt to pinpoint the moment that Lazarus was considered to be a saint in the West. Instead the purpose of this thesis is to trace the accretion of meaning and identity showing how and why Lazarus came to be venerated, why a cult based on his patronage emerged at Autun, and why only to a lesser extent in Marseille, and finally, how the emergence of this cult affected the way he was venerated into the Late Middle Ages.

In this study I shall be asking three interrelated questions. Firstly, what can the various ways in which Lazarus was understood tell us about the mutability of a saint's identity? Secondly, why was it only in Autun that his veneration developed

[1] Étienne-Michel Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1848) Ch.9. col.721. My translation. See Ch. 4 for a fuller discussion of this document.
[2] Ibid., cols.721-722.

into a cult of patronage? Thirdly, how did that development in turn affect the way in which Lazarus was understood and venerated?

Before Autun: a changing identity

According to the *Gospel of John* Lazarus was the man whom Jesus raised from the dead. The miracle of his resurrection had been the object of great interest among theologians since the second century. Yet for most of the centuries that preceded the construction of Saint-Lazare Lazarus was not thought of as a saint in the West. The first certain evidence of his veneration anywhere dates from the ninth century when he appears in the Martyrology of Ado of Vienne.[3] At the end of that century the remains of what were believed to be Lazarus were translated from Cyprus to Constantinople.[4] Further evidence of the veneration of Lazarus is found from the tenth century onwards, notably in Ottonian and Salian Germany. Later, around the time the First Crusade churchmen returned to patristic sources to imbue Lazarus and the miracle of his resurrection with contemporary significance.

What prompted the veneration of Lazarus after centuries during which his sanctity had not been acknowledged? Faith in a saint was always determined by a belief in that saint's utility. This was as true in the twentieth century as it was in the tenth, as an examination of the saints created by John-Paul II would show.[5] The nineteenth-century Franciscan Albert Chmielowski was canonised by John-Paul II in 1989, three days after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Before Chmielowski adopted the religious life he was active in the 1863 January Uprising against of Poles against Czarist rule. This thesis is founded upon the argument that by examining the context of evidence for the veneration of a saint, that utility can be discovered.

Of what use was Lazarus? The circumstances surrounding Lazarus' recognition as a saint were of course different from those of Chmielowski as it predated regular canonisation by the papacy. Lazarus' saintly identity was not created by papal fiat but by a process that acknowledged that what he represented was of relevance to those who venerated him. It is this that makes veneration of Lazarus an appropriate

[3] See below, p.51, n.5. check this when revised.
[4] See Ch. 2.2.
[5] An analysis of John-Paul II's saints suggests a focus on those who were martyred by hostile regimes, those who encouraged lay piety rejecting 'liberal' social norms and those who embodied Polish and Lithuanian nationalism, all appropriate for a socially conservative Pole, whose young adult years were spent under a communist regime.

means by which to answer the first question set above about the mutability of saintly identity. As so little was said about him in the Gospels, he formed part of a small set of almost entirely invented saints. 'Invented' is used here in two senses. Firstly, although the medieval church would have accepted without question the proposition based on scriptural authority that Lazarus really existed, he lacked a history of activity in the early Church which would have served to define him as had other Gospel figures such as Peter or Paul. Secondly, the character depicted in the *Gospel of John* was, though named, mute, passive and morally neutral. He lacked character. Furthermore the name of Lazarus, derived from Ele'azar the Hebrew for 'God has rescued', could be interpreted as no more than a signifier of his role in the miracle of his resurrection.[6]

On the one hand, his story was a blank page upon which could be written lines which reflected the concerns of those who sought to promote him. On the other, what was known about him spoke powerfully both for and against his inclusion among the ranks of saints of the Church. He was not a martyr but one whom Jesus loved.[7] The location and circumstances of his second death were unknown but his status as a figure with an authentic Palestinian provenance was uncontested. His four-day sojourn in the underworld presented an image that was disquieting and even repellent to late-antique Christians but served to establish him as a compelling guide to later believers fearful of their own fates after death.

The greatest barrier to an early recognition of Lazarus' sanctity was the lack of any biblical evidence of his eventual martyrdom.[8] Yet when his feast day is first recorded it is in a martyrology. The Martyrology of Ado provides no details of his martyrdom nor is he explicitly referred to as a martyr but the fact that he appears in this document shows that this accolade had by then been accorded to Lazarus by some in the Western Church. Subsequent references to Lazarus' second death attest to his having been martyred either as bishop of Jerusalem or bishop of Marseille.[9]

[6] Bibl. Sanct. Vol.7, col. 1136.
[7] Jn:11,3.
[8] See Ch. 1.3 and 1.5.
[9] See Chapters 4 and 5.

The remains of Lazarus were first documented in the East when they were brought to Constantinople from Cyprus at the end of the ninth century and venerated as the first bishop of Citium (now Larnaca). These various episcopal identities all portrayed Lazarus as part of the original leadership of the Church. The precise route to this understanding cannot now be traced, but it is likely that it was constructed in Constantinople, not one of the original patriarchates of the Church and therefore in search of connections with authentic biblical Christianity. The veneration of Lazarus in Constantinople seems to have been an imperial project. How (although not why) this veneration re-emerged in Autun two and a half centuries later has been the subject of much debate.[10] This thesis will explore evidence to suggest that the road to Autun traversed Germany where the new post-Carolingian empire adopted Lazarus as one of a group of saints for much the same reason as he had been taken up in Constantinople. Veneration of Lazarus signalled both the German Church's connection with authentic Palestinian Christianity and the authority exercised over that Church by the emperor.

Why did veneration of Lazarus develop into a cult of patronage in Autun?

By the beginning of the twelfth century there is plenty of evidence of the veneration of Lazarus in various parts of the Western Church. In Autun this veneration developed into a relationship of patronage between saint and city which could be described as a cult of Lazarus. The adoption of Lazarus can be understood against the background of a number of circumstances. Firstly, Autun lacked a patron with a compelling history as founding bishop. Secondly, the relationship between bishops and the Church, and in particular the episcopate, of Autun was such as to make his adoption, promoted by a sequence of bishops, desirable. Whereas in Germany Lazarus was used to assert imperial authority of the Church, at Autun this conception of the saint was modified and subverted. By using Lazarus to reference the Autun Church's connection to a by then ancient imperial (in this case Carolingian) authority, its bishops asserted their independence from that empire's regional heirs, the dukes of Burgundy.

Yet, as would be seen in Marseille, the ability to tell a compelling story about Lazarus was not enough to ensure the kind of unrivalled patronage his cult enjoyed

[10] See Ch. 2.8.

at Autun. As the account of his translation suggests, the feature that distinguished veneration of Lazarus here was the conviction that Autun possessed the body of the saint.[11] A tale of *furtum sacrum* in which the body of Lazarus had been rescued from the threat of Saracen depredations in Provence, for which there was no evidence before the construction of Saint-Lazare, would subsequently be created to justify this belief. This simple tale of Burgundian protagonism would appear to have no basis in fact. Rather it was competition with Vézelay which was vigorously promoting the cult of Lazarus' supposed sister Mary Magdalen, as well as personal and institutional connections with the Churches in the western part of the Empire, that triggered the conviction that Autun possessed his body in the vaults of its old cathedral of Saint-Nazaire.

After Autun: how did the emergence of this cult affect the way he was venerated into the Late Middle Ages?

The adoption of Lazarus was promoted by Autun's bishops. Its intent was local in scope and this intent, together with the conviction that Lazarus' relics were present in the city, created a local saint with a durable cult. However, as my third related question suggests, this adoption did not fix Lazarus' identity in the Western Church and this study examines two ways in which it continued to develop and how these developments were linked to Autun.

In Marseille veneration of Lazarus was promoted by the narrative developed in Autun of *furtum sacrum* combined with a southern French tradition of legendary bishops sent from Palestine to convert the cities of the Provence. In some respects the circumstances in Marseille mirrored those in Autun. Like Autun, and unlike other southern French cities such as Arles and Toulouse, Marseille lacked a cult to a founding bishop. Like Autun, veneration of Lazarus was promoted by its bishops in support of their claim to authority over the city. However although Marseille's Church claimed to possess some relics of the saint, there was never the conviction that the body of the saint rested in the city as at Autun. For this reason, although the belief that Lazarus had been Marseille's founding bishop survived among some into modern times, his patronage of the city was contested by an earlier claimant, Victor, and later by Louis of Toulouse.

[11] See Ch.4.

The cult of Lazarus in Autun, and the less successful cult in Marseille, were cults of local saints. Lazarus was venerated in the belief that he possessed especial connections with those cities. However, as the interest shown in him in patristic writing and by theologians of the longer twelfth century showed, he was also seen as being significant to the wider Church. While his status as saint was unrecognised or uncertain the focus had been on the miracle of his resurrection rather than the man himself. This miracle, witnessed by the community surrounding Lazarus' sisters Mary and Martha, came to be understood as the moment in which God's plan for salvation history turned away from the Jews and towards the nascent Christian Church.[12] The historical moment was also seen as eschatological which illuminated the fate of the Church at the end of time. This eschatological meaning informed the predominant iconographic element of the church of Saint-Lazare in Autun. The church also revealed how this understanding of the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection had changed the way in which Lazarus the man was understood in the twelfth century.

The emergence of Purgatory in the topography of the afterlife provided a space for Lazarus' encounters in the interval between his death and resurrection. This resulted in a flowering of vision literature relating that experience in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and extending into the age of print. Though the idea that Lazarus returned with an account of his days in the underworld was mentioned as early as the last quarter of the twelfth century in Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica and again by Gervais of Tilbury at the beginning of the next, no texts of the *Vision of Lazarus* can be dated to this time. [13] This study will argue that the iconography decorating Saint-Lazare and the material produced in Autun to support Lazarus' presence there provide evidence that the *Vision* had its origins in Burgundy. Just as the wider Church saw the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection as signifying the conversion of the world, Lazarus was converted by his ordeal in the underworld. He joined his sister Mary Magdalen as a saint who by her own experience urged believers to penitence and conversion.

[12] 'Salvation history' is a phrase that will be frequently used in this study to denote what was believed to be God's plan for humanity. In the period under discussion it would have been thought of as simply 'history'.
[13] See Ch.6.

2.The making of a saint: methodology

This title of this thesis refers to 'the making of a saint'. This could be understood simply to mean when and how and why did Lazarus acquire the title 'saint'. Although this honorific was significant that would be too reductive an approach. Instead 'the making of a saint' refers to the emergence of a matrix of artefacts, interconnected and mutually reinforcing, though not always consistent in meaning. These artefacts consisted of churches, in particular one church at Autun, sculptures, texts, memories and, most importantly, relics. The portmanteau which contained this matrix was the name Lazarus, a name which had been familiar in the iconography and liturgy of the church from its earliest centuries. This study will examine how the constituent parts of the matrix produced a saint's cult and how it adapted to changing conditions.

In order to do this, I will separate the cult from the person of the saint. As the description of the translation of Lazarus' relics referred to above shows, the belief in the physical presence of the object of veneration was an essential element in a successful saint's cult. Through this presence devotees could establish a relationship with not just an idea or memory but a person with a fixed set of qualities. Even for present day observers who probably would not believe in the sanctity or even existence of Lazarus it can be difficult to avoid thinking about a cult as a relationship between believers and the believed-in. This is problematic for two reasons. Firstly it encourages consideration of Lazarus as a kind of found object, pre-loaded with a set of attributes conveniently accepted or adopted by his devotees. Secondly, it forces us to describe intentionality as we consider the shifting nature of his cult. If 'Lazarus' was, using Pierre Bourdieu's language, a 'symbolic good', the nature of the evidence does not reveal the intention of those who created it.[14] The promoters of the cult should not be seen as carefully constructing a saint to suit preconceived purposes. Rather than considering them as artists or fabricators, it might be more helpful to see them as discoverers, or to reuse the medieval term for the discovery of relics, "inventors".

[14] See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature,* Ch.2, pp.74ff.

Instead of attempting to discern a conscious programme according to which a cult was created for a specific set of purposes, such evidence as there is can be used to discover how pre-existing attributes are adapted and developed by the cult's promoters in a way that could be seen as rational and credible. For if a saint's cult was to succeed it was important that everyone believe in it, including its creators. There is no evidence to support the assumption that saints were promoted by those who cynically knew their product to be a fake. Therefore this study assumes that belief was shared by both the promoters and devotees of Lazarus' cult.

By way of example: some time around the turn of the twelfth century the bishops of Autun began to promote the idea that they possessed the body of bishop Lazarus, friend of Jesus. Precisely how this happened is unknown, but this study would suggest that it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was founded on previous convictions, firstly that they possessed the body of someone called Lazarus (for which there are a number of candidates) and secondly that he may have been a bishop and that these two beliefs coalesced under the force of circumstances that will be described below. Lazarus was venerated as the saint his devotees thought they already had.

This does not mean, however that the cult of Lazarus was not constructed. Indeed in this respect his is like all saints' cults. In the century after the dedication of Saint-Lazare, the cult of Francis of Assisi was established in the years immediately following his death. Though at the time there were plenty of eye witnesses who could have given witness to his actions, his legacy was contested and redefined.[15] It too was constructed. What was being constructed however was not the saint but rather the elements that go to make up a cult: memoire, iconography, dispute and so forth. In this way the cult creates the saint, rather than the other way around.

The cult of Lazarus may be like others in this respect. However, it can be distinguished from a cult such as that of Francis in two ways. Firstly, it developed over a long period and secondly, for much of that time though well known Lazarus was not considered to be a saint. In tracing the development of his cult this study

[15] See David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: from protest to persecution in the century after Saint Francis* (University Park, PA, 2001).

will analyse how it existed in overlapping dimensions of meaning and locality. Almost all successful saints' cults required of its saint that she or he represented some aspect or aspects of the Christian system of belief such as conversion or martyrdom. Yet in almost all cases it was necessary in the Middle Ages that the saint was understood to be truly present through the presence of relics. In this way all saints were local saints. As an example, the cult of Mary Magdalen in Vézelay depended on her being understood as the penitent sinner, but also on the presence of her relics there. Once it was determined that her bones in fact rested in Provence, the cult in Burgundy more or less collapsed. A central argument of this thesis is that the two are conceptually interconnected and that in the case of Lazarus the dynamic of this interconnectivity is rooted in early Christianity when the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection had been not established but in fact precluded the sanctity of Lazarus. Some of the earliest evidence of interest in Lazarus is found in the accounts of fourth century pilgrim visitors to his tomb in Bethany, a name interpreted as meaning the 'home of obedience'. Location and meaning were from the beginning intertwined in the contemplation of Lazarus. The cult of Lazarus adapted with the passing of time but it also as it shifted in place. This interconnectedness is reflected in the organisation of this study. While the overall chronology of events is respected, chapters which look at the emergence of his cult in Germany, Burgundy and Provence are interspersed with those which take a thematic approach.

The argument that 'Lazarus' is a receptacle for a shifting set of ideas which, depending on time and place, served to modify the identity of the saint suggests that even to ask the question 'who was Lazarus?' is prejudicial. The name Lazarus is found in the New Testament in the Gospels of Luke and John.[16] In Luke, Lazarus was the name given to a beggar in a parable told by Jesus. In John he figured as one of Jesus' wider entourage whom Jesus raises from the dead shortly before his own death and resurrection. However, the New Testament accounts upon which the distinction between the two was founded have, for the purposes of this study, no meaning independent of contemporary contextual considerations. References to the two are intermixed in much of the evidence of Lazarus' veneration, and this

[16] The *Gospel of Luke*: 16, 19-13; the *Gospel of John*: 11, 1-57 and 12, 1-11. See Appendix 1 for the King James Version text.

has been described as a kind of syncretism in which aspects of the two 'personalities' are merged.[17] Always recognising that the medieval Church did make a distinction between the two, it is also useful to recognise that the name 'Lazarus' existed independently of person or attribute. The name 'Lazarus' is an empty vessel. However, empty vessels make poor objects of veneration and the story of the cult of Lazarus is, to recycle the beginning of the *Gospel of John*, the story of how the 'word was made flesh'.

The Evidence

The framework of this study is essentially chronological. In one sense it is a narrative history, telling the story of Lazarus from late antiquity through, at least in part, to the late Middle Ages. Nonetheless, the wide-ranging nature of this study, attempting, as it does to pull together the various strands referred to above, has inevitably depended upon a great variety of source material. These include the exegetical, iconographic, narrative, liturgical and visionary. Making inferences across such a diverse body of material is not as secure a process as would be the case were a more specifically focused set of sources under examination. However, in its defence I would advance the following two suggestions. Firstly it is in my view certain that the nature of Lazarus' identity changed significantly over the period discussed. The evidence for this might be likened to uncertainly defined ocean currents, out of which emerge clearly defined islands of meaning. Tracing the path of these currents using what material there is available is I believe a worthwhile activity. Secondly source material, varied as it is, at different times and in different places was the product of definable if changing conceptions of which they are all evidence. Thus I believe it is a legitimate exercise to make connections between for example the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and the images of Lazarus found in the catacombs, or those of Gervase of Tilbury and the carvings of Saint-Lazare in Autun.

Another connection made in this study is between cult and exegesis and though I shall be arguing below for such links, a clear distinction needs to be made between the two. In much of the exegetical writing examined in this study, Lazarus was not acknowledged as a saint. In this he can be distinguished from the great majority of

[17] Raphaël Hyacinthe, *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem au Moyen Âge* (Larzac, 2003), p.24.

those who figure in the New Testament and whose sanctity was subsequently established. However, I will argue that it was precisely for this reason that the connection between exegesis and veneration needs to be made. Individuals such as Peter, Paul or Stephen, whose real existence was never in doubt and whose words, written and spoken figure in the canonical New Testament were the object of veneration independently of any later exegesis. Lazarus was a construct in the way these never were and so, I argue, exegesis of the miracle of his resurrection formed an important part of the process which led to him being venerated as a saint.

What does it mean to speak of a cult of Lazarus? Although saints' cults were multifarious in their nature, with the exception of the cult to Mary mother of Jesus (whose body it became to be believed was assumed into heaven), I can think of no cult that was not rooted in locality, in the belief that the saint, through her or his remains, were present in a certain place. In this sense, all saints' cults are local cults. This does not mean that they were not venerated more widely as was the case of Peter in Rome and James in Compostella. Some cults, such as that of Lazarus' supposed sister Mary Magdalen, could change location (from Vézelay to Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume) while the meaning ascribed to their veneration remained unchanged.

Many of the more 'successful' cults, such as those of Peter or Stephen, could spread their patronage to many locations while the primacy of their cult centre remained unchallenged. This was not the case with Lazarus. Despite the universality of the themes developed by exegesis of miracle of his resurrection, his cult remained local, rooted in Autun/Avalon and to a lesser extent Marseille.

It must be acknowledged that some of the evidence of the nature of Lazarus' cult and of his veneration of a saint is non-contemporaneous. Also, their is little evidence that links the exegetical material to the way in which his cult/veneration developed. However, this study will argue that the narrative, liturgical and iconographic evidence of his cult/veneration can be understood in the context of the evidence. The exegesis cannot tell us *how* Lazarus came to be seen as an early church leader it can show us *why.*

As has been stated above, this study does not concern itself solely with the construction of the cult of Lazarus, but also with the construction of a saintly identity. It therefore makes the argument that Lazarus was not always considered as a saint but at some point in time this changed. In order to make this argument, I have not just relied on an absence of evidence but suggested reasons why it was unlikely that this character in the *Gospel of John* could have been considered as such. I also draw on evidence that positively suggests that he was not believed to be a saint.[18] However, I also acknowledge that the survival of evidence an any time during the period under consideration, and certainly from the earlier centuries is an uncertain affair and that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.[19]

[18] see Ch.1.3.

[19] For further discussions of the causes and consequences of document destruction see: Arnold Esch, "Überlieferungs-Chance und Überlieferung-Zufall als Methodisches Problem des Historikers", *Historische Zeitschrift* 240 (1985), 529-570; Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1996); Antonio Sennis, "Destroying Documents in the Early Middle Ages" in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters,* eds. J. Jarrett and A.S. McKinley (Tournhout, 2013), pp.151-169.

3. Historiographic context

"*Unlike medieval canonists, however, modern historians realize, or should realize, that they themselves are media, no less distorting than their sources….What we seek is not "the objective truth," independent of the subjective viewpoint of any beholder, but it is also not a purely personal reading. Historians seek a common ground for discussion- a negotiated means by which to tell better testimonies or interpretations from weaker ones."*[20]

These words are peculiarly relevant to the study of a saint because at least until recently, so much of the historiography has been conditioned by a sense of the absolute. As Serge Bonnet put it, a saint is "*an extraordinary man inhabited by God*". Bonnet immediately qualified this, however, saying that "*He is also a response to the spiritual needs of a generation*."[21] It might be assumed that a history of the making of Lazarus can be distinguished from that of other saints because he was so obviously a constructed saint whose 'real' existence lay beyond the reach of any memory. However, Lazarus can be compared to other saints of the Middle Ages who were defined by hagiography and incarnated through relic. From an historiographic perspective where it is distinguished from most other saintly constructs is that, having figured in the *Gospel of John*, his story is also a product of biblical exegesis. These three elements were subject to a continual process of reassessment which began with Tertullian in the second century and has continued to the present day.

Biblical saint

Lazarus was first known to Christians as a biblical character, appearing in the *Gospel of John.* However, unlike others, about whose careers after the death of Jesus much is known, Lazarus only appears as a character in a story about one of Jesus' most spectacular miracles. In analysing how Lazarus was seen in the period under discussion the distinction, and to some extent the tension, must be appreciated between interpretations of Lazarus the man and the Raising of Lazarus as a story. Philip Esler and Ronald Piper in their study have suggested a framework within

[20] Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages (*Chicago-London, 1992), p.68.
[21] *Saint-Rouin, histoire de l'ermitage et du pèlerinage* (Paris, 1956), p.75, quoted by André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), p.7.

which the story of Lazarus can be understood that is as useful for the understanding of its significance in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages as it is to modern biblical exegesis.[22] They see Lazarus portrayed as a member of a paradigmatic family together with his sisters Mary and Martha. However, although throughout the period under discussion comparisons between Mary and Martha and their respective roles were common, Lazarus' role in the family was much less frequently discussed.[23] Where Esler and Piper's interpretation of the Johannine story resonates more powerfully with late-antique and medieval interpretations is in their belief that it should be understood through the prism of social identity theory based on in-group and out-group beliefs and convictions. They considered "*that issues of 'insider identity...are indeed central to the passage* (in the Gospel of John)."[24] This study will analyse how the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection, and ultimately Lazarus the man, came to be seen within the context of Christian identity and the role of the Church in salvation history.

The story of Lazarus culminated in his resurrection which was thought by later exegetes to prefigure that of Jesus. However, Markus Vinzent has suggested that even the resurrection of Jesus was not the central tenet of the faith of earliest Christians. Vinzent argued that until a Pauline view of Christianity was generally adopted in the second century this place was reserved for Jesus' passion and death.[25] Late-antique attitudes towards death and resurrection shaped much of early Christianity's thinking about Lazarus. The relationship between the story of Lazarus and his saintly identity was conditioned by changing ideas about the afterlife. In this Peter Brown's writing on both the cult of saints and the development of ideas about the afterlife and how the two coincided has been of relevance to Lazarus, a visitor to the underworld. In his series of lectures on the "*End of the Ancient Other World*" Brown supported Robert Markus' contention that the sixth century marked the real break between antique and medieval

[22] Philip Esler and Ronald Piper, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha, Social and Scientific Approaches* to the Gospel of St. John (Minneapolis, 2006).
[23] Heather Jo McVoy traces distinctions between interpretations of the various members of the family (*Those Whom Jesus Loved: The Development of the Paradigmatic Story of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha through the Medieval Period* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Florida State University, 1992).
[24] Esler and Piper, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha*, p.18, and see Ch. 2.
[25] *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament* (Farnham-Burlington VT, 2001). Esp. Ch.2.

Christianity.[26] Markus associated this with what he described as a "*central problem*" for post-Constantinian Christians, how to live up to their heroic past.[27] But Brown sees the rupture in the end of conceptions of the after-world determined by the idea of imperial amnesty as a way in which imperfect Christians could find their place in the perfect world of the second creation.[28] It was this rupture that allowed for space for the veneration of Lazarus, advocate for the imperfect Christian, and imperfect Christian himself.

The after-world is also the under-world. The idea that Christianised space and time were interdependent provides an essential backdrop to the study of the cult of saints in general and Lazarus in particular. The late-antique writer Victricius of Rouen (c.330- c.407) stated that the bodies of saints were "*linked by a bond to the whole stretch of eternity*".[29] The cult of Lazarus flourished when the *idea* of Lazarus, a saint who illuminated the path of salvation history, was joined with the *body* of Lazarus, local saint and patron. Gustavo Guillaume suggested that an inability to divorce understanding of time from spatial constructs is essentially human.[30] This problem becomes especially acute in the Christian world where time is attached to the idea of conversion, which is itself a manifestation of God's plan for his chosen people whether they be the Jews of Old Testament Palestine or the new dispensation of the Western Church. Stephen Kruger in his article "*The Times of Conversion*" examined the c.1300 story of the Prince of Marseille found in the *Early South English Legendary Life of Mary Magdalen* in which the conversion of the prince and his wife was both achieved and held in suspense dependent upon a tour of the Holy Land and the under-world during which they come under the protection of Mary Magdalen as well as her siblings Martha and Lazarus.[31] Kruger's interpretation of this tale as "*recapitulation of history through a geographical movement*" provided a key to the understanding of the travels of Lazarus from Palestine to Byzantium, Germany, Marseille and Autun.[32]

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[26] Peter Brown, *The End of the Ancient Other world: Death and the Afterlife between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, delivered at Yale University, October 23 and 24, 1996* (New Haven, 1996).
[27] Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990), p.142.
[28] Brown, *The End of the Ancient Other world*, pp.53ff.
[29] Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 2015) p.78.
[30] See Giorgio Agamben, *The Time that Remains: a Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* (Stamford, 2005), p.65.
[31] *Philological Quarterly* Vol.92.1 (2013), 19-39, esp.pp.29-32.
[32] Ibid., p.32.

The nature of Lazarus

Changing ideas about death and resurrection are reflected in changing interpretations of Lazarus. The question of what were the drivers of saintly identity underpins much of the work of two historians who reinvigorated the study of this topic in the last decades of the twentieth century, André Vauchez and Aviad Kleinberg.[33]

Vauchez was concerned with a period later than that of this study and his focus was on the process of papal canonisation. Though that process was not relevant to Lazarus, "*the need to define on every occasion, at least in outline, the political context..., the social structures of the region or town, the original features of its ecclesiastical organisation, etc*..." is central to this study.[34]

Vauchez' perception, that the creation of saints was a response to local environments has informed all subsequent historiography. Vauchez argued that after the mid- twelfth century "*it was widely believed that the pope ought to be consulted and that it was for him to exercise a degree of control over canonizations*." [35] Though Lazarus' translation took place during the papacy of Eugenius III (1145-53), who asserted Rome's ability to create saints by its sole authority, [36] the critical moment that defined the creation of the cult of Lazarus was the translation of his body into the new church of Saint-Lazare in 1147. His sanctity was therefore confirmed by an act of episcopal translation. However, while the process may have changed, the reasoning that underpinned the creation of saints remained the same. Vauchez argued that the papacy "*did not hesitate to intervene on behalf of the cult of certain saints it wished to offer as models to the faithful, when it believed them to be particularly appropriate to the needs of the age.*"[37] It is a central argument of this study that such was the case before the establishment of papal control over the process.

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[33] André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge (1198-1431*), (Rome, 1981); Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in their own country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago-London, 1992).
[34] Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident*, p.7.
[35] Ibid., p.26.
[36] Ibid., p.24.
[37] Ibid., p.73.

Kleinberg developed and to some extent took issue with Vauchez, questioning whether the medieval papacy ever had "*a clear idea of sainthood which it sought relentlessly to impose on the masses.*"[38] In his analysis of the role of hagiography in the creation of ideas of sainthood, Kleinberg argued that for their authors "*all saints were specific manifestations of one prototypical life. It was the hagiographer's task to show that the Christian community was in fact venerating saints who, as saints were identical or nearly identical.*"[39] This is not to imply that the paradigm of sanctity remained unchanged, but that saints' lives were moulded to conform to whatever it was at the time of their creation. This study reflects on the extent to which this impacted on the mutability of a saintly identity. Also, as Lazarus was always a familiar figure to Christians, but not always a saint, it considers the limitations of this mutability.

Local saint

The making of the cult of Lazarus can be understood as an iterative process, moving between locality and meaning. These two themes coincided most strikingly in Marseille, and pre-eminently in Autun. The bulk of the historiography dealing with the cult of Lazarus is focussed on these two cities. Jacobus de Voragine, in his entry on Mary Magdalen in the *Legenda aurea* stated that, following their exile from Palestine, Mary and her brother Lazarus arrived in Marseille where he was elected its first bishop. Thirteenth-century necrologies from Autun claimed that his remains were then brought from Provence to that city sometime in their Carolingian past. Finally, a fifteenth-century document, the *Relation de l'Anonyme* relates how the relics of Lazarus were re-invented in the middle of the twelfth century by Autun's bishop and translated to the newly constructed church of Saint-Lazare in the city.[40]

The truth of this account of Lazarus' journey from Palestine to Burgundy was challenged as early as the seventeenth century by the Parisian, Jean de Launoy. De Launoy disputed the very idea that Lazarus could ever have travelled to Provence. The eighteenth-century historian, Philibert Gagnarre, maintained a similar spirit of scepticism in his *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Autun* of 1774.[41] Gagnarre questioned the

[38] Kleinberg, *Prophets in their own country*, p.21.
[39] Ibid., p.23.
[40] See below, chapters 4 and 5.
[41] (Autun).

belief that relics of Lazarus arrived at Autun in Carolingian times, suggesting that they could not have arrived earlier than the middle of the eleventh century, having been removed from Constantinople by either Odo I, duke of Burgundy, or his brother-in-law, Etienne, count of Burgundy.[42] He also notes that the *Relation de l'Anonyme* makes no reference to the Provençal provenance of Lazarus' relics.[43]

The nineteenth century introduced a period of greater faith in the tradition of Lazarus' voyage to France. 1856 saw the publication of the Abbé Devoucoux's study of the cult of Lazarus at Autun which he introduced by stating that the question of the authenticity of the relics of Lazarus there "*a été résolué en faveur de la tradition de l'Eglise d'Autun, soit par le Martyrologe romain qui admet la croyance des Eglises provençales sur la mission de saint Lazare à Marseille, soit par la tradition de l'Eglise de Marseille qui, d'accord avec celle d'Autun, affirme que le corps de saint Lazare, ami de Jésus-Christ, a été transporté, vers le dixième siècle, de Marseille à Autun*."[44]

Such was certainly the belief of the most influential historian of the afterlives of Lazarus and his sisters, the Abbé Étienne-Michel Faillon. His monumental but uncritical assemblage of documents, of which the first volume was published in 1848, formed the bedrock of investigations into these saints for more than the next century.[45] Faillon was convinced of the biblical provenance of the Provençal Lazarus and of his removal to Burgundy under the Carolingians, a belief that was never expressly challenged by clerical French historians of the cult into the last quarter of the twentieth century. Devoucoux expressly based his conclusions upon the work of Faillon.[46] A generation later, Anatole de Charmasse published an account of the 1482 enquiry which occasioned the disclosure or possibly creation of the *Relation de l'anonyme* referred to above. This remains the most detailed history of the

[42] Ibid., pp.329-30. See Ch.2 for a discussion of the translation of the relics of Lazarus from Byzantium.
[43] Ibid., p. 323.
[44] Jean-Sébastien Devoucoux, *Du Culte de Saint Lazare à Autun: Mémoire Communiqué a la Société Éduenne* (Autun, 1856), p.2.
[45] Étienne-Michel Faillon, *Monuments inédites sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madelein en Provence, et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée, Saint Lazare, Saint Maximin, Sainte Marthe, les Saintes Maries Jacobe et Salome, etc, etc.* (Paris, 1848 and 1865).
[46] Devoucoux, *Du Culte de Saint Lazare à Autun*, p.2.

Church in Autun and though de Charmasse made no statement of faith as did Devoucoux, nor did he question the legend.[47]

By the time he published his account in 1889, the bibliographer Marie Pellechet had produced in 1883 transcriptions of liturgies at Autun, not only relating to Lazarus but also Mary Magdalen and Martha. In her accompanying remarks Pellechet referred to Ethiopia where "*la première mort de s. Lazare est commémorée el 13 mars: sa résurrection le 16 mars, son second repos (?) à Chypre, où il fut évêque, le 22 mai.*" [48] While Pellechet's reference to Ethiopia suggests that her subject is a cult rather than a saint, the question mark seems to sum up the ambivalence towards the historicity of that cult that would characterise much subsequent scholarship.

The twentieth century saw a more critical examination of the evidence relating to Lazarus at Autun by three clergymen, Maurice Chaume, Bernard de Vrégille and Victor Saxer who each produced a short article on the origins of the cult there. Chaume's is interesting primarily for the connections he makes between Burgundy and the Empire and he is the first French historian to refer to the competing claims of Andlau in the Alsace to the head of Lazarus. [49] (Andlau's claim was first discussed in an article by J. Rietsch published in 1902.[50]) De Vrégille and Saxer approached the subject with a view to establishing connections between the extremely successful cult of Mary Magdalen at Vézelay and that of Lazarus at Autun. In doing so, de Vrégille emphasised the influence of the Besançon church upon that of Autun.[51] Saxer, a Provençal, was more interested in establishing the truth behind the story of the rescue of Lazarus' remains from Marseille.[52] Because the veracity

[47] Anatole de Charmasse"Enquête faite en 1482, sur le chef de saint Lazare, conservé a Avallon", *Bulletin de la Société d'Études d'Avallon* 7, (1865), 1-89, and " Un Précis Historique" in *Autun et ses Monuments*, ed. H. de Fontenay (Autun, 1889).
[48] Marie Pellechet, *Notes sur les livres liturgiques des diocèses d'Autun, etc.* (Paris-Autun, 1883), p.230.
[49] Maurice Chaume, "La translation de restes de saint Lazare à Autun. Quelques suggestions" in *Recherches d'histoire chrétienne et médiévale. Mélanges publiés à la mémoire de l'historien* (Dijon, 1947), pp.94-98.
[50] J. Rietsch, *Die Nachevangelischen Geschike der Bethanischen Geschwister und die Lazarusreliquien zu Andlau* (Strasbourg, 1902).
[51] Bernard de Vrégille, "Sainte Lazare d'Autun ou la Madeleine de Vézelay? Un Problème d'antériorité", *Annales de Bourgogne* 21 (1949), 33-43.
[52] Victor Saxer, " Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay et de Lazare à Autun: Un Problème d'antériorité et d'origine", *Bulletin de la Societé des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne* 3 (1986), 1-18. Also *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Auxerre and Paris, 1959).

of the accounts under consideration was not explicitly questioned by the above authors, there was no room for speculation as to their meaning.[53] This was left to Patrick Geary in his 1978 study of relic theft to suggest that it was the search for authenticity and the lure of pilgrimage gold that transported Lazarus to Autun.[54]

Provence was another important locus of the Lazarus cult, but here the legendary first bishop of Marseille had to compete not only with Mary Magdalen in Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte Baume but also her sister Martha in Tarascon and the Marys Jacobo and Salome in Les Saintes-Maries-sur-Mer. Most of the historiography here saw the exile of these Palestinian saints to the Mediterranean coast of France as a family affair. Hans Lewy, in a short but important contribution reflected on the Jewish origin of these early myths of exile.[55] Jacques Chocheyras saw the development of these cults more as a comedy of errors, with the cult of Martha in Tarascon originating in a pre-Christian cult of Martha of Syria at the nearby camp of Glanum. He believed Lazarus of Bethany may have been confused with a fifth-century bishop of that name.[56] The most important contribution to the study of the origins and the development of the cult of Lazarus at Marseille was made in 2002 by Anke Krüger in her review of southern French saints' cults.[57] Krüger's study examines the patron saints of Arles, Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, Tarascon, Narbonne and Toulouse from the fifth to the fifteenth century. She showed how a regional pattern of local patron saints was adapted after the tenth century to accommodate newcomers such as Lazarus. Krüger situated the cult within the context of the politics of Marseille and Provence as well as that of the saintly patrons of other southern cities, notably Trophime of Arles, Paul of Narbonne and Saturnin of Toulouse. Krüger distrusted Faillon's sources suggesting early evidence for the cult of Lazarus in Marseille and argued that the first eleventh-century accounts of his status as first bishop originated in Vézelay and that these accounts were not accepted in Provence until the thirteenth century.

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[53] Saxer did suggest other candidates for the identity of the body translated to Saint-Lazare however, see p.160.

[54] Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra, Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

[55] Hans Lewy, "Imaginary Journeys from Palestine to France" in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute ,* 1 (1937/8), 251-253.

[56] Jacques Chucheyras, " Les saints de la mer en Provence au Moyen Age: Les origines du culte" in *Provinces, régions, terroirs au Moyen Age: De la réalité à l'imaginaire*, ed. B. Guidot (Nancy, 1993), pp.29-38.

[57] *Südfranzösische Lokalheilige zwischen Kirche, Dynastie und Stadt vom 5. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2002).

The iconography

In contrast to the relatively sparse amount of secondary literature dealing with the textual evidence for a cult of Lazarus, the iconographic evidence has benefitted from much study. In late Antiquity the image of Jesussummoning Lazarus from the tomb was an extremely common one. Indeed more of these images are found at early Christian tombs than any other bar those of Jesus as the Good Shepherd and are in number just ahead of that other resurrection story, Jonah and the Whale.[58] Philip Esler and Ronald Piper devoted a portion of their study of the impact of the Lazarus story on late-antique audiences to the attraction of this image. They argue that the purpose of these images is not to prefigure the resurrection of Jesus but to comfort the believer with a promise of their own resurrection.[59] Moshe Barasch suggested that these representations showing Jesus' divine authority were a response of wealthy Romans to the turbulence of third-century Empire.[60] In contrast to these consolatory interpretations of this iconography Jan Stansislaw Partyka's study of early Christian depictions of Lazarus connected them with patristic thinking about the connection of sin with death. The temple-like tombs shown in these images are to Partyka not a reference to the tombs with which Romans would have been familiar but were rather making the point that the pagan temples upon which they were modelled were in fact nothing but tombs.[61] This study will argue that these images are consistent with textual evidence of the consolation offered to early Christians by contemplation of Lazarus and that this ran counter to a culture of insouciance towards death exemplified by the cult of martyrs.

The church of Saint-Lazare at Autun came to be considered Lazarus' second tomb. Saint-Lazare is the principal item of material culture providing evidence of the nature of his cult in the West. It has been the object of detailed analysis ever since the removal of the render that hid the tympanum in 1837. Much of this interest at the time was piqued by the belief that the name Gislebertus, inscribed on that

[58] Esler, and Piper, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha,* p.133.
[59] Ibid., pp.144 and 156.
[60] Moshe Barasch, "Das Bild des Unsichtbaren: Zu den frühen Christusbildern" *Visible Religion* 2 (1983), 2-13, p.5 and p.8.
[61] Jan Stanislaw Partyka, *La résurrection de Lazare dans le monuments funéraires des nécropoles chrétiennes à Rome: Peintures, mosaïques et décor des épitaphes; Étude archéologique, iconographique et iconologique* (Warsaw, 1996), p.61.

tympanum, identifies the sculptor responsible for the work, an identification that was first suggested in the mid-nineteenth century by the Abbé Devoucoux.[62] In 1925 the Abbé Victor Terret produced a detailed study of the sculpture of Autun.[63] It and subsequent art history, especially Emile Mâle's work in the early twentieth century, tended to prioritise a programmatic interpretation over a celebration of individual creativity. As Linda Seidel put it: "*An unspoken assumption presumes that, as carver, Gislebertus would not have had access to a churchman's knowledge and couldn't have chosen the subjects or constructed the subtle thematic program of sculptures*."[64]

This assumption was thrown on its head with the publication in 1960 of a monograph accompanying an exhibition of photos of the sculptures by Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki.[65] They criticised the programmatic approach as being too desirous of finding allegorical meaning in the work. For Grivot and Zarneki Saint-Lazare's significance lay primarily in being a testament to the creative power of the sculptor as individual. In the introduction to this work, France's minister for cultural affairs, André Malraux, described Gislebertus as the medieval Cézanne, thereby, as Seidel remarked, inventing a "*modern medieval*".[66] Seidel in her monograph devoted to the church returned to a programmatic interpretation of the carvings and questioned the very existence of a sculptor named Gislebertus. Seidel suggested that Gislebertus was believed by the those responsible for the church's construction to be its late Carolingian patron and, in what she described as a "*construction of local memory*", his name was carved on the tympanum.[67] Furthermore Seidel argued that the iconography reflected Autun's rich Romano-Celtic remains, being an attempt to anchor the church in the time of the living Lazarus.

Though most modern scholars would agree with Seidel in believing that the iconography of Saint-Lazare has its roots in more than the creative genius of the sculptor, opinions about what the programmatic intent was depend to some extent

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[62] Jean-Sebastien Devoucoux, *Description de l'Église Cathédral d'Autun dédiée à Saint Lazare* (1845).
[63] Victor Terret, *La Sculpture bourgignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Autun,* Vols. I and II (Autun, 1925).
[64] Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago-London, 1999), p.21.
[65] *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun* (London, 1961).
[66] Ibid., p.22.
[67] Ibid., p.60.

on which part of the church is considered. The tympanum, with its depiction of the Last Judgment, is clearly eschatological. Aron Gurevich in his 1992 article on Saint-Lazare reflected on the particular arrangement of the Judgment, believing that it shows how the medieval mind saw the Last Judgment both as an event at the end of time and one that took place at the moment of an individual's death.[68] Such an interpretation is consistent with the idea that veneration of Lazarus focused on both institutional and personal eschatologies.

Another major element within the church was the tomb of Saint-Lazare which had been contained within a reconstruction of his church at Bethany. This monument was dismantled in the eighteenth century but has been the subject of reconstructive studies both by Richard Hamann in the 1930s and Neil Stratford and Gilles Rollier in the 1980s.[69] Stratford believed that Saint-Lazare was built to benefit from the pilgrimage trade. He argued that the mausoleum should not be considered as a reliquary, but rather a little building of a type that existed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and that its function was to provide an alternative to pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[70]

The theme of pilgrimage was taken up in the most recent monograph devoted to Saint-Lazare, by Jennet Hommers. [71] Hommers widened a programmatic consideration of the church's iconography to take in the sculptures decorating the pillars of Saint-Lazare. She too saw the primary function of the building as being a pilgrimage church, though accepting that it is not formally one such as those found on the way to Compostela.[72] Hommers interpreted the column capitals as providing a pilgrimage route within the church, creating a liturgically significant space in which the church unfolds its meaning while leading the participant to Lazarus' mausoleum. According to Hommers, "*Den Bildwerken kann hierbei ein wesentlicher Anteil zugesprochen werden, um die Reliquien des heiligen Lazarus zu*

[68] Aron Gurevich, "The west Portal of the Church of St-Lazare in Autun: the Paradoxes of the Medieval Mind" in *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Howlett (Chicago, 1992).
[69] Richard Hamann, "Das Lazarusgrab in Autun" in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 8-9 (1936), 182-328; Neil Stratford, " Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun", and Giles Rollier, " Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau: résultat et limites" both in *Le Tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus*, ed. M. Pinette, (Autun, 1985), pp. 11-38 and 42-103.
[70] Stratford, " Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun", p.30.
[71]Jeannet Hommers, *Gehen und Sehen in Saint-Lazare in Autun: Bewegung-Betrachtung-Reliquienverehrung* (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 2015).
[72] Ibid., p.42.

legitimieren."[73] Hommers referred to Terret's 1925 interpretation of Saint-Lazare's sculptures as interpreting the struggle between Jerusalem and Babylon, between good and evil.[74] Any desire by the church's constructors to benefit from pilgrimage was not incompatible with the essentially eschatological purpose of the building, a purpose underpinned by its possession of the body of Lazarus.

The donation of relics and sacred kingship

The cult of Lazarus at Autun was dependent upon the conviction there that they possessed the body of the saint. By the second millennium relics were an essential component of the Christian landscape and that the Christianising of that landscape was dependent upon relics. Robert Wiśniewski in his exploration of the beginnings of the cult of relics argued this was not always the case pointing out that "*The absence of tombs of martyrs from the* Itinerarium Burdigalense *is in my opinion a serious argument against the thesis ... claiming that it is their veneration which gave a start to the very idea of holy places*."[75] This was supported by accounts of pilgrimages to the Holy Land in the first millennium which demonstrated that the site of Lazarus' resurrection was venerated because it marked the location of a significant miracle and was not dependent upon any idea that his remains rested there.

Although the veneration of relics can be traced to back to an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, dating from no later than the third century, veneration of bodies, let alone body parts, faced considerable cultural hurdles in late Antiquity.[76] Not only was the practice associated with pagan magic as Wiśniewski has argued, antique, and especially Roman disgust, directed at the bodies of the dead spilled over into contemplation of Lazarus who arose from the dead stinking after four days. Caroline Walker Bynum's study of attitudes towards resurrection makes clear that such disgust, when conjoined to the Christian doctrine of resurrection, led early Christian exegetes into difficulties.[77]

[73] Ibid., p.13.
[74] Ibid., p. 20. See above, n.60.
[75] Robert Wiśniewski, *Beginnings of the Cult of Relics* (Oxford, 2019). p.22, n.47.
[76] Ibid., p.11.
[77] Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York, 1996).

Nevertheless, as Ian Wood has shown in his study of local saints' cults in Burgundy, the discovery of saints' tombs was a crucial element in the creation of local patronages, citing the example of Benignus of Dijon in the sixth century.[78] The efficacy of relics was not dependent upon possession of the entire body of the saint. The theory behind the divisibility of saints' relics was itself a product, as Wiśniewski has shown, of the belief, dating from the earliest period of Christianity, in the general resurrection of the body: "*Gregory of Nyssa claimed that the soul remained attached to every single particle of the body, and he was not thinking specifically about martyrs, but about all people. For if it were not so, he asks, how would the soul recognize the decomposed and dispersed elements of the body at the resurrection*?" [79] Anke Krüger's study of southern French saints would suggest that nevertheless the possession of a tomb containing a saint's body does often seem to have been material in the establishment of saintly patronage over a city especially when that patronage was episcopal. Cities such as Toulouse, Arles and Narbonne can in this way be seen to be emulating the great example of Rome. More generally, though the efficacy of partial relics was accepted, an especial veneration seems to have been reserved for the body of a saint evidenced by the movement of saints' remains from crypt to altar. As Arnold Angenendt pointed out, whereas Gregory the Great stated that " *In Romanis namque uel totius Occidentis partibus omnio intolerabile est atque sacrilegum, si sanctorum corpora tangere quisquam fortasse uoluerit.*"[80], by the middle of the twelfth century the chronicler of Peterhausen could write: " *Non patitur quippe eorum corpora sub humo celari, super altare suum vult ea superexaltari, et si esset adhuc honorificentior locus, in hoc credo collocaret eos Deus*."[81]

The practice of relic donation as part of the concept of sacred kingship was critical to the transmission of the veneration of Lazarus from East to West and to the establishment of his cult there. This study has relied on the work of Matthew

[78] Ian Wood, "Constructing Cults in Early Medieval France: Local Saints and Churches in Burgundy and the Auvergne, 400-1000" in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West,* eds. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), pp.155-87, esp. pp.157-61.

[79] Wiśniewski, *Beginnings of the Cult of Relics,* p.201: Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione,* pp.45-8 (PG 12-160).

[80]Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geshichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1994), p.173: CCSL 140, ed. D. Norberg (1982), Gregory the Great, Letter 4, 30, p.249, ll.42-44.

[81] Ibid., *Casus monasterii Petrishusensis, Chronik des Klosters Peterhausen* 5.1, ed. O.Feger (Lindau-Konstanz, 1956), p.206.

Gabriele and, in particular, Anne Latowsky in analysing how the myth of Charlemagne in the East gave meaning to this practice of relic donation within the Ottonian project of *renovatio*.[82] Gerd Tellenbach has examined the conceptual structure within which this practice lay. He argued that "*The idea of Kingly rule as an office held by the grace of God was, as in the whole of the early middle ages, unproblematic and unchallenged in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and its 'supernatural aura" continued to exercise the popular imagination as long as monarchy lasted*."[83] Consequently, this authority, "*had a teleologically determined existence by the standards of theocratic, ecclesiastical norms*".[84] Relic donation was therefore part of the process which determined the Empire's trajectory of travel along the path of salvation history.

Salvation history

There is little evidence for how Lazarus was thought about in Germany during the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, when the miracle of his resurrection was interpreted in the period immediately preceding and following the First Crusade, texts indicate developments that were both of a piece with Ottonian concern for their part in salvation history as well as that of the West more generally. A change in attitude towards those outside of the frontiers of Western Christendom, at once anxious and triumphalist in tone, has been detected by scholars.[85] This resulted in a reinterpretation of earlier conceits about Lazarus' resurrection more in keeping with a contemporary fascination with an apocalyptic eschatology in which Augustinians and their Premonstratensian brethren played an important part. These interpretations were made within the context of an increasingly historical approach to the events recorded in the Bible.

Building on the work of Beryl Smalley in the 1940s, Mark Clark's work on Peter Comestor showed how his work was a vindication of the Victorine emphasis on the

[82] Anne Latowsky, *Emperor of the World : Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority*, 800-1229 (Ithaca-London, 2013); Anne Latowsky, "Charlemagne as Pilgrim? Requests for Relics in the *Descriptio qualiter* and the *Voyage of Charlemagne*
" in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith and Crusade,* eds. M. Gabriele and J. Stuckey (London-New York, 2008), pp. 153-168.
[83] Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1993), p.39.
[84] Ibid., p.38.
[85] See Ch.3.1.

primacy of history.[86] Guntram Bischoff in his study of Premonstratensian eschatology showed how this produced a "*theology of history*" focussed on the imminent emergence of a "*community of the perfect.*"[87] The idea of the perfectibility of the Christian community connects apocalyptic thinking with reform, both concerns which preoccupied some of the most important re-interpreters of the resurrection of Lazarus, notably Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Rupert of Deutz. Brett Whalen has argued that: "*In order to exist in the present, Christendom needed both a past and the promise of a future*."[88] This was provided by these reformist exegetes.

Rupert of Deutz, who presented the resurrection of Lazarus as a turning point in the course of salvation history was also sensitive to the charge made by Jewish exegetes that the Christian dispensation was based upon the supposition that God had somehow changed his mind in turning away from his Chosen People. John van Engen in his analysis of Rupert's writing has demonstrated how in arguing for a continuity of salvation history, he also sharpened arguments against the Jewish faith.[89] Changing interpretations of the Lazarus story in the *Gospel of John* coincided with, and to some extent contributed to, a worsening of the climate of Christian-Jewish relations. Here R.I. Moore's study *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, has been important in mapping out the background to these developments.[90] Robert Chazan argued that this worsening, and in particular the Rhineland riots which preceded the First Crusade, were the result of popular sentiment. This study will argue that at least with respect to approaches to Lazarus' resurrection, developments in biblical exegesis were also in part responsible.[91]

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[86] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1941); Mark Clark, *The Making of the* Historia scholastica*, 1150-1200* (Toronto, 2015).
[87] Guntram Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology: the Apocalyptic Myth," in *The Spirituality of Western Christendom*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder (Kalamazoo, 1976), pp.41-71, pp.45-46.
[88] Brett Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Age* (Cambridge MA- London, 2009), p.98.
[89] John van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1983), esp.pp.241-48.
[90] (Oxford, 1987).
[91] Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1997), p.5.

The *Vision of Lazarus*

The eschatological, if not anti-Jewish, focus of these interpretations was sustained in the *Vision of Lazarus*, a text which carried forward the story of Lazarus into the late medieval and early modern period. The conceptual framework of this vision required a functioning purgatory for which there is a significant historiography. Jacques Le Goff's influential *La Naissance du Purgatoire* argued that a true Purgatory cannot be found in Christian cosmography before the twelfth century, from which period, as this study suggests, the origins of the *Vision of Lazarus* can be traced.[92] In his essay "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys of the Otherworld in the Middle Ages" Le Goff described the vision literature of seventh to tenth centuries, which he considered the great era of this genre, as the monastic inheritance of a folkloric popular culture which the Church had previously attempted to destroy.[93]

Isabel Moreira took issue with this dating of Purgatory's origins, seeing Gregory the Great, and even more so Bede's response to Augustine's ambiguous position on the efficacy of prayers for dead expressed in *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* as laying the groundwork for purgatory. Moreira argued: "*Purgatory was successful as an idea in these early centuries because it accomplished a number of important things: it impressed upon lukewarm Christians the need for ongoing penance; it suggested coherence at the point at which the scriptures and religious practice converged, as in the prayers for the dead; and it drew ordinary Christians within the eschatological net of salvation.* (Purgatory achieved theological viability at) *the point at which Origen's universalism was repudiated in favour of an expanded access to salvation as was endorsed in the work of Bede.*"[94] Though this study argues that the vision literature contained in Bede does not describe a fully functioning purgatory in the way that later visions, including that of Lazarus, do, Moreira's references to the rejection of early Christian universalism, as typified by Origen, and its replacement by a theology which allowed for the 'lukewarm' Christian, is particularly pertinent to the development of the veneration of Lazarus.

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[92] (Paris, 1981).

[93] In *Understanding Popular Culture from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. S. Kaplan (Berlin-New York-Amsterdam, 1984), pp.19-37, p.34.

[94] Isabel Moreira, *Heaven's Purge, Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2010), p.211.

Like Moreira, Jesse Keskiaho saw in the vision literature of the early Middle Ages the expression of a prototypical purgatory, which he attributed both to Carolingian concerns about the reality of the afterlife and attempts to create a lay Christian morality.[95] There is no evidence that, unlike in the East, Lazarus was a person of particular interest to the laity at this time. Nonetheless, much of what Keskiaho describes could equally be transposed to the twelfth century as the means by which he was to become one then.[96] David Owen in his 1970 study of visions of hell admitted that: "*Of the development of the legend* (of Lazarus) *in medieval literature much has still to be learned*".[97] However he concluded that: "*The upsurge of religious zeal in the twelfth century was marked by a spate of pious literature, much of it aimed at bringing home Christian eschatological teaching to the laity*."[98]

The historiography of the cult of Lazarus is relatively slender compared to that of his supposed sister Mary Magdalen.[99] Monographs have been confined to examinations of the church of Saint-Lazare. Other aspects of his cult have been dealt with in brief articles, usually in which it is compared to that of the Magdalen, or as part of wider studies. Most also predate recent important studies concerning the cult of saints generally. Examination of the cult of Lazarus has also tended to be compartmentalised, either focussing on the iconography, the vision literature or the small quantity of contemporary textual references to his veneration. Interest in veneration of Lazarus in the West has concentrated overwhelmingly on France. This study will re-examine the emergence of the cult of Lazarus by integrating these various approaches as well as giving due emphasis to its German manifestation.

[95] Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: the reception and use of patristic ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge, 2015) pp.86, 116, 159.
[96] See Walter Puchner, *Studien zum Kulturkontext der Liturgichen Szene: Lazarus und Judas als religiöse Volksfiguren in Bild und Brauch, Lied un Legende Südosteuropas* (Vienna, 1991), for Lazarus as a folkloric figure in the East.
[97] David D. R. Owen, *The Vision of Hell: Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature (Edinburgh and London*, 1970), p.244.
[98] Ibid., p.261.
[99] Notably: Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident;* Katherine Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2007); Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen, Myth and Metaphor* (New York, 1994).

4. Lazarus of Bethany and the Order of Saint Lazarus

There is no evidence to suggest that the cult of Lazarus in the West was dependent upon the establishment of the order of leper knights dedicated to Saint Lazarus in Outremer. Neither at Autun nor Marseille was the cult connected with the Order. Nevertheless, because it was through the Order that the name of Lazarus was most widespread in the West, and because the order was established at about the same time as the construction of Saint-Lazare, some investigation of what if any links between the two existed is appropriate.

This study will argue that the association between the Lazarus of Bethany and leprosy, insofar as it existed at all, post-dated the establishment of his cult in Autun.[100] Given the strong association between Lazarus and leprosy in subsequent centuries why was this so? It may have been simply for the reason that leprosy was not at the forefront of peoples' minds in the West before the First Crusade. The prevalence of the disease was not a constant in the first millennium. Much Western thinking about the disease ultimately derived from the Church fathers, and especially Ambrose and Jerome, writing at a time when the late Roman Empire experienced an outbreak of leprosy, akin to that which followed the outbreak in the West following the First Crusade.[101] These patristic writers, taking their cue from Old Testament references saw leprosy as a metaphor for sinfulness, which they described as a kind of internal leprosy.[102] However, neither Jerome nor Ambrose made a connection between Lazarus, whose death they also understood as signifying sin, and leprosy.[103] Gregory of Nyssa, who wrote about the horror of human decomposition provoked by a contemplation of Lazarus, also wrote a long sermon on the disease in the 370s without making the connection.

Gregory's near contemporary, John Chrysostom as bishop of Constantinople planned the establishment of a large institution for their care outside the city.[104]

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[100] See Ch.4.

[101] Timothy S. Miller, Rachel Smith Savage, "Medieval Leprosy Reconsidered", *International Social Science Review* 81.1/2 (2006), 16-28, p.16.

[102] For instance, Numbers:12, 9-14, in which Miriam, the sister of Moses is stricken with the disease in consequence of having shown disrespect to her brother. See Françoise Beriac, *Histoire des Lépreux au Moyen Âge; une société de'exclus* (Paris, 1988), pp.87-105.

[103] See Ch.6.5.

[104] Miller, Smith Savage, "Medieval Leprosy Reconsidered", p.21.

However, in the West, though the disease figures both in the synod of Orleans (539) and Lyon (583) and a leper house near Chalon-sur-Saône is mentioned by Gregory of Tours, references to the disease become less frequent and after the eighth century "*almost disappear from West European sources until the epidemic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*...".[105] Evidence for the care of lepers in the West before the First Crusade suggests that leprosy was seen as a sign of inner conversion rather than sinfulness. Around 1092 a Limousin nobleman Bernard de la Bruguière suffering from leprosy presented himself before the canons of Saint-Jean de Aureil wishing to donate land for the establishment of an oratory. The canons, responding to his generosity, regarded his disease as a sign that God had purified his soul rather than as an outward sign of sin. Even earlier, the chronicle of the monk Folcuin of Saint-Omer dating from 961 considered leprosy as an example of God chastising those whom he loved.[106] When the cult of Lazarus did emerge, a central feature of it was penitence and conversion, yet in neither of the above accounts was any mention made of Lazarus.

It has generally been assumed that the disease was reimported, or at least reinvigorated, by those returning from the First Crusade in the early years of the twelfth century. It seems likely that it was first in Palestine that Westerners were to experience leprosy as an everyday fact of life, important enough to establish a hospitaller order dedicated to its care.[107] A leper house of Saint Lazarus in Jerusalem can be dated to 1130 in a confirmation by the Latin patriarch William of a donation by his predecessor of a well for the use of the poor to an Armenian monk, Abraham.[108] The Armenian church had a long association with the care for lepers in Jerusalem. A memoire addressed to Charlemagne over three centuries earlier referred to a church at the site of the tomb of the protomartyr Stephen attended to by two clerics and fifteen lepers. François-Olivier Touati believed that this memoire refers both to the hospital for the care of lepers founded by the Empress Eudochia in the fifth century and to a church of Saint Stephen handed over

[105] Miller, Smith Savage, "Medieval Leprosy Reconsidered", p.22.
[106] Beriac, *Histoire des Lépreux,* pp.122-123.
[107] Although the period of greatest growth in the number of these institutions began a century later. See Beriac, *Histoire des Lépreux,* pp.151 ff.
[108] François-Olivier Touati, "De Prima origine Sancti Lazari Hierosolymitani", in *Chemins d'outre-mer: Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* (Paris; 2004), pp. 801-812, p.801.

to the Armenian church in the seventh.[109] By 1142 the '*Domus leprosorum Sancti Lazari '* of 1130 was being referred to as the *"ecclesia Sancti Lazari et conventus infirmorum qui miselli vocantur"*. The new name also would appear to signal a new organisation, for in 1144 the words *"confratres leprosi"* were employed, suggesting, as Raphaël Hyacinthe notes, that by then then "*les lépreuz forment donc un groupement de nature apparement religieuse*."[110]

Given the long connection between the church of Saint Stephen and the cure of lepers in the city, why was the decision made first to dedicate the hospital and then the church with which it was associated to Lazarus? It does not seem to have been an Armenian inheritance, for though devotion to Lazarus was a feature of the Copt, Jacobite and Armenian churches of Outremer, there is no evidence of a prior association with leprosy. Other saints and fathers of the Church were thought to have a stronger claim to their devotion, notably Stephen, John Chrysostom, a promoter of compassion for lepers, and Basil, under whose rule it is thought the Armenian monks charged with their care lived.[111]

It is likely that the answer can be found in part in a conflation of Lazarus of Bethany and the Lazarus of the parable in Luke.[112] This parable accords with a nuanced attitude to leprosy that found expression in both patristic and medieval writing in which leprosy could be seen as signifying sin without blame being attached to the sufferer. In the fourth century Gregory of Nyssa enjoined his listeners to follow Jesus' example in their care for lepers.[113] He did not see leprosy as an external sign of sinfulness and nor did his contemporary Gregory of Nazianos who, believing that Job had suffered from the disease, suggested that this was an example of how virtue could not prevent evils and that Christians should not attempt to understand the will of God in this matter.[114]

This approach continued to some extent into the twelfth century. However as Edward Kealey in his study of Anglo-Norman medicine shows, although the

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[109] Ibid., pp.801-802.
[110] Hyacinthe, *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem*, p.20.
[111] Touati, "De Prima origine Sancti Lazari Hierosolymitani", p.803.
[112] See Ch.6.5.
[113] *De pauperibus amandis II,* ed. Adrian van Heck, *Gregorii Nysseni opera,* Vol 9.1 (Leiden; Brill 1967) pp.111-127.
[114] *De pauperum amando oratio* 14*,* PL, Vol. 35, cols. 857-909.

regulations at Dudston in Gloucestershire of about the year 1130 suggest that it was not a place of punishment or imprisonment, the house was dedicated Mary Magdalen as were many twelfth century foundations for the care of lepers.[115] This, and other regulations elsewhere, suggest that some of the moral neutrality of the Gregories had been supplemented by the idea that those stricken by the disease were required to show penitence. Walter, Bishop of Tournai, in the introduction to rules for the leper house at Lille composed in 1239 stated that the disease was a call to holiness from God.[116] Just as Mary Magdalen was given the grace to repent of her sins on earth rather than suffer for them in the hereafter, so was the leper.

Underlying this interpretation of leprosy is a sense of justice restored that accords better with the parable of Lazarus and the rich man than with the miracle of Lazarus of Bethany. Lazarus the beggar was frequently evoked in medieval funeral liturgies and the example of his patient acceptance of his condition rewarded post mortem figures in sermons addressed to lepers.[117] However, while the death of Lazarus of Bethany was understood from Late Antiquity onwards to signify the sinful condition of man, the death of Lazarus the beggar was given no such meaning. In this parable in Luke whose folkloric origins have been traced back to an Egyptian story of fortunes reversed, the rich man is condemned not for his behaviour on earth but simply because he is rich.[118] Unlike the beggar Lazarus or those who were chosen by God to suffer the living death of leprosy, he was unable to atone for his sinfulness on earth and so is made to suffer in the hereafter. Abraham tells the rich man *"remember that thou in they lifetime receivedst thy good things, an likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented*."[119] This comparison, redolent of Augustinian predestination, is the phrase most often glossed by churchmen from Late Antiquity onwards.[120]

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[115] Edward Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore, 1981), pp.107-16.
[116] Léon Le Grand, *Status d'hotels-Dieu et le léproseries: recueil de textes du XII^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris; 1901), p.199.
[117] Hyacinthe, *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare*, p.24.
[118] Richard Bauckham, "The Rich Man and Lazarus: The Parable and the Parallels", *New Testament Studies* 37 (1991), 225-246, p.226.
[119] Lk:16,25. KJV.
[120] For instance: Cyprian of Carthage, *Testimonium adversos Juadeos*, Bk.3, Ch.61, PL Vol.4 col.766C; and (?)Augustine, Sermon 367, Ch.2, PL Vol.39, col.1651.

However, a conflation of Lazarus of Bethany with Lazarus the Beggar cannot in itself explain why the order adopted this name. Though there may have been a general acceptance in the period that Jesus, in telling the story of Lazarus in Luke, was referring to a real person, and that Old Testament figures could be venerated as saint, there is no evidence for a cult of Lazarus the Beggar.[121] Moreover, the Lazarus of Luke is not referred to as a leper, but as a "beggar...full of sores".[122] Indeed it is improbable that Luke's readers would have thought of him as such, as a leper would have been compelled to live apart and not be tolerated at the gate of the rich man. Some patristic sources presented the Lazarus of Luke as a real person.[123] Neither this belief nor the ideas that Luke's Lazarus was a leper were sufficiently powerful motives for Palestinian Christians to have established a Church dedicated to Lazarus tasked with the care of lepers in Jerusalem before the arrival of the Crusaders.[124] Moreover later liturgical evidence supports the assumption that Lazarus of Bethany was its patron. A thirteenth-century calendar of the Order commemorates both the feasts of the birth (29th October) and death (17th December) of Lazarus of Bethany.[125] Yet even though there is nothing to suggest that in dedicating themselves to Lazarus the Order was co-opting a cult of Lazarus the Beggar, it may have been that this was at least in part the identity of their patron. Raphaël Hyacinthe argued in his study of the Order of Saint Lazarus in Jerusalem that from its foundation the Order conflated the ulcerous Lazarus with that of his resurrected namesake through a process of syncretism he argued was common in the medieval period. This he believed generated the iconography of the seal, depicting on one side an image of a Lazarus the beggar as a leper and on the other Lazarus of Bethany in bishop's attire.[126]

These episcopal robes may provide the strongest clue to why Lazarus was chosen as the Order's patron. Lazarus' episcopal identity was first unveiled in Byzantium at the end of the ninth century. This study will suggest that the veneration of Lazarus in the West first emerged in Germany where his relics were used to reinforce the

[121] A notable example of such is Isaiah, whose martyrdom was seen to prefigure the death of Jesus. See Richard Bernheimer, "The Martyrdom of Isaiah", *The Art Bulletin.*34.1 (1952), pp.18-34.
[122] Lk: 16, 20, KJV.
[123] For instance, Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, Bk.2, ch.34; Tertullian, *Liber de anima*, ch.7.
[124] See Reuben Bredenhof, "Looking for Lazarus: Assigning Meaning to the Poor Man in Luke 16.19-31", *New Testament Studies* 66 (2020), 51-67, p.58.
[125] *The Rules of the Holy Order of S. Lazarus 1313/1321 to 1418*, ed. C. Savona-Ventura (Malta; 2020) pp. 194-196. I was directed to this by Charles Savona-Ventura in a personal communication.
[126] Hyacinthe, *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare*, p.24.

prestige of Church and State vis-à-vis the East. This argument supports François-Olivier Touati's suggestion that inspiration for the name of the order came from the West. He sees Ottonian interest in Lazarus evidenced by his prominence in the Bernward Gospel[127] as inspiring the decision to name the new order after him. Touati believes that the choice can be seen in the context of Latin rivalry with Byzantium in which the latter's "*insouciance coupable*" is contrasted with the newcomer's care for the sick.[128] If, as will be argued, Ottonian interest in Lazarus was part of a campaign of German assertion *vis-à-vis* the Greeks, the Lazarus of both Luke and John might have been seen as an appropriate choice.

It may be that the evidence we have for the makeup of the Order itself provides the strongest clue as to why Lazarus was chosen to be its patron. Latin masters of the Order are found mentioned from the 1150s and though these are not specifically referred to as lepers, a document of 1253 affirmed that this had always been the case.[129] As Shulamith Shahar has argued, the status of lepers within the Order was very different to that of those similarly afflicted in the West, and maybe also in Outremer, where it would seem from the *Memoire to Charlemagne* they were under the care and authority of healthy clergy.[130] Shahar and Malcolm Barber have pointed to the evident links between the Order of Lazarus and the Templars. Leprous Templars were encouraged to join the Order of Lazarus or face exclusion from the Templars.[131] By this time evidence for veneration of Lazarus was widespread in what had been Lotharingia.[132] It would seem probable, given these connections, that care would have been taken in the choice of name so as to ensure a resonance with the members and patrons of their brother order, often from north eastern France and the Rhineland.

In conclusion, Lazarus, though not considered a leper, was a prestigious biblical figure adopted by the West. His death and resurrection would have made him an appropriate patron dedicated to the care of those who suffered the living death of

[127] In which an image depicting his resurrection figures opposite that of the Crucifixion. See below pp.100-102.
[128] Touati, "De Prima origine Sancti Lazari", p.808.
[129] Hyacinthe, *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare*, p.21.
[130] Shulamith Shahar, "Des lépreux pas comme les autres. L'ordre de Saint-Lazare dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem", *Revue Historique* 267.1, (1982), 19-41.
[131] Barber, "The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades", *Catholic Historical Review* 80.3 (1994), 439-456, p.444; Shahar, "Des lépreux pas comme les autres", p.24.
[132] See Ch.2.5, 2.6.

leprosy. The emergence of his cult in the West did not spring from Lazarus' patronage of the order. It was rather that both cult and patronage were rooted in his veneration in Lotharingia.

5. Chapter summaries

Chapter 1. The Perception of Lazarus in late Antiquity: c.200 - c.550

Despite the centrality of the Lazarus resurrection miracle in the early centuries of the Church, Lazarus was not thought of as a saint. Not only did his un-martyrdom preclude this, but also the way in which Lazarus' death and resurrection was interpreted in patristic writing was not conducive to sanctity. Lazarus' entombment was understood as representing humanity's sinfulness, while his resurrection was felt viscerally to offend the antique belief in the absolute separation of the worlds of the living and the dead. Nonetheless, the belief in his resurrection and attempts made to understand its meaning provided material that could be mined once his 'body' was discovered so as to give meaning to the name of Lazarus.

Chapter 2. The Relics of Lazarus, Empires: c.900- c.1150

The discovery of his relics in Cyprus at the end of the ninth century is the point of departure for the second chapter which focusses on his veneration in Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is clear from imperial interest in his relics brought to Constantinople at the beginning of the tenth century, and from subsequent Byzantine iconography, that his status as a figure of episcopal authority resonated. The wish of the Ottonian church and its imperial sponsors to emulate Byzantine political and religious authority was responsible for the first evidence we have, primarily consisting of altar dedications, for the veneration of Saint Lazarus in the West.

Chapter 3. Salvation History, the Idea of Lazarus in the Twelfth Century

The miracle of Lazarus' resurrection became a way of understanding the Church's role in salvation history and in particular its relationship with the Jews. Anti-Jewish sentiment sharpened and produced the massacres of 1096 which have been interpreted as a response to the call to crusade against all 'enemies of the Lord.'[133] Beginning with Rupert of Deutz's commentary on the Gospel of John, the resurrection of Lazarus was seen as the moment when Jewry was divided into those who could accept the new Christian dispensation and those who obstinately clung to their old ways.

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[133] Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1997), p.5.

Chapter 4. The Body of Lazarus: Autun

The cult of Lazarus found its fullest expression in Burgundy. This chapter argues that the cult had its roots in the western portions of the German empire and was promoted by Autun's bishops in support of their authority vis-à-vis the dukes of Burgundy and the abbey of Vézelay. It will analyse a fifteenth-century document produced in defence of its claim to relics of Lazarus which suggests that the durability of the cult there was based on the belief that Autun possessed the body of Lazarus.

Chapter 5. Legends of Lazarus: Marseille

The Church of Marseille also claimed Lazarus as its patron. As in Autun, episcopal action promoted the veneration of a bishop Lazarus supported by hagiography which originated in Burgundy. Despite attempts to associate him with the legendary founding bishops from the East who became recognised as the patrons of other southern French cities, his status was contested by both Victor, his predecessor as patron, and later Louis of Toulouse. The story of Lazarus in Marseille demonstrated the limits of hagiography unsupported by a significant relic.

Chapter 6. The Conversion of Lazarus

Manuscripts of the *Vision of Lazarus* do not date from before the fourteenth century, but they display an understanding of Lazarus rooted in twelfth-century Burgundy. The *Vision* returned to the story of Lazarus as told in the *Gospel of John.* But whereas the biblical Lazarus is a mute recipient of Jesus' affection and revivifying power, in these accounts Lazarus has discovered his voice and warns his audience of the post-mortem consequence of worldly evil-doing. This was dependent upon a conception of Purgatory. Whereas Jesus' resurrection of Lazarus had illuminated the Church's role in salvation history, Saint Lazarus was an encouragement to the conversion of individual Christians.

1. The Perception of Lazarus in Late Antiquity: c.200 - c.550

1.1 Introduction

For the first centuries of Christianity in the West nothing suggests Lazarus was considered to be a saint. In comparing how Lazarus was understood during that period with what is known about the general development of saints' cults at the time, it will become clear that, despite the prestige attached to him as one of Jesus' intimate circle, veneration of Lazarus as a saint faced considerable conceptual barriers. In the early Church to be a saint meant to be either a martyr, or in a very limited number of cases, a blood relative of Jesus. Lazarus was neither. The story of his death and resurrection provoked a horror of the peri-mortal present in Antiquity and which continued into Christianity's early centuries. Moreover when the disgust directed at mortal remains fractured to allow for the veneration of saints' relics, ignorance about Lazarus' ultimate fate precluded any veneration of his bones.

Nonetheless, Lazarus was a figure of some importance during the centuries immediately following the crucifixion. With the establishment of Christianity and particularly with the end of the persecution of Christians, contemplation of Lazarus' death and resurrection became fruitful territory for discussions about the nature of sin, about the nature of Jesus, and about what it meant to be an ordinarily virtuous Christian in a Christian world. Patristic writers, and in particular Augustine, established a way of thinking about the Lazarus miracle that would later underpin the thinking of churchmen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Alongside these interpretations there was an alternative tradition. Accounts of the miracle later considered to be apocryphal such as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Report of Pilate*, and the *Sermons* of Peter Chrysologus, contained versions of the story of Lazarus which break down the barriers between this world and the next, barriers that had been seen as impermeable in Antiquity. The role played by Lazarus in these alternative accounts presages an important element in the veneration of him as a saint in the latter portion of the period covered by this study.

In order to understand why Lazarus, an intimate of Jesus, was not considered a saint during Christianity's first centuries it is important to delineate the common elements of a saint's cult in the Church in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and to consider how the named *dramatis personae* of the Gospels were regarded.

1.2 Sanctity and the gospels

The relationship between the characters named in the Gospels and ideas about sanctity go to the heart of the question implied at the start of this chapter: why was it that a person described in the *Gospel of John* as someone whom Jesus loved not considered a saint?[1] The Gospels themselves have nothing to say about sanctity, though they do speak of goodness, especially in the parables of Jesus. They are not peopled by holy women and men who from the start formed a pattern of sanctity upon which all subsequent saints had to model themselves.

So who among those who figure in the Gospels were considered saints by the early Church and what was meant by such an accolade? The message of the early Church was not one of individual salvation where good people would go to heaven and bad people to hell. The quality of sanctity in the first centuries of the Church was distinct from that of 'goodness' or even what we might today term 'holiness'. The set of 'good' people described in the Gospels is not the same as those who became recognised as saints. The Gospel figures who subsequently became recognised as saints in the early Church often are not noticeably 'good' in the Gospels. The apostles are for example regularly portrayed as flawed individuals. Goodness is usually evidenced by demonstrations of faith in Jesus, as in the case of the 'good thief' to whom Jesus promised salvation from the cross. Many of these 'good' people, were un-named and cannot therefore ever have been candidates for a cult, although this did not preclude cults to the three Magi and to some extent the Good Thief, all of whom acquired cults in the next millennium.[2] Beneficiaries of Jesus' miraculous interventions were typically saved by virtue of their faith in his divine power. There was also a small subset of those who benefitted without any such

[1] "...behold,, he whom thou lovest is sick." Jn:11,3, KJV.
[2] Although in both cases the objects of cults acquired a name, though not found in the Gospels. See Richard Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton, 1997), p.38 and Casimir Zvirblis, "The Good Thief", *Dominicana* 14.1 (1929), 43-54.

expression, notably those who were raised from the dead by Jesus: the daughter of Jairus, the son of the widow of Nain and the only one to be named, Lazarus. Of these three, only Lazarus, was later venerated as a saint. [3]

It is probable that a small group of those persons figuring in the Gospels and considered by the early Church to be saints were those who were recognised by virtue of their close relationship with Jesus: Joseph, Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist and Mary, his mother.[4] This is a category into which Lazarus could conceivably have been placed. Later, the Church widened the family of Jesus to include others such as Martha, Mary and their brother Lazarus. However, there is no evidence that any of the Bethany family were recognised as belonging to this extended family of Jesus until the feast days of Mary and Martha were recorded in the sixth century and that of Lazarus in the ninth. [5]

It cannot be precisely determined when blood relatives of Jesus began to be regarded as saints. In his *Exhortatio ad presbyteros* Pope Eutychianus (275-283) made reference to Mary and John the Baptist as saints.[6] However, most of the signs through which the later Church recognised saints were absent during the first centuries of Christianity. There are for example no records of churches being dedicated to saints before the establishment of Christianity in the fourth century. The first churches in Rome, being in the houses of individuals, were recognised by the names of their owners.[7] Frescoes and other visual representations did not identify saints iconographically and nimbi, when first used in Christian imagery in the fourth century, were reserved for Jesus and angels.[8]

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[3] Mk:5,21-24, 35-43; Lk:7,11-17.

[4] See Bibl. Sanct: Mary, Vol.8, cols.840 ff; Joseph, Vol.6, cols.1251ff; Elizabeth, Vol.4, cols.1079ff; John the Baptist, Vol.6, cols 599ff..

[5] Mary and Martha shared a feast day on January 19th. See Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident*, p.35. See Ch.3.5 for the identification of Mary Magdalen with Mary of Bethany. A feast day of Lazarus in the West, December 17, first appears in the ninth-century *Martyrology* of Ado of Vienne (d.874): *Le Martyrologe d'Adon ses deux famlles; ses trois recensions; Texte et commentaire*, eds. Dom Jaques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud (Paris 1984) p.419. "*Item eodem die, beati Lazari, quem Dominus Jesus in Evangelio legitur resuscitasse a mortuis; item beatae Marthae sororis ejus, quorum venerabilem memoriam extructa ecclesia non longe a Bethania (ubi e vicino domus eorum fuit) conservat.*" See Saxer, entry on Lazarus of Bethany in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 7, col. 1141.

[6] PL Vol.5, col.166D.

[7] See Charles Pietri, *Roma Christiana: Recherches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)* (Rome, 1976), p.3ff for a discussion of the development of dedicated churches from their origins in "*domus ecclesiae*" or "*tituli*".

[8] See Michael Gough, *The Origins of Christian Art* (London, 1973). In the depiction of the Annunciation in Santa Maria Maggiore (p.87), Mary is without a nimbus unlike the angels flanking her.

One clue as to who in the Gospels might have been thought of as a saint can be found in the timing of the creation of these accounts. How the collection of anecdotes that became known as the Gospels were created is still a matter for dispute, yet it seems likely that they did not begin to crystallise into their present form until sometime in the second century when, as Markus Vinzent argued, they were probably a redaction of anecdotes circulating in the early Church about the life of Jesus created in Rome in response to a proto-Gospel sometime in the 140s.[9]

Writing later that century Tertullian argued that "*The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church."*[10] In the first centuries following Jesus' death, the period during which the canon of the Gospels was established, the Church as a developing institution looked forward to a radical and imminent recreation of the world in which Christians, as a group, would participate.[11] Belief in this recreation was witnessed by those who showed so little concern for this world that they were prepared to die for their faith.[12] Martyrdom was the clear sign of sanctity. Martyrdom awaited all the apostles and all the evangelists (with the exception, according to some accounts, of John). Their martyrdom, when not actually testified to in the *Acts of the Apostles*, was confirmed by early tradition. John the Baptist was considered to be endowed with prenatal grace by Origen. His tomb was the object of early veneration as his death at the hands of Herod was considered in some way as an act of faith.[13] Stephen's fate as the protomartyr is recorded in the *Acts.* His sanctity was testified to by Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Seleucia in fourth century sermons.[14] The Gospels were collated at a time of martyrdom. Martyrdom rather than 'goodness' is the proof of sanctity for Gospel figures just as for those who came later. The principal obstacle to Lazarus' sanctity was the fact that he was not a martyr.

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[9] See Markus Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament* (Farnham-Burlington VT, 2001), pp.88ff for the role of Marcion in the creation of the Synoptic Gospels.
[10] "*Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum.*" *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro Christianis,* Ch.50, PL Vol.1, col.535A.
[11] See Le Goff, *The La Naissance du Purgatoire*; Brown, *The End of the Ancient Other World*; and Brown, *The Cult of Saints* for discussions of early Christian ideas about the afterlife.
[12] See Joyce Ellen Salisbury, *The Blood of Martyrs: Unintended Consequences of Ancient Violence* (London, 2004), p.19 for the insouciance of martyrs and p.47ff. for Tertullian on the physical recreation of the bodies of the faithful.
[13] "John the Baptist, St" *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (Oxford, 2005) p.893 . His relics were known to be venerated in fourth century.
[14] Bib. Sanct., Vol.11, col. 1382. His relics invented in 415. See below Ch.1.5.

As evidence of the veneration of martyrs, Robert Bartlett points to lists of those who died for their faith kept in churches.[15] The testimony of these lists is reinforced by early narratives such as second- and third-century accounts of the martyrdom of Polycarp and Perpetua.[16] In particular Cyprian, bishop of Carthage and himself a martyr, believed that those who had died for the faith should be revered, and the day of their martyrdom commemorated[17]. Such a cult could not have included Lazarus as he was not a martyr. Indeed, having been resurrected from the dead by virtue of the faith of others, he might be considered a martyr's mirror image.

1.3 The tomb of Lazarus

There is no surviving life of Lazarus from this period. Evidence of interest in Lazarus from this period depends upon the testimonies of pilgrims to Palestine from the 300s onwards. The information provided by accounts of these visits is central to any understanding of how Lazarus was viewed in the first millennium. In fact even if, as it will be shown below, the significance of his death and resurrection were of great interest during these centuries, no other evidence about how Lazarus the man was regarded predates the invention of his remains in Cyprus at the end of the ninth century.[18]

In his study of Lazarus and Judas in eastern European folklore, Walter Puchner contended that visits to his tomb at Bethany are evidence that Lazarus was venerated as a saint from the fourth century onwards.[19] However, an examination of the surviving accounts of pilgrims' visits contradicts Puchner's argument. These accounts show that their interest was confined to Lazarus' tomb, a relic not of Lazarus himself but of the miracle of performed by Jesus. They visited it to venerate Jesus.[20] In the *Gospel of John* the tomb is described as a cave, and by the fourth century one such cave was identified as having served as Lazarus' burial place over

[15] Robert Bartlett, *Why can the dead do such great things: saints and worshippers from the martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p.3.
[16] For discussion of these texts see Wilhelm Pratscher, *The apostolic Fathers: an Introduction* (New York, 2007) p.148 and Brent.D. Shaw, "The Passion of Perpetua", *Past and Present* 139 (1993), 3-45.
[17] Bartlett, *Why can the dead do such great things,* p.6
[18] See ch.2.2.
[19] *Studien zum Kulturkontext der Liturgichen Szene,* p.20.
[20] See Ch.2.5 for the veneration of Lazarus' tomb in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

which a church was built. [21] Later pilgrim accounts mainly consist of topographic records of the kind established in the 320s by Eusebius of Caesarea's gazetteer of Biblical places.[22] Eusebius described Bethany as the place where Lazarus was raised from the dead and also mentioned that a church was constructed over his tomb. He did not call Lazarus a 'saint', nor did Jerome in his translation of the text.[23] This omission is echoed in the account of the *Bordeaux Pilgrim* dated to 333, a text that makes no reference to a church or to Lazarus as a saint but simply mentions the "*vault in which Lazarus, who the Lord raised, was laid*".[24]

Fifty years later Silvia of Aquitania gave a fuller description of the uses to which the *Lazarium*, as she called it, was put. According to her, on the Saturday before Palm Sunday worshippers assembled at the place where Mary, the sister of Lazarus, was believed to have met Jesus immediately preceding her brother's resurrection. From there they processed to Lazarus' tomb where "*Easter is announced*".[25] Although the text makes it clear that the *Lazarium* played an important role in the Easter liturgy as early as 385, there is no indication of a cult dedicated to Lazarus himself. Silvia omits the honorific 'saint' when referring to Lazarus. His sister Mary is also not referred to as 'saint'. On the other hand, John the Baptist, the monk Elpidius, and Thomas, all of whom are referred to as martyrs, are also all styled 'saint'. [26]

At about the same time, Jerome's account of the pilgrimage to Palestine undertaken by his friend and correspondent Paula makes similar references to the tomb as well as to the house of Mary and Martha, without suggesting that a specific cult was dedicated to Lazarus.[27] Paula herself in a letter describing the voyage wrote that she was looking forward to the time when she could "*see Lazarus come*

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[21] Andrew Cain, *Jerome's Epitaph on Paula: A Commentary on the* Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae (Oxford, 2013), p.272.
[22] *The Onomasticon: Palestine in the fourth century A.D.* trans. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, ed. and intro. J. Taylor (Jerusalem, 2003), p.38.
[23] Jerome's translation: *onom.*59.17-18. "*ubi salvator Lazarum suscitavit, cuius et monur ecclesia nunc ibidem extructa demonstrat*", PL. Vol.23, col.884C.
[24] Anon, *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* (333 *AD*), trans. A. Stewart, PPTS, Vol.1 (London, 1887-97), p.25.
[25] Silvia of Aquitania, *The Pilgrimage of Saint Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places (Circa* 385 *AD)*, trans. J. Barnard, PPTS, Vol.1 (London, 1887-97), p.57.
[26] Ibid., "*hortus sancti Iohannis*", p.97; "*martyrium sancti Thomae* ", p.101; "*martyrium ibi positum est, id est sancti cuiusdam monachi nomine Helpidii*", p.104 .
[27] Jerome, *The Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula*, trans. A. Stewart, PPTS, Vol.1 (London, 1887-97), p.11.

forth bound with grave clothes".[28] As she could not have been referring to the specific moment in the past when Lazarus was resurrected, this must be an eschatological reference to the general resurrection of the dead. Paula was clearly associating her own resurrection with that of Lazarus rather than venerating him as a saint.

The tomb that these pilgrims visited was an empty one: this was Lazarus' first tomb from which he was summoned by Jesus. As sanctity was, at the time, considered to be dependent upon martyrdom the empty tomb is significant insofar as it signified ignorance of Lazarus' ultimate fate. To the pilgrims mentioned above what was of paramount importance was the miracle of Lazarus' returning from the grave . Any speculation about his second death was therefore unnecessary. Accordingly, in mentioning Lazarus' first place of burial, none of these pilgrim sources raise the question of where the second one might have been. A century and a half after Paula's pilgrimage, in his *The Topography of the Holy Land* (c.530) Theodosius explicitly made this point, writing " *Everyone knows about Lazarus, whom my Lord raised from the dead, that he was raised, but no one knows about the second time he died*".[29] If he had been thought of as a saint, such an admission of ignorance would have been difficult to justify. In the following millennium a legend of martyrdom, appropriate to his saintly status, was created for his second death.[30] Theodosius' expression of ignorance suggests that no such legend was attached to Lazarus at the time. At the end of the sixth century, Gregory the Great, in telling of how a monk of Mount Argentario had raised up a dead man rephrases this admission of ignorance more emphatically than Theodosius: *"...tell me which...as you think, the greater miracle was wrought. The first is Lazarus, a true believer, whom our Lord raised up in the flesh; the other is Saul, whom our Lord raised in soul. For of Lazarus' virtues after his resurrection we read nothing: but after the raising up of the other's soul, we are not able to conceive what wonderful things be in the holy scripture spoken of his virtues...*".[31] Although Gregory's principal point here is to compare resurrection of the spirit with that of the body in making the

[28] Paula and Eustochium, *The Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella about the Holy Places* (386 *AD*), trans. A. Stewart, PPTS, Vol.1 (London, 1887-97), p.14.
[29] Theodosius, *The Topography of the Holy Land*, trans. J. Wilkinson in *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), pp.103-116, p.113.
[30] See Ch.5.2.
[31] Gregory the Great, The *Dialogues of Saint Gregory, Surnamed the Great: Pope of Rome and the First of that Name*, ed. E. Gardner (London, 1911), p.138.

comparison with Saul (Paul) Gregory was explicit in stating that Lazarus' resurrection was not in recognition of his virtue nor was he made more virtuous by his resurrection.

1.4 The gap between this world and the next

Gregory's favouring of Saul's resurrection of the spirit over Lazarus' of the body could also be seen as a residual expression of discomfort at the idea of a return from the land of the dead, typical of Late Antiquity. In the later Middle Ages, Lazarus' ability to report on the after-world formed a central element in his cult.[32] However, late-antique ideas about the unbridgeable gap between this world and the next stifled any interest in such reports. Peter Brown in tracing the emergence of the cult of relics argued that it was the product of a profound change in the way that the relationship between heaven and earth was understood.[33] Previously, it was believed that there was an almost unbridgeable gap between these two worlds. Texts such as the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and the *Descent of Inanna/Ishtar* present the Underworld as a fortress whose defences could be breached only at great cost to the living.[34] These were morally neutral places of exile, designed to preserve the separation of the living and the dead. Even when in the Jewish tradition the after-world acquired a moral dimension as the place to which the wicked were exiled (the ravine of Ge-Hinnon, just beyond the gates of Jerusalem, where the prophet Jeremiah accused apostatizing Jews of having made human sacrifice) it remained a place of exclusion.[35] Any attempt to bridge this gap threatened the natural order of things and could result in calamity. Such ideas survived into Late Antiquity. Plutarch dismissed the bodily apotheosis of Romulus, founder of Rome, as for him the dead were pure spirits and any idea that Romulus could recover his mortal flesh was just repugnant.[36] The anger and fear demonstrated by the high priests in the *Gospel of John* upon hearing of Lazarus'

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[32] See Ch.6.4-5.

[33] Brown, *The cult of the saints,* especially Ch.1.

[34] Alan. E Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca, 1993), p.9.

[35] Ibid., pp.167-8.

[36] "*The soul which is contaminated with body... is slow to release itself. We must not. therefore, violate nature by sending the bodies of good men with their souls to heaven*." Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives, the Life of Romulus,* Ch.28, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 1 (Cambridge MA, 1914), p.183.

resurrection can be interpreted as a response to this upsetting of the natural order and the consequences thereof.

This repugnance manifested itself in Roman hostility to the idea that dead bodies could be brought into cities for burial and this survived into the Christian era. Christians would have shared Lazarus' sister Martha's disgust at the idea that Lazarus could be resurrected after four days.[37] This they would have regarded as an unacceptable association of the realm of the living with that of the dead. Although Ambrose of Milan was introducing the relics of the bodies of saints into his city as early as the fourth century, such practices were controversial and urban Romans still regarded the bodies of the dead as polluting. The early-fifth-century *Vita Porphyrii* of Mark the Deacon described a pagan mob roused by the sight of a Christian corpse being brought into the city.[38] The paucity of evidence for the veneration of body relics (as opposed to secondary relics) before Ambrose suggests that many early Christians shared the repugnance shown by Mark's pagan mob.[39] Although they believed that Jesus had breached the wall between these two worlds, any more general dismantling would have to wait until the Second Coming.

Coming into contact with Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries, barbarian societies were also concerned that that rites of passage should ensure that the journey of the dead took place in one direction only.[40] Inscriptions *in* graves dating from c.500 in the Ain at Briord instructed the occupants to rest in peace, thus suggesting that the stones placed on the graves of this period were meant to discourage revenants as much as grave robbers.[41] Such concerns were not confined to the newly converted. According to Gregory the Great, Benedict of Nursia advised the family of a monk whose body refused to stay quietly buried to re-inter him with a *viaticum* placed on his chest.[42] 'Rest in peace' was, in other words, a command as much as it was a pious aspiration. Although Christians nursed a hope

[37] "*Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto him, Lord, by this time he stinketh: for he hath been dead four days*." KJV Jn:11.39.
[38] See Robert Markus, *The end of Ancient Christianity,* p.146.
[39] See John Wortley, "The origins of Christian veneration of body-parts", *Revue de l'histoire de religions* (Vol.223.1, 2006), 5-28 for possible Egyptian origins .
[40] Marilyn Dunn, *Belief and Religion in Barbarian Europe c.*350-700 (London- New York, 2013), p.150.
[41] Ibid., pp.150-152.
[42] The *Dialogues,* ed. Gardner, p.86. See Bonnie Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul, Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2002), p.45 and n.12.

of bodily resurrection, the immediacy of the one granted to Lazarus was not something with which early-Christian culture could easily come to terms.

The belief that the worlds of the living and the dead were and should remain entirely separate affected the way in which the account of Lazarus' resurrection was approached. Markus Vinzent has argued that even the resurrection of Jesus was not central to Christian thought until the writings of Paul were rediscovered and his belief in the centrality of that tenet of faith was acknowledged in the second century.[43] This would suggest that, despite the assertions of later commentators such as John Chrysostom, the bodily resurrection of Lazarus was not the main focus of the story transmitted by the *Gospel of John* which pre-dates the (re)discovery of resurrection as the central theme of Christianity. [44] Exploring the societal context of the account of Lazarus' resurrection in the *Gospel of John*, Philip Esler and Ronald Piper argue that it presents a story that is "*not so much dogmatically ... as relationally based*." [45] Its audience was "*Christ-following groups (about whom) it cannot be assumed that a common set of beliefs about death and resurrection existed*."[46] They suggest that John is creating a "*prototypical family*" with a " *group collective memory*"[47] and that Jesus is here confronting the "*reality of death*".[48]

Taken in this way, John's description of Lazarus' death and resurrection can be seen as an account of a funeral gone wrong. If Lazarus came back from the dead, how dead had he been? What did it mean to die and when did a person die? These were questions that exercised some of the earliest commentators on the miracle. In the latter half of the fourth century, in his sermon on Lazarus, Potamius of Lisbon (d. after 357) was clear that death and decomposition are instantaneous.[49] However, other authors of the time frequently introduced Lazarus as "*Lazarus quatriduanus".* It is likely that these early and consistent references to Lazarus having been four

[43] See Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection*, pp.77ff.
[44] On Chrysostom, see below p.59.
[45] *Lazarus, Mary and Martha, Social and Scientific Approaches to the Gospel of St. John* (Minneapolis, 2006), p.13.
[46] Ibid., p.127.
[47] Ibid., p.100.
[48] Ibid., p.108.
[49] Marco Conti, *The life and works of Potamius of Lisbon: A biographical and literary study with English translation and a complete commentary on the extant works of Potamius: Epistula ad Athanasium. De Lazaro, De martyrio Isaiae prophetae, Epistula de substantia, Epistula Potami* (Steenbrugis, 1998), pp.144-145 *De Lazaro,* ll. 42-51. See below, pp.60-61.

days dead were meant to be a response to the commonly-held belief that the soul remained close to the body during some transitional period following death.[50] After four days Lazarus was beyond question dead. For Claudianus Mamertus (†.c.473), a priest of Vienne, this prompted a discussion about the nature and location of the soul: *"Corpus Lazari cum fuit mortuum, fuisse sine vita, idemque redivivum fuisse cum vita, ut per hoc anima localis esse credatur, quae recesserit a corpore, rursusque ad corpus accesserit. "*[51] For Claudianus, Lazarus' 'local soul' had departed his body only to return upon his resurrection. Faustus, bishop of Riez (d.485), agreed with Claudianus: "*nomme animus Lazari , morante uita intra corpus fuit, recedente autem uita de habitaculo corpus exulauit et rurusum intra exanimum refusa corpus illo, unde absentauerat, euocata remeauit?*" [52] All these writers are affirming that "*Lazarus quatriduanus"* was truly dead and that the liminal period before the soul departs had expired.

The physical reality of Lazarus' death and resurrection was emphasised by John Chrysostom (c.349-407).[53] According to Chrysostom, Lazarus' death was the result of sickness of the body, not of the soul. He contrasted this with his presence later at the meal of Simon the leper. Origen believed that Lazarus' subsequent appearance at the table of Simon the Leper was an indication of the fact that he had re-joined the fellowship of Christians.[54] For Chrysostom it was simply proof that Lazarus was corporeally resurrected.[55] Chrysostom portrayed Lazarus as a real man, undergoing real death and resurrection but, in stripping away the metaphorical meaning, he also left him devoid of any qualities and simply the object of Jesus' powerful intervention.

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[50] See Dunn, *Belief and Religion in Barbarian Europe,* pp.135ff and F.S. Paxton, *Christianising Death: the Creation of a Ritual Process in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1996), pp.21-22.

[51] *De statu animae,* 3.1., PL Vol.53, col.761A.

[52] *Faustus Reiensis Opera*, CCEL 21, ed. A. Engelbrecht (Prague-Vienna-Leipzig, 1891), *Epistola* 3, p.177; also PL Vol.58, col.843A.

[53] "*And why did the Evangelist tell us this story in detail?...That we ought not to complain and bear it hard if those who are exemplary men and friends of God become sick." In Ioannem*, Ch.6, trans. Sr Thomas Aquinas Goggins, *Saint John Chrysostom: Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist: Homilies 48-88* (New York, 1960), p.166. See Heather Jo McVoy, *Those whom Jesus* loved, pp.82ff.

[54] Origen, *Commentaries on John* Ch.28.6, [*Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, ed. and trans. C. Blan (Paris 1966)] for Lazarus' meal signifying a return to Christian fellowship. Later writers such as Walafrid Strabo would see Lazarus presence at the meal as signifying the Church: *In evangelium Joannis,* PL Vol.114, col.910C. In this Walafrid echoes Jerome, *In evangelium secundum Joannem*, PL Vol.30, col.584A.

[55] " *Now this is a proof of the veracity of the resurrection of Lazarus, that many days later he was still alive and was partaking of food*." *In Ioannem*, Ch.65. trans. Goggins. p.209.

Equally, this acknowledgement by Christian writers of the power of the reality of Lazarus' death provoked a commentary on mortality which served as a counterbalance to the testimony of the many Christian martyrs of Late Antiquity. Their faith in an imminent resurrection may have been absolute, but the description of the dead Lazarus given by some commentators shows that, for some, the death was at least as real as the promise of resurrection was. That Christians were afraid of dying might seem natural enough but it nonetheless conflicted with the central tenet of their religion: death was to be embraced as an act of faith. This was a conflict that may account for the emotional tenor of some writing about Lazarus during this period.

Potamius of Lisbon's homily on Lazarus is an anguished contemplation of death. An Iberian bishop writing in the third quarter of the fourth century, Potamius, abandoned his Arian beliefs sometime in the 360s. Marco Conti, editor of his works, suggests that he was making a connection between his own return to Catholic orthodoxy and the resurrection of Lazarus.[56] Yet, if this is the case, this allegorical interpretation of the miracle is overwhelmed by a materiality more akin to John Chrysostom's handling of the subject. Potamius' homily displays a visceral fear of death and dissolution, which might reflect growing doubts about the imminence of the Second Coming. His description of Lazarus lying in his grave can be described as an exercise in anatomical horror: " *...he lay with his mouth gaping open and his jaw hanging down, the teeth in his mouth consumed by earthly destruction, and his unhappy burial was condemning nerve bundles with the essence of his body to a miserable corruption. Thus, with the contraction of his limbs, his blackened skin is stretched over the dry and easy to count ribs, and a stream of bodily fluid, which is released from the cavity of the entrails, an already foul-smelling sewer, flowed filthy and dark to the feet of the corpse*."[57] Potamius presented Lazarus' body as dissolved into the elements of earth and water. He likened the soul to a charioteer guiding the four elements that make up the body which, upon the soul's departure, rapidly dissolved and putrefied.[58] Potamius' Lazarus returned to clay and this reference to Genesis is consistent with an understanding of Lazarus as a second Adam, here

[56] Conti, *Potamius of Lisbon,* p..35.
[57] Conti, *Potamius of Lisbon,* p.142 *De Lazaro,* ll. 15-21.
[58] Ibid., p.145, ll. 42-51.

sharing in the death he brought into the world by sin.[59] The bishop's emotive vocabulary which he employed in describing Lazarus' death is mirrored by his emphasis on the divine sorrow it caused. According to Potamius it is not Jesus, but God who weeps.[60] Writing a few decades later, Chromatius of Aquileia shared with Potamius a fascination for the unpleasantness of Lazarus' pre-resurrection state and the lingering smell of death: "*In naribus humor sepulturae erat: Lazarus vivus astabat…Humor corporis adhuc erat in naribus Iudaeorum, et Lazarus vivus astabat*".[61] Peter Brown has argued for an early Christian belief in the "*almost physical proximity of paradise*". The horror of death in all its physical manifestations displayed by Potamius and Chromatius present Lazarus as representing a narrative that runs counter to this and suggests that the "*sense of entitlement*" to the paradise described by Brown was not universal.[62]

1.5 The absence of relics

The horror provoked by contemplation of Lazarus' body was predicated on the idea that the soul had departed the body and that a connection between the two, central to the medieval cult of relics, did not exist. However according to Markus Vinzent this concept was undermined by early Christian belief. Vinzent argues that the passion of Jesus, rather than his resurrection, was the central theme of Christianity's earliest centuries. This focus on Jesus' death underpinned a veneration of martyrdom that would fracture the barrier between this world and the next.[63] Augustine replaced the angels with martyrs as God's intermediaries because, in embracing their fates, the martyrs not only rejected this world in favour of the one to come, they also followed Jesus in their acceptance of death. [64] Emphasis on the passion and death of Jesus and the martyrs can be seen as inimical to any value that might be placed on Lazarus' resurrection into the yet un-recreated world. However the intimacy with God shown by a martyr's death represented a

[59] Ibid., p.143, ll. 4-11. See pp.78, 80, 140, 210, 230 for the association of Lazarus with Adam.
[60] Ibid., p.147, l.83.
[61] Chromatius of Aquileia, *Sermons* 18-41, ed. J Lemarié and H, Tardif (Paris, 1971), Sermon 27, p.106.
[62] Brown, *The End of the Ancient Other World,* p.29
[63] See Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection*, pp.44ff. for an examination of how Paul's emphasis on Christ's resurrection was questioned by subsequent writers and pp.77ff. on how his ideas were adopted and disseminated by Marcion in the second century.
[64] Brown, *The Cult of Saints,* p.61.

fracturing of the ancient belief in the chasm between the world of the dead and that of the living which had also been challenged by Lazarus' resurrection.[65]

Gregory of Nyssa, in praising martyrs, made them an exception to the general disgust at the sight of a dead body that he expected his readers to share : "*Mortal remains (except those of the martyrs) are to most people an object of disgust and no one passes near a tomb with pleasure; if despite all our care, we find an open grave and cast our eyes on the horror of the body that lies within, we are filled with disgust and groan loudly that human nature should come to this.*"[66] The veneration of saints' remains could outweigh cultural taboos. Such reverence was to become the central element of the medieval cult of saints.[67] It was an expression of belief in a saint's continuing physical presence on earth as well as in heaven and was founded on the conviction that this world and the next interpenetrated each other. This belief was to become an essential element of the veneration for Lazarus. It was shortly after Gregory wrote these words that the power of martyrs, manifested by their continuing physical presence, appears in surviving patristic writing. In his *Contra Vigilantium*, written in the first decade of the fifth century, Jerome heaped scorn on those who refused to believe in the martyr's efficacy: "*(So you think,) therefore, that the bishop of Rome does wrong when, over the dead men Peter and Paul, venerable bones to us, but to you a heap of dust, he offers up sacrifices to the Lord, and their graves are held to be altars of Christ."*[68] Augustine echoed Jerome's enthusiasm for the veneration of relics. When the burial place of the protomartyr Stephen was discovered in Palestine in 415, fragments of his relics were brought to Carthage, Augustine welcomed them saying: "*Think, beloved, of what merciful God grants us in the land of the living, who has given us so much through the remains of the dead, Saint Stephen's body has been made famous the world over: but it is the merit of this faith that is commended to us*."[69] Augustine's reverence for Stephen

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[65] Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, p.6.

[66] *Oratio laudatoria martyris Theodori,* PG Vol.46, col.737C-D, 738C-D. Trans. *Bynum, The Ressurection of the Body in Western Christianity,* p.84.

[67] For evidence of relic collections from the sixth century onwards "*giving concrete form to the saints of distant centuries and places*" ", see Julia Smith, "The remains of saints: the evidence of early medieval relic collections", *Early Medieval Europe* 28.3 (2020), 388-424, p.388. For a general history of saints' relics from late Antiquity onwards, see Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien.*

[68] "*Male facit ergo romanus episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum Petri et Pauli, secundum nos ossa ueneranda, secundum te uile pulusculum, offert domino sacrificia et tumulos eorum Christi arbitratur altaria?*" *Adversus Vigilantium*, CCSL 79C, ed J.-L. Feiertag (2005), Ch.8, p.18, ll.32-35: also PL Vol.23, col.346. Trans. Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints,* p.9.

[69] Augustine, Sermon 317.1.1, trans. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, p.94.

was prompted by what Robert Markus called the "*central problem for fourth-century Christians": how to live up to their own past*." [70] Augustine described the healing power of martyrs relics as the means by which contemporary Christians could aspire to a martyr's faith. Augustine would later use the example of Lazarus in order to develop his argument about what it meant to be a Christian in a Christian world. However, although relics could also play their part in this new world, they also constituted another obstacle to the veneration of Lazarus.

Augustine's enthusiasm for the cult of martyrs was tempered by concern that Christianity might fall victim to a process of privatisation of cults by wealthy patrons. Peter Brown argued that it was this concern that underlay Augustine's belief that the church should remain the "*pia mater communis*."[71] Augustine's choice of Stephen, a saint whose antiquity presumably protected him from aristocratic adoption, is therefore understandable. Lazarus, too, was immune from a fifth-century aristocratic takeover. However, having been resurrected, he could not be counted among the martyrs. Lazarus as a candidate for sainthood suffered therefore from a double disadvantage during a period in which the contemplation of the dead was transitioning from disgust to veneration. His tomb, the object of horror-filled contemplation, was empty and this became a problem once relics began to be valued.

1.6 Interpretations of the resurrection of Lazarus

Nonetheless, Lazarus figured prominently in exegesis, sermons, letters and iconography. So, if he could not be considered a saint like the martyrs, what was the point of Lazarus beyond an opportunity to contemplate the horror of death? From very early on churchmen exploited the miracle as metaphor. Tertullian (c.155-c.240) argued that the miracle of Lazarus could help Christians understand Jesus' promise of a *general* resurrection.[72] For Tertullian Lazarus' death and resurrection foreshadowed the fate of all good Christians, as this world was doomed to decay

[70] Ibid., p.85.
[71] Brown, *The Cult of Saints,* p.34, citing *De cura gerenda pro mortuis*, 18.22.
[72] "*Ignoravimus plane resurrecturam cum carne. Hoc erit quod Christus manifestavit. Sed in hoc non aliter in se, quam in Lazaro aliquo, cuius caro non erat animalis, ita nec anima carnalis*." *Tertulliani: Opera Omnia*, ed. F. Oehler (Leipzig, 1854), *De carne Christi* 12, p.911; also: PL Vol.2, col.776A

and dissolution. He saw nature as compost into which the Christian seed of a new world had been planted.[73]

A few decades later, Origen (c.184-c.253) suggested that Lazarus' fate demonstrated how the bonds of human sin could be loosened by Jesus' redeeming power. In his *Commentary on John* he interpreted Jesus' command to the disciples to loosen Lazarus' bonds and the bandages over his eyes as a necessary precursor to Lazarus' full restoration to a life of fellowship.[74] Blind and impotent, Lazarus required the intervention of the Church to complete the process that Jesus had begun. While Tertullian interpreted the significance of the resurrection of Lazarus as a sign of the re-creation of the world, Origen saw his death as the consequence of sin. This interpretation would resonate throughout the period covered by this study and its roots lay in pre-Christian thinking about death where death was never treated as accidental. As Robert Hertz wrote on death and its significance for tribal societies, " *God's handiwork can be undone only by himself or by Satan*."[75] Therefore Lazarus' death was not only a way of understanding sin, but for many of Origen's contemporaries wrongdoing and death were cause and effect. Lazarus as sinner was not an obvious route to future sanctity.

Of course, as is demonstrated by the later veneration of Mary Magdalen, the concept of the redeemed sinner could be a powerful idea around which a cult could form.[76] However, in Tertullian and Origen Lazarus the man disappeared in a fog of metaphor. Not only was there no interest in Lazarus as an individual, the resurrection story in which he figures was not seen to be of any relevance to the individual fate of Christians. Although Origen presented Lazarus as a sinner, in this instance sin was de-personalised. It was the fate of the world which concerned him and Tertullian. The fellowship from which Lazarus had been exiled by sin was that of the reconfigured world of Jesus' Second Coming in which all Christians would participate, by virtue of their being Christians. This would change in the later Middle

[73] "*Sed enim in Lazaro, praecipuo resurrectionis exemplo, caro jacuit in infirmitate, caro pene computruit in dedecorationem, caro interim putuit in corruptionem; et tamen Lazarus caro resurrexit, cum anima quidem, sed incorrupta, quam nemo vinculis lineis strinxerat, nemo in sepulcro collocarat, nemo jam foetere senserat, nemo quatriduo viderat seminatam. Totum habitum totum exitum Lazari, omnium quoque caro hodie experitur, anima vero nullius*." Ibid., Ch.53; also PL vol.2, col.873A.
[74] Mc Voy, *Those whom Jesus Loved,* p.81, n.21.
[75] Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand*, trans. R. and C. Needham (London, 1960), p.77.
[76] See Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen,* esp. pp.203ff.

Ages when Lazarus joined the Magdalen as a saint to whom Christians would turn when contemplating the consequences of their own sins and the possibility of redemption. However, the journey of Lazarus through the Middle Ages towards metonymy for anxiety for the post-mortem fate of individual Christian souls began when Christianity was established as the religion of the empire. Then it was, with the end of Christianity's heroic period, as described by Robert Markus, that the resurrection of Lazarus started to be used in debates over the nature of Jesus and what it meant to be a good Christian in a Christian world.[77]

1.7 Orthodoxy

These debates were prompted by the concern of the Church to enforce right belief throughout the Christian world. With the conversion of Constantine in 312 and Christianity's emerging status as the accepted and then official religion of empire over the course of the fourth century, Lazarus was enlisted in the fight for orthodoxy. The central battle ground in this struggle was Jesus' nature: was it divine, human, or both and if so how? As Arians believed that Jesus was not consubstantial with the Father but separate in nature, how Jesus performed miracles became an important question in the debate between their creed and that of orthodox Nicene Christianity. Defenders of Jesus' divine union with the Father based their arguments on the evidence provided by lists of miracles in which the resurrection of Lazarus, because of its spectacular nature, figured prominently. One consequence of these Christological debates was to refocus the way in which the episode was understood, shifting from the allegorical interpretations of Tertullian and Origen towards that of John Chrysostom. The reality of the resurrection of Lazarus was a concrete demonstration of Jesus' power.

In the context of the incessant disputes over orthodoxy, Jesus' words, as recorded by John the Evangelist, were scrutinised in greater detail than they had been heretofore and some of them would appear to have been troubling believers in his divinity. According to the *Gospel of John*, upon his arrival in Bethany Jesus asked Lazarus' sisters, "*ubi posuistis eum?*", with the implication that he did not know

[77] Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, pp.87-95.

where the dead man lay.[78] None of the commentators really come to a satisfactory resolution to the problem posed by Jesus' apparent ignorance. Potamius, whose sermon on Lazarus dates, as we have seen, from his reconversion back to orthodoxy from Arianism, did not acknowledge the problem. For other commentators it was a question that demanded an answer.[79] Hilary of Poitiers (c.310-c.367) considered Jesus' ignorance to be partial. Jesus knew that Lazarus was dead and buried, but not the location of the tomb, which would seem to be simply a restatement of the words of the *Gospel of John*.[80] Chromatius of Aquileia (d. c.406), in his homily on Lazarus, argued that Jesus was asking his question, not in his human, but in his divine capacity: "*Non erat ibi secundum carnem; hic erat secundum divinitatem, quia Deus ubique est*."[81] He compared Jesus' question to God's quizzing of Adam, "*Ubi es*". By contrast, in a later text, when in correspondence with the Arian king of the Vandals Trasimund at the beginning of the sixth century, Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, declared that Jesus had posed his question in his human capacity: "*idemque verus in carne humana Christus cum dixisset: "Ubi posuistis eum?*"[82] The troubling contrast between Jesus' ability to raise Lazarus from the dead and his inability to divine where he was buried mirrored concerns about his double nature.

Despite Hilary of Poitiers' somewhat evasive explanation for "*ubi posuitis*", he was able to use the miracle of Lazarus as an effective weapon with which to attack Arianism. As many exegetes were to do later, Hilary mined the Psalms for evidence of Jesus' power. He associated the "*vox virtutis*" of Psalm 67 with the voice of Jesus calling Lazarus from the grave. He also used the Psalms to explain another problem in John's account of the miracle. Invited by the Jews to come and see where Lazarus has been laid, Jesus wept. Was this a divine or human action? Turning to Psalm 68, Hilary, most probably with the Arians in mind, explained the tears of Jesus by saying, "*infidelitatem humani generis lugebat...*".[83] In his work on the Trinity, Hilary also argued that Lazarus' death was meant for the glory of God, so demonstrating his son's divine status.[84] However, orthodoxy required that the faithful should also

[78] Vulgate, Jn:11,34.
[79] Conti, *Potamius of Lisbon,* p.34.
[80] *De Trinitate*, 9, PL Vol.10, col.334.
[81] Chromatius of Aquileia, *Sermons 18-41*, eds. J. Lemarié and H. Tardif , Vol.II, Sermon 27, p.108, ll. 77-80.
[82] *Ad Trasimundum regem Vandalorum*, Bk. 3, Ch.1, PL Vol.65, col.280D.
[83] *Tractatus super psalmos*, CSEL 22, ed. A Zingerle, (1891), *Tractatus in psalmum* 68, p.322, ll.24-25; PL vol.9, col.477B.
[84] *De Trinitate* 9, PL Vol.10, col.299B.

be reminded of Jesus' human nature and, in the same work, Hilary placed Jesus' tears for Lazarus in the context of his human passions.[85]

For Ambrose, Jesus' tears were also a sign of his human nature "*quasi homo flebat...*".[86] Like Hilary, Ambrose exploited the Lazarus miracle to argue in support of the Nicean faith arguing that while Jesus wept for Lazarus as a man, in resurrecting him he acted divinely, so neatly combining Jesus' two natures. [87] In his *De fide ad Gratianum Augustum* he also made clear that the miracle was the result of Jesus' divine powers deriving from his status as the son of God.[88] Later in the same work he reassured his readers that Jesus' prayer to the Father preceding his summoning of Lazarus did not imply inferiority of status but rather unity of purpose.[89] However, Ambrose takes his interpretation a step further and in a way that would resonate with churchmen in the following millennium by placing the miracle in a more expressly ecclesiastical context. Ambrose likened Jesus' love for Lazarus and Mary to his love for the Church. [90] In his commentary on the Psalms he stresses the role of the disciples in unbinding Lazarus in Bethany, "*in domum obeditionis.*"[91] In *De paenitentia*, Jesus' tears are for sinners *and* on behalf of the Church.[92] Ambrose sees the miracle as a liberation from the Jewish dispensation, "*quid si dum Lazarus exuitur, populus liberatur, dum Lazarum abire permittunt, ipsi ad dominum revertuntur*?" using language that prefigures much later discussion of the Church's role in salvation history.[93]

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[85] *De Trinitate* 10, PL Vol.10, col.343C.
[86] *Commentarius in cantica canticorum*, 5, PL Vol.15, col.1939. This is in contrast to Potamius of Lisbon, who, maybe unconsciously drawing on his Arian past, simply states "*Deus flebat*". See Conti, *Potamius of Lisbon*, pp.14 *De Lazaro,* l.83.
[87] "*An non ut homo, cum Lazarum fleret; et rursus supra hominem, cum eum resuscitaret?" Letter* 29, PL Vol.16, col.1056B.
[88] "*...sed quasi Dei Filium semper sibi divinam potentiam vindicare*." Bk 4, Ch.6. PL Vol.16, col.641A.
[89] "*Quomodo audivit Pater Filium, cum filius nihil ad Patrem in superioribus de Lazaru sit locutus? Ac ne putares quia semel a Patre auditus est Filius, addidit:* Et ego sciebam quia semper me audis*. Ergo non subjectae obedientiae, sed unitatis auditus et sempiternae*." *De spiritu sancto,* Bk.2, Ch.12 PL Vol.16, col.772B.
[90] "*Denique amabat Jesus Lazarum et Maria, amabat Christus Ecclesiam suam...*", *Apologia altera prophetae David,* Ch.8, CSEL 32.2, ed. C. Schenkl (1897), p.386, ll.3-4; also PL Vol.14, col.903C.
[91] *Explanatio psalmorum XII*, CSEL 64, ed. M. Petschenig (1999), p.46, ll.25-26; also PL Vol. 4, col.951B.
[92] Bk. *2,* Ch. 7.57, CSEL 73, ed. O. Faller (1955), p.186.
[93] *De excessu fratris sui Satyri,* Bk. 2.80, CSEL 73, ed. O. Faller (1955), p.293.

1.8 The ordinary Christian: Augustine

Just as Ambrose's interpretation of the resurrection of Lazarus looked forward to an interpretation of the miracle and later of Lazarus himself as representing Church authority, Augustine is also central to our understanding of how Lazarus would come to be regarded in the following centuries.

Alongside issues of orthodoxy, a second challenge faced by the nascent Church was how to define a good Christian in a post-heroic age when merely to belong no longer courted martyrdom? Lazarus' death as a signifier of sin was present in the minds of the earliest commentators. For Origen this sin was de-personalised, it was the sin of the world. For individual Christians, who could with reason fear that their faith could lead to death, just acknowledging that faith was a sign of virtue and apostasy was the only major sin. When this ceased to be the case, the issue of what it meant to be a good, or bad, Christian became more pressing. The result was a radical change in the way the miracle of Lazarus was understood. If Christians could themselves be divided into the saintly, the reasonably good and the downright bad, new criteria for salvation had to be devised.

Augustine assists our understanding of how Lazarus was regarded in this period both because of what he had to say about Lazarus and because of his influence on ideas about death and about the afterlife in general. His writings created a vocabulary that would be reused throughout the Middle Ages in discussions of Lazarus. Augustine associated Lazarus with the other two beneficiaries of Jesus' authority over life and death, the daughter of Jairus and the son of the widow of Nain. Their bodily resurrections foretold the resurrection of the souls of the faithful.[94] The three episodes represented three kinds of resurrection of the spirit. Augustine was not interested in the reality of Lazarus' death as had been Potamius,

[94]"*Si ergo Dominus magna sua gracia, et magna sua misericordia animas suscitat, ne moriamur in aeternum, bene intellegimus tres illos mortuos quos in corporibus susciatuit, aliquid significare et figurare de resurrectionibus animarum quae fiunt per fidem: resuscitauit filiam archisynagogi adhuc in domo iacentem; resuscitavit iuuenum filium uiduae extra portas civitatis elatum; resuscitauit Lazarum sepultum quatriduanum.*" *In Ioannis evangelium tractatus* 124, CCSL 36, ed. R. Willems, (Turnhout, 1954) *Tractate* 49.2, pp.420, l.33-421, l.8; also PL Vol.35, col.1748.

Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom. Augustine saw Jesus as orchestrating the three resurrections to demonstrate his ability to undo the effects of sin.

Augustine was therefore able to use Lazarus to solve Markus' central problem: if Christians could no longer be justified by martyrdom or the threat of it, what criteria could be used to distinguish the good, the bad, and the mediocre. And, just as importantly, who had the authority to decide about this? The question was an important one, for it went to the heart of his dispute with his Pelagian adversaries. For them the matter was relatively simple; all sin was "*a conscious act of contempt for God and, consequently, worthy of hellfire*."[95] Against this Augustine was to deploy his understanding of the miracle of Lazarus both to define the qualities and degrees of sinfulness and moreover to assert the authority of the church to define them.

To Augustine these degrees of sinfulness distinguished the significance of the three persons Jesus raised from the dead. One, the daughter of Jairus, had not yet been brought to burial but was still lying in her house. Augustine likened her death to the sin of evil thought, a sin which is concealed. The second, the widow's son, had been brought to the gates of the city. His death was like a sin committed, evident to all. Lazarus, however, had been dead for four days and buried. His death, a true death, signified therefore the most serious of sins, that which is committed habitually.[96] The association between the four days Lazarus spent in the grave and habitual sin was one that Augustine made repeatedly and which was often re-contextualised and misunderstood by medieval churchmen, as shall be argued in Chapter 3. [97]

For Augustine what was important was to understand how Christians could be released from the shackles of habitual sin. Divine power freed Lazarus from death and Christians from sin, but what did this say about the role of the Church in the fifth century? Augustine lit upon Jesus' instruction in John's account to the disciples.

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[95] Brown, *The End of the Ancient Other World.* p.51.

[96] "*Est genus mortis immane, mala consuetudo appellatur. Aliud est enim peccare, aliud peccandi consuetudinem facere. Qui peccat et continuo corrigitur, cito reuiuiscit: quia nondum est implicatus consuetudine, non est sepultus. Qui autem peccare consueuit, sepultus est, et bene de illo dicitur:* fetet*; incipit enim habere pessimam famam, tanquam odorem teterrimum.*" CCSL 36, ed. R. Willems (1964), *In Joannis evangelium, Tractate* 49.2, p.421, ll.20-26; also PL Vol.35, col.1748.

[97] for instance *De scripturis Sermon* 98 Ch. 6, PL Vol.38, col.594 and *De sermone Domini in monte*, Bk.1, Ch. 12.35.

"*Loose him and let him go*."[98] This delegation of authority he associated with that, found in Matthew, to the apostles, "*whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven*."[99] In his exposition of Psalm 101 he explicitly understood this as an authority granted to the Church, "*Quid enim prodesset Lazaro, quia processit de monumento, nisi diceretur: Solvite eum, et sinite abire? ...Merito per Ecclesiam dari solutio peccatorum potest...*"[100] Again, in his sermon on the feast on Saints Peter and Paul, Augustine defined the relationship between Jesus' authority and that of the Church succinctly: when speaking of Lazarus, "*Per se excitavit, per discipulos solvit.*"[101]

The idea that Augustine developed, namely that the four days that Lazarus spent in his tomb represented habitual sin from which the Church enjoyed the delegated power of release, resonated powerfully throughout the Middle Ages. It became vital to the Church's understanding of its role in society and its relationship with lay authorities. As Peter Brown has said of Augustine, he is "*a crucial figure in the symbiosis between bishop and politician that is the most obvious feature of fifth-century life.*"[102] Unlike later churchmen for whom Lazarus himself was to become the embodiment of the authority of the Church, Augustine, in common with other commentators of Late Antiquity, regarded Lazarus as significant only for what his resurrection represented. Dead for four days, Lazarus represented a special kind of sinfulness and, as a result, his resurrection referred to a special kind of divine grace. And yet he was essentially cut from the same cloth as the other two protagonists of resurrection: a nameless boy and girl.

1.9 The consolation of Lazarus

Augustine used Lazarus to pursue theological arguments while avoiding any discussion of the virtue or vice of the man himself. He wrote to understand the meaning of Lazarus' death, not the fact of it. By contrast Jerome not only used the miracle of his resurrection in the service of religious dispute, but also described

[98] Jn:11,44, KJV.
[99] Mt:18,18, KJV. See CCSL 36, ed. R. Willems (1964), *In Joannis evangelium, Tractate* 22.7, pp.226-7; also PL Vol.35, col.1578, and *Tractate* 49.24, p.431; also PL Vol.35, col.1757.
[100] *In psalmum* 101, *Sermon* 2, *De secunda parte Psalmi,* PL Vol.37, col.1306.
[101] *De sanctis, Sermon* 295, *In natali apostolorum Petri et Pauli* 3, PL Vol.38, col.1350.
[102] Peter Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (New York, 1972), p.45.

Lazarus' death in such as a way as to offer consolation to his readers. Although, when writing of his friend Paula's visit to Palestine he never suggested that a cult of Lazarus existed, with other correspondents he compared Lazarus' death with the sleep of the virtuous. He grounded his argument in Jesus' reassurance to the apostles that "*Lazarus, amicus noster dormit*."[103] Whereas Potamius emphasised the physical reality of Lazarus' death in all its repulsiveness, in his letter to Heliodorus Jerome wrote that Lazarus merely slept, adding that Paul forbade tears, as "*Christanorum mortuos, dormientes uocans.*"[104] He reiterated this in his letter to the monks Minervius and Alexander, in which the sleep of death became an article of faith: "*De istius modi dormientibus Lazarus erat, de quo Dominus ait, 'Lazarus amicus noster dormit'. Et de hoc dormiente dicebat ad Martham, 'Qui credit in me, etiam si mortuus fuerit, uiuet'*".[105]

By likening Lazarus' death to sleep Jerome associated it with the sleep of the faithful, the martyrs who await the recreation of the world at the end of time. His understanding of Lazarus as a holy man was made nearly explicit in his polemic against Vigilantius. The holy, among whom he implicitly included Lazarus, do not die but sleep.[106] Jerome's interpretation of Lazarus' death as the sleep of the virtuous did not imply that his resurrection was not corporeal. In his letter to Eustochium, consoling her for the death of her mother, he wrote that, when Lazarus dined with Simon the Leper, he did so in order to prove that he was present in body: "*ne resurrectio eorum phantasma putaretur*."[107] Jerome used Lazarus to offer the hope of a bodily resurrection, an important element in the consolation of Christians. The miracle was also the proof of a true resurrection: "V*t resurrectionem probaret... Lazarus quatriduanus mortuus resurgit, et prandens inducitur.*"[108] Jerome was not suggesting in these writings that Lazarus should be venerated. Nevertheless, the implicit suggestion that Lazarus slept the sleep of the virtuous

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[103] Vulgate, Jn:11,11.
[104] *Epistulae Pars* 1 (1-170), CCEL 54, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1996), *Letter* 60*. Ad Helidorum epitaphum Nepotani*, p.550, l.2; also PL Vol.22, col.590.
[105] *Epistulae Pars* 2 (71-120), CCEL 55, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1996), *Letter* 119. *Minervium et Alexandrum de difficillima Pauli apostoli questione*, p.457, ll.10-14; also PL Vol.22, col.973.
[106] "*Denique sancti non appellantur mortui, sed dormientes. Vnde et Lazarus qui resurrecturus erat, dormisse perhibetur.*" *Contra Vigilantium,* CCSL 79C, ed. J.-L. Feiertag (2005), p.15, ll.32-34; aalso PL Vol.23, col.344.
[107] *Epistulae Pars* 2 (71-120), CCEL 55, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1996), *Letter* 108, *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*, p.342, ll.15-16; also PL Vol.22, col.901.
[108] *Contra Johannem,* CCSL 79A, ed. J.-L. Feiertag (Turnhout, 1999) pp.65-66, ll.59-64; also PL Vol.23, col.387.

before bodily resurrection made him a prototype of the redeemed Christian. Augustine interpreted Lazarus' death as signifying the death of sin, while Jerome's emphasis on the sleep of death taken in its Pauline sense suggests that the odour of sanctity was wafting around his Lazarus.

Peter Chrysologus (c.380-c.450) did not follow Jerome in describing Lazarus as sleeping the sleep of the just. However, in his sermon on Lazarus he argued that Lazarus' resurrection heralded the breaking down of barriers between the worlds of the living and the dead. In this way Peter gave implicit consolation to readers fearful of their own ultimate fates by presenting his audience with the prospect of personal resurrection. He did this by also making a comparison between the three resurrections performed by Jesus in the Gospels. Describing that of the daughter of Jairus he wrote: "...*her corpse was still warm, she was still in the process of dying, ... she was still a human being lingering among human beings... her soul did not yet know the confines of Tartarus*". And of the resurrection of the widow's son he wrote: "*he interrupted the onset of decay, he arrived before the stench set in...before he had come fully under the domain of death*", and continuing "*but everything surrounding Lazarus is unique...he gives free reign to the grave... and he grants Tartarus the opportunity to seize, drag, and hold him*." [109] In comparing Lazarus' resurrection with the two other resurrection miracles performed by Jesus in the Gospels, Peter Chrysologus stated that in the case of the latter two, their souls had not yet reached the Underworld ruled by Tartarus. As a result, the power of the Underworld remained intact. By implication, the resurrection of Lazarus' decomposing body after four days was an overturning of the ancient order of things.

The more disgusting the contemplation of Lazarus' corpse was, the more his resurrection could be understood as a consolation offered to the faithful. As Gregory of Nyssa wrote, with regard to Lazarus, in his treatise *On the Soul and Resurrection*, "*The expressions in the Gospels also I will pass over; for their meaning is quite clear to everyone; and our Lord does not declare in word alone that the bodies of the dead shall be risen up again; but He shows in action the Resurrection*

[109] Sermon 13, PL Vol.52, col. 76. trans. W.B. Palardy, *Selected Sermons* (Washington, 1984), pp.249-251.

itself, making a beginning of this work of wonder from things more within our reach and less capable of being doubted." [110] We should note the use of the plural, bodies of the dead, that the rising up is not just that of Jesus.[111] Gregory's disgust when contemplating the bodies of the dead was counterbalanced by a concern to convince his audience that those bodies were going to be resurrected. Lazarus' death was not just meant to send a message about the general re-creation of the world at Jesus' Second Coming but also to console Christians telling them that their bodies, and therefore they as individuals, were going to be brought back to life.

Christians would have been reassured by claims, such as those of Peter Chrysologus and Gregory of Nyssa, that the realm of Tartarus had been overthrown. Evidence demonstrating that the private hopes and fears of individual Christians found comfort in the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection can be found in the catacombs of Rome. Here over 60 depictions of the resurrection of Lazarus survive, second in number only to images of Jesus the Good Shepherd.[112] Mosche Barasch noted that, although the *Gospel of John* refers to Lazarus' grave as a cave with a stone in front (and as such it was depicted in the East), there were no such graves in the West. In the catacombs his tomb was presented as a small building of a type commonly used by wealthy Romans, which demonstrates the personal relevance that such images had for those who commissioned them. [113] Jesus, not Lazarus, is the protagonist of the scene but in these images we can see more than a philosophical concern for the promise of resurrection. Barasch suggested that the upheavals in the Empire during the second and third centuries created a kind of existential fear which reveals itself in these images. The figure of Jesus is usually seen facing the viewer with a wand of office and right hand raised in an imperial gesture of power.[114] In the minds of some an imperial Christ may have replaced a fragmented empire but the texts of Gregory of Nyssa and Peter Chrysologus suggest that the popularity of these images were the product of a universal fear of death.

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[110] Gregory of Nyssa (c.334-385/6): *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, Patrologia Graeca, Vol. 46, cols. 11-160 trans from the New Advent website. https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2915.htm, accessed 21.3.2022.
[111] See Esler and Piper, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha,* p.144.
[112] Esler and Piper, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha,* p.132. They just outnumber images of Jonah, also understood as having risen from the dead, albeit figuratively.
[113] Barasch, "Das Bild des Unsichtbaren", p.7.
[114] Ibid., p.9.

1.10 Dissolving the old law of Gehenna

While Jerome saw Lazarus' sojourn in the tomb as sleep, apocryphal Christian texts assign to Lazarus a more active role, which also show him in a more positive light. The fourth-century *Gospel of Nicodemus*, also known as the Acts of Pilate, recounted the trial and subsequent resurrection of Jesus. It contains an appendix on the Harrowing of Hell in which Hell is personified and debates with Satan about the nature and power of Jesus. Upon learning that he is the man who restored Lazarus to life, Hell encourages Satan to prevent Jesus' descent into the Underworld fearing he will set free all those detained there and saying: "*Neither could we keep Lazarus, but he like an eagle shaking himself leaped forth with all agility and swiftness, and departed from us, and the earth also which held the dead body of Lazarus straightway gave him up alive*."[115] Lazarus is here seen as being a precursor to a more general resurrection. He is also given an agency which is lacking in other accounts. Walter Puchner saw a connection between this gospel and Coptic apocrypha in which Adam from his incarceration in the Underworld hears Jesus' call to Lazarus, "*Veni foras.*"[116] . Whereas Potamius suggested a comparison with Adam making reference to the clay from which the first man is made and into which the dead Lazarus dissolves, here Adam, who brought death into the world is redeemed by Lazarus' death. The association with Jesus' own death and resurrection is evident.

The only other surviving apocryphal gospel to make reference to Lazarus, the *Report of Pontius Pilate*, described him using similarly positive language. The *Report* is the product of a tradition according to which Pilate wrote to the emperor telling him of the circumstances surrounding the execution of Jesus. In this fourth- or fifth-century text Pilate describes the miracle as one beyond the capacity of the pagan gods. According to the *Report*, four days after his death Lazarus was already "*undergoing corruption by the worms that had spouted from his ulcers*." However, upon Jesus' command, he "*came forth from the tomb as if from a bridal chamber...*"[117] Although the usual horror of the decomposing Lazarus is present,

[115] *The Apocryphal New Testament,* trans. M.R. James (Oxford, 1924), p.131.
[116] *Studien zum Kulturkontext,* pp.19-20.
[117] Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Plêse, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford, 2011), p.495.

the words "*bridal chamber*" suggest that Lazarus was revived to enter into a new, redeemed, relationship with Jesus.[118]

Both of these accounts represent a clear departure from a pagan reluctance to see the gap between this world and the next bridged. This reversal was also expressed in Christian poetry of the fourth and fifth century. Prudentius of Tarragona (348-405) in his reworking in verse of the New Testament exulted at the thought of Jesus' ability to command the Underworld:

"Conscius insignis facti locus in Bethania
Vidit ab inferna te, Lazare, sede reversum.
Apparet scissum fractis foribus monumentum,
Unde putrescentis redierunt membra sepulti."[119]

In the following century Dracontius of Carthage, whom Roswitha Simons saw as consciously reframing the poetic landscape of Antiquity within a Christian context, recalled Lazarus in the context of a poetic evocation of the pagan Underworld:

"*Nec semel ista dedit, namque ut sit virgo superstes,*
Imperat, exsurgit vel Lazarus ante sepultus
quattuor exemptus transacta luce dierum." [120]

These poetic and apocryphal works present a Lazarus mythologised and personalised. They follow Peter Chrysologus, Nicodemus, and the anonymous author of the *Report* in locating Lazarus in an Underworld which, by his escape from it, gave comfort to the Christian community.

This perspective on Lazarus' sojourn in the Underworld was explored most fully in another text of Peter Chrysologus. In his three sermons on Lazarus Peter examined the words uttered by Jesus before calling Lazarus from the tomb, in which he invoked his father by saying, " *Pater, gratias ago tibi quoniam audisti me*."[121] These words suggest that Jesus was in some sense merely an agent of divine power. Like

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[118] This anticipates later medieval texts which are explicit in presenting Lazarus as having been converted by his experience of the underworld. See Ch.6.
[119] *Dittochaeum: Testamentum novum*, PL Vol.60, col.106B.
[120] *Carmen de Deo; Liber secundus*, PL Vol.60, col.781. See Roswitha Simons, *Dracontius und der Mythos: Christliche Weltsicht und pagane Kultur in der ausgehenden Spätantike* (Munich-Leipzig, 2005).
[121] Vulgate, Jn:11,41.

Hilary of Poitiers and Chromatius of Aquileia Peter was mining the story for evidence of Jesus' divine status and was obviously sufficiently troubled by Jesus' words to offer a number of explanations. Firstly he suggested that this was not an appeal but simply a statement of love. He then argued that although coming from heaven, Jesus had not departed from it. In invoking the Father he therefore received what he already had.[122] Finally, in a long passage, Peter offered an interpretation that not only sought to confirm Jesus' divinity but also offered a vision of the Underworld in which Lazarus was an active participant. In words reminiscent of the conversation between Satan and Hell in the Gospel of Nicodemus, he presented Jesus as striking the gates of Tartarus "*to dissolve the old Law of Gehenna*" (that is its impermeability). [123] Tartarus appealed to God saying, "*I am ever vigilant so that no rash innovator alter the age-old authority of your sentence."* and went on to say that, unless God came to his aid, Jesus was going to break down the doors and he (God) was " *going to lose all those whom we have kept in custody for so long a time*."[124] But, using words that again associated Lazarus with Adam, Jesus responded that he had come to atone for Adam's guilt. According to Peter, the "*whole Trinity*" took part in this dispute and had agreed to Jesus' request, ordering Lazarus to leave the Underworld and commanding Tartarus to release all the dead. It is for this that Jesus gave thanks to the Father.[125]

Where Claudianus Mamertus and Faustus of Riez were content to state that Lazarus' soul having left his body at death returned with his resurrection, Peter told the story of his descent to and return from the Underworld. Where in the *Gospel of John* Jesus ordered Lazarus to leave the tomb in which his body was incarcerated with the words " *Veni foras"* , in Peter Jesus ordered Lazarus to leave the realm of Tartarus. Moreover, unlike the Gospel of Nicodemus, Peter implied that this journey represented the triumph of a new divine dispensation, even hinting at a dispute , or at least discussion between the constituent parts of the Trinity, from which Jesus emerged victorious graciously giving thanks to the Father. This passage combines both a justification of Jesus' status and an acknowledgement of the

[122] Sermon 65 *De Lazaro a mortuis suscitato,* PL Vol.52, col.384.
[123] Trans. W.B. Palardy, *Peter Chrysologus: selected sermons* (Washington, 1984), p.263.
[124] Ibid., p.265.
[125] Sermon 65 *De Lazaro a mortuis suscitato,* PL Vol.52, col.386.

novelty of Christian ideas about the underworld presaging a Christianity in which the altar and the tomb are conjoined.

1.11 Conclusion

There were a number of compelling factors that stood in the way of any early recognition of Lazarus as a saint. Although the *Gospel of John* does refer to him as one whom Jesus loved, his passivity, his silence and, above all, his failure to die for the Christian faith undermined any such claim. This uncertainty is born out in the pilgrim accounts, which while venerating Lazarus' empty tomb as the site of one of Jesus' most important miracles, did not suggest a veneration of its beneficiary. Indeed, in an age when fear of death was centred especially on the peri-mortal, Lazarus, briefly but definitively dead, aroused particular feelings of horror. But even as the cult of saints began to be centred around the veneration of relics and the barrier between this world and the next was seen to be less absolute, ignorance of his post-resurrection fate prevented the invention of his earthly remains. Nevertheless, his story, as told in the *Gospel of John* and then retold in sermons and apocryphal accounts, retained its hold on the imagination of churchmen. The death and resurrection of Lazarus became a way of understanding how ordinary Christians could achieve salvation and presented hope of personal resurrection.

Churchmen in the twelfth century reworked the ideas created by Augustine and others to create an eschatology in which his resurrection could serve as a guide to role God had assigned to the West and its Church in salvation history.[126] By then Lazarus had been venerated in Constantinople for over two hundred years. The next chapter will examine how in Byzantium at the end of the ninth century the role of early church leadership was attached to the identity of Lazarus which in turn lent to its imperial sponsors the prestige of biblical Christianity. It will argue that this was critical to the transmission of his veneration to the West and to the eventual establishment of his cult there.

[126] See Ch. 3.

2. The relics of Lazarus, empires: c.900 - c.1150

2.1 Introduction

E dist li emperere: "Cin cenz merciz de Deu!
De vos saintes reliques, si vus plaist, me donez,
Que porterai en France qu'en voil enluminer."
Respont li patriarches: "A plentét en averez.
Le braz saint Simeon aparmames en averez
E le chef saint Lazare vus frai aporter,
Del sanc saint Estefne ki maritr fu pur Deu."
Karelemaines l'en rent saluz e amistez.

The above lines are taken from *the Pélerinage de Charlemagne,* a twelfth-century account of a fictional voyage of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople.[1] In it Charlemagne is provoked by his wife to travel to the East by her claim that the Byzantine ruler is more suited to his imperial dignity than the king of the Franks. Charlemagne first goes to Jerusalem where the patriarch offers him relics to take back to the West, and confirms him in the title of emperor. After an initial show of reluctance, Charlemagne accepts, together with the arm of Simeon[2] and some blood of Stephen the Protomartyr, two saints venerated as founders of the Christian Church, the head of Lazarus.

The above lines, although fictional, reflect the process by which in due course Lazarus came to be considered a saint who, like Stephan and Simeon, embodied the authority invested in the early Church. The next chapter will suggest that in the eleventh and twelfth century the ideas developed by patristic writers, notably Augustine and Jerome, served to define Lazarus in the West as a saint embodying early Church leadership. This chapter will argue that the discovery of Lazarus' relics in Byzantium, where he was identified as one of the first bishops of the Church,

[1] *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne (Le Pélerinage de Charlemagne),* ed. and trans. G. Burgess (New York-London, 1988), p.36.
[2] Probably Simeon, second bishop of Jerusalem.

prompted an interest in the saint in Germany and laid the groundwork for this redefinition. Here the distribution of his relics in churches with imperial connections can be seen as consistent with a practice of collecting and donating relics by German emperors.[3] It will not be an attempt to trace the actual history of the relics, about which very little can be said with certainty. Rather, it will suggest that the location of these relics and the contexts in which they are found are relevant to how and why they were venerated.

A complete skull at Andlau near Strasbourg, which a fifteenth-century breviary records as being that of Lazarus, had directed the attention of historians to the possibility of an Alsatian origin for the veneration of Lazarus in Burgundy. Hitherto, there has been little attempt to give a context to this isolated and late piece of evidence. This can be provided by the records of a handful of mainly monastic establishments in what was eastern Frankia and Lotharingia which document the earlier deposition of relics of Lazarus. These records refer to events dating from over two centuries before the translation of what were believed to be the relics of Lazarus to the church of Saint-Lazare in Autun. These donations were legitimised and given meaning by the legend of a donation of relics performed by Charlemagne. The location of these relic depositions is consistent with a broader policy of imperial-status building that was begun under the Ottonians and continued under their successors. This is supported by an examination of histories of the recipient establishments, for the most part founded or refounded under imperial patronage and located in the western part of the nascent German empire.

The earliest of these relics are those of Lazarus' tomb, rather than his body, and, as such, are memorials of his miraculous resurrection. Such relics were consistent with the way in which Lazarus had been understood throughout the first millennium of the Christian era, when his resurrection was seen as evidence of Jesus' divine status rather than as an event that conferred any sanctity on Lazarus himself. However, corporal relics purporting to be of Lazarus were found in later altar dedications. The presence of these relics implied both a post-resurrection

[3] See Julia Smith, Europe after Rome: *A New Cultural History 500-100* (Oxford, 2005), p.212,for the role the acquisition of relics played in legitimising the rule of Henry, duke of Saxony. See Eckhard Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians as Kings and Emperors" in " in The New Cambridge Medieval History (Cambridge, 1995), pp.244-5 for the connection between relic donation and imperial kingship.

career and sanctity. This chapter will conclude with an examination of the evidence for the transmission of a veneration of Lazarus from Germany to Burgundy.
Evidence for the presence of relics of Lazarus in the institutions figuring in this chapter is fragmentary and in some cases non-contemporary and does not allow for a comprehensive narrative. The argument advanced below suggests that insofar as the roots of the veneration of Lazarus can be traced at all, the lie in the East and were transmitted via Germany. It is a hypothesis based on a congruence of meaning attached to Lazarus in Byzantium and the West which will be explored in this and subsequent chapters.

2.2 Lazarus in Byzantium

There is no evidence to suggest that the Lazarus venerated in the German Church was believed to be the bishop of Marseille remembered in later Burgundian and Provençal accounts. Although the origins of his veneration in Germany are obscure, it is likely that they were to be found in Constantinople, the only place where a cult of Lazarus was found as early as the beginning of the tenth century.

The certain history of Lazarus in the Eastern tradition begins with the translation of his relics to Constantinople from Cyprus around the year 900. In Constantinople he was then venerated as the founding bishop of Citium, now Larnaca, but the origins of this belief are unknown. Cyprus had been under the joint authority of the Calif and the Emperor since the seventh century, but prior to the Arab invasion in the 650s nothing has survived to suggest a local cult on that island. As the first chapter suggested, what evidence there is of beliefs about Lazarus at this time depends upon pilgrim accounts which are silent on the subject of Lazarus' post resurrection career and make no mention of Cyprus. Indeed, when, in around 870, and shortly after the expulsion of the Arabs, the Frankish monk Bernard the Wise provided the first surviving evidence of the belief that Lazarus lived on as a bishop in the East, he placed him in Ephesus.[4]

[4] *The Itinerary of Bernard the Wise (AD 870),* Ch.16, trans. J.H. Bernard, PPTS, Vol.3 (London 1887-1897), p.9.

The first references to Lazarus' post-resurrection fate that connect him with Cyprus date from after his translation to Constantinople. They are found in two orations of Arethas composed in the opening years of the tenth century.[5] The first is a speech welcoming the arrival of Lazarus' remains into Constantinople, and the second describes a procession accompanying these relics to the Great Church of the city. They describe how the Emperor Leo VI had Lazarus' relics brought to Constantinople together with those of Mary (not specified as the Magdalen, as in subsequent Western tradition) and Martha. They reveal nothing about his post resurrection career other than that he survived for a further fifteen years and that his relics had been discovered in Cyprus.

The first reference to Lazarus as bishop in Cyprus is found in a later addition to John of Euboea's 774 homily on his resurrection. It records that "*an old man told (John) that in the Memoirs of Lazarus it is written that Lazarus became a bishop in the island of Cyprus*".[6] Christopher Walter believed that these memoirs, which no longer survive, were themselves fabricated in Constantinople in the first half of the tenth century in order to explain the provenance of Lazarus' newly acquired relics.[7] It would therefore seem that this history of Lazarus was a Constantinopolitan rather than a Cypriot creation. As Walter argued, the weightiest argument against a Cypriot origin for claims to Lazarus' episcopal status was his omission from that Church's defence of its autocephalous status when challenged by Antioch in the fifth century. Then the island's case rested upon the assertion that Barnabas had been their founding bishop. After Lazarus' relics were received in Constantinople this tradition was adapted so as to conform with Constantinopolitan belief and subsequently it was said that Lazarus was consecrated as bishop by Barnabas and Paul.[8] What the facts about Lazarus' translation to Constantinople do show was that this was an imperial project. Eastern iconography depicting Lazarus suggests why this might have been so.

Walter's interest in this subject was piqued by an image contained within the twelfth-century Paris Tetraevangelion showing Lazarus present at the meal with

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[5] R.H. J. Jenkins, B. Laourdas and C. A. Mango, "Nine Orations of Arethas from cod. *Marc. gr. 524*" in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XLVII, 1954, pp,1-40, pp. 20-25.
[6] Christopher Walter, "Lazarus a bishop" in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 27 (1969), 197-208, p.202.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

Simon the Leper found in the *Gospel of John ,* chapter 13.[9] In this image he is robed as a bishop of the Orthodox rite. Walter pointed out that images of the meal are extremely rare though references to Lazarus being present at it are common enough in patristic and later medieval writings.[10] The interpretation given to Lazarus' attendance in these texts is consistent with the iconography of the Tetraevangelion, for in them he is understood to represent the Church, acting as mediator between Jesus and his people.[11] Other Byzantine images in which Lazarus is also attired in episcopal garb include one, dating from before 964-5, in the New Church of Tokali in Cappadocia which shows Lazarus wearing the *omophorion*, the Eastern version of the bishop's pallium found in the West.[12] This also provides evidence that Lazarus was considered as a Cypriot bishop, as he was portrayed next to another bishop of that island, Spyridon, bishop of Trimithonte.[13] This Byzantine conception of Lazarus as an essentially ecclesiastical figure is reinforced in a later image of him dating probably from the third quarter of the twelfth century in the Cypriot church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio. Here he is surrounded by other Church Fathers, among whom are John Chrysostom and Basil.[14] Lazarus, a Cypriot bishop, was therefore re-imported to that island as a symbol of Constantinopolitan and, it would seem imperial, authority.

The re-imagining of Lazarus as a bishop helps to make sense of the part played in his veneration by Leo VI. That he was the object of imperial interest seems not in doubt. In addition to the evidence of Arethas' oration in which he described the procession commanded by Leo to honour Lazarus arrival in Constantinople, the Emperor was also responsible for the founding of a monastery in that city dedicated to the saint.[15] Its liturgy for the feast of his translation on May 4th refers to Lazarus as "*friend of Christ*".[16] As Arethas, in his oration welcoming the relics explained, the Emperor being Lazarus' friend must also be the friend of Christ.[17]

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[9] BN, *Parisinus graecus* 74.
[10] Walter, "Lazarus a bishop", p.198.
[11] For example: *"Lazarus discumbens cum Jesu", significat ecclesiam",* possibly Jerome, *In evangelorum Joannem,* PL Vol.30, col.583D.
[12] G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1934), p.419, p.544-8 and pl. 85.
[13] Walter, "Lazarus a bishop", p.203.
[14] Ibid., p.204.
[15] Jenkins etc.," Nine Orations of Arethas", p.7.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., p.5.

It is of course common for the apostles and other important figures from the New Testament to be represented as bishops.[18] The images at Tokali and Perachorio would seem to support the idea that Lazarus had been granted a kind of associate apostolic status by the church in Constantinople, eager as ever to be seen as the repository of such relics not having been one of the original apostolic patriarchates. What seems unusual is the appearance in the Tetraevangelion of Lazarus as a bishop within the context of a Gospel account. It was believed that the Church was founded on the day of Pentecost, following the ascension of Jesus, and so any representation of a bishop might well have been considered incorrect, as if Peter or James were so represented at the Last Supper. On the one hand this may suggest that Lazarus' status was fragile and needed shoring up with the trappings of Church authority, and that his status as a bishop was essential to his sanctity. On the other, it indicates that the identity of Lazarus was peculiarly malleable. Unlike other characters from the New Testament secure in their sanctity since antiquity, his person remained ill-defined and his ultimate fate was seen as an enigma. As the sixth-century pilgrim Theodosius said, "*no one knows about the second time he died*."[19] However once he had been clothed as a bishop he could become a saint. In adopting Bishop Lazarus, the Emperor could share in the authority of the founding fathers of the Church as well as reinforcing Byzantium's place in salvation history.

2.3 The donation of relics and the arrival of Lazarus in the West

Lazarus was a figure whose connection to imperial authority was established in Constantinople and the evidence analysed below suggests that the relics of Lazarus were used as a vehicle for the promotion of east-Frankish imperial authority. The location of the institutions possessing these relics and their relationships with imperial authority suggest that the promotors of this were the East-Frankish heirs of the Carolingian empire. This process by which spiritual authority was translated from East to West is best understood in the context of the tradition in which the donation of relics was seen as a marker of imperial prestige.[20]

[18] For apostles in art being distinguished by the wearing of a *pallium* see Roald Dijkstra, *The Apostles in Early Christian Art and Poetry* (Boston, 2016), p.297.
[19] See p.55, n.29.
[20] See above, n.3.

Even if its author's intent was satirical, the *Pélerinage* cited at the beginning of this chapter is a late example of the idea that the translation of relics from East to West was the physical manifestation of the translation of spiritual authority. A tide of relics had flowed from Palestine to Constantinople and by the tenth century the Byzantine capital had itself become the fountainhead of a spiritual authority underpinned by its unrivalled collection.[21] Relics imported from the East could result in the introduction of new saints, heretofore unknown in Germany. In her study of travellers from the West to Constantinople Krijnie Ciggaar highlights the case of Nicholas. "*Practically unknown in Germany*" the arrival of his relics resulted in the dedication to him of a monastery near Aachen and in the creation of eleventh-century *Vita* from Regensburg.[22] Lazarus did not receive such recognition, but the *Pélerinage* shows that, by the twelfth century, his relics were considered to be suitable for inclusion in accounts documenting this transfer of authority by means of relics. The *Pélerinage* is itself based on other older versions of Charlemagne's fictional journey to the East which, although they made no mention of Lazarus, nevertheless construct an image of Charlemagne as "*a pilgrim, founder of monasteries, and donator of relics*".[23] One such early account is the *Descriptio qualiter,* created in France in the late eleventh-century.[24] The *Descriptio* shares with the *Pélerinage* the belief that relics brought back from the East could reinforce imperial authority.[25] This belief can be understood as rooted in the late-antique ceremony of the *adventus* celebrating the arrival of relics into a city, itself a Christianised version of ceremonial entrances into cities by Roman emperors.[26] Orchestrated by imperial authorities, these served to reinforce the prestige of the city. Just as Constantinople could augment its authority by the adoption of these relics, so could Western religious centres increase theirs.

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[21] For the diplomatic use of relics by Constantinople see Holgar A. Klein, "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), 283-314.

[22] Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West & Byzantium 962-1204; Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1996), p.215.

[23] Latowsky, *Emperor of the World,* p.59 ff.

[24] *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karlos Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dionysium retulerit.* In *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhudert.* Ed. G. Rauschen (Leipzig, 1890).

[25] See Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople,* p.115 for relics as ambassadorial gifts.

[26] See Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), pp.64-65; and Kenneth G. Holum and Gary Vikan, "The Trier Ivory *Adventus* Ceremonial and the Relics of St. Stephen", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979), p.119.

The *Descriptio qualiter*'s author describes how Charlemagne brought relics of the Passion from Constantinople to Aachen and how these were then transferred to Saint-Denis near Paris by his descendant, Charles the Bald. The section dealing with Charlemagne records how the Emperor, having liberated the holy sites of Jerusalem, was offered these relics by Constantine the Great. But whereas in the section dealing with Charles the Bald these relics are referred to as coming directly from Jerusalem, in the encounter between Charlemagne and Constantine, after having been brought to Constantinople by Constantine's mother Helena, they are re-discovered in that city.[27] Anne Latowsky has suggested that this inconsistency indicates that the Charlemagne passages formed a "*rhetorical set-piece*", in which the text was adapted from other older material.[28] The compression of time through which the Frankish emperor became a contemporary of Constantine must have been apparent to many of the text's users. Charlemagne is portrayed as inheriting the role of defender of Christianity previously held by Constantine. In donating these relics to Charlemagne the latter assumes an imperial authority that was inextricably linked to authentic biblical Christianity.

Both the *Pélerinage* and the *Descriptio* can be seen as the product of a renewed interest in Charlemagne during a time of crusade (the *Descriptio* was frequently paired with the *Pseudo-Turpin*, telling the legend of Charlemagne's campaign to free the tomb of St James from the Moors in Spain).[29] However, both owe much to earlier versions of the voyage of Charlemagne to the East contemporary with the first evidence of altar dedications to Lazarus in German religious institutions. One of them is the *Translatio sanguinis Domini*, written at Reichenau around 925. According to the anonymous author, Charlemagne did not travel to Jerusalem but, at Pope Leo's urging, accepted gifts of relics from an envoy from the East .[30] This account reminds us that the donation of relics not only could be used to reinforce imperial authority, it also ensured that such authority would be validated by the Church, in this case by Leo.

[27] Latowsky, *Emperor of the World.* Charlemagne, p.90.
[28] Ibid., p.91.
[29] Latowsky, "Charlemagne as Pilgrim?, p.154
[30] See below, p.89 and n.49.

Latowsky believes that the theme of Charlemagne in the East was "*fundamentally concerned with the continuity of the Roman Empire and the establishment of Frankish authority*..." and that its development served "*the promotion of the German inheritance of the Roman Empire beginning in the tenth century*."[31] The period and location of the altar dedications below are consistent with an argument that suggests that these relic transmissions were a Saxon enterprise cloaked in Carolingian prestige. In resurrecting the imperial title in East Frankia, the Saxon Liudolfing dukes wished to assume the mantel of Carolingian authority. Their Saxon homelands had been on the periphery of empire and Otto I would be the first not of Carolingian blood to claim that title. The adoption of an imagined Carolingian practice of the donation of relics would have been seen as a way to overcome this handicap. Therefore donations of such relics in the tenth century would have been understood as emulating the great Emperor. Moreover, the Ottonian re-imagining of empire stretched back beyond their state's Carolingian origins to Roman antecedents. Otto I and his son returned to the foundation stones of that authority embarking on a project of *renovatio imperii Romanorum.*[32] Relations with Byzantium formed a cornerstone of this policy and Otto fostered close relations with Constantine VII Porphryogenitus. Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg recorded in his *Chronicle* that the Byzantines twice brought Otto gifts. Otto was successful in marrying his son, Otto II, to the Byzantine princess Theophanu (who, according to some historians, might have been responsible for the presence of Lazarus' skull at Andlau in Lorraine).[33] Thietmar's account of donations of relics by a Byzantine emperor to the new imperial dynasty in Germany should be understood as evidence that the Ottonians were the legitimate heirs of the Roman *imperium*. In donating relics, Byzantium was seen to be passing the baton of empire on to the Saxon West.

The use of Lazarus' relics to promote imperial prestige was an east-Frankish project. Yet a second tenth-century account of Charlemagne, the *Chronicle* of Benedict of Mount Soracte, which appeared first in around 968, suggests that memories of Charlemagne as a donor of relics might not always have been intended to promote

[31] Latowsky, *Emperor of the World...,* p.4.
[32] See Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians as kings and emperors", pp.254 ff.
[33] See below p.88.

Saxon imperial claims. [34] Unlike the *Translatio* of Reichenau, Benedict makes pointed reference to contemporary events in a way suggesting that the prestige of Carolingian connections with the East assumed by his Saxon successors was to be regretted. Benedict acknowledged the Saxon seizure of the Carolingian imperium ending his *Chronicle* with a lament addressed to Rome: "*Look, leonine city! A short time ago you were captured by, indeed relinquished to a king of the Saxons."* (Otto II had just been crowned co-emperor with his father Otto I in Rome by the pope in 967).[35] This hostility may suggest that, in asserting Charlemagne's role in the transfer of Christian prestige from East to West, Benedict's motives may not have been those of the Saxon emperors.

2.4 Lazarus in Germany

It is therefore likely that the discovery of Lazarus' relics in Byzantium at the beginning of the tenth century, combined with a tradition of donations of relics acquired in the East can explain their presence in Germany. How they in fact got there is unclear. The evidence is meagre and depends upon the work of historians who have argued for a German origin for the cult of Lazarus in Burgundy. Their attention was focused on a relic, a complete skull, still visible in the abbey church of Saints Peter and Paul at Andlau in Alsace. The belief that this was the skull of Lazarus cannot be dated to before a fifteenth-century breviary from Strasbourg.[36] The breviary contains an account of how the Carolingian empress Richardis, following the death by strangling of emperor Charles the Fat, dedicated the rest of her life to penitence, prayer and pious works at her monastery of Andlau. According to the breviary, Richardis also undertook pilgrimages to Rome and the East, where she allegedly accumulated a number of relics, including those of Lazarus which she received from Pope Leo VI: "*inter que pretiosa pignora beatum Lazarum, apud*

[34] *Il Chronicon di Benedetto, monaco di Santo Andrea al Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. G. Zucchetti (Rome, 1920).

[35] "*Ve civitas Leoniana! dudum capta fuistis, modo vero a Saxonicum rege relicta*." *Chronicon.,* 186, trans. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World...,* p.63.

[36] J. Rietsch, *Die Nachevangelischen Geschike der Bethanischen Geschwister und die Lazarusreliquien zu Andlau*, p.44. Rietsch does not reference this breviary, but Racha Kirakosian refers to a 1480 insertion in the *Brevium Argentinense*, Strasbourg, Bibliothéque du Grand Séminaire, Ms 13, S. 234f, describing the cult of Richardis and Lazarus in Andlau, which she believes was created there. See "Wie eine Legende Geschichte macht: Das Gottesurteil der heiligen Richgard im spätmittelalterichen Straßburg" in *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt: Literaturbetrieb in spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*, eds. S. Mossman, N. Palmer and F. Heinzer (Berlin-Boston, 2012), p.263, n.145.

Ciprum quondam episcopum, quem Dominus suscitavit a mortuis".[37] On the strength of this, Joseph Rietsch published an article in 1902 which linked the transmission of the cult to Richardis. To his story qualified credence was given by later French historians, Maurice Chaume and Monique Greffier.[38] Their arguments depend upon whether Richardis was still alive at a date when the relics of Lazarus were said to be in Constantinople, following their translation there from Cyprus in 898. Chaume believed that she could have survived to 907, though as Greffier noted P. Van den Gheyn in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* 18 places her death as early as 894, too early to have received relics from the hands of Leo VI.[39] In his study of the cult of Lazarus at Autun, Bernard de Vrégille, accepted the possibility that "*le culte à Autun et à Avallon avait une commune origine à cherche du côte l'Alsace, et parmi les parents de l'impératrice Richarde, bienfaitrice d'Andlau*".[40] However, all these arguments seem to ignore the whole story's intrinsic improbability. It seems very unlikely that Leo, having only a few years earlier received the relics of Lazarus with great pomp, and having gone to the trouble of founding a monastery dedicated to the saint, would hand over the head to a visiting Carolingian widow, though a smaller relic gift, possibly a piece of skull, rather than the entire one still on display, might have been secured by her.

Another pathway of transmission, and one with a more direct Ottonian relevance, is via Theophanu. Writing of the cult of Mary Magdalen in Burgundy, Victor Saxer speculated that she had been responsible for transmitting the cult from Lower Saxony to Vézelay via Verdun.[41] This suggestion was taken up by Linda Seidel in her study of the sculpture in the church of Saint-Lazare, Autun.[42] Seidel discussed the possibility that the Greek wife of Otto II had brought the relics of Lazarus to Quedlingburg during the decade following 972. Were this to be the case, that would place the arrival of the Lazarus relics in Germany nearly a century after Richardis and at about the same time as Saxer and others believed the relics of Lazarus were

[37] Ibid., p.44. From the fifteenth century the ruling house of Andlau adopted the name of Lazarus, which may be an indication of an earlier belief in the identity of these relics.
[38] Chaume, "La translation de restes de saint Lazare à Autun", pp. 94-8; and Monique Greffier "L'introduction du culte de Saint Lazare à Autun" *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne des Lettres, Sciences, et Arts* 50 (nouv.sér.) (1964-65).
[39] Greffier "L'introduction du culte", p.344.
[40] de Vrégille, "Saint-Lazare d'Autun ou la Madeleine de Vézelay?", p.36, n.3.
[41] "*Serait-il dès lors impossible qu'en définitive la dévotion magdalénien du x^e siècle fût venue de Byzance avec la fille de Romain II...?* ", *Le culte de la Madeleine en Occident*...", p.358.
[42] *Legends in Limestone,* p.56.

translated to Autun by its bishop Gérard.[43] Theophanu's marriage to Otto II was part of the Ottonian project of *renovatio*, and such a donation would certainly have been appropriate. However, as Rosamond McKitterick has pointed out, we know nothing with certainty about Theophanu's "*undocumented and untraceable dowry*."[44]

Although there is little or no direct evidence of the veneration of Lazarus having been transmitted from the East, a curious story from Moyenmoutier in the Vosges (and near Andlau) provides evidence for the contemporary belief that such a transmission had taken place. The story forms a part of the life of Saint Hidulf, the eighth-century founding saint of the abbey of Moyenmoutier, believed by its editor to date from the first half of the eleventh century.[45] In it, the author tells the story of Fortunatus, archbishop of Grado, who arrives at the court of Charlemagne with envoys of the Greek emperor Nicephorus to make peace between the Greeks and the Franks in 803 and is created abbot of Moyenmoutier. During his time the monastery is in reciept of many prestigious relics including that of the "*preciosorum martyrum Stephani, Lazari quatriduani sepulti, Georgii atque Pancratii, cum plurimis quae nunc longum videtur prosequi.*"[46] This passage is immediately followed by the curious story of King Lazarus and his daughter Asa who arrive out of the East out a desire to see the holy places in the West: ' *Hii piae devocionis studio deserentes propria, expetivere peregrina, quatinus in urbe Romulea mererentur attingere apostolorum limina, et insuper adirent memorias sanctorum, quos trifida venerabatur Gallia*", and "*satisfacerent religiosae curiositati*" decided to settle at Moyenmoutier to live out the rest of their pious lives as hermits.[47] The monastery, destroyed by the Magyars around 915, was refounded by a monk from Gorze, Adalbert, who under the patronage of the duke of Upper Lotharingia, Frederick I, began the construction of the new church in 960. The probable author of the *Life of Hidulf*, Humbert de Moyenmoutier ended up a cardinal and an intransigent opponent of attempts at reconciliation with the Eastern Rite. His *Life* displays an interest in the interplay of church and state politics as well as a desire

[43] Saxer, "Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay", p.5.
[44] "Ottonian intellectual culture in the tenth century and the role of Theophanu", *Early Medieval Europe* 2.1 (1993), 53-74, p.53.
[45] *Liber de Sancti Hidulfi,* ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 4, (Hannover, 1891), pp.86-92. p.86.
[46] Ibid*.,* p.88.
[47] Ibid.

to locate Lotharingia as a focal point of Christian prestige.[48] The story of the mysterious King Lazarus and his daughter seems to indicate that in Lotharingia there was an association of royal authority from the East with that name. It resonates with the earlier account of Charlemagne in the East, the Reichenau *Translatio Sanguinis Domini* referred to above.[49] In it the abbey acquired from Charlemagne drops of Jesus' blood spilt at the Passion. The Emperor had been given this relic in return for a treaty of friendship with the prefect of Jerusalem, Azan. Like King Lazarus, Azan visits the West, but rather than being motivated by a the non-specific desire to see its holy places, he is attracted by the virtue and miracles of Charlemagne himself. What both this story and that of King Lazarus and his daughter Asa have in common, apart from their curious and suggestive names, is the idea that the West could become the new centre of authentic spiritual authority.

The donation of relics as a means to the end of imperial renovation was assisted by the German empire's retention of control of the Church within its territories, achieved by its Carolingian predecessors and lost in west Frankia.[50] Some of this depended upon personal connections. Otto II's brother Brun was both archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lotharingia. However a programme of church and in particular monastic renewal was begun well before imperial status was explicitly asserted. [51] Immediately after having been crowned in 936 in Aachen, Otto I went to the nunnery founded by his mother Matilda in the royal centre of Quedlingburg which received a royal endowment. In the following year the monastery of St Maurice at Magdeburg was founded under his patronage. Eckhard Müller-Mertens sees this, together with the distribution of relics acquired from fellow kings, as serving to cement relations with Lotharingia, Burgundy, and west Frankia and an implicit assertion of imperial kingship.[52]

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[48] Brett Whalen, "Rethinking the Schism of 1054: Authority, Heresy and the Latin Rite", *Traditio* Vol. 62 (2007), 1-24, p.6, and Margit Dischner, *Humbert von Silva Candida: Werk un Wirkung des lothringischen Reformmönches* (Neuried, 1996), pp.7-14.

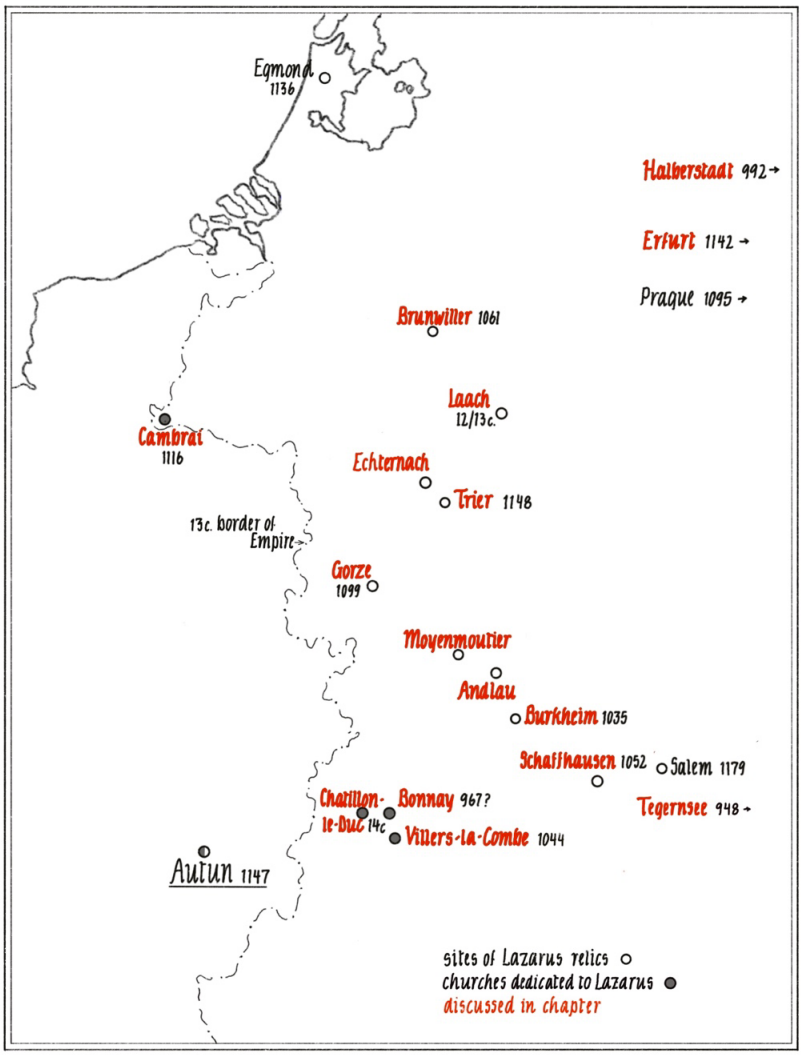
[49] *Translatio Sanguinis Domini,* Ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 4, (Hannover, 1891), pp.445-449.

[50] Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians as kings and emperors", p.253. Also see Timothy Reuter, "The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33.3, 347-374, who argued for an informal control of Church by the emperor which was different in degree rather than kind from that which operated elsewhere in Europe.

[51] Many of which had fallen into disrepair in under later Carolingians. See Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy,* 980-1198 (Ithaca-London, 1987), pp.129 ff.

[52] Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians as kings and emperors", p.245.

The assertion of royal control accelerated under Henry II at the start of the eleventh century. Court chaplains were raised to the episcopacy and land was granted to what were now regarded as imperial churches and monasteries. This process was used to underpin control of Lotharingia where Henry was to campaign repeatedly. Central interference was not confined to matters of personnel and property. Henry was active in imposing the monastic reform emanating from Gorze, near Metz, and, as well as in episcopal centres, it is in these reformed monasteries that one can find relics of Lazarus. [53]



Lazarus relics and churches on the border of East and West Frankia

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[53] Ibid., pp. 263-264.
[54] Other locations shown not discussed in the text:

2.5 Relics of Lazarus mentioned in altar dedications

Beginning in the first half of the tenth century, for the most part these altar dedications pre-date the translation of Lazarus' relics into Saint-Lazare in the mid-twelfth century . They fall into two categories. The first, and earliest, are all relics which remember the occasion of Jesus' resurrection of Lazarus. They are relics of the tomb or the shroud in which Lazarus was wrapped. Relics of acknowledged saints could indeed be of this kind. However, in the altar dedications discussed below these items form part of a palette of relics which are best understood as an attempt to recreate the topography of the Holy Land. The second category comprises those that purport to be relics of his body. These depositions, I would argue, are evidence of an alteration in the nature of the veneration of Lazarus. At the very least they suggest a recognition of his post-resurrection career. It is not easy to understand how the transition between these two interpretations of his relics took place, but I shall suggest that one clue to understanding this process is the association of these relics with those of the Cross, the veneration of which became in the course of time associated with the celebration of Ottonian imperial authority.[55]

All the relics discussed below are found in institutions connected either to the person of the emperor or to persons of imperial consequence and it is therefore worth examining these connections.[56] Although not all, most are in the borderlands of empire and it may be that this was the product of the donation of relics to shore up control of the periphery as put forward by Müller-Mertens.[57] They are often connected with each other. Where the evidence consists of altar dedications, the

- Prague 1095: in *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum/Monachi Sazavensis continuato* a.932-1162: a reference to relics of St Lazarus 1095 (also of St Stephen St George St Blaise and St Pancras and many others), MGH SS.9, s.154.
- Egmond 1136: in *Notae Egmondane*: a reference to a relic of the tomb of Lazarus in St Adelbert Abbey, tenth century foundation, rebuilt by Countess Petronilla of Saxony 1121. (also of the Samaritan woman), MGH SS. 15.2, s.961.
- Salem 1179 in *Historia Brevis Monasterii Salemitani* Ms of 1215. (also of Stephen and Blaise), MGH SS.24, s.644; a reference to the consecration of an altar containing a relic of place where Martha appealled to Christ on behalf of Lazarus.

[55] See below Ch.2.7.
[56] Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. 3 (9th Edition, Berlin, 1958) contains what is still the most detailed account, and especially, Bk.6, Ch.6, pp.343-90 on monastic reform.
[57] See p.90 and n.52.

relics of Lazarus were deposed in the company of a great many other saints, notably Stephen. Proximity to Stephen might suggest that, like Stephen, Lazarus was believed by those who deposed his relics to have occupied a prominent role in the early Church. Moreover, as will be argued in the following chapter, like Stephen's martyrdom, the resurrection of Lazarus was regarded as a pivotal point in salvation history, marking the moment when those Jews who accepted the status of Jesus and those who remained 'obstinate' went their separate ways.

2.6 The relics of Lazarus and sacred topography

Early evidence of relic depositions connected with Lazarus in Germany suggest they were topographical, bringing the Holy Land to the West. This was not simply a mimetic process but served to create as well as recreate a Holy Land. [58] The earliest relics of his tomb in Germany for which records exist are at the imperial monastery of Tergernsee in Bavaria, founded by monks from Saint Gall in the mid-eighth century. Under Charlemagne it became a royal monastery, forming part of a system of imperial patronage with the aim of enforcing religious conformity and control, a system which later Carolingians were unable to emulate.[59] Tegernsee, along with many other such institutions declined under the later Carolingians.[60] It was destroyed by fire in 970, an event which gave Otto II the opportunity to emulate his distinguished predecessor by re-founding it as an imperial monastery eight years later. In the year before his death in 983 and in order to promote the prestige of his new foundation, Otto appointed the Bavarian nobleman Gosbert as abbot. Among Gosbert's patrons were Otto's successor Henry II and Otto I's widow, Adelheid of Burgundy.[61]

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[58] See Julia Smith, "Relics; an Evolving Tradition in Latin Christianity" in *Saints and Sacred Matter: the Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond* (Washington, 2015), pp.41-60, p.58, for how relics were used to shape understanding sacred landscapes.

[59] See Jenifer R. Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge, 2015), esp. p.176 for the process by which this happened. See also J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), p.183 and C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Essex, 1984), p.70.

[60] Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst, "Tegernsee, Benediktinerabtei St.Quirinus", *Marburger Repertorium zur Übersetzungsliteratur im deutschen Frühhumanismus*, https://www.mrfh.de/2590, accessed 28.3.22.

[61] V. Redlich, "Gozbert" in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 6 (1964), S. 692 f. [Online-Version]; URL: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd100943292.html#ndbcontent, accessed 28.3.2022. See Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* Deutschlands, Vol.3, pp.382-83.

An eleventh-century document records that, on the occasion of Tegernsee's re-founding, relics which included a portion of the tomb of Lazarus were deposited at the tomb of Saint Quirinus of Rome in the abbatial church. (Quirinus was the original patron of the monastery whose cult was celebrated in Alsace, Cologne and Lotharingia.[62]) The record groups the relics with other relics of sacred topography: "*De ostio templi Domini. De terra ubi sancta Maria Christum genuit. De sepulcro sancti Lazari. De sepulchro domini.*"[63] In this later eleventh-century record Lazarus is referred to as a saint, yet the relic of his tomb recorded here suggests it was at first valued because of the contribution he could make towards recreating the landscape of the Holy Land in a Bavarian monastery, a landscape which included earth from where Mary gave birth together with a portion of Jesus' tomb. The relic of Lazarus' tomb together with these other items indicated a desire to associate this imperial and ecclesiastical institution with the East. They cannot be seen as evidence of any cult of Lazarus. This dedication contrasts with a twelfth-century note from the same monastery cataloguing the relic acquisitions of abbot Aribo of Neuburg-Falkenstein (1155-1186). It records the relic of the "*corpore sancti Lazari*" very near the top of a long list, preceded by that of a relic of John the Baptist and followed by Saint Peter.[64] As in the eleventh-century record of the earlier deposition, Lazarus was referred to as 'saint'.

As discussed in the introduction of this study, the presence or absence of the appellation 'saint' is not of itself conclusive evidence of a change in the way Lazarus was regarded. However, I would argue that the absence when combined with a reference to a topographical relic suggests that in such a case, as with the pilgrim accounts discussed in the previous chapter, the miracle rather than the man is being venerated. Such is the case with the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, an earlier document recording the deposition of portions of Lazarus' tomb at Halberstadt which omits his honorific. [65] The *Gesta* were begun in the tenth

[62] Believed to have been a martyred Roman Tribune. See Josef Theodor Rath, "Quirinus of Neuss" in BBKL Vol.7 (1994), cols. 1130–1131.
[63] *Cod Tegerns.* 1101*, Codex Monacensis Lat. nr.* 19101, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover, 1888), MGH SS 15, 2, p.1067.
[64] *Notae Tegernseenses, Cod. Tegerns.* 840, *Codex Monacensis Lat. nr.* 18840, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1888), MGH SS 15, 2, p.1067.
[65] Ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH, SS 23, pp.73-123, Late tenth- early thirteenth-century. The earliest parts were composed during the pontificate of bishop Hildeward mentioned above, but how much of the section was subject to later interpolation is unknown. See "*Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium"* in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G Dunphy, C. Bratu, (2016) Consulted online: 30.04.20.

century. Although the events it recorded took place after the re-foundation of Tegernsee, it is likely that the record of the Halberstadt depositions predates Tegernsee and this might account for the omission of 'saint'.

Unlike Bavarian Tegernsee, Halberstadt is in the Ottonian Saxon heartlands. Also unlike Tergernsee, this early reference to Lazarus relics is not within a monastic context. The *Gesta* record that in the year 992 bishop Hildeward consecrated the city's cathedral. Halberstadt cathedral was originally a Carolingian creation. The original building collapsed in 964 just before the start of Hildeward's episcopacy and a new cathedral was completed under the patronage of the Ottonian emperors. Hildeward had been promoted to the episcopacy by Otto I's lieutenant, Herman Billung and this appointment was evidently controversial, for it was only confirmed by Otto following negotiations in which Hildeward agreed to the establishment of the Archdiocese of Magdeburg. For the rest of the century Halberstadt found itself increasingly in competition with Magdeburg as a centre of Ottonian power.[66]

It would seem that, having made this concession, the consecration of the cathedral was exploited to the full as an occasion to demonstrate the prestige of Halberstadt and its imperial connections with a gathering embodying the intertwining of royal and ecclesiastical authority. Among the eleven bishops present were the Saxon archbishops of Magdeburg and Hamburg as well as the bishops of Worms and Paderborn. Also present were Adelaide, daughter of emperor Otto II and Theophanu and later abbess of Quedlinburg, and Matilda, who was then in charge of that abbey. Under an altar consecrated to "*sancti Stephani antiquitus reclusus*" (Stephen the Sabaite?) Hildeward deposed a relic of the tomb of Lazarus. Again, as in the case of Tegernsee, this formed part of a group of relics recreating a sacred topography: "*de Calvario loco, de lapide in Iordane invento, de monte Olyveti, de monumento Lazari* ".[67] These were accompanied by relics of the body of Stephen and, among others, George, Blaise and Nazarius, Autun's patron before the adoption of Lazarus.

[66] Thietmar of Merseburg, *Ottonian Germany, the Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, ed. D. Warner (Manchester and New York, 2001), p.106.
[67] *Gesta Episcoporum Halberstadensium,* ed. L. Weiland (Hannover, 1874), MGH, SS 23, p. 88. Weiland notes sections taken from the Chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg.

In the next century two monasteries with strong imperial connections record the deposition of relics of Lazarus' tomb. The abbey of Echternach, founded by the Northumbrian Willibrord in the seventh century and an imperial monastery under Charlemagne, was by the tenth century under the control of a series of lay abbots from the houses of Lotharingia and Luxembourg. In 973 it was refounded as a Benedictine house by order of Otto I.[68] A new basilica was completed in 1031 under the auspices of Poppo, archbishop of Trier.[69] The first abbot of the new Benedictine foundation, Ravanger, established a close connection between it and his previous abbey Saint Maximin of Trier.[70] A sixteenth-century note of the dedication of the new church listed what had been deposited at the high altar including a series of topographical relics: "*de sepulchro Domini...de sepulchro Lazari suscitati; de loco in quo Dominus ascendit in celum...de loco assumptionis Marie in celum; de lapide, in quo sedit Dominus...de Calvarie loco...*".[71] It would seem clear that Lazarus' tomb was part of a repertoire of relics that could establish a relationship between the possessor and the charisma of the Holy Land.

The second account of eleventh-century monastic relic deposition is in the *Notae Breves Alsaticae; Nota Strasburgensis.*[72] In this record of the same century is mentioned the deposition of a relic of the shroud of Lazarus (*sudario Lazari*) within the altar at Burkheim on the occasion of its church's dedication to saints Mary and Peter in 1035. The altar also contained the relics of saints Stephen, Pancras and George. Although it was not a topographical relic as would be those of his tomb, the shroud might not necessarily be interpreted as evidence of a cult of Lazarus as opposed to a relic of the miracle performed by Jesus. The monastery of Burkheim had been taken from Count Guntram (the Rich) by Otto I in 952 and transferred to the new monastery founded by Otto in 947 under the rule of Eberhard of Strasbourg at Einsiedeln in the Schwyz. The dedication of the church in 1035 was

[68] See Camillus Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter* (Luxemburg, 1929), esp. pp. 209-234 for a general history of the refoundation of Echternach .
[69] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* Deutschlands, Vol.3, p.370; 502; 502, nn.1-2.
[70] See Michel Parrisse, "Noblesse et monastères en Lotharingie du IX^{e} au XI^{2} siècle" in *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, eds. R. Kottje and H. Maurer (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp.167-196 for a discussion of the role of the nobility in the reform of Lotharingian monasteries during this period. Especially pp.186-187 for Otto I for his support of reform at Echternach and Gorze.
[71] *Notitiae dedicationum ecclesiae Epternacensis*, ed. N.de Werveke, (Leipzig, 1934), MGH SS 30.2, pp. 770-771.
[72] Ed. G. Waitz, (Hannover, 1881), MGH SS.13, p.46.

conducted by bishop William of Strasbourg under the patronage of archbishop Bertold of Besançon.[73] Besançon was also a centre of Lazarus dedications as will be shown below.[74]

A twelfth-century text, although not recording the deposition of a relic, makes evident the use of Lazarus in the recreation of the Holy Land. A monastery dedicated to Lazarus was founded by bishop Burchard of Cambrai at the foot of the Mont-des-Bœufs around 1116 shortly after Henry II granted the bishops authority over the former county of Cambrai.[75] In the monk Gaugericus' life of Burchard's predecessor Manasses of Soissons a comparison was made between Bethany and Cambrai. The author wrote that, going to the mountain outside Cambrai on Palm Sunday,[76] the faithful would find that: "*In latere autem predicti montis, quasi in Bethania, aecclesia sancti Lazari habetur, iuxta quam habitant leprosi.*"[77] Although the intention here is made more explicit than in previous examples, possibly in consequence of the First Crusade, the sentiment is of a piece with those expressed in the relic depositions.[78]

2.7 Relics of Lazarus and the Holy Cross

The above relics, of his tomb and shroud, are commemorations of Lazarus' resurrection. The Hildesheim *Bernward Gospels* give us a clue as to why this miracle may have had an especial resonance in the Ottonian church. These Gospels, commissioned in the early years of the eleventh century, are a striking illustration of Ottonian interest in Lazarus and one that may serve to explain some of the thinking behind it. Bishop Bernward, descended from the counts of Saxony and related to the Saxon emperors was appointed to the bishopric of Hildesheim by Theophanu acting as regent to her son, Otto III. Like Hildeward in Halberstadt half a century earlier, Bernward was an energetic promoter of Hildesheim, then a centre of Saxon imperial authority. Bernward was also an enthusiastic supporter of the Ottonian policy of *renovatio imperii Romanorum*, an enthusiasm which he

[73] Ibid.
[74] See p.103.
[75] André le Glay, *Histoire ecclésiastique du Diocèse de Cambrai* (Lille, 1849), p.258.
[76] It or its eve were celebrated as feast days of Lazarus both in the East and West. Bibl. Sanct., Vol. 7, cols. 1139-40.
[77] *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium,* ed. C. Bethmann (Hannover, 1846), MGH SS 7, p.501.
[78] Manasses was appointed bishop of Cambrai by Urban II in 1095.

expressed in the renovation of Hildesheim's cathedral. His pupil Otto III reciprocated Bernward's enthusiasm with a donation of a relic of the Holy Cross, for which Bernward built a chapel in 996. His *Gospels* were commissioned to mark the foundation in 1010 of the monastery church of Saint Michael in Hildesheim, a church which, as Bernhard Gallistl has remarked, "*served as a memorial for the imperial house*".[79] The choice of the subject matter of their celebrated illuminations reflects the importance placed on the glorification of Jesus' divine nature by the Ottonian church, and in particular with reference to the resurrection of Lazarus. In her study of the *Gospels* Jennifer Kingsley argued that "*it is surely no accident that the only Christological miracle depicted... is the Raising of Lazarus*."[80] Accordingly, Kingsley, likens the prominence given to this miracle in the *Gospels* to Carolingian and Ottonian depictions of the Transfiguration, in which Jesus' divinity is revealed to the apostles. She argued that the Christological significance of this image of the Raising of Lazarus is underscored by its companion on the facing page, depicting Jesus' crucifixion. Eighth-century Carolingian concern with Christology was in great part the product of disputes over the nature of Jesus in which the Frankish church saw itself as the defender of orthodoxy. However, whereas Kingsley sees this later Ottonian codex as evidence of "*how early and medieval Christians articulated their hopes for salvation*"[81], the argument can be developed and serve to further a political understanding of the veneration of Lazarus in Germany.

In order to do so one should consider how Jesus was depicted conventionally in representations of the Lazarus miracle. Mosche Barasch argues that since Antiquity Jesus' raised hand gesture strongly resembled that of the emperor's *adlocutio*, conveying a message of military command.[82] Barasch believed the Ottonians to have consciously adopted the iconography of command present in these images. This image, Barasch argued, was a reflection of "*the medieval belief that the Christian ruler is the Christominetes, the imitator... of Christ*."[83] This gesture of command is absent from the Hildesheim illustration where, as Kingsley remarks,

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[79] "Bernward of Hildesheim: a case of self-planned sainthood?" in *The Invention of Saintliness*, ed. A.B. Mulder-Bakker (London-New York, 2002), pp.145-162, p.152.
[80] Jennifer Kingsley, *The Bernward Gospels: Art, Memory, and the Episcopate in Medieval Germany* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2014), p.11.
[81] Ibid., p.77.
[82] *The Language of Art: Studies in Interpretation* (New York-London, 1997), p.228.
[83] Barasch gives the example of a manuscript illumination produced in Reichenau in 973 showing Otto II seated on his throne adopting this gesture. *The Language of Art,* p.234.

the Jesus of the Lazarus resurrection image is "*unresponsive" and "weightless*" in an attitude recalling that other important Christological event, the Transfiguration.[84] Nonetheless, the Ottonian adoption of the gesture of *adlocutio* present in late-antique images of the raising of Lazarus is the key to understanding why the miracle of his resurrection is juxtaposed with the Crucifixion. As Barasch has argued, the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection had become understood as an example of Jesus' imperial authority.[85] By the eleventh century the cross was seen as an imperial relic and by the twelfth had become associated with Charlemagne and his victorious campaigns.[86] The "*victoriosissima crux*" had been taken up with enthusiasm by the Ottonians as a means by which they associated themselves with the divine authority of Jesus. Jesus the Good Shepherd of late Antiquity became Jesus crucified and, in an inversion of its original humiliating significance, the icon of imperial power. The pairing in the Bernward *Gospels* attaches the raising of Lazarus to this transformation and helps in understanding the significance attached to his relics when placed in proximity to those of the Cross, or in altars dedicated to it.

The Allerheiligen abbey of Schaffhausen demonstrated how the connection between the crucifixion and Lazarus could be made through the disposition of relics in altar dedications. At the dedication of its abbatial church of S. Salvatore in 1064 relics of Lazarus (and his sister Martha) were deposed at the altar of the Holy Cross.[87] Alongside were also relics of the Cross, as well as saints Stephen, Pancras, Blaise and others. These relics of Lazarus are of especial interest as the reference made is "*de corporibus Lazari...".* It is, therefore, an early German example of the veneration of Lazarus the man, rather than the miracle. As with the institutions referred to above the abbey would have been of interest to the emperor for it had been the object of a struggle for control between a lay supporter of Henry III and the papacy. Allerheiligen had been founded by Eberhard I of Nellenburg, a

[84] Kingsley, *The Bernward Gospels*, p.77.
[85] Barasch, "Das Bild des Unsichtbaren", p.8.
[86] Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France*, (Ithaca-London, 1995), pp.169-71.
[87] *Notae S. Salvatoris Scafusensis*, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover, 1881), MGH SS 13, p.722. The text refers to 1064 as being the eighth year of Henry IV's reign. Henry was king of Germany from 1054, but only crowned king of Italy and Burgundy two years later.

supporter of Henry III and through Eberhard's patronage the church was completed in 1064.[88]

This association of relics of Lazarus with the Holy Cross is also found at the monastery of Brunwiller. This abbey was founded in 1024 by Ezzo, the count palatine of Lotharingia and his wife, Matilda, a daughter of Emperor Otto II and Theophanu. Here a sixteenth-century document records the deposition in 1061 of a relic of Lazarus' tomb at an altar dedicated to the Trinity, Peter and Andrew, and the "*victoriosissime crucis domini nostri Iesu Christi*" .[89]

Whether the association of Lazarus' resurrection with the Holy Cross lent to it sufficient additional prestige to provoke a reassessment of Lazarus himself as a saint remains a matter for speculation. Nonetheless, by the end of the eleventh century instances of relics of his tomb and shroud were joined by those of his body. Such relics are found in association with the Holy Cross at the monastery of Gorze, near Metz. Founded in 749, the abbey declined in the ninth century and was reformed by John of Gorze, who in 953 was sent on embassy to Córdoba by Otto I. The reformed practices of Gorze spread to Trier and then further afield where connections were established with Einsiedlen and other abbeys in Barvaria. Here in 1099 an "*altare sancte Crucis consecratum est com maxima cleri plebisque devotione a venerabili episcopo Mettensi domno Poppone in honorem eiusdem victoriosissime Crucis et beati Gorgonii martyris* ."[90] At the altar was deposited a tooth of Lazarus as well as relics of Mary Magdalen, George, Pancras, oil from the tomb of Saint Nicholas and others.

Another tooth was recorded as being at nearby Trier. Congruences in the Gorze and Trier relic collections suggest how interest in the relics of Lazarus may have spread among connected institutions. The monastery of Saint Eucharius of Trier was founded on the site of the tomb of Eucharius, first bishop of Trier, also reputed to be one of the 72 disciples of Jesus. Among the miracles ascribed to him was a

[88] Ekkart Sauser, "Eberhard Graf von Nellenburg", BBKL, Vol.23, cols.284-285.
[89] *Notitiae Dedicationes Brunwilarenses,* ed. A. Hofmeister (Leipzig, 1934), MGH SS 30.2, p. 776. Now Brouwiller in the suburbs of Cologne.
[90] *Notae Gorziensis*, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover, 1888) MGH SS 15,2, pp.975-6. From an ms. not older than the eighteenth century, but believed to be a copy of a twelfth century original. Saint Gorgonius' relics were brought to Gorze from Rome by its founding bishop, Chrodegang of Metz.

resurrection from the dead. In the 970s it adopted the Benedictine rule in conformity with Gorze. In 1127 building works occasioned the discovery of what were believed to be the relics of the apostle Matthias. The new church was dedicated to Eucharius and Matthias in 1148 by Eugene III with Bernard of Clairvaux in attendance. It subsequently became a major centre for pilgrimage. A thirteenth-century note of the dedication of the new church recorded that deposed at the high altar were the tooth of Lazarus mentioned above and a relic of his tomb.[91] The altar also contained relics of Pancras and Blaise. Thirty years later at the dedication of the nearby chapel of Saint Michael in Trier an altar was mentioned as containing "*de sepulchro Domini; reliquias Lazari amici Domini.* "[92] Also within the diocese of Trier, a notice of the dedication of the high altar of the monastery church of Laach dating from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries recorded that it contained a relic of the tomb of Lazarus, as well as relics of Mary Magdalen and others. Laach was founded in 1093 by the count palatine Henry II of Laach, a prominent member of the imperial party in the investiture controversy. Initially a priory of Affligem Abbey, it became in independent house in 1127 and it seems likely that this record dates from then.[93]

Evidence of the veneration of Lazarus in Germany does not reveal a single, spectacular incident of imperial donation of relics. Instead it points to a scattering of relics distributed over a wide area, principally in the western portion of the German empire. In many though not all cases the churches and monasteries which held these relics were the object of imperial patronage. This distribution suggests a process by which Lazarus becomes associated both with early church leadership and prestige in a number of institutions with imperial connections. This evidence consists principally of monasteries located for the most part along the Rhine valley (with a couple of outliers in the Alps and two in the Ottonian heart lands of lower Saxony). The location of the institutions in receipt of Lazarus' relics gives a clue to the considerations that underpinned this activity. Relics of Lazarus within the Carolingian successor states are found principally in those regions which had been Frankish heartlands but were now borderlands. Lotharingia, the middle kingdom

[91] *Notae dedicationum S. Eucharii Treverensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1888), MGH SS 15.2, p. 1278.
[92] *Dedicatio Capellae S. Michaelis Treverensis*, ed. F. Baethgen (Leipzig, 1934), MGH SS 30.2, p.780
[93] *Dedicationes Monasterii Lacensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1888), MGH SS 15, 2, p.970.

separating the east and west Frankish successor states created at the treaty of Verdun in 843, had become by the tenth century disputed territory between west and east Frankia. In tenth and eleventh century Germany a policy of establishing Saxon imperial credentials to match those of Charlemagne and cementing control over territories bordering on West Frankia can in part serve as an explanation for the distribution of relics creating a link with the East. If the Ottonians wished to emulate the Charlemagne portrayed in the *Translatio Sanguinis* Domini, the donation to monastic houses of relics received, or believed to have been received, from the East could well have formed a part of that process. The evidence from Trier and Gorze suggests how geographic and institutional connections may also have assisted in the spread of the veneration of Lazarus.

2.8 The transmission of veneration of Lazarus from Germany to Burgundy

Whether these connections extended from Germany to Burgundy, and especially Autun, eventually the epicentre of the cult of Lazarus, has been the subject of some debate. In his 1947 essay on the relics of Lazarus in Autun Maurice Chaume put forward a number of arguments to suggest that the origins of the cult there can be found in Alsace. Chaume's argument mainly rested on some congruencies of Burgundian and Constantinopolitan feast days and on possible family links between Gérard, the tenth-century bishop of Autun, credited with rescuing Lazarus' relics from Provence, and Bosonid nobles connected with Andlau and Moyenmoutier.[94] He also suggested that Duke Henry the Great of Burgundy, believed in Avallon to have been the donor of a head of Lazarus to its church, had himself been given the head by the Eastern emperor while on pilgrimage. His arguments focus on the supposed head of Lazarus at Andlau, for which evidence is from the late fifteenth century, rather than on the wider distribution of relics examined above.[95] The general thrust of Chaume's argument was echoed by Monique Greffier. However, rather than arguing for direct connections between

[94]Chaume suggested there may be a link between the 20 October date marking the translation of Lazarus to the new church at Autun and the 27 October feast of the translation of Lazarus celebrated in Constantinople. p.97. He also argued that Gérard's name has an Alsatian and Bosonid ring and that many Gérards were in the family of Leo IX, Brun de Egisheim, who oversaw the canonisation of Richardis in 1049. He referred to various charters, including one granting the church of Santosse in 954 to two brothers, Gérard and Richard. Gérard, a canon, '*est sans doubt le futur évêque*'. Chaume, "La translation de restes de saint Lazare à Autun ", p.98.

[95] Ibid., p.95. See p.87 and n.38.

Autun and the Alsace, Greffier supported René Louis' suggestion that the cult of Lazarus first came through Vézelay, the centre of the cult of Mary Magdalen, his supposed sister.[96] Victor Saxer also looked to the borders of empire, in his case Verdun for the origins of the Lazarus cult in Burgundy. Saxer suggested that a cult of the Bethany family at Verdun predated Vézelay, though his focus here was on Mary Magdalen. Saxer believed Ermenfroi, the archdeacon of Verdun, came from Germany in the first quarter of the eleventh century and could have brought devotion to her from there.[97] Although the above arguments support the contention that veneration of Lazarus in the West did originate in Germany, their scope is narrow. Also in suggesting, as Louis and Saxer do, that veneration of Lazarus was dependent on the cult of Mary Magdalen, they lose sight of the evidence suggesting that Lazarus was venerated here in his own right, and that such veneration may have come from Byzantium.

Further evidence detaching the veneration of Lazarus from that of Mary Magdalen and arguing for a more widespread veneration of Lazarus originating in the empire is found in the cluster of churches dedicated to Lazarus around Besançon (then in the empire).[98] Of particular note is the early eleventh-century gift of Emperor Rudolf III to his chaplain Hugo of a half-tithe of a church in the *Villare sancti Lazari.*[99] Rudolf's successor transferred the *Villare sancti Lazari* to the monastery of Saint Mary and Saint Paul, newly founded by Hugh of Besançon in 1045.[100] Although evidence of geographic proximity and personal connections is suggestive of some interest in the saint, a full-blown cult of Lazarus in the West was dependent upon a further transformation in the way he was venerated at Autun (a transformation in which, I shall argue in Chapter 4, Besançon played a part).

It seems that this transformation was a two way process. In 1147, as the relics of Lazarus were being translated to his new church in Autun, the reformed Benedictine monastery church at Erfurt was reconstructed after its destruction by

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[96] See Greffier, "L'introduction du culte", p.345. See René Louis, *Girart, Comte de Vienne(…819-877) et ses Fondations Monastiques* (Auxerre, 1946), pp.177-8.
[97] Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident*", p. 60.
[98] at Bonnay, Châtillon-le-Duc and Villars-le-Combe (see map).
[99] *Verlorene Urkunden Rudolf III*, issued T. Schieffer and H. E. Mayer (Munich, 1977) MGH Rudolf, p.310. *Villare Sancti Lazare* is Villers-la-Combe, with 19c church dedicated to Lazarus and previously known as Villers-Saint-Lazare. See: René Locatelli, François Lassus and Jean-Louis Langrognet, *L'Abbaye Cistercienne Notre-Dame de la Grâce-Dieu*, 1139-1989 (Vercel, 1989,) p.15.
[100] *Urkunden von Heinrich III*, issued H. Bresslau and P Kehr (Berlin, 1931), MGH DD H III, p.170.

fire at the beginning of the century. Four years earlier altars in the completed choir and transept were dedicated, one of which, according to a twelfth-century record, contained the relics of the tomb of Lazarus.[101] However the mid-thirteenth century *Chronica Minor Minoritae Erphordensis* indicated that by this time Erfurt had accepted the Burgundian version of Lazarus' post resurrection career: "*Hic Clemens post passionem apostolorum Petri et Pauli direxit sanctum... Lazarus quem suscitavit Dominus, in Marsilia.*" Sent to convert Marseille by Pope Clement, Lazarus has joined the ranks of the founding bishops of Gaul, a transformation which will be discussed in Chapter 5.[102]

2.9 Conclusion

By the beginning of the twelfth century relics of Lazarus appear to have become widespread enough to figure in collections held by quite humble establishments. A notice of the dedication of the parish church of Telfs, near Innsbruck, in 1113 records that among the relics held there were relics of Lazarus, Stephen, George, Blaise, Pancras and the Cross. Although the type of relic is not specified, Lazarus is here referred to as a confessor saint .[103] Rietsch, in his early twentieth-century study of the reception of the cults of Bethany saints in Alsace, stated his belief that whereas in Provençal sources Lazarus was always referred to as a bishop, Strasbourg breviaries followed Byzantine practice in describing him as a confessor.[104] Rietsch is right to suggest that Lazarus in Germany was regarded as a saint venerated in the East. In Byzantium his condition as bishop was well established and although there are no references to *Lazarus episcopus* in the altar dedications examined above (and only the one to his being a confessor), it is likely that Lazarus' episcopal status was recognised in Germany. In the first half of the twelfth century Honorius of Autun, who probably ended his life in southern Germany,[105] referred to Lazarus in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* as bishop of Cyprus:

[101] *Chronica S. Petri Erford. Appendix* VI, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1899), MGH SS rer. Germ. 42, p.421.
[102] *Chronica Minor Minoritae Erphordensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1899), MGH SS rer. Germ. 42, p.545.
[103] "*sanctum confessorum Silvestri, Martini, Nicolai, Zenonis, Lazari:*" *Dedicatio ecclesiae in Telfs*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1888), MGH SS 15,2, p.1288.
[104] Rietsch, *Die Nachevangelischen Geschike,* p.51, n.2.
[105] Cross, F.L.(ed.) *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (Oxford, 2005), p.792.

"*nam fertur quod postea XXX annis in Cypro episcopus ecclesiae praefuerit*".[106] If along with his status the circumstances of his reception in Constantinople by Leo VI were known also by churchmen in Germany then the process by which veneration of Lazarus shifted from his tomb to the man becomes more comprehensible.

Despite the biblical prestige and conceptual usefulness of Lazarus, his cult, expressed through patronage of a specific locality or institution, was not established. The evidence suggests that the deposition of Lazarus relics coincided with reform and rebuilding of institutions which were the object of imperial interest. Yet, although his relics were clearly objects of veneration, the evidence does not suggest that his cult was promoted by their ecclesiastical proprietors. Neither was he adopted by his imperial sponsors with the same enthusiasm as were, for example, the Magi. Ottonian imagery represented the Magi as kings, itself a novelty, in order to make the comparison between their obeisance to Jesus and the submission of the various provinces of Germany to the emperor. In 1165 their anonymous bodies were translated to Cologne cathedral to rest in a splendid reliquary pride of place in its apse. [107] Nevertheless, despite obscurity surrounding both the means by which Lazarus' relics were thought to have arrived in Germany from the East, the fragmentary evidence of their presence in monastic and episcopal centres, and the lack of any direct evidence to illuminate how they were venerated, it is possible that they formed part of a repertoire confirming imperial prestige both in its relations with Byzantium and its ability to create topographies of authentic Christianity within its borders.

The possession of relics of a saint with an unimpeachable biblical pedigree would have been very attractive to the imperial project as the cult of the Magi at Cologne attested. The Ottonians and their successors saw their empire not just as the inheritor of a secular imperium but as a realm at the centre of salvation history.[108] History meant nothing if it did not mean the unfolding of God's plan for the world. A concern for the new empire's status was inextricably linked to the troubling

[106] *Speculum ecclesiae, dominica in palmis,* PL Vol.172, col.971B.
[107] See Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi*, pp.54-55.
[108] See Latowsky, *Emperor of the World*, p.13-18 for apocalyptic and eschatological interpretations of the Ottonian *regnum* .

thought that the West was peripheral to this plan. It may have been that that the journey of Lazarus' veneration from East to West was prompted not only because he was an authentic biblical saint but also because he served as a guide to the course of that history, even before more explicit constructs were fabricated around his life and post resurrection career. From the time of Notker *Gesta Karoli Magna* onwards, Charlemagne's imaginary encounters with the East take on an eschatological hue. This becomes more explicit in accounts dating from after Otto I's assumption of imperial dignity in 962. Accounts of these encounters adopt the language of sibylline prophecy in which Charlemagne's kingdom is seen as inheriting the mantle of Byzantium, becoming the fourth and final empire before the coming of the anti-Christ.[109]

As the next chapter will show, these eschatological concerns coloured Churchmen's understanding of Lazarus in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Lazarus' death and resurrection prefigured not only Jesus' Passion but also the fate of humankind as revealed by the salvation history of the Church.

[109] Latowsky, *Emperor of the World*, p.15.

3: Salvation History: the Idea of Lazarus in the Twelfth Century

3.1 Introduction

Unlike that of the Magi in Cologne, the twelfth century did not see a cult of Lazarus flourish in the Empire. The pattern of relic distribution might suggest that he was associated with imperial prestige and possibly expressive also of rivalry with Byzantium. But though it would appear that the man Lazarus became associated with early church leadership and by association, imperial authority, there is little evidence that the way in which the resurrection of Lazarus was interpreted by the Church in the West had fundamentally changed from that of late Antiquity. As Chapter 1 argued, in Christianity's first millennium the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection was of interest to theologians principally because they believed it provided an answer to two of the central questions of their religion: what was the nature of Jesus? and, what did it mean to be a good Christian? The long twelfth century saw a shift in emphasis towards a more historical interpretation of the miracle. The motivation behind this change cannot be connected to the veneration of Lazarus traced in the previous chapter. Interest continued to be focussed on the significance of the miracle and did not depend upon the belief that Lazarus was a saint. However, Chapters 4 and 5 will argue that Lazarus' cult at Autun, and to a lesser extent Marseille (being less successful), depended upon the development of the conviction that the person of Lazarus embodied not only the authority of the Church but also its role in salvation history. This argument depends upon an assumption that though separate, egegesis and cult formation were not unconnected. For a saint's cult to be successful it had to have a functioning. For a saint such as Lazarus, whose identity was entirely rooted in a chapter in the *Gospel of John*, that meaning depended upon exegesis. Insofar as that understanding was dependent upon a shift in the way the resurrection of Lazarus was understood, this chapter will trace that development.

The manner in which the account in the *Gospel of John* of the resurrection of Lazarus was seen in the twelfth century was affected by developments in religious life and organisation as well as by crusade. The miracle was seen primarily as a conversion story and this reflects contemporary worries about Christian-Jewish relations. It has been generally recognised that the twelfth century saw a change in

Christian thinking about the Jews. In his study of the medieval roots of modern antisemitism, Robert Chazan argued that the twelfth century witnessed a hardening in attitudes towards the Jews who were now seen not only as ancient theological adversaries but as present-day enemies.[1] Chazan suggested that this change started in the middle of the twelfth century, and based his argument on Peter the Venerable's letters and polemics against the Jews.[2] However, this change can also be seen in the earlier writings of churchmen such as Rupert of Deutz. Chazan distinguished between state-sponsored and popular violence against the Jews. He therefore considered the massacres of 1096 as the product of a popular interpretation of the call to the Crusade as one against all "*enemies of the Lord*."[3] And yet it was a churchman, Guilbert of Nogent, who in 1115 wrote of these events: "*We wish to attack the enemies of God in the East, after travelling great distances. However , before our eyes are the Jews, and no people is more hostile to God than they are. Such an arrangement is absurd*."[4] The blood libel and the accusations of host desecration that emerged later in the twelfth century were preceded by anxiety about the role of the Jews in salvation history, that is to say, God's plan for mankind and the role of the Church in it. Especially in the period between the First and Second Crusades, biblical commentators used the account in the *Gospel of John* of Lazarus' resurrection to blame the Jews for the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 and, by implication, to justify its Christian re-conquest.

The Church Fathers saw Lazarus the man as simply an actor in a story. Their commentaries were a prologue to the process by which Lazarus was fleshed out and made real as a saint, a process which will be discussed in the following chapter. Here I shall be looking at some of the language used to understand this story first developed by the Church Fathers before reviewing the interpretations of their twelfth-century successors. Those interpretations can be summarised as follows:

- The Lazarus miracle is seen as the defining moment when Jews are divided into 'good' Jews, ie proto-Christians, and Jews who obstinately clung to their old faith.

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[1] Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism*, ch.5, pp.74-94.
[2] Ibid., pp.47-50.
[3] Ibid., p.5.
[4] "*Nos Dei hostes Orientem versus longis terrarum tractibus transmissis, desideramus aggredi, cum ante oculos nostros sint Judaei, quibus inimicior existat gens nulla Dei; praeposterus...labor est!*" *Guibert de Nogent Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. E-R Labande (Paris, 1981), English translation, Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes*, p.14.

- This obstinacy leads to Jesus' crucifixion and the consequent punishment of the Jews, the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70.

3.2 Historiographical background

Addressing the significance of the Lazarus miracle in the *Gospel of John*, Philip Esler and Ronald Piper have argued that it defined Christian identity within the first-century Jewish community. [5] This would therefore suggest that later twelfth-century commentators, in also seeing the miracle as a defining moment in Christian-Jewish relations were conforming to the intentions of the Gospel's author/s. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, Robert Chazan argued that in the twelfth century a change in the nature of Christian Jewish relations took place. He connected this to Church reforms, attacks on usury and the annulment of debts to Jews for those on crusade. Rejecting the idea that anti-Jewish attitudes were created and promoted by those in authority, Chazan saw the change as being one of popular sentiment, and one to which authorities responded.[6] However this development should not be seen as an exclusively lay phenomenon. This chapter will analyse how this development manifested itself in the writings of churchmen. Texts of Rupert of Deutz among others show that attitudes to the Jews were determined by views of their and the Church's role in salvation history.[7]

In situating interpretations of Lazarus' resurrection within a wider evolution in thinking about the Church in history this study draws on the work of Mark Clark and Beryl Smalley on Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and its influence on Hugh of St Victor and Peter Lombard.[8] Clark analysed Hugh's approach to the meaning of history as both narrative and tool for the discovery of God's plan. This represented a shift in thinking that would also underpin the recognition of Lazarus as a saint. However in his own writings Hugh interpreted the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection as unveiling the importance of the Church in salvation history. Smalley saw in the historical works of Comestor a vindication of Hugh's belief. This

[5] See *Lazarus, Mary and Martha*..., Ch.2. See also Wendy Sproston North's *The Lazarus Story within the Johannine Tradition* (Sheffield, 2001), pp.124-127.
[6] See R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford, 1987).
[7] John H. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983).
[8] Clark, *The Making of the* Historia scholastica; Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*.

argument was developed by Bernard McGinn who showed that the theologian Rupert of Deutz was joined by Gerhoh of Reichersberg in seeing the overarching sweep of this history reflected in the connection between the events recorded in the Gospel and the history of their own time.[9]

Following the First Crusade, churchmen were writing in a time of expanding horizons. As Brett Whalen has remarked, this "*theology of history provided latin contemporaries with an adaptable set of narratives, prophecies, and apocalyptic scenarios for making sense of their world*."[10] The resurrection of Lazarus was mined to define the Christian community and its struggle with the non-Christian world and as Jehangir Yezdi Malegam has shown, this struggle required constant conflict in order to ensure the 'true peace' of the Church. [11]

These approaches to the significance of Lazarus' resurrection required a shift from the view of Augustine that history had ended with the resurrection of Jesus. It was the new religious order established in his name as well as their Premonstratensian brethren who played an important role in this regard. [12] The historical interpretation of Lazarus' resurrection prompted an intensification of Christian hostility towards the Jews. Yet in attempting to understand the role of the Jews in salvation history, it could also lead to more accommodating approaches, as Rebecca Moore has shown in her review of Hugh of St Victor thinking on the subject.[13]

3.3 Lazarus and conversion in the *Gospel of John*

In the twelfth century the study of the Bible in general, and of this miracle in particular, moved away from an allegorical approach to one that looked to the historical significance of the events themselves. The *Gospel of John* was seen as one

[9] Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 1994).
[10] Whalen, Brett Edward, *Dominion of God*, p.151.
[11] Jehangir Yezdi Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth* (Ithaca and London, 2013), p.169.
[12] See Guntram Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology": the Apocalyptic Myth", pp.41-71. See also Carol Neel: "Philip of Harvengt and Anselm of Havelberg: The Premonstratensian Vision of Time" *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 62.4 (1993), pp.483-493, for an examination of how Augustine of Hippo's life was re-interpreted in the light of the reform movement represented by these orders.
[13] Rebecca Moore, *Jews and Christians in the Life and Thought of Hugh of St. Victor* (Atlanta, 1998).

of the cornerstones of the claim that the course of salvation history now ran through the Church. In order to understand how the miracle of Lazarus was exploited it is necessary to provide a précis of the account highlighting the role of the Jews together with its geographic context:

Lazarus is introduced as being from Bethany and as the brother of Mary and Martha. His sisters have sent for Jesus saying, "*he whom you lovest is sick*."[14] Jesus, having fled from Judea following an attempted stoning by the Jews, delays for two days. Finding Lazarus dead, Jesus tells his disciples: "*...I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe*."[15]

Bethany is near Jerusalem and many Jews had gone there to console Lazarus' sisters. Before Jesus enters the village, Martha goes to meet him and reproaches him about his tardiness. Reassuring Martha that Lazarus will rise again Jesus says that eternal life is dependent on belief in him.[16] He then meets with Mary who also reproaches him for his absence. This time, however, seeing Mary weep and seeing that the Jews accompanying her were also weeping, "*...he groaned in the spirit and was troubled*"[17] following which "*Jesus wept*."[18] This provokes the Jews to say, "*Behold how he loved him!*"[19] But "*some of them said, Could not this man, which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died?*"[20] Jesus responds to this expression of scepticism by calling to his father justifying his appeal by saying,"*...I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand I said it, that they may believe that thou has sent me*."[21]

Then, from the perspective of this chapter, comes the crux of the account. After Lazarus' resurrection some Jews stayed believing in Jesus' claim to be the son of God but some others returned to Jerusalem and reported the resurrection to the Jewish authorities there. The public nature of this spectacular miracle raised the stakes for the Jerusalem priesthood. They feared Jews would turn to Jesus saying,

[14] Jn:11,3, KJV
[15] Ibid., 11,15.
[16] Ibid., 11,25.
[17] Ibid., 11,33.
[18] Ibid., 11,35.
[19] Ibid., 11,36.
[20] Ibid., 11,37.
[21] Ibid., 11:42.

"*If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation*."[22] They plot to kill Jesus. Jesus escapes into the wilderness with his disciples, but in the next chapter, 12, he returned to be present at a meal with Lazarus and his sisters. It was then that Mary anointed his feet with precious oils provoking Judas's wrath who, hypocritically according to the *Gospel of John,* asks why the ointment is not sold and the proceeds given to the poor. Jesus' presence attracts a crowd not only to see him but also "*that they might see Lazarus ... whom he had raised from the dead*. "[23] This causes the Pharisees to decide to "...*put Lazarus also to death; because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus*."[24]

From this narrative emerge themes which will recur in later commentaries:

- The story is played out before a chorus of Jews who weep with the sisters and believe in Jesus.
- Belief is allied to sight and light and, in particular, to the miracle of the blind man whose sight Jesus restores.
- The Jews who believe come from Jerusalem to Bethany.
- Jerusalem is where those Jews who plot to kill Jesus remain.
- These Pharisees see mass conversion as a threat not only to their own status but to the nation.
- Lazarus' resurrection prompts the priests not only to kill Jesus but also Lazarus.

3.4 Early interpretations

These formed the basis of an interpretation of the Lazarus' resurrection in the *Gospel of John* which was to be exploited by twelfth-century churchmen. In doing so, however, they recycled earlier ideas and language. The very first commentators did not concern themselves with the above. Tertullian, Potamius of Lisbon, Gregory of Nyssa, who all wrote extensively about Lazarus, concentrated on issues of death,

[22] Ibid., 11:48.
[23] Ibid., 12.9.
[24] Ibid., 12:10-11.

dissolution, and resurrection.[25] Jesus' tears, which were to become the focus of so much speculation, were referred to primarily in order to discuss Christological concerns. Was Jesus man, God, or both? This Christological interpretation of the miracle did not disappear and indeed it intensified with the arrival of Arianism and the great debates over the nature of Jesus engaged in by Carolingian clerics.[26] However, from the fourth century onwards a palette of phrases developed which assisted later commentators in their desire to blame the Jews for the loss of Jerusalem. These were not, of course, designed with this mind if for no other reason than that Palestine was still under Christian control until its conquest by the Rashidun Caliphate in 637. Nonetheless, for Jerome and especially Augustine the raising of Lazarus defined that moment of conversion when Jesus' co-religionists were divided into the living and the dead, blind, and sighted.[27] Those who remained blind connived in plotting to kill Lazarus. What follows are the most significant of these phrases: some direct quotes from the *Gospel of John*; and others, early glosses.

Flevit super Lazarum et super civitatem

Jerome would seem to be the first (and, subsequently, certainly the best known) commentator to have conflated two references to Jesus weeping, a pairing which would become a convention. To the reference in the *Gospel of John* 11:35 he attached the one found in the *Gospel of Luke* 19:41-2: "*Et ut appropinquavit, videns civitatem flevit super illam, dicens: Quia si cognovisses et tu, et quidem in hac die tua, quæ ad pacem tibi: nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis tuis*."[28] In the *Gospel of Luke* Jesus weeps as he makes his triumphal entry into Jerusalem from Bethany on a donkey, assumed by commentators to be the same entry mentioned in the

[25] Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 27; Potamius, *De Lazaro*; Gregory of Nyssa, *On the soul and the resurrection.* See Ch.1.5-6.

[26] For example, Benedict of Aniane, "*Flevit Lazarum; vel alia hujusmodi que leguntur. Quod si vellent, pulchre ostendit quod Deus ex duabus naturis est*." *Opuscula* 1, PL Vol.103, col.1383A-B; and Rabanus Maurus, "*An non ut homo cum Lazarum fleret, et rursus supra hominem, cum eum resuscitaret*?" *De videndo Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae*, Bk. 2, PL Vol.112, col.1300B.

[27] Augustine, *In Joannis evangelium, Tractate* 51. Ch.1. "*Posteaquam Dominus quatriduanum mortuum suscitauit, stupentibus Iudaeis, et aliis eorum uidendo credentibus, aliis inuidendo pereuntibus, propter odorem bonum, qui est aliis ad uitam, aliis ad mortem*...", CCSL 36, ed. R. Willems (1964), *Tractate* 51.1, p.439, l.1-p.440, l.3; also PL Vol.35, col.1764.

[28] Vulgate Lk.19:41-2. KJV translation: "*And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, Saying, if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.*."

Gospel of John, chapter 12 verse 12. Jerome linked the two instances of Jesus crying in a number of texts, presenting the Lazarus story in the context of the imminent destruction of Jerusalem of which the Jews were, according to him, blindly unaware.[29] In a letter to his friend and correspondent in Rome, Marcella, he compared Jesus' tears over Lazarus to those he wept over Jerusalem. However, he also added "*The truth is that it was the people who sinned and not the place. The capture of a city is involved in the slaying of its inhabitants. If Jerusalem was destroyed, it was that its people might be punished*."[30] The city was sacred, its inhabitants were wicked. This disassociation of the city from its actual inhabitants would go some way to explaining the subsequent popularity of this pairing.

Domus obedientia

Later in the same letter Jerome anticipated Marcella's joy on reaching Palestine where she would see the place where Lazarus emerged from his grave. Bethany was by then a common destination for many pilgrim itineraries.[31] In his commentary on the *Gospel of Matthew*, Jerome contrasted Bethany, where the Jews saw and believed, with Jerusalem, where the priests plotted to kill Jesus. He defined Bethany as the "*house of obedience*." and added that Jesus, since he could find no hospitality in the great city of Jerusalem, stayed there "*at a little farm with Lazarus and his sisters*".[32] Bethany became to be understood as the birthplace of obedience to Jesus and his Church.

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[29] *'...quomodo et saluator super Lazari morte doluit et planxit Hierusalem...' S. Hieronymi Presbyteri In Hieremiam Prophetam Libri Sex,* CCSL 74, ed. S.Reiter (1960), Bk.1, vv.19.20, p. 47, ll.12-13; also PL Vol.24, col.710C. Also *Commentariorum in Michaeams prophetam*; Bk.2: '*...qui et in Jerusalem flevit, et in Lazari morte lacrymatus sit...*'. NB: later ps-Jerome *De Ruben*: " *Unde Dominus videns civitatem Jerusalem, flevisse dicitur: et in Lazari resuscitatione pro ejus populi caecitate lacrymatus esse perhibetur.*" PL Vol.23, col.1317A, and Ps-Augustine *Sermones ad fratres in eremo commorantes, et quosdam alios;* Sermon 41*, De observantia jejunii quadragesimalis:* "*Nam triplex est aqua Salvatoris, fratres: aqua lacrymarum, quando flevit super Lazarum et super civitatem...",* PL Vol.40, col.1314, suggesting that this theme had become important enough to wish to add weight to its provenance by ascribing them to these Church Fathers.

[30] "*Fleuit et Lazarum, quia amabat illum. et hoc tamem prima fronte cognoscito, non loc, sed hominum fuisse pecatum uerum, quia interfectio populi captiuitas ciuitati est propterea urbem deletam, ut populos puniretur..." Epistulae Pars* 1 (1-170), CCEL 54, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1910), *Letter* 46, *Paula et Eustochii ad Marcellam*, Ch.5, p.334, ll.8-11; also PL Vol.22, col.486. trans. https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/ 3001046.htm, accessed 24.3.2022.

[31] See Ch. 1: Eusabius of Caesarea, *The onomasticon* (330) , *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* (333) and *The Pilgrimage of Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy places* (c.385).

[32]"*Hoc quoque itelligendum est, quod tantae fuerit pauperatis, et ita nulli adulatus sit, ut in urbe maxima nullum hospitem, nullam invenerit mansionem, sed in agro parvulo apud Lazarum sororesque ejus habitaret: eorum quippe vicus Bethania est.*" *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei.* Bk. 3, 21.17

Peccati consuetudine

As discussed in the first chapter, it was Jerome's correspondent, Augustine, who made the link between Lazarus and the concept of habitual sin. In his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, Augustine explained the three resurrection miracles performed by Jesus as signifying three kinds of sin: sin in thought, sin in act, and habitual sin.[33] In his commentary on the *Gospel of John*, Augustine associated the habit of sin with Lazarus' four days of entombment and decay (unlike the resurrections of the recently dead mentioned in the *Gospel of Mark* and the *Gospel of Luke*).[34] He also came rather close to suggesting that Lazarus was indeed himself the sinner.[35] Elsewhere, when he expanded the types of sin to encompass thought, consent, deed and habit, Augustine attributed less importance to the other two resurrections than the four days during which Lazarus lay dead.[36] The concept of habitual sin and of its supreme gravity would in the later writing be directed at the Jews. Their offence lay not only in their failure to recognise immediately that through Jesus God had revealed that the course of salvation history now lay with Christianity, but also in their continued rejection the new dispensation in subsequent centuries.

PL Vol.26, col.153A. Trans. Thomas P. Scheck, *Commentary on Matthew* (Washington 2008) p.239. For origins of phrase *'domus obedientia'* see Origen, *In Matth.* 16.26.

[33]: *"...peccati tres sunt differentia:, in corde, in facto, in consuetudine. tanquam tres mortes...Quae tria genera mortuorum Dominum resuscitasse, quisquis evangelium legit, agnoscit. Et fortasse considerat quas differentias habeat etiam ipsa vox resuscitantis, cum alibi dicit,* Puella surge! (Mt:11,25)*, alibi, Iuvenis, tibi dico, surge! (Lk.7:14), alibi: Infremuit spiritu, et fleuit et rursus fremuit, et post deinde, uoce magna clamauit: Lazare veni foras!"* (Jn:11,33-44), CCSL 35, ed. A. Mutzenbecher (1953), *De sermone Domini in monte,* Bk. 1. Ch.12.35, pp.38-39, ll.823-835; also PL Vol.34. col.1247.

[34] *In Joannis evangelium, Tractatus* 49.2. See Ch.1, n.96. See also *Tractate* 22.7. "*Qui putebat, in auras processit; sepultus erat, lapis superpositus erat*...", CCSL 36, ed. R. Willems (1964) *Tractate* 22.7, p.227, ll.25-26.

[35]: "*Sed et hic mihi tertius mortuus est, qui etiam perductus est ad sepulcrum. Jam supra se habet consuetudine sua nimia praegravatur. Clamat et Christus, Lazare, prodi foras. Homo enim pessimae consuetudinis jam putet. Merito ibi Christus, nec solum clamavit, sed magna voce clamavit.*", *De scripturis; Sermon* 128. *De verbis evangelii Joannis etc.,* Ch.12PL Vol.38, col.720.

[36] *De scripturis; Sermon* 98*. De verbis evangelii Lucae,* Ch.7: *Et de tribus mortuis quos Dominus suscitavit;* Ch.5 speaks of three types of death, (the girl, the boy and Lazarus) representing three types of sin, thought, action and habit. However Ch.6 refers to a fourth represented by the four days during which Lazarus lay dead. *'Quatuor in peccatis progressus. Dictum est autem Quatriduanus est. Revera ad istam consuetudinem de qua loquor, quarto quodam progressu pervenit anima. Prima est enim quasi titillatio delectationis in corde; secunda, consensio; tertium factum; quarta, consuetudo*.', PL Vol.38, col.595.

Solvite illum, et sinite abire

"Et statim prodiit qui fuerat mortuus, ligatus pedes, et manus institis, et facies illius sudario erat ligata. Dixit eis Jesus: Solvite eum et sinite abire."[37] The "*them*" to whom Jesus spoke were his disciples and this injunction became one of the cornerstones of the edifice of argument justifying ecclesiastical authority. In his *Commentary on John*, Augustine linked these words to the other great justification of Petrine authority found in the Gospel of Matthew, and wrote, "*Solvite et sinite abire? Quae solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in coelo*."[38] Elsewhere, in his commentary on Psalm 101, he argued that these words gave the Church the power to forgive sin.[39]

Potuit sed noluit

In his *Answer to the Pelagians, On Nature and Grace*, Augustine discussed the distinction between what is possible and what actually happened. As an example he argued that, while it was certainly possible for Jesus to have raised up Judas, just as he did Lazarus, he did not wish to. Judas' resurrection was therefore a possible thing, not an actual one.[40] These words were repeated by later commentators, but shorn of their philosophical context. In this way they were used to suggest God's abandonment of Judas signified his turning away from the Jews generally and the re-routing of salvation history through the church.[41]

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[37] Vulgate Jn: 11,44. Trans: *And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with graveclothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go*." KJV

[38] CCSL 36, ed. R. Willems (1964), *In Joannis evangelium, Tractate* 49.24, p.431; also PL vol.35, col.1757. The other great justification of Petrine authority is of course Matthew 16:19 "*And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven*." KJV.

[39] "*Merito per Ecclesiam dari solutio peccatorum potest...*", CCSL 40, eds. D. Dekkers and J. Fraipont (1956)**,** *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 101-150, p.1440, ll.17-18; also PL Vol.37, col.1306.

[40] *'Quia enim Dominus Lazarum suscitauit, sine dubio potuit; quia uero Judam non suscitauit, numquid dicendum est, ''non potuit'? potuit ergo, sed noluit*.' *De natura et gratia liber unus* etc. CCEL 40, eds. C. Urba and J. Zycha (1913), p.237, ll. 13-15; also PL Vol.44, col.251.

[41] for instance: (?)Hugh of St Victor, *Summa sentientiarum. Tractate* 1, Ch.14, PL Vol.176, col.68D; Peter Abelard, *Theologica Christiana,* Bk.5, PL Vol.178, col.1329A, and *Sic et Non* 35, PL Vol.178, col.1397B; Zachary of Besançon, *In unum ex quatuor,* Ch.135, PL Vol.186, col.433C; Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in 4 Libris Distinctae*, ed. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Grottaferrata, 1971) Bk.1, *Distinctio* 43, p.303, ll.5-9; also PL Vol.192, col.640; Martin of Leon, *Sermon* 34, PL Vol. 08, col.1318C.

The miracle of the blind man

The theme of blindness is embedded in the Lazarus account. In the *Gospel of John* the Jews ask themselves why Jesus, who could cure the blind, could not also raise the dead.[42] When Lazarus emerges from the tomb "*his face was bound about with a napkin*."[43] Augustine made the connection between the resurrection of Lazarus and Jesus' cure of the blind, and from Augustine onwards these two were frequently associated in lists of miracles.[44] Jesus heals more than one blind man in the Gospels but the account in the *Gospel of John* Chapter 9 would seem to be most relevant to the miracle of the raising of Lazarus two chapters further on. Jesus is asked by his disciples, "*who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?*"[45] He replies neither, the purpose of his blindness is that God's power may be made manifest. The miracle aroused the ire of the Pharisees and Jesus says, "*For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind*."[46] The Pharisees respond that they are not blind to which Jesus answers: "*If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth,*."[47] Again this was used to suggest that Jews deliberately turned away from God.

The tropes and themes explored by Jerome and Augustine were further elaborated and their potential for use in anti-Jewish polemic developed in the century following. In a commentary ascribed to Arnobius Junior, Jesus weeps in response to the hard heartedness and infidelity of the Jews: "*Lapide autem devoluto de monumento, hoc est duritia hominum de corde remota. Quartum autem diem excitatum, Evangeliorum demonstrat figuram quae nobis duritiam cordis repellent. Quod autem dixit, Lacrymatus est Jesus, de infidelitate scilicet Judaeorum.*"[48] The debt owed by later elaborators on these themes to the Church Fathers was acknowledged by ascription in writings such as the early Irish Ps.-Jerome

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[42] Jn:11,37.

[43] Jn:11,44, KJV.

[44] "*Oculos reddidit caecis, quos utique mors aliquando clausura: resuscitavit Lazarum, iterum moriturum*.", *De scripturis; Sermo* 88 *De verbis Evangelii Matthaei...* Ch. 1, PL Vol. 38, col. 539. Examples of miracle lists associating the resurrection of Lazarus with the healing of the blind man include: Alcuin, *Commentaria in s. Joannis evangelium,* Bk. 3, Ch.9 PL Vol.100, col.807B; Bruno of Segni, *Exposito Psalmos, Psalmus* 63, PL Vol.164, col.925B.

[45] Jn:9,2, KJV.

[46] Ibid., 9:39.

[47] Ibid., 9:41.

[48] *Annotationes ad quaedam evangeliorum loca; ex Joanne,* Ch.4. ascribed to Arnobius Junior active mid-fifth century, PL Vol.53, col.570D.

Commentary on John. In this text, the dead Lazarus was contrasted with his living sisters: "*Lazarus figurat Judaeos quia Judaei infirmi a fide Christi: Martha et Maria doctrinam bonorum Judaeorum ostendit.*'" Lazarus represented those Jews unfaithful to Jesus while Mary and Martha stood for good Jewish doctrine.[49] Like Jerome, subsequent commentators saw Christianity as the fulfilment of Judaism. In this way the issue of conversion from Jew to Christian was sidestepped. Those Jews who did not convert had therefore not merely refused to change but had actively made a bad choice.

3.5 Bede and conversion

After Jerome and Augustine the most significant contribution to interpretation of the resurrection of Lazarus was made by Bede. The conversion of England preoccupied Bede and he presented the Lazarus miracle as a conversion story. Whereas Augustine worried about heresy Bede asked what it meant to make a good conversion to orthodoxy. He recapitulated many of the themes explored by Augustine and Jerome but elaborated them so as to prefigure later commentaries. The way he did this can be broadly characterised as follows: firstly, unlike Augustine he recreated and populated the story of Lazarus, replacing philosophical speculation with narrative; and secondly, he brought into play a second Lazarus, the protagonist of the parable of Lazarus and Dives.

Bede's reflections on Lazarus are to be found principally in his commentaries on Luke and John. In his text on Luke, he identified Mary Magdalen with Mary, sister of Martha. Gregory the Great made a similar identification in his *Homiliarum in Evangelia* but before Bede there is little evidence to suggest that this association, so important in the high Middle Ages, was widespread.[50] Bede placed her in Bethany and characterised Lazarus' resurrection as the one which provoked the

[49] Ps.-Jerome, *Expositio in evangelium secundum Joannem,* PL vol.30, col.538B. See for a discussion of their eighth-century Irish provenance and widespread dissemination, see Anne Kavanagh, "The Ps.-Jerome's Expositio IV evangeliorum" in *the Scriptures and early medieval Ireland: proceedings of the 1993 Conference of the Society for Hiberno-Latin Studies on Early Irish exegesis and Homilectics,* Thomas O'Loughlin ed. (Turnhout,1999), pp. 125-131.

[50] "*Maria Magdalene ipsa est soror Lazari, que unxit Dominum unguento*", CCSL 120, ed D. Hurst, (1960), Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio* Bk.6*,* Ch.4, p.413, l.1985; also PL Vol. 92, col.624D; Gregory the Great, *Homily* 25. See n. attached to col.1195D.

Jews to belief, spurred on by the devotion and tears of his sisters.[51] In the *Commentary on John*, Bede used Lazarus to signify the sinner revived by Jesus because of his love for Mary and Martha. [52] Mary, by her act of annointing Jesus at the subsequent meal in Simon's house, represented the faithful. Through his presence at the meal Lazarus not only testified to the reality of his own resurrection but also that of his personal redemption.[53] Bede also interpreted Jesus' injunction to his disciples to unbind Lazarus as an act that granted to the Church the authority to absolve sin. This authority was challenged by those Jews who did not believe and were therefore not inhabitants of the '*domus obedientiae*' which was identified with Bethany. Bethany prefigured Heaven, which only the faithful could enter.[54] In one sense Bede was not adding much to what Jerome and Augustine had already argued. However, by personalising and dramatising the significance of the Lazarus story, as well as emphasising the significance of the real places where it took place, his commentary constituted a real change.

Bede also mined the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man told in the *Gospel of Luke* for connections with the Lazarus in the *Gospel of John* in a way that influenced later thought on the course of salvation history.[55] The parable explicitly dealt with the consequences of sin in a way that the account in the *Gospel of John* of Lazarus' resurrection did not. Bede's interpretation of the Rich Man's request, that Abraham send Lazarus to his five brothers to warn them of their fate if they do not amend their ways, was central to his interpretation of the story as reflecting directly upon the fate of the Jews. In rejecting the Rich Man's request, Abraham replies, "*They have Moses and the prophets. Let them hear them*," to which the Rich Man says, "*Nay, father Abraham, but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And [Abraham] said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead*."[56]

Bede associated the Rich Man's brothers with the "*proud*" Jewish people who he consigned "*for the most part*" to damnation: Moreover Bede turned the final verse

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[51] CCSL 120, ed D. Hurst, (1960), *In Lucae Evangelium Exposito*, Bk. 3, pp.166-167; also PL Vol.92, col.423D; And ibid., p. 193; also PL Vol. 92, col.445BD.
[52] *In S. Joannis evangelium expositio*; Ch. 11, PL Vol.92, cols.775C-776A.
[53] Ibid., Ch.12, PL Vol.92, cols.784D-785B.
[54] Ibid., Ch.12, PL Vol.92, col.785A.
[55] See Ch.6.5 for a fuller discussion of the Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man.
[56] Lk:16,29-31, KJV.

of the parable on its head, writing, "*si crederetis Moysi, crederetis utique et mihi*."[57] Here, the recipients are not those who stubbornly refuse to believe but those who, believing in Moses, are also impelled to believe in Jesus. By creating this link between Jesus and Moses, Bede asserted the continuity of divine intention running through both Old and New Testament, an idea that was to occupy the minds of later churchmen. The association between Moses and Jesus is a theme that runs through Bede's writing. Bede used the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection to develop this association and place it within the context of a call to conversion. In his commentary on the Pentateuch he compared the tears of Moses to those of Jesus: "*Potest quoque Moyses Christum significare, quem filia Pharaonis ad flumen, id est, Ecclesia ad flumen lavacri invenit. Ploravit infans, quia vulneratus est propter peccata nostra; vel quia ad resuscitandos de morte peccati, velut in resuscitando Lazaro flevisse dicitur*." [58] Unlike the Lazarus of the parable who was used to condemn the Jews, the 'real' Lazarus was resurrected to announce the death of sin and provoke conversion. Added to this was the idea that Moses' prophetic and law-making role was somehow mirrored by the resurrection of Lazarus. This connection was made explicit in Bede's remarks on the discovery of the infant Moses: "*Deinde Moyses ad ripam fluminis expositus reperitur, et Dominus, cujus Moyses typum induerat, ad flumen lavacri, et ad aquam baptismatis a credentibus invenitur. Plorabat infans, quia Christus veteris hominis, quem induerat, peccata deflebat. Unde ad resuscitandum Lazarum flevit, Judaeorum deplorans perfidiam.*"[59] Here the prophetic nature of the parable reinforced an understanding of the miracle as crucial moment in the conversion (or otherwise) of the Jews.

3.6 The twelfth century and the course of history

Later in the eighth century Alcuin in his commentary on the *Gospel of John* would, like Bede, distinguish between those Jews who believed and those who plotted to kill Lazarus and Jesus. [60] In the next century the Rabanus Maurus in his commentary

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[57] "*In tormentis autem dives positus, quinque fratres habere se perhibet, qui superbus idem Judaicus populus, qui ex magna jam parte damnatus est, sequaces suos quos super terram reliquit, quinque sensibus corporis deditos nouit*." CCSL 120, ed D. Hurst, (1960), *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, Bk.5, p.307, ll.445-449; also PL Vol.92, cols.537D-538A.

[58] *In Pentateuchum commentarii*, Ch. 2, PL Vol.91, col.290C.

[59] *Quaestionem super Exodum ex dictis patrum dialogus*, Ch.6, PL Vol 93, col.365D.

[60] *Commentaria in s. Joannis evangelium*, Bk.5, Ch.27, PL Vol. 100,col.903B and Ch.28, PL Vol. 100, col.909A.

on Exodus also followed Bede in comparing the tears of the infant Moses to those of Jesus for both Lazarus and the perfidy of the Jews.[61] However, the interpretation of Lazarus' resurrection as a crucial moment in the conversion of the Jews, implicit in Bede's writing, became explicit in the writings of twelfth-century churchmen. The first half of the twelfth century saw a marked increase in references to the miracle. Much of it represented a straightforward repetition of the tropes developed in patristic writing. Nevertheless, churchmen inflected these tropes with an historical specificity which was previously lacking. In 1009, the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim caused the church of the Holy Sepulchre to be destroyed. Radulf Glaber and Ademar of Chabannes recorded that Jews in France were being blamed for its destruction and the destruction of the holy places became one of the stated justifications for the First Crusade. [62] The church of the Holy Sepulchre had signified not only the Christianising of the city of Jerusalem, but also "*the appropriation of things Jewish*", not only physical but spiritual, an appropriation marked annually by eight days of celebration, the feast of the Encaenia, commemorating its dedication in 335. [63] Thus its destruction resulted in an anxiety about the Church's Jerusalemite inheritance which prompted a number of churchmen, some involved in the promotion of crusade (and in some instances, criticism of it) to use the story of Lazarus to support their Eastern claims and to justify anti-Jewish sentiment in their Western homelands.

Bruno bishop of Segni (c.1048-1123) was closely involved in the build-up to the First Crusade, and he was with pope Urban II at Clermont in 1095 when it was first preached. He was adept in enlisting biblical exegesis in the service of church politics. He believed that "*All the commandments of both Testaments are the weapons which enable us to conquer our enemies*.'[64] As Jehangir Yezdi Malegam has argued in his study of thinking on peace and violence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Bruno believed that true peace was the fruit of perpetual conflict

[61] *Commentariorum in Exodum,* Bk.4, Ch.3, PL Vol.108, col.16C.
[62] Radulf Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories* Bk.3, Ch.7, 24. Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon,* ed. R. Landes and Georges Pon , CCCM129 (1999), III, 47, pp.166-7.
[63] See Michael Alexander Fraser , *The feast of the Encaenia in the fourth century and in the ancient liturgical sources of Jerusalem*, 1995, Durham theses, Durham University. http://etheses. dur.ac.uk/5431/, p.227.
[64] Trans. of Bruno PL Vol.164, col.960D, *Expositio in Psalmos* by I.S. Robinson, in 'Political Allegory in the Biblical Exegesis of Bruno of Segni' *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 50 (1983), 69-98, p.93. See also for general discussion of Bruno's political use of exegesis.

against the wicked who deserved no better.[65] In other words, he was a churchman well suited to the role of promoting holy war. Although he cannot be accused of fomenting violence against the Jews (indeed he believed they had the dubious distinction of being protected by the mark of Cain) he nonetheless interpreted the Lazarus story in such a way as to give them a clear role in God's plan for the reconquest of the Holy Land. [66]

Like Augustine, Bruno interpreted the three resurrection miracles performed by Jesus as representing three kinds of sin, with Lazarus' death as the product of habitual sin. Bruno went on to liken the four days during which he lay in the tomb to the four ages of man: childhood, adolescence, man's prime and finally, old age. Again, just as Lazarus' death represented habitual sin, the fourth day in the tomb was compared to an old man stuck in his evil ways.[67] Bruno took the analogy further though in saying not only does Lazarus' death represent sin, but Lazarus signifies the sinner.[68] His resurrection therefore represented a personal redemption not for its own sake but for the glory of God.[69] The habitual sin that Bruno had in mind is revealed by his discussion of the role played by 'the Jews' in the miracle. He acknowledged that some of them went to console Mary and Martha but, as he rather grudgingly pointed out, " '*Erat autem Bethania juxta Hierosolymam quasi stadiis duodecim.' Non erat igitur valde difficile ad Martham et Mariam consolandam inde Judaeos Bethaniam advenisse*."[70] He criticised the scribes and Pharisees, arguing that it was their decision to have Jesus killed that caused the Jewish state to be overthrown (so upending Caiphas' prediction that failure to do so would result in this catastrophe).[71] However, according to Bruno, their decision was divinely inspired. He ascribed to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit Caiphas' suggestion that it was fitting that one man be killed so that a people are saved.[72] In this way the course of salvation history could continue to run true. For Bruno it was

[65] Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth*, p.165.
[66] Ibid., p.169.
[67] Bruno of Segni, *Commentaria in Joannem, Pars Secunda* Ch.32, PL Vol.165. col.541A.
[68] Ibid., col.541B.
[69] The idea that Lazarus had been personlly redeemed by his resurrection would be modified to suggest that he was converted by his experiences in the after-world and this underpinned much of the vision literature of the later Middle Ages the roots of which can be found in the twelfth century. See Ch.6.
[70] Bruno of Segni, *Commentaria in Joannem, Pars Secunda* Ch.32, PL Vol.165. col.542C.
[71] Ibid., Ch.33, PL Vol.165, col.546A.
[72] Ibid., col.546B.

of particular significance that these fateful events took place in the Temple and at Passover. According to the *Gospel of John* chapter 10, Jesus entered the temple through Solomon's gate on the feast of the dedication, the Encaenia, and it is at this moment that Bruno described him as dispensing the wisdom prefigured in the Old Testament books of that name.[73] In the Temple the priests conspired to have him killed. For Bruno, with this despoliation the Jews had surrendered their place in salvation history to the church of Jesus at the very time of the year that Christians would later assert a claim at the Holy Sepulchre to be their successors. Bruno ended his commentary on the *Gospel of John* chapter 11 with a direct appeal: ' *Si vultis scire, Judaei, et invenire Jesum, venite ad Ecclesiam, venite ad nos, et indicabimus eum vobis, non prodendo, sed credendo; non ut eum occidatis, sed ut nobiscum in eum credatis.*'[74] Their failure to convert when confronted by the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection was the cause of their rejection by God.

3.7 Rupert of Deutz: the *Commentary on John*

A younger contemporary of Bruno, Rupert of Deutz (c.1075-c.1130) wrote extensively on Christian-Jewish relations, and also on Lazarus. An exegete and controversialist, he strongly opposed the Cistercian reform of the Benedictine order and, even more vehemently, the new order of the Augustinian regular canons.[75] Rupert spent most of his career in Liège but on becoming abbot of Deutz across the Rhine from Cologne he would have encountered the Jewish community active in that city.[76] At the end of his life he was commissioned to write a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian. Rupert also wrote the first full scale commentary on the *Gospel of John* since Patristic times and although he used Lazarus as a vehicle for his concerns and prejudices throughout the corpus of his writing, it is in this lengthy work that most of what he had to say about him can be found. Rupert was clearly anxious to understand the role of the Jews in salvation history. He was sensitive to the Jewish charge that Christians believed that in rejecting the Jews God had changed his mind and that as this was an impossibility it must be untrue.[77]

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[73] Ibid., Ch.31, PL Vol.165, col.538A.
[74] Ibid., Ch.34, PL Vol.165, col.547B.
[75] Who would themselves be influential in defining the role of Lazarus' resurrection in salvation history. See below Ch.3.8, and Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology", pp.47-48.
[76] van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, p.242.
[77] Ibid., p.246.

Rupert therefore saw the rejection of the Jews by God as an integral part of that history. As van Engen has pointed out, Rupert's major contribution to the debate over salvation history was to do what Augustine would not: to see its direct relevance to contemporary history.[78] If Bede can be said to have 'weaponised' Augustinian tropes concerning Lazarus, Rupert deployed them.

Rupert divided his commentary into chapters which reflect those in the *Gospel of John* therefore the focus is principally on chapter 11. However, by way of prologue to his interpretation of the Lazarus resurrection, it is worth considering his treatment of the chapter immediately preceding, in which Jesus asserts his identity as the Good Shepherd. As with the Lazarus miracle, this too divided his Jewish listeners into believers and nonbelievers for, in so doing, Jesus provoked the attack from which he has fled at the beginning of the subsequent chapter.[79]

Rupert opened his commentary on chapter 10 with the verse "*Facta sunt autem Encaenia in Jerosolymis, et hiems erat.*"[80] Although this occurs halfway through the chapter, in referring to it at the beginning of this section Rupert emphasised the importance of this feast which was understood to be the dedication of Jerusalem as a Christian city. Rupert then proceeded to refer to the account in Maccabees when Jerusalem was menaced by renegade Jews. He interpreted the feast's occurring at a cold time of year as representing the impiety of the Jews "*quia mentes illorum a diuino ignes auersas, diabolus tamquam glacialis Boreas afflaerat*."[81] In this way Rupert placed the passages that follow within God's plan for the future course of salvation history. He distinguished between those who, using Jesus' analogy of the Good Shepherd, recognised the master's voice and those who did not.

In the *Gospel of John* Jesus is threatened with stoning, not for his actions but for his blaspheming.[82] Rupert interpreted this as a failure on the part of the Jews to understand the prophets. He likened them to Arians who, rejecting the Holy Spirit,

[78] Ibid., p.91.
[79] Jn:10,19-21.
[80] Taken from the Vulgate Jn:10,22, *Commentaria in Evangelium Sancti Iohannis*, ed. R. Haacke, CCCM 9 (1969), p.532, ll.18-19; also PL Vol.169, col.621A.
[81] Ibid., p.533, ll.41-42; also PL Vol.169, col.621C.
[82] Jn:10,33.

were blind to the true divine nature of Jesus. According to the text of the Gospel, Jesus responded to the charge of blasphemy by saying that if they did not believe in what he said his actions should compel them to believe. He then withdrew across the Jordan, something that Rupert interpreted as a baptismal act.[83] The scene was thus set for the final miracle in the *Gospel of John* before Jesus' own resurrection. The raising of Lazarus became a last chance for the Jews, after which their nation was divided between those who by Jesus' actions are compelled to believe and those who by their participation in his persecution and death were responsible for the catastrophe that befell Jerusalem.

The opening of Rupert's commentary on the *Gospel of John* chapter 11 immediately reinforced this by referring back to Jesus' statement: *"si uerbis meis non uultis credere, operibus credite."* to which Rupert adds *"O Iudaei, aut certe si non uultis intelligere, attendant et uidant*."[84] Of all the ways in which he could have begun his interpretation of the miracle, he chose to see it as the test of Jewish belief and ability or inability to see: *"Ecce in oculus uestris ante protas maximae uestrae ciuitatis Bethania quippe non plus quam stadiis quindecim distat ab Ierosolymis in oculis, inquam, uestris, o scribae et pharisaei, utriusque opifex resurrectionis opera fecit Patris sui*."[85] Jerusalem was so near to the "*domus obedientiae*" of Bethany, yet still they were blind. In Bethany, Mary and Martha represented the Church as it is now ("*praesentis Ecclesiae statum*").[86] The present tense is appropriate to God's eternal plan for salvation history. Rupert returned to this theme when discussing the four days Lazarus lay in the tomb. Where Augustine saw the interval as representing four kinds of sin, Rupert referred to the four ages of man, the first being "*ante legem*", the second, "*sub lege*", the third "*sub gratia*", in which the Holy Spirit operated following Jesus' resurrection, and the fourth being the future general judgment and resurrection. Jesus' decision to dawdle for two days before returning to Bethany on the third day indicated his actions were therefore "*sub gratia*" so announcing the end of the age that was "s*ub lege*".[87] At this point, Rupert's account of the resurrection of Lazarus became a thundering accusation thrown against the Jews. Even those who have gone to Mary and Martha to comfort

[83] *Commentaria in Joannem,* ed. Haacke, p.544, ll.500-506, PL Vol.169, col.631A.
[84] Ibid., p.545, ll.536-539; also PL Vol.169 col.631D.
[85] Ibid., p.545, ll.544-548; also PL Vol.169 col.631D/0632A.
[86] Ibid., p.548, l.637; also PL Vol.169 col.633D.
[87] Ibid., p.552, ll. 797-805; also PL Vol.169 cols.637D-637A.

them were not spared. Why, he asks, does Martha secretly tell Mary that "the Master" has come? It is because the sisters do not know who among those condoling with them had lately wished to stone Jesus.[88]

Rupert did not allow the above to exclude an Augustinian interpretation of the four days representing four kinds of sin. He interpreted the fourth kind, habitual sin, as representing sinning against the present-day church of Jesus. Rupert described the role played by the priests and Pharisees, and especially Caiphas, in ecclesiastical terms. When the priests ask what they should do with Jesus, they are referred to as a malignant church abandoned by the law and the prophets.[89] Like Bruno, Rupert presented the decisions of the priests as part of the divine plan. He called Caiphas' words prophetic because , according to him, from lying lips words of truth had been pulled. He added that Jesus had to die not just for the nation of Abraham, but for all, and that this had been predestined from the Creation.[90] In this manner the continuity of salvation history was assured. Finally, the name of the city to which Jesus fled following Lazarus' resurrection, Ephraim was defined as meaning to fructify: "*id est, in Ecclesia faciente fructum multiplicem*." [91]

For Rupert, the events surrounding Lazarus' resurrection had meaning principally because they documented God's rejection of the Jews. The Passover of the Jews therefore became their last: "*Porro, Iudaeorum, hoc pascha fuit ultimum. Quidquid enim ex tunc Iudaei sanctificant, pollutum est; quidquid bendicunt sacerdotes eorum, maledictum est...*".[92] The conversion of Mary, present at the meal attended by Lazarus following his resurrection, prefigured the conversion of the Gentiles. Mary and Martha living in the home of obedience, Bethany, signified Jesus' church.

3.8 Augustinians, Premonstratensians and the historical approach

Although neither Rupert nor Bruno were canons regular (and Rupert was a defender of the Benedictine tradition against the pretension of new orders), the preponderance of Augustinian canons and especially Premonstratensians among

[88] Ibid., p.544, ll.909-914; also PL Vol.169 col.639A.
[89] Ibid., p.562, ll 1214-1231; also PL Vol.169 col.645A.
[90] Ibid., p.564, ll.1301-1309; also PL Vol.169 col.646D.
[91] Ibid., p.566, ll.1359-1360; also PL Vol.169 col.648A.
[92] Ibid. ll.1369-1372.

those who had most to say about Lazarus during the twelfth century is remarkable.[93] Canons distinguished themselves from monks by drawing on patristic sources to justify an emphasis on pastoral care, *docere verbo et exemplo.*[94] Their interest in both the active and contemplative life drew them to comment on Lazarus' sisters Martha and Mary as exemplars of these two models of spiritual practice. Premonstratensians, a new ascetic subset of canons regular, drew their inspiration from Augustine, establishing themselves in the second decade of the twelfth century in the Moselle region.[95] Within this order there developed a theology of history which though it claimed a filial relationship to Augustine, was in fact divergent. Augustine saw the Incarnation as the end of history.[96] Premonstratensian thinking saw meaningful history as carrying on into the present day and the imminent future. It divided history into periods defined by the growth of the Church: a time of heresy, a time of reform, and just before the end of time, the Anti-Christ.[97] Although Rupert of Deutz set himself against these new orders, their approach to history reflected his concerns.[98]

An early adopter of the Praemonstratensian rule, Zachary of Besançon (†c.1155) is known for his exegetical work, *In unum ex quatuor* in which he attempted to reconcile differences and contradictions among the four Gospels. Zachary is believed to have been master of the cathedral school at Besançon, a city which played its part in the development of the cult of Lazarus.[99] He left that city in 1134 to become a Praemonstrian canon at Saint-Martin in Laon.[100] While *In unum ex quatuor* is primarily patristic in inspiration, relying on Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome, it also addresses scholastic questions of his age, such as the nature of absolution, divine foreknowledge and the Trinity.[101]

[93] Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology", pp.47-49.
[94] See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1982), pp.53-8 for a discussion of canonical focus on teaching.
[95] Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology...", p.49.
[96] Ibid., p.53.
[97] Ibid., p.54.
[98] Ibid., p.68.
[99] See Ch.4.4.
[100] See Bernard de Vrégille, "Notes sur la Vie Et L'œuvre De Zacharie De Besançon", *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 41.3-4 (1965), pp. 293-309.
[101] Ibid., p.304.

Zachary interpreted the Lazarus story in language strongly reminiscent of Rupert. He described the Jews as living in darkness and contrasted the hospitality of 'obedient' Bethany with the lack of welcome in Jerusalem.[102] Zachary also understood the four days of Lazarus' death as signifying the four ages of man. However, he defined these somewhat differently from Rupert. For him, the first age was that of Adam, the second of natural law, the third of Mosaic law, and the fourth the one announced by the Evangelists. [103] Zachary considered Bethany as an appropriate location for the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection by virtue of its proximity to Jerusalem. However, he went on to say that those Jews who convert at the end of time will hurry to Jerusalem not because it is so close to Bethany but because they have understood the true spirit of the Old and New Testaments. [104] In this passage we can hear a genuinely Rupertian anxiety that Jews should understand the continuity of the divine plan. Their conversion involves a recognition that the Old and New Testaments cohere and, in this way, they can pass from Bethany to Jerusalem.

A later Augustinian commentator, the Spaniard Martin of Leon (c.1130-1203), elaborated on Bethany both geographically and with reference to Augustinian theological history. Martin pondered over the significance of the two Bethanies mentioned in the New Testament. The first is on the far side of the Jordan (from the viewpoint of Jerusalem) and it is where John the Baptist baptised Jesus. He believed that this Bethany represented human nature before the era of grace that flowed from Jesus' incarnation. The human baptism offered by John the Baptist here is not accompanied by forgiveness of sin. The second 'true' Bethany was where Lazarus was raised from the dead, on the near side of the Jordan, and not far from Jerusalem. This Bethany represented human nature obedient to the law of grace, and where Lazarus' resurrection freed men from sin. [105] For Martin, this geography

[102] *In unum ex quatuor, Sive de concordia evangelistarium,* CH.118, PL Vol.186, col.373D.
[103] Ibid., Ch. 135, PL Vol.186, cols.431C-D.
[104] Ibid., 135: "*Quod Bethania (id est domus obedientiae, ubi suscitandus erat mortuus) vicina est Hierosolymis, mysterio convenit. Gens namque Judaeorum que in fine saeculi convertetur cito Jerusalem (id est ad pacis visionem) perveniet, non tamen nisi expletis quindecim stadiis, id est, per cognitionem Veteris et Novi Testamenti spiritualem*.", PL Vol.186, cols.431D-432A.
[105] "*Duae sunt Bethaniae: una videlicit trans Jordanem; altera citra, non longe a Jerusalem, ubi Lazarus suscitatus est. Illa quae est trans Jordanem, significat naturam humanam sub lege naturale ant fluent gratiae... il vero Bethania, quae est citra Jordanem circa Jerusalem, significat eamdem humanam naturam obedientem sub lege gratiae, que est proxima Jerusalem.*" *Sermo Quartus in Natale Domini* II, Ch.10, PL Vol.208, cols.198A-B.

in which the two Bethanies were located on either side of the river Jordan, corresponded to the moment in history which separated human law from divine. The place of Lazarus' resurrection became the place/time of conversion. In another sermon he associated Jesus' tears for Lazarus with his tears for Jerusalem, foreseeing the obduracy of the Jews. Martin reinforced this familiar conversion theme by comparing these tears with those of Moses, as Bede had done before him. Moses' discovery by the Nile was conflated into Jesus' baptism in the Jordan and, as a result, the resurrection of Lazarus was presented as the moment when the new, post-Mosaic dispensation became available to all those not hardened in their hearts.[106]

Hugh of Saint-Victor (1096-1141) took an extreme position on the question of the role of Jews in salvation history. He asserted that from the time of the Fall, God's grace was never lacking and so from the beginning there were always Christians: "*Vnde patet quod ab initio & si non nomine re tamen christiani fuerunt*."[107] In his commentary on Paul's first letter to the Corinthians he speculates that the devil was sufficiently impressed by Jesus' raising of Lazarus to consider him to be divine. However, once Jesus' submitted himself to the humiliation of the Passion the devil revised his opinion believing him to be purely human. Hugo goes on to wonder whether the Jews persecuted Jesus knowing him to be the messiah.[108] In stating that Christianity, and therefore a Christian understanding of Jesus, was latent in Judaism he declares that Judaism as a belief ceased to exist once Christianity was patent.

Hugh taught the importance of the Bible as understood in a literal and historical sense.[109] In her study of medieval bible scholarship Beryl Smalley saw the *Historia Scholastica* of the Augustinian Peter Comestor (c.1100-1179) as a vindication of

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[106] "*Infans Moyses in ripa fluminis positus probat, quia Christus peccata veteris hominis, quem induerat, deflebat. Unde et super civitatem Jerusalem, et ad resuscitandum Lazarum flevit, Judaeorum deplorans perfidiam, qua in sua malitia perdurare praevidit.*" *Sermo Decimus Quintus. In dominica Quarta Quadragesimae*, PL Vol.208, col.770D.

[107] *De sacramentis Christiane fidei,* Corpus Victorinum Textus historici 1, ed. R. Berndt (Aschendorf, 2008), part 8, p.203, ll.1-2; PL Vol. 176, col.312D. See Moore, *Jews and Christians in the Life and Thought of Hugh of St. Victor,* pp.7 and 33.

[108] "*Vel in veritate aliqui eorum cognoverunt ipsum esse illum qui in lege et prophetis promissus erat*." *Quaestiones et decisiones in epistolas D. Pauli*; II. *In epistolam I ad Corinthios,* PL Vol.175, col.518A.

[109] Clark, *The Making of the* Historia scholastica*,* p.23.

Hugh's insistence on the primacy of history.[110] Although he had little new to say on the Lazarus story, the *Historia* marks the way Augustine's symbolic thinking about Lazarus' resurrection developed in the twelfth century into historical thinking. The portion dealing with the New Testament is divided into 197 chapters and the ordering of the chapter headings that culminate in the resurrection of Lazarus is instructive. Chapter 100 deals with the miracle of the man blind from birth. [111] There follow: the simile of the camel and the needle's eye, the necessity of abandoning wealth, the parable of Lazarus and Dives, the parable of the unjust steward, the possibility of salvation for the Jews, the pride of the Pharisees, the attempt to stone Jesus on the feast of the Encaenia, and then the resurrection of Lazarus. This conflation and re-ordering of Gospel narratives establishes a narrative which sees this miracle as a rebuttal of the stubborn and haughty disbelief shown by the Jewish priestly class.

Augustinians saw history as having an imminent apocalyptic termination.[112] In Guibert of Nogent's account of Urban II's sermon in Clermont, the pope argues that the retaking of Jerusalem was a necessary prelude to the coming of the Antichrist.[113] This vision of history informs the works of the Augustinian canon Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169) in Bavaria who addressed many of the same concerns as Rupert of Deutz and Bruno of Segni. A supporter of papal reform Gerhoh located the end of time in present day history seeing the Antichrist in contemporary evil doers. Like Bruno of Segni, Gerhoh saw the church as militant with the bible as the "*liber bellorum Domini.*"[114] Together with Rupert of Deutz and Honorius Augustodunensis, Gerhoh is considered to represent a school of thought characterised as 'reformist apocalypticism' in which a focus on the end of time lent urgency to the project of Church renovation.[115] He was a critic of the Second Crusade, blaming the avarice of the Jerusalemites for its failure.[116] In *De*

[110] *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages,* p.214.
[111] Peter Comestor *Historia scholastica,* PL Vol.198., col.587D-1594A.
[112] See Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology" pp.45-46.
[113] McGinn, *Antichrist,* p.121.
[114] Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *In Psalmum.* 150, PL Vol. 94, col.997B. See U. G. Leinsle, "*Deo militans clericus"* Rittertum und Kreig im Werk Philipps von Harvengt," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 77 (2001), pp.94-120.
[115] Whalen, *Dominion of God,* p.74.
[116] Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham-Burlington VT, 2008), p.289.

investigatione Antichristi Gerhoh blamed the sins of the crusaders generally. [117] It was avarice which, in Gerhoh's eyes, characterised the Fourth Age of the Church, heralding the Antichrist.[118]

Gerhoh thus contrasts the age of law with the age of grace, tracing the trajectory of history to its approaching end. As was often the case with other commentators, many of Gerhoh's references to Lazarus occurred within his commentaries on the Psalms, thus addressing the concern that the New Testament dispensation should be understood as a continuation of the old. In his commentary on Psalm 64 Lazarus' resurrection formed part of a group of significant events in Jesus' life emphasising how the era of the Psalmist was a prelude to the Christian age of grace.[119] Brett Whalen has pointed out how in this commentary written before the Second Crusade, Gerhoh likened the post-Constantinian Church to the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem following the liberation of Israel from its Babylonian captivity.[120] In doing so he placed the Church in Old Testament salvation history. Elsewhere in Gerhoh's commentaries on the Psalms, the Lazarus miracle was presented as a stage on an itinerary from Ephrem *juxta desertum* to Bethany and then on to Jerusalem, thereby physically tracing the route of the Church from the old to the new dispensation via the resurrection of Lazarus.[121] Jesus was referred to as weeping over the mortal sin represented by Lazarus as well as the city of sinners.[122] The resurrection of Lazarus was contrasted with the death of Adam, both of which provoke justified tears.[123] Again, the resurrection of Lazarus both connects the Old and the New Testament and marks the moment when the mantle of salvation history is placed on the followers of Jesus. Peter's tears, Jesus' tears, the tears of the universal Church are all provoked by the sin entombed with Lazarus.[124]

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[117] Whalen, *Dominion of God,* p.73.
[118] McGinn, *Antichrist,* p.123.
[119] *Expositionis in Psalmos, Psalmus* 64, PL Vol.194, col.60A.
[120] Whalen, *Dominion of God,* p.96. See Damien Van den Eynde, *L'Œuvre Littéraire de Géroch de Reichersberg* (Rome, 1957), p.305.
[121] *Expositionis in Psalmos, Psalmus* 54, PL Vol.193, col.1650A.
[122] "*Namque, cum ibi esset, ut ait Joannes, in civitate, quae dicitur Ephrem juxta desertum, erat quidam languens, Lazarus a Bethania, quae sita est in Judaea, et metropoli summae Judaeorum Jerusalem vicina est.*", ibid., *Psalmus* 55, PL Vol. 193, col. 1681A.
[123] "*Demoratus est ergo fletus usque ad Christum, qui in seipso demonstrans, quanta sit causa flendi in hoc mundo propter mortem et mortalitatem, quam post meridiem circa vesperam incidit Adam, et ipse mortuum Lazarum ploravit humano affectu, quem fuerat resuscitaturus virtute divina.*", ibid., *Psalmus* 29, PL Vol.193, col.1265B.
[124] Ibid., *Psalmus* 21, PL Vol.193, cols.1018D, 1019B.

To Lazarus' resurrection attached itself the divine grace which confirmed the Church as successor to Israel in God's plan.

Gerhoh divided the history of the Church into four epochs, likening them to the four watches of the apostles while they sailed on the Sea of Galilee before Jesus meets them, walking on water.[125] Honorius Augustodunensis (c.1080-c.1154) also described the four ages of man in his *Exposition on the Song of Songs.* However, unlike Gerhoh, whose first epoch is the time of the persecution of the Church under the Romans, Honorius' fourth age was that of the apostles, which he calls "*sub gratia*".[126] In so doing Honorius made the common division of history between that of Jewish law and Christian grace.[127] Honorius' most significant contribution to contemporary interpretations of the Lazarus story is to be found in a passage in his *Speculum ecclesiae* in which he considers Palm Sunday. Palm Sunday conventionally provoked discussion of Lazarus whose resurrection in the *Gospel of John* immediately precedes Jesus' triumphant entry into Jerusalem. Honorius introduced these events with a reference to the Apocalypse starting with lines from Psalm 90: "*Super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem."* The lion is the Antichrist and the dragon the Devil.[128] For Honorius, Lazarus' resurrection was not merely to be understood as prefiguring Jesus' resurrection but the general resurrection at the end of time. Again, this interpretation is not novel, but given the apocalyptic bestiary that precedes it, and given the way in which Honorius and his reforming peers understood the contemporary historical significance of the end of time, this sharpened the reference by ascribing apocalyptic meaning to those perceived as the Church's contemporary enemies. His description of and commentary on the miracle is conventional, though his choice of words to describe the Pharisees, '*scilicet Judaeorum clerici,*' has reformist overtones.[129] Glosses of these lines in the *Gospel of John's* account do not elsewhere make refer to the Pharisees as clergy. It suggested a connection between those who conspired to have Jesus killed and the sinful clergy of his day.

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[125]McGinn, *Antichrist,* p.122.
[126] Ibid., p.117.
[127] Whalen, *Dominion of God,* pp.81-2.
[128] "*Per leonem antichristus intelligitur...draco maximum serpentium est diabolus*", *Speculum ecclesiae, Dominica in Palmis,* PL Vol.172, cols.915C-D.
[129] Ibid., col.916D.

Honorius continued with a conventional interpretation of Lazarus' four days in the tomb signifying four types of sin, the fourth being ingrained "*mala consuetudine*", and he goes on to connect this with the four ages of man. [130] In the fourth, Jesus' command to two of his disciples to find him an ass for his entry into Jerusalem was interpreted as a reference to the two Testaments and two peoples, Jews and Gentiles.[131] In this way Lazarus' resurrection heralded the moment of conversion. Like others, such as Hugh of St Victor, Honorius made this interpretation of Jesus' command in order to emphasise the continuity of the new and old dispensations. As ever, underlying this is an anxiety about how Jews could become good Christians.

In a later example of Premonstratensian writing about Lazarus, Honorius' concern to see the good in the Jews as proto-Christians is replaced with less nuanced hostility. Adam of Dryburgh, (†1212) in his sermon *De bonus et malis auditoribus* glossed the reference to the Jews who came not just to see Jesus but also the resurrected Lazarus with a quotation from Luke in which King Herod is anxious to see Jesus "*because he had heard many things of him; and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him*".[132] He dismissed them as all unredeemed. For Adam, their coming to Lazarus was not a sign of belief but mere curiosity. The continuity Honorius was reaching for in this moment of conversion was replaced by a radical rupture.

The approach of Praemonstratensians to Lazarus is encapsulated by Philip of Harvengt (c.1100-1182) abbot of Bonne-Espérance. Like Bruno and Gerhoh, Philip saw connections between religious and military virtues. In his biography of Augustine Philip praised the saint as spiritual father of the Augustinians. Carol Neel has suggested that Philip shared with fellow Praemonstrian, Anselm of Havelberg, a vision of their order's historical mission inspired by their regard for Augustine.[133] Neel connected Philip' *Vita Augustini* with Anselm's *Dialogues* insofar as both had

[130] Ibid., PL Vol.172, col.918C.
[131] "*Duos misit, quia duo Testamenta duos populos, Judaicum scilicet et gentilem, doceri voluit*.", ibid., col. 919B.
[132] Lk:23,8 KJV. Adam of Dryburgh, "*Et ille iniquus, de quo legimus, quod erat cupiens a multo tempore eum videre: quia sperabat se aliquod signum ab eo videre fieri*. ", *Sermon* 11, PL Vol.198, col.158B.
[133] Neel, "Philip of Harvengt and Anselm of Havelberg".

a Praemonstratensian understanding of Augustine as the spiritual founder of their community dedicated to promoting Church renewal. In seeing history as an "*unfolding of providence*" this vision had an historical and eschatological focus peculiarly relevant to an interest in the *Gospel of John* in general and Lazarus in particular. [134] In a letter on martyrdom Philip compared the resurrection of Lazarus and the subsequent plotting by the high priests to have him killed to the conversion and martyrdom of Paul. [135] This is not uncommon.[136] However Philip went on to compare the part played by Lazarus' resurrection in the conversion of the Jews with Paul's in the conversion of the Gentiles. He also paired them as objects of the lethal enmity of the Jews.[137] Finally Lazarus' second, holier death (of which more in Chapter 5) was lauded as a martyrdom. Lazarus the story was becoming Lazarus the man. [138]

Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090-1153) interpretation of the Lazarus miracle contrasted with those of the Augustinian and Premonstratensian writers examined above. Chazan, in tracing the development of anti-Jewish attitudes in the twelfth century, pointed out that though Bernard was critical of the Jews, he did not see them as posing a threat to Christendom. But as David Berger in his analysis of Bernard's attitude towards the Jews has shown, the great church reformer mixed a theological toleration of the Jews' place in salvation history with hostility to the Jews as a people.[139] Unlike Rupert of Deutz, there is no evidence that Bernard was personally familiar with any Jews. Also, unlike Rupert, he resolved the dilemma surrounding the continuity of God's plan, by asserting that the Jews continued to be the recipients of divine favour. This theological tolerance did affect the way Bernard understood Lazarus in salvation history. Although he regarded Lazarus as a conversion saint his approach is somewhat different to his Premonstratensian contemporaries and much more straightforwardly patristic. But where Augustine

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[134] Ibid., p.484. Neel notes this focus on Augustine was found more generally among reformers. Rupert of Deutz also wrote a *Vita Augustini.*

[135] *Letter* 14, PL vol.203, col.131B.

[136] An early example being Gregory the Great in the Dialogues. See Ch.1, Also Bede, *De Psalmorum libro exegesis, In psalmum* 9, PL Vol.93 col.531A.

[137] *Letter* 14, PL Vol.203, cols.131B-132B.

[138] "*Denique Lazarus non ad unam tantum mortem corporaliter devenisse, sed post unam, creditur rursus alteram invenisse; plane signans quemvis justum ditari munere gratiae tam fecundo, ut primo sancte mortuus, moriatur sanctius et secundo.*" Ibid., col.132B.

[139] Berger, David, "The Attitude of St. Bernard of Clairvaux toward the Jews", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 40 (1972), 89-108.

saw Lazarus' four days entombed as representing four kinds of sin, Bernard replaced this with four days along the road to conversion. Day one was fear. Day two was strife as the soul struggles with the devil: "*Solet nempe inter primordia conversionis acrius insurgere tentatio pravae consuetudinis, et vix exstingui possunt iacula ignita diaboli*."[140] Days three and four were grief and shame. For a church reformer, penitence and conversion had to be linked.

3.9 After the Second Crusade

Although Bernard was a central figure in the years leading up to the Second Crusade, he did not place his interpretation of the resurrection of Lazarus in the context of the events in Outremer. Others in the years following the Second Crusade supplemented the eschatological context within which writing about Lazarus was situated with interpretations of more immediate contemporary relevance . The Lazarus miracle had been seen by twelfth-century theologians primarily as a conversion event which addressed concerns about the course of salvation history and the role of Jews in that story. These writers also understood 'conversion' to mean reform, a turning away from the old, sinful, practices of the Church.[141] In this way Lazarus' resurrection was seen to have a historical significance for both the past and the present. Because it could be defined as the moment when the age of Jewish law gave way to that of Christian grace, those writers who saw their present day as raising the curtain on the end of time saw in the miracle a contemporary significance as well. This interpretation, which had been dependent upon an historical interpretation of biblical events, was given added meaning by the failure of the Second and subsequent Crusades. Sicard, bishop of Cremona, (†1215) writing nearly a century after Rupert of Deutz, and present in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, doubtless had reason enough to ponder the mixed fortunes of crusaders since the first capture of Jerusalem. Sicard made the familiar association between Lazarus' death representing sin and a bad conscience. He saw Lazarus the Beggar in Luke as persecuted by Jews, infidels, heretics and bad Catholics.[142] To each of them he ascribed a particular vice:

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[140] *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Vol.5, eds. J. Leclercq, C. Talbot, H. Rochais (Rome, 1968), *In Assumptione B.V. Mariae, Sermo 4, De quatriduo Lazari, et praeconio Virginis*, p.246, ll.2-3.
[141] Whalen, *Dominion of God,* p.75.
[142] *De officiis ecclesiasticis summa,* Bk.6*,* Ch.8, PL Vol.213, col.286B. See Ch.6.5 for a discussion of the ways in which Lazarus of Bethany and Lazarus the Beggar were understood as being interconnected.

to heretics, hypocrisy; to Gentiles and bad Catholics sensuousness, an accusation often thrown at the Christians of Outremer; to the Jews, who figure first in his list, he attaches the sin of pride. Sicard wrote that the Jews only say that they are the children of Abraham and the inheritors of the law of Moses: "*Judaei purpira carnis est nobilitas, de qua gloriabantur dicentes, Nos filii Abrahae sumus; epulum vero ipsius, lex Mosaica.".*[143] Whereas Rupert of Deutz was troubled by the idea that salvation history had once changed course, switching from the Jews to Christians, this association of bad Christians with the Jews suggests that Sicard worried that that military failure in the East presaged another change. This is reflected in the writing of his contemporary, Peter of Blois (c.1130-c.1211). Like Rupert, Peter was the author of an anti-Jewish tract and made the conventional association of Jesus' tears over Lazarus with his contemplation of the future destruction of Jerusalem: *"Et quid salsius, quid amarius lacrymis Christi in suscitatione Lazari, in futura subversione Jerusalem*."[144] But whereas Rupert of Deutz would have had the destruction of AD 70 in mind, it is likely that this author of a life of the unfortunate Reginald of Châtillon, executed by Saladin, was thinking of the city's fall in 1187.[145]

This theme is taken up by the Cistercian Thomas of Perseigne, (†1190) in his commentary on the Song of Songs . Thomas distinguished the motives behind Jesus' tears for Lazarus being those of contrition, and those for Jerusalem being those of compassion, presumably for the city rather than its inhabitants.[146] He attaches to a reference to '*Lazarus quatriduanus*' lines from the Old Testament: "*How happeneth it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies land, that thou art waxen old in a strange country, that thou are defiled with the dead?*"[147] Lazarus' interment is seen as representing Israel's defilement under the infidel. Later in this commentary, Thomas associates Lazarus with the protomartyr Stephen, and compares Jesus' tears over Jerusalem and Lazarus with the Jews' exile in Egypt.[148] Lazarus was on the way to becoming both a victim and a refugee.

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[143] Ibid., Bk.8, Ch. 1, PL Vol.213, col.388B.
[144] Peter of Blois, *Sermon* IV, PL Vol.207, col.574D.
[145] *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane.*
[146] Thomas of Perseigne, *In Cantica Canticorum,* Bl.1, Ch.1, PL Vol.206, col.54C.
[147] Ibid., Bk.4, Ch.1. Trans. KJV, Baruch 3.9, PL vol.206, col.236C.
[148] "*lapides torrentes cum omni alacritate suscipiendo, et inter hos pro inimicis devote orando*", ibid., Bk.7, Ch.5, PL Vol.206, col.533B; "*Sic filii Israel planxerunt onerati luto et latere in Aegypto; cantaverunt laudem Domino, transito mari Rubro; pugnaverunt cum adversariis in deserto: sic et Christus primo planxit super civitatem et ad sepulcrum Lazari lacrymando.*", ibid., Bk.10, Ch.7, PL Vol.206, col.681C.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that patristic interpretations of the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection were redefined in the twelfth century to reflect contemporary concerns about the role of the Church in salvation history. Although, as Chapter 2 suggested, Lazarus the man was venerated in Germany as early as the eleventh century and possibly before then, these texts, with the exception of Philip of Harvengt's reference to Lazarus' second and holier death, do not reveal any intention of ascribing meaning to the man rather than the miracle.

Nevertheless, the saintly identity of Lazarus would be dependent upon a change in the way in which Lazarus, as the object of the resurrection miracle, was understood. The radical nature of this change was to some extent disguised by continuities in the language employed by churchmen of the twelfth century and their patristic precursors. Lazarus' death and resurrection remained an out of time signifier of sin and death. However, added to that meaning was the belief that the miracle was an historical event which heralded the fall, rebirth (and fall again?) of Jerusalem. It became a signpost of God's divine plan as revealed in that history. These texts show how interpretations of Lazarus' resurrection could develop along side the episcopal status invented for Lazarus in Byzantium. The Lazarus venerated in Constantinople and in Germany would appear to have been a reflection of imperial concerns. The texts examined in this chapter show how his resurrection was embraced to articulate the broader anxieties of a universal Church. The following two chapters will look at how the meaning attached to both the man and the miracle coalesced and localised to give rise to cults of Lazarus in Autun and Marseille .

4. The body of Lazarus: Autun

4. 1 Introduction

In 1120 construction started on what was to become the church of Saint-Lazare in Autun, the only major basilica consecrated to Lazarus in the West. Dedicated in 1131 by Pope Innocent II, by 1146 it was sufficiently complete for the bones of Lazarus to be transferred from the cathedral church of Saint-Nazaire to their new resting place.[1] Although relics of Lazarus were venerated in churches and monasteries throughout the western Empire for much of the previous century, only here and at this time does a cult of Lazarus materialise. Later tradition ascribed the presence of the relics of Lazarus in Autun to an act of *furtum sacrum* in which a bishop Gérard was believed to have rescued them from the threat of Saracen depredation in Provence in the last quarter of the tenth century. The evidence for this tradition predating the construction of the church is unconvincing. Rather veneration of Lazarus at Autun was the product of a tradition with its roots in the western portion of the Empire, a region with which the church of Autun was connected in the eleventh century.

Why was this so? This chapter will argue that the principal driver behind the church's construction was the desire to make manifest the authority and prestige of the Autun bishops combined with their conviction that they had the means to do so. The previous two chapters have examined parallel developments in thinking about Lazarus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. On the one hand there is evidence that might suggest that relics of Lazarus were deposed and venerated in locations that suggest that Lazarus was seen as a figure of Eastern and episcopal prestige. On the other, the miracle of his resurrection was interpreted as representing the continuity of the authority of Jesus' Church over the entire span of salvation history. The Church at Autun, and in particular its bishops, believed that they were able to deploy these perceptions because of their conviction that they possessed not just a relic but the entire body of Lazarus. As a later description of the translation of his remains into Saint-Lazare put it, the "*Lord*" Lazarus was

[1] The exact date is disputed. It may have been be 1147 or 48. See Charmasse, " Un Précis Historique" cxliii.

conveyed to his "*new home*". In this way the patronage of the saint over Church and community was assured.[2]

4.2 Lazarus' predecessors at Autun

Before examining the early evidence for veneration of Lazarus at Autun, it is worth briefly considering those saints who preceded him there. A comparison between them and the cult of Benignus in neighbouring Dijon provides an understanding of why there was space for his cult to be inserted in the twelfth century and then flourish. The veneration of saints in Burgundy, as elsewhere in France, was a means by which those lands could establish their connection with the ancient centres of Christian authority. As Ian Wood has observed, the West "*could not claim to be a Christian Holy Land- the events of the New Testament had for the most part taken place far to the east*".[3] In order to remedy this difficulty, three distinct, though often interwoven, strategies can be identified: the Christianisation of local holy sites; the creation of local martyr cults; and the establishment of a connection with the East.

These strategies can be recognised as present in the cult of Benignus of Dijon, established in the sixth century. Although not a bishop, his story is reminiscent of the hagiography of legendary founding bishops in southern France to be discussed in the next chapter. Benignus is sent on a mission to Gaul by Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.[4] Together with his colleagues Andochius and Thyrsus he travels to Autun and Benignus travels on to Langres. When Andochius is put to death in Saulieu, Benignus then goes on to Dijon where he is also martyred. Not only does this, as Wood points out, "*provide an account of the Christianisation of a considerable area of northern Burgundy*", it also creates a hierarchy of sanctity favouring Saulieu and Dijon, the sites of these saints' martyrdoms, over Autun and Langres.[5] This prefigures similar hierarchies connected with the promotion at Autun of Lazarus' cult in the following millennium. The story of Benignus serves, therefore, to sanctify

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[2] *"...dominum ad domum propriam deportaverunt..."*, *Relation de l'anonyme*, ch. 11, transcribed in Faillon, *Monuments inédits,* Vol.2, col. 709-724. See below, Ch.4.7 for a discussion of this text.
[3] Ibid., p.155.
[4] "*Passio Sanctorum Irenaei, Andochii et Sociorun atque Benigni*, Les Actes des martyrs d'Aurélien en Bourgogne: le Texte de Farfa", *Analecta Bollandiana* 79, ed. J. van der Straeten, (1961), pp.447-68. See Wood, "Constructing Cults in Early Medieval France", pp.161-163 for a fuller account.
[5] Ibid., p.162.

a pre-Christian cult centre, provides a connection with the Christian heartlands, and gives to Burgundy relics with an established Eastern provenance.

By contrast, whereas the cult of Benignus dominated the religious life of Dijon, the saints associated with Autun over the first millennium could be interpreted as being less successful. They lacked the quality of being conversion saints responsible for the conversion of the cities in which they were venerated. Symphorien, the first saint whose martyrdom was recorded as having taken place at Autun, was believed to have been a disciple of Benignus. However, he was not credited with the conversion of that city. A monastery at Autun was dedicated to him in the fifth century and it may be that the first episcopal church of Autun was dedicated to the saint but this patronage was very short lived, for in the sixth century he was supplanted by Nazarius.[6]

The relics of Nazarius were brought to Autun from Milan in 542 by its bishop Nectarius. Nazarius had been unknown before the discovery of his tomb by Ambrose at the end of the fourth century but according to a *passio* dating from the middle of the fifth century, he was the son of a Christian mother and a pagan father. He travelled through Italy preaching and his journeying took him to Milan, Nice and Rome, where he converted his father and was thrown into the sea for his pains. [7] Nazarius' relics had been among those distributed by Ambrose in c.396 and by the time bishop Nectarius came to Milan a century and a half later he had to content himself with a piece of fabric stained with the saint's blood.[8] It was on this piece that Nazarius' patronage of Autun depended, unchallenged until the twelfth century.[9]

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[6] J.-B. Pitra, *Histoire de Saint Léger, etc.* (Paris, 1846) p.190.

[7] Paulinus, *Vita Sancti Ambrosii*, PL Vol.14, col.38B.

[8]Alan Thacker, " *Loca Sanctorum*, The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints " in Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West, eds. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe(Oxford, 2002) p.7. and Philibert Gagnarre, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Autun* (Autun, 1774) p.24.

[9] Body parts and even items that can be associated with saints were considered as valid as more substantial relics though misgivings were expressed about the subdivision of the bodies of saints. Wortley, "The origins of Christian veneration of body-parts", for early Christian veneration of body parts and Anathasius' opposition to the practice. Also, Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, (Munich, 1994), esp. Ch.8.

The third saint in the Autun constellation had the advantage of actually being the bishop of that city. A protégé of the Merovingian queen Bathilde, Leodegar played an important role in Merovingian politics. His involvement in the murder of his fellow bishop, Saint Praejectus of Clermont did not prevent his own canonisation. Leodegar was remembered as an important patron of the church of Autun, donating land adjacent to Saint-Nazaire for a charity which doled out bread to the paupers of the city. Upon this land the church of Saint-Lazare would eventually be built.[10] Leodegar was remembered as an important exemplar of episcopal activism and his relics came to be conserved in Saint-Lazare. However, he could not be recognised as a founding bishop responsible for Autun's conversion, nor as possessing links with the ancient centres of Christianity.

It was this hagiographic landscape into which the cult of Lazarus was able to insert itself and eventually dominate. Changes of this kind were not unusual, and the adoption of the cult of Mary Magdalen at Vézelay in the eleventh century is only one other example of this process. Lazarus was endowed with biblical prestige and impeccable connections with centres of Eastern Christianity, however he was not seen before the emergence of hagiography in the thirteenth century (in which he figures as the founding bishop of Marseille) as a saint responsible for the conversion of any city in the West. Lazarus did not assume the patronage of Autun because he was believed to be responsible for the city's conversion but neither were Symphorien, Nazarius or Leodegar. Given the incumbent saints, there was space for a cult of Lazarus. Where a city's patron possessed the qualities of being responsible for the conversion of that community and a connection with the East as was Benignus at Dijon this was far less likely to be the case.[11]

4.3 *Furtum sacrum* and the cult of Lazarus in Autun

The cult of Lazarus depended not upon the conviction that he had been responsible for the conversion of the city, but rather that Autun possessed the body of the saint. Later tradition explained his presence there with a story of sacred theft, *furtum sacrum*, in which his bones are taken from Marseille, then under threat of Saracen

[10] Devoucoux, *Du Culte de Saint Lazare à Autun...*, p.258.
[11] This argument will be pursued further in the following chapter with reference to the legendary founding bishops of southern France, notably Trophime of Arles and Saturnin of Toulouse.

depredation. Bernard de Vrégille and Victor Saxer, the two principal twentieth-century historians of his cult in Autun, contend that this later tradition is based on a belief predating the construction of Saint-Lazare. They argue that it is founded upon the translation of what were believed to be the bones of Lazarus into the city from Provence in the tenth century. This is notwithstanding the fact that the first unambiguous evidence testifying to this belief is found in two obits with an Autun provenance dating from the thirteenth century. They record that at that time it was believed that Lazarus' relics were brought to the city from Marseille by a bishop Gérard. Little is known of this bishop (and it has even been suggested that this bishop might have been confused with a later bishop of Autun, Girard de la Roche (1253-1276/82), though Saxer and de Vrégille believed that the obits refer to a tenth-century bishop Gérard (c.970 to 976).[12]

The first of the obits is contained in a thirteenth-century Autun martyrology:
Sexto decimo k.ian ...Eodem die, natale beati Lazari martyris quem dominus Ihesus Christus, sicut in euangelio legitur, sucitauit a mortuis. Postea uero a Domiciano interfectus est. Corpus uero eius a Tito et Vespasiano apud urbem Marsiliensem deductum est; deinde post multa annorum curricula, a Gerardo antistite, permittente Deo, apud urbem Eduam cum gratiarum actione iterum deductum est.[13]
This entry , though made after the mid-twelfth-century construction of Saint-Lazare and quite detailed regarding the post-resurrection career of the saint (not to mention confusing in suggesting that Domitian predated Titus and Vespasian as well implying that Lazarus survived his resurrection by some 300 years), makes no reference to the translation of his remains to that building. For the translation of his relics to Saint-Lazare one must rely upon a necrology of the chapter of Autun, also from the thirteenth century, within which is the following entry recording the death of Gérard:
Octavo decimo kalendas Maii. Obit bone memorie Gerardus episcopus Eduensis, qui corpus beati Lazari c(h)attriduani mortui, quem Dominus suscitauit, pro quo lacrimatus est dicens: lazare ueni foras, cum magna ueneratione apud Eduam attulit, pro cuius anniuersario tesaurarius beati Lazari tenetur soluere (centum)

[12] Saxer, "Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay"; de Vrégille, "Sainte Lazare d'Autun".
[13] Paris, BN lat. 9883, f.62r°., transcription Saxer's transcription in "Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay", p.5. is surprisingly incorrect.

uiginti solidos parisienses. Iacet in ecclesia beati Lazari retro altaris sancti Ioannis euuangeliste."[14]

Although this second obit does refer to Saint-Lazare, unlike the first, it makes no reference to Marseille. It would appear that the two roughly contemporary obits were relying on separate strands of remembrance, only one of which connects bishop Gérard with the construction of the church. Neither make reference to Lazarus having been bishop of Marseille, and indeed the first clearly states that it was the body of Lazarus that was brought to that city and so could not have been its founding bishop. Neither obit can be interpreted as supporting the belief that Lazarus came to Marseille to become its first bishop.[15]

Neither can these texts be seen as evidence of a tradition of *furtum sacrum* predating the construction of Saint-Lazare in the mid- twelfth century and indeed Saxer acknowledged the inadequacy of these texts as evidence for the tradition at that time.[16] By contrast, he gives considerable weight to a martyrology from nearby Besançon (Ms 711) dating from the end of the twelfth century (ie after Lazarus' translation into the new church of Saint-Lazare): *"Kal. Sept. ... Item, Augustoduno, receptio* (vel *exceptio) corporis sancti Lazari, quem Dominus Ihesus suscitavit a mortuis"*.[17] Saxer noted that though this martyrology contains an explicit reference to the body of Lazarus having been received into Autun it makes no reference to Saint-Lazare. This Besançon document Saxer connected with other eleventh-century evidence from that city which he believes provides evidence of the veneration of Lazarus at Autun.[18] Saxer argued texts from Besançon provide evidence for a tradition of *furtum sacrum* predating the construction of Saint-Lazare. However MS 711 omits reference to bishop Gérard. Saxer suggested that this simply showed a lack of interest in an Autun bishop appropriate to a Besançon document. This interpretation is contradicted by de Vrégille, who as shall be shown below, makes a case for strong connections between the Autun and Besançon

[14] 5 G 1 of des Archives départementales de Saône et Loire à Mâcon, transcription Saxer, "Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay", p. 6.
[15] The evidence for this belief will be examined in the following chapter.
[16] "...*ces indices sont equivoques et ne suffisent pas à comble le vide documentaire entre les nombreuses attestations du XII^e^ et la translation du X^e^ siécle, si bien que ette dernière elle-même semble reste sujette à caution*.", " Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay, p.9.
[17] Besançon Bibl. Mun. Ms 711, f. 159r^o^. Transcription Saxer, ibid.
[18] Ibid. See the next section for a discussion of these documents.

episcopacies in the eleventh century. It may be that taken as a whole these documents support the suggestion that a number of different accounts were circulating at the end of the twelfth century to justify the construction of Saint-Lazare.

De Vrégille also believed that the information upon which the Besançon martyrology (Ms 711) relied must have predated the construction of Saint-Lazare because it does not mention that building.[19] However again, this feature is also omitted from the thirteenth-century martyrology of Autun referred to above.[20] A further argument advanced by Bernard de Vrégille for the belief that Gérard's *furtum sacrum* pre-dates the building of the cathedral of Saint-Lazare focusses on yet another obit of Gérard also found in BN Lat. 9883, the manuscript containing the thirteenth century martyrology mentioned above. It states:

"XVIIIe *kalendas maji, obit bone memorie Gerardus episcopus Eduensis, qui corpus beati Lazari, catriduani mortui, quod Dominus suscitauit pro quo lacrimatus est dicens: Lazare veni foras, cum magna veneratione apud Eduam attulit*."[21]

De Vrégille contrasts this with another version of what purports to be the same obit, found in a seventeenth-century collection made by the Père Chifflet, *Ex obitibus adnotatus ad marginem Martyrologii cathedralis Aeduensis*, which records:

"XI *kal. maii Obiit Girardus bonae memoriae humilis episcopus qui corpus Beati Lazari, quatriduani mortui, quem Dominus suscitavit (pro quo etiam lacrymatus est dicens: Lazare veni foras) cum magna veneratione apud Eduam attulit".*[22]

De Vrégille describes this version of the obit as having a "*couleur plus arquaïque*" and suggested that Chifflet must have had a much earlier version of the Martryology contained in BS 9883 in front of him.[23]

Finally, Saxer gives in evidence an inscription on a tenth-century hymnal with the name of Lazarus, followed by a list of donations by Duke Odo I to the church of Autun, including the land upon which the church of Saint-Lazare would later be

[19] de Vrégille, "Sainte Lazare d'Autun", p.39.
[20] Paris, BN., lat. 9883, f. 62r°. (see p.142).
[21] BN Lat. 9883, transcription Chaume, "La translation...", pp. 94-98. This is quoted in de Vrégille, who states that it is a piece of marginalia (folio not given) in a 14c hand.
[22] BN Coll. Baluze 142, f.106v°.
[23] de Vrégille, "Sainte Lazare d'Autun", p.36.

built.[24] He suggests that this might be evidence that at this early period Lazarus was associated with the site of his future basilica. Even taken in conjunction with the other Autun documents, this seems slender support for belief in a pre-twelfth-century cult of Lazarus in the city. The only references to Gérard's *furtum sacrum* post date the construction of Saint-Lazare. Why they should have been made at this time is unclear. However by the thirteenth century a cult was beginning to emerge in Marseille and it may well be that these entries were an attempt to defend a local tradition of belief in the ownership of Lazarus' relics from southern predation.[25] As I shall argue, the creation of the cult of Lazarus at Autun was the product of episcopal activity, and its authenticity was defended by the antiquity of its promoters. Crediting a tenth-century bishop would have seemed appropriate.

4.4 Veneration of Lazarus at Autun prior to 1120.

The evidence from Autun cannot support the idea that a belief in an act of *furtum sacrum* predated the start of the construction of Saint-Lazare in 1120. Neither, indeed, does it provide any support for the prior veneration of Lazarus in the city at all. For this one must also turn to nearby Besançon.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Besançon was part of the Empire and at the centre of a cluster of Lazarus dedications. Documents from that city suggest that veneration of Lazarus was a feature of regional liturgies. These documents centre on Hugh of Salins, archbishop of Besançon (1031-1067), and close to bishop Gérard's immediate successor Gautier. According to a seventeenth-century redaction of a now missing document also made by the Père Chifflet, Gautier figures in a list of Hugh's friends, beginning with his parents.[26] Still surviving, however, is Hugh's *Liber Precum,* transcribed shortly after 1048 in which is listed a group of saints which, though not referred to as having originated in Autun, Saxer described as "*un groupe homogène et compacte des saints autunois*": "*Sce nazari, Sce celse, Sce leodegarii, Sce lazare, Sce mammes, Sce gengulfe, Sce desideri, Sce geminis, Sce*

[24] Paris Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms 1169, f. 55v°., Saxer, "Le culte de la Madeleine" p. 9.
[25] See Ch. 5.
[26] De Vrégille believed that Hugh of Salin's predecessor, also a Gautier, and possibly a relation of the Autun bishop, sent Hugh to the cathedral school there. See "Saint-Lazare d'Autun", p.41, n.1.

benigne, Sce symphoriane....".[27] Saints Nazarius (and Celsus, with whom he is always associated), Leodegar and Symphorian were clearly Autunois saints. The others, such as Benignus were regional. Lazarus' inclusion in this list is not of itself evidence that he was an Autunois saint.

One other piece of evidence originating in Besançon is more suggestive: a sacramentary of Hugh of Salins, indicating Lazarus' presence in the Autun liturgy. Dated to between 1037 and 1038, it contains the following two references: "*Kal. septemb.- Aedue S, Lazari quem Dominus suscitauit et S. prisci martyris.*" and "XVI *kal. ian.-Edue S. Lazari quem dominus suscitauit*".[28] However, though this would appear to confirm Lazarus' presence in the Autun liturgy, it does a disservice to the argument that this was because of any act of *furtum sacrum* by bishop Gérard. The very fact that these feast days were being recorded a few decades after the death of this bishop, without any reference to his having rescued Lazarus' remains from Provence, would argue against this being the reason for their insertion into Autun's calendar.

The Besançon material indicates that reverence for Lazarus did have a place in the Autun liturgy, consistent with his veneration in the region, without providing evidence for a cult in Autun. An early tradition of *sacrum furtum* might have suggested that Autun had adopted Provençal belief in the presence of the relics of Lazarus at a time that predated the construction of Saint-Lazare. As the next chapter will argue, there is no evidence to support such a belief in Provence. Neither does the eleventh-century evidence from Besançon support the idea that veneration of Lazarus came from the south of France. It is consistent with evidence for the veneration of Lazarus in the German Empire analysed in Chapter 2. However, it cannot be imagined that the construction of Saint-Lazare could have been envisaged without a conviction that the city possessed a relic of the saint. Although the textual evidence looked at above is exiguous, it is likely that that the

[27] Saxer, "Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay", p. 9. *Liber precum*, Monpellier Bibl.de la Fac. de Médec., Ms H 303, f. 48r^{o} .

[28] Paris BN Lat. 10500, f.24r^{o} and f.29r^{o} and also F. 145r^{o} which contains prayers for the mass of Saint Lazarus*:* "*-Kal. sept.- Natale S. Lazari. Deus qui per unigenitum filium tuum dominum nostrum , beatum lazarum quatriduanum mortuum de monumento suscitasti...*" Other Besançon references include: PL Vol. 80, cols.411-422 *(Calandrier bisontin non identifié,* mid-eleventh-century) col.419: 1 Sept: *Aeduae, sanctorum Lazari et Prisci;* col.422: 17 Dec: "*Aeduae, sancti Lazari, quem Dominus suscitauit;* Besçancon BM 72, f 93v^{o}, for a reference to Saint Nazaire and saints Jumeaux.

origins of this belief can be found in the relations of Autun's bishops with local lay and ecclesiastical authorities. Such an interpretation is supported by what we know about the rivalries that formed the backdrop to the construction of the greatest monument to his cult, the church of Saint-Lazare.

4.5 Local rivalries and the decision to build Saint-Lazare

The Besançon material locates the veneration of Lazarus in Autun within the context of what is known about his veneration in the western portion of the Empire. This veneration developed into an acknowledgment of the saint's status as patron of the city as a result of efforts to defend the prestige of the Autun church in the region, challenged as it was on the one hand by Vézelay and its Cluniac sponsors and on the other hand by conflicts with lay powers. These challenges came combined in ducal sponsorship of veneration of Lazarus at Vézelay.

In the eleventh century influence over the prosperous Burgundian abbey of Vézelay caused a three-way struggle between the diocese of Autun, the abbey of Cluny and the papacy. [29] The history of this rivalry helps an understanding of how the bishops of Autun could have seen the patronage of Lazarus as a useful weapon in their armoury. Although within its territory Vézelay had not been under the control of the bishops of Autun since the ninth century. However in the second quarter of the eleventh century the fact of Vézelay's independence was aggravated in the eyes of the bishops of Autun by the intervention of Cluny into the affairs of the abbey. Vézelay had been in conflict with the counts of Nevers and in 1027 Count Landry enlisted the support of Odo of Cluny to expel its recalcitrant abbot, Herman. Herman's successor Geoffrey seems to have been the first to actively promote the relics of Mary Magdalen at Vézelay and the miracles they performed there. If the intention had been to enlist a Palestinian saint to add value to the Cluniac take over of Vézelay and protect it from the unwanted attention of Autun, anxious to regain influence over the abbey, it was successful. In 1050 a Charter of Pope Leo IX contains the first reference to Mary Magdalen's relics at Vézelay and in

[29] For a general history of the cult of Mary Magdalen at Vézelay in the twelfth century see Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident.* Also see Guy Lobrichon, "Le Madeleine des Bourguignons aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles" in *Marie Madeleine dans la Mystique les Arts et les Lettres* (Paris, 1989), pp.71-88. For an account of the events referred to below, Anatole de Charmasse, " Un Précis Historique" is still the most complete.

that year she appears as patron there, becoming sole patron eight years later. Pope Stephen IX authenticated the Magdalen's relics there in 1058 and for much of the next two centuries the abbey grew rich in large part on the pilgrims they attracted.

To Vézelay's claims to the relics of the Magdalen were added in the last quarter of the eleventh century relics of Lazarus and in this they appear to have been supported by the dukes of Burgundy. The eleventh century had been a time of fractious relations between the bishops of Autun and the dukes of Burgundy.[30] The chronicler Radulf Glaber reflected the disquiet these events provoked in the Burgundian church, relating how in 1016 William of Volpiano used the opportunity of a sermon on the occasion of the dedication of the rebuilt basilica of Saint Benignus at Dijon to make a thinly veiled attack on the men who had supplanted the Carolingians and Ottonians in Burgundy.[31] Autun had never achieved real freedom from ducal interference and so the general unease in the region provoked by the newly established Capetian dukes may have been all the greater here.[32] Although the duke of Burgundy and the bishop of Autun were reconciled with each other at the council of Autun in 1065, it may have seemed to the church at Autun that the principal beneficiary was Cluniac Vézelay. In the following decade ducal gifts were made to the abbey which seemingly were designed to promote a veneration of Lazarus there.[33]

In 1078 Duke Hugh I of Burgundy presented to Vézelay a "*golden image of Saint Lazarus*" together with possession of the collegiate church at Avallon.[34] It may be that this gift was simply inspired by Vézelay's recent adoption of Lazarus' alleged sister as their patron. However, as suggested in Chapter 2, it would seem that veneration of Lazarus had been associated with monasteries with imperial

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[30] Gérard's successor Gautier I (c.977-1024) was bishop of Autun during a time of political upheaval following the death in 1002 of Henry I brother of Hugh Capet and the reputed donor of the head of Lazarus to Avallon.

[31] *Vita domni Willelmi abbatis* in *Rodufus Glaber* opera, trans. J. France, and P. Reynolds, ed. N. Bulst (Oxford, 1989), pp.290-291. See Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1996), p.3 and also nn.4 and 6, p.183 for France's questioning of Glaber as a reliable witness.

[32] Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königstum und Fürstenmacht. Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981), pp.384-5.

[33] Charmasse, *Précis Historique*, p.cxxxvi.

[34] Saxer, "Le culte de Marie Madeleine à Vézelay", p.8 and n. 34, and Bruel A., *Recueil de chartes de l'abbay de Cluny* Vol. 4, 1888, p.640, no.3518 which makes reference to an "*imagio sancti Lazari aurea".*

connections in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Hugh, in developing his relationship with Vézelay in this manner, may have had such imperial patronage in mind. Furthermore it seems likely that the presentation of the image of Lazarus was connected with the donation of the possession of the collegiate church at Avallon. In 1106 the Pope, Pascal II, a former monk at Cluny, consecrated this church to Lazarus.[35] According to René Louis, Avallon's historian, it was shortly thereafter that Vézelay gave Avallon the skull they claimed to be that of Lazarus which in the fifteenth century was to become such a bone of contention between it an Autun.[36] Later, Vézelay's claim to be in possession of the remains of the saint was reinforced by its abbot, Hugh of Poitiers, in his chronicle of the abbey in which he complained of an attack in 1119 by henchmen of Count William II of Nevers saying that they had "*despoiled the bodies of the saint Lazarus and his sister Martha*".[37]

This last assertion may have been an attempt by Abbot Hugh to reassert ownership of Lazarus' relics in response to unwelcome encroachments by Autun. In the early twelfth century Autun's Bishop Norgaud (d.1112) had become entangled in accusations of simony. However following his death the new bishop, Etienne de Bâgé (d.1140), seemed determined to exercise his authority by brokering a meeting between Duke Hugh II, son of the donor of Avallon to Vézelay, and William II of Nevers, its alleged despoiler. The two agreed to restore the peace of God established by Hugh I, promising that if ever it was broken again they would meet on the feast of Saint-Nazaire to renew it.[38] Three years later despite his Cluniac past Pope Pascal II upheld a claim made by Autun's bishop Etienne to possession of the collegiate church of Avallon. By then it had been rededicated as the church of *Sainte-Marie et Saint-Lazare,* presumably following the relic gifts made to it by Vézelay. It may be that Abbot Hugh's complaint against William of Nevers in which he asserted that the abbey was still in possession of the remains of Lazarus in 1119 had been an attempt to thwart the pretensions of the bishops of Autun. If this was

[35] Saxer, "Le culte de Marie Madeleine à Vézelay", p.8 and n.35, and M. Gally, *Le culte de saint Lazare à Avallon et dans l'Avallonais* (Avallon 1869).
[36]Louis, *Girart, Comte de Vienne,* p. 178. See below Ch.4.7. Louis provides the most detailed account of the events referred to below.
[37] *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, ed. R. Huygens CCCM 42 (1976) , p.363 "*Sanctorum Lazari et Marthe sororis eius ..."* See Diana Webb, ' Raimondo and the Magdalen: a Twelfth-century Italian Pilgrim in Provence' in the *Journal of Medieval History* 26.1, (2002) pp.1-18, p.10. See also Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1994), p.22, for a fuller account of the attack.
[38] Charmasse, *Précis Historique*, p.cxli.

the case it failed for in the same year Guy of Burgundy, just elected Pope Callixtus II, visited Autun and it seems probably that Bishop Etienne took the opportunity then to consult him on his plan to build a new church dedicated to Lazarus.[39] In any event in the following year, 1120, the collegiate church at Avallon finally acknowledged the authority of the bishops of Autun. Yet by then Bishop Etienne was not content with the possession of a church which claimed to have the head of Lazarus, granted it by Vézelay. He had evidently decided that the authority of the Autun episcopacy was best served by a new church dedicated to Lazarus. In that same year, work on the building commenced.

Etienne may also have been assisted by the travails of Vézelay in the decade following the start of construction. In 1120 Vézelay's church burnt down with the loss of 1127 pilgrim lives on the eve of the feast of its patron Mary Magdalen and in the years 1129 and 1130 violence broke out between supporters and opponents of Cluny over the choice of a new abbot. By this time Etienne's prestige was sufficient so as to be able to confer his blessing on the successful candidate Aubri in the presence of Innocent II. Innocent consecrated the church of Saint-Lazare in Autun, probably in 1130, some fifteen years before the translation of his remains. In 1141 the pope re-confirmed the rights of Autun over Avallon.

These events connect Bishop Etienne's successful augmentation of the authority of the Autun church with the veneration of Lazarus and provide a context for the decision to dedicate the church to be built on land recently acquired from the dukes of Burgundy to him. This land in the centre of the medieval town and adjacent to the existing cathedral of Saint-Nazaire had long been associated with the Merovingian bishop of Autun, Leodegar.[40] By the eleventh century ownership of this land had evidently become one of the issues of dispute between the Church and Burgundy's dukes, a dispute which was resolved 1094 at a council held in Autun at which Duke Odo I deposed on the altar of the cathedral of Saint-Nazaire a charter promising to resign his rights to this land.[41] There is no evidence to suggest that at that time there existed the intention to build a new church there and had there

[39] This year also saw the consecration of a church to Lazarus by Richard, Abbot of Mont-Saint-Éloi (MGH *Annales Camaracensis*, MGH SS 16, S.513).
[40] See above Ch.4.2.
[41] Anatole de Charmasse, *Précis Historique*, p.cxxxix.

been, it would seem likely that Leodegar, whose remains rested in Saint-Nazaire should have been its patron.[42] However, by the early years of the twelfth century with the successful assertion of rights over Avallon, and especially given the history of ducal support for veneration of Lazarus there evidenced by Hugh I's 1078 donation of the collegiate church to Vézelay, that saint's claims were preferred.

Whatever Lazarus' merits, it is unlikely that the decision to build a new church dedicated to him and founded on a claim to possession of his remains would have been credible, even within the walls of Autun, had it been created out of nothing. As shall be shown below, later evidence suggests that the translation of Lazarus' remains to the new church was controversial, but his 'invention' at Saint-Nazaire (a term, whose modern meaning suggesting both discovery and creation is peculiarly appropriate) would scarcely have succeeded had it been without any substance. Victor Saxer suggested that the Gérard referred to in the obits may indeed have transferred the relics of a bishop Lazarus to Autun in the late-tenth century and argues that this may have been the fifth century bishop of Aix of that name believed to have ended his days in Marseille.[43] Saxer went onto speculate that Gérard did so believing them to be those of Lazarus of Bethany. If this was the case, it is noteworthy that this assertion does not figure in any of the evidence recounted above relating to Autun's relationship with Vézelay and the dukes of Burgundy in the following century.

Another candidate was a fifth century bishop of Milan. This Lazarus was interred in the church of Saint Nazarius and Celsus in that city and is referred to in a document of the tenth or eleventh centuries from Liège as being buried there.[44] Whether either is correct (and later reports assure us that Lazarus was found in Autun with evidence of his episcopal status, gloves, satchel and seal), it is possible that there was a dormant tradition of a bishop Lazarus being buried in the Autun church of

[42] However, one piece of evidence connecting Odo with the subsequent cult of Lazarus survives in the Musée Rolin in Autun. When the tomb of Lazarus was opened in 1727 the relic was found to be wrapped in a linen cloth, then the skin of a deer and then a silk voile "*toute retrouvé en parfait état*" (see de Charmasse, Précis Historique p.cxlixm n.27).The voile was gold embroidered with Arab lettering which can be dated to Cordova, 1004. It was given by the emir of Cordova in 1077 to Alphonse VI of Castile who in 1080 gave it to Constance of Burgundy as a wedding give. In turn she gave it to here nephew, Odo I, who gave it to the cathedral Saint Nazaire. (see Saxer, "Le culte de Marie Madeleine à Vézelay", p.7).

[43] Saxer, "Le culte de Marie Madeleine à Vézelay ", p.3.

[44] *Ruperti chronica sancti Laurentii Leodiensis* a.959-1095., ed. W. Wattenbach (Hannover, 1848), MGH, SS 8, p.103.

Saint-Nazaire. [45] Mary Magdalen was believed to be the sister of Martha on the strength of sharing a name with Mary in the *Gospel of John's* telling of the resurrection of Lazarus. In the same way it is conceivable that any bishop Lazarus buried at Autun would eventually be confused with Lazarus of Bethany. This confusion, combined with a western Empire tradition associating Lazarus with episcopal authority and the eleventh-century rivalries described above, may well have been sufficient to provoke the conviction that Saint-Nazaire held in its vaults the friend of Jesus.

In 1152 Joselyn, bishop of Soissons, made this claim for Lazarus: "*Lazarus resuscitatus est, et episcopus factus, rexit ecclesiam Jerosolymorum*."[46] What better way for the Church at Autun to assert its status than the claim to be under the patronage of a bishop whose episcopal authority dated back to the earliest years of the church and whose role in the evangelisation of the West was only now properly understood? Autun's soon to be supplanted patron, Nazaire, had also told a story about the city's relationship with its past and supported the church's claim to be the successor to imperial authority. But this was now ancient history. Another kind of history was intruding. In 1083 Bishop Aganon of Autun made the pilgrimage to Palestine, followed in 1101 by his successor Norgaud.[47] Either side of the First Crusade both churchmen and lay lords were experiencing at first hand the powerful effect of journeys to the East. The decision to build an important church on land donated by Bishop Leodegar, remembered as a powerful actor in the Merovingian kingdom, would have confirmed this act of political reclamation by Autun's bishops.

4.6 The building of Saint-Lazare

As the previous section has indicated, asserting the presence of Lazarus at Autun formed an act of political reclamation. However by the twelfth century the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection was also considered to be a significant event in the course

[45] Both in texts recounting the translation in 1147 (see below Ch.4.7) and at the opening of Lazarus' tomb in 1727, for which see J. Leboeuf, "Lettre sur la découverte faite à Autun du corps de saint Lazare", *Mercure de France* 1. (December 1727), pp.2578-93.
[46] *Exposito symboli*, PL. Vol.186, col.1486D.
[47] Stratford, " Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun", p. 31. Stratford also refers to a "*laconic*"mention in the *Annales S. Benigni Divionensi* suggesting that Urban first unveiled his plans for crusade at the council of Autun in that year: "*Consilium Augustindumense 36. episcoporum, ubi primo iurata est via Iherosolimitana.*"

of salvation history and one that established the Church's claim to represent God's unchanging plan for the world. Saint-Lazare and its relationship with the old cathedral of Saint-Nazaire supports the argument that the building of the new church was a project promoted by Autun's bishops, and in particular Étienne de Bâgé to assert a new understanding of their Church's role in this plan. This manifests itself both in the sculpture that ornaments the building, which will be examined in Chapter 6, and in the built form and its institutional relationship with the old cathedral of Saint-Nazaire.

Saint-Lazare, Autun; own photograph

There is nothing to suggest that Saint-Lazare had been intended to supplant Saint-Nazaire and become the city's new cathedral church. This may seem improbable, given the visual impact of the church today, dominating the medieval centre of the city. However, it has to be borne in mind that much of this impact is owing to the later additions of the porch and associated towers and the spire itself, a fifteenth-century addition commissioned by Cardinal Rolin. Moreover, the original cathedral of Saint-Nazaire, which would have figured to the right of Saint-Lazare in the photograph above, has now completely disappeared. The decision taken to build a church *de novo* may indicate that this new patron was not universally accepted, and that this decision was a response to the clergy of Saint-Nazaire's desire to retain their old patron and church. An eleventh century dispute in neighbouring

Besançon also supports the argument that Autun's episcopate always intended Saint-Lazare to be independent of the existing Church establishment.[48] As at Autun, a church dedicated to a biblical saint had been constructed at Besançon. Hugh of Salins had built a new church to Stephen in the middle years of the eleventh century to which he granted rights in the election of future archbishops. In 1092 this church asserted that it was the mother church of the diocese in the face of opposition from the clergy of the existing cathedral of Saint-Jean and its then Archbishop Hugh III. The dispute rumbled on into the thirteenth century when the chapters of the two churches were merged. Hugh of Salins, as has been shown, had shown an interest in Autun and its saints. It would be going too far to suggest that he had encouraged Autun's bishops to contemplate a similar programme of construction. However it seems likely that as at Autun, Hugh may have seen the establishment of a new church dedicated to a prestigious Palestinian saint as a useful counterweight to the clergy of a long established cathedral. It seems that in allowing the canons of the new church a role in the election of the city's archbishops Hugh went too far. Although the pretensions of the new church were supported in a decision of Pascal II's (who as we have seen supported Autun's bishop in his claim to Avallon) that decision was overturned by Callixtus II. It may be that Callixtus, when advising Etienne de Bâgé in 1120 advised caution with regard to the status of his new church.

In any event, Bishop Etienne may have decided that the wiser course was to establish a church which profited from the prestige conferred by Lazarus without upsetting the chapter of Saint-Nazaire. Even so, the popularity of the new church following the translation of Lazarus' relics ensured the old cathedral's slow demise. As was the case with Saint-Jean of Besançon, the chapter at Saint-Nazaire did not give up their primacy without a struggle. In 1195 Melchior, a legate of the Holy See, adjudicated in a dispute between the canons of the cathedral of Saint-Nazaire and the new church of Saint-Lazare and a compromise was reached whereby celebrations took place at the new church between Easter and All Saints and at Saint-Nazaire from All Saints to Easter.[49] The document recording this agreement was the first to refer to Saint-Lazare as a cathedral, though Saint-Nazaire retained

[48] See Bernard de Vrégille et al., *La cathédrale Saint-Jean de Besançon* (Besançon, 2006), pp.11-13, for an account of this dispute.
[49] Saxer, "Le culte de Marie Madeleine à Vézelay", p.7.

at least in theory its old status (and the episcopal throne) until its demolition in the eighteenth century .[50]

If the church was not intended to be the city's new cathedral, was it, as has been argued by Patrick Geary that, as with Vézelay, the new construction represented an attempt by Autun to associate itself with the prestigious and profitable pilgrimage route to Compostela?[51] Given the success of Vézelay in its promotion of Mary Magdalen, it is unlikely that such thinking was entirely absent at Autun. Pilgrimage was no doubt a formative concept behind its construction. In a more recent study, Jeanette Hommers has interpreted the building as itself establishing an internal pilgrimage route.[52] However, the pilgrim trade was not the sole or even principal motive behind the building's construction.[53] The sequence in which the elements of the new building were completed do not support the argument that it was primarily a pilgrimage church. The relics of Lazarus were eventually housed in a monument within the church constructed as a replica of the church of Lazarus in Bethany.[54] Although this could be interpreted as providing an alternative to a pilgrimage to Palestine, its primary purpose must have been that of a reliquary, which, by containing the bones of Lazarus, conveyed the sacred landscape of the Holy Land to the West. In this respect its purpose would have been analogous to that of the assemblages contained within the altar dedications discussed in Chapter 2. Moreover, it is unclear whether the monument in its eventual form was part of the original conception of the building. While Neil Stratford, who worked on the virtual reconstruction of the monument in the 1980s, stated that there is nothing stylistically to rule it out as being pre 1147, Richard Hamann, who first made an attempt to reconstruct it in the 1930s, believed that it dated from the second half of that century, and so after the translation of Lazarus' remains from Saint-Nazaire.[55] Victor Saxer also takes the view that while construction the tomb itself

[50] Stratford, " Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun", p.12.
[51] Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra* (Princeton, 1978), p.77.
[52] Hommers, *Gehen und Sehen,* pp.21ff.
[53] Neil Stratford contends that from the start it was intended as a pilgrimage church, though he admits that the only evidence we have to suggest that it was such dates from the fifteenth century. "The Lazarus memorial at Autun revisited" in eds. John Mc Neil and Richard Plant, *Romanesque Saints, Shrines, and Pilgrimage* (London and New York, 2020) Unpaginated e-book.
[54] Portions of which survive and are housed in the adjacent Musée Rollin. See Hamann "Das Lazarusgrab in Autun" and Stratford, " Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun".
[55] Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun...", p.30; Richard Hamann, "Das Lazarusgrab in Autun...", p.182.

would have been completed in time for the translation, the replica of the pilgrim church at Bethany, was a kind of 'théâtre vivant built in the 1170s.[56] This would be consistent with the idea that further elaboration of the building was a response to its reception rather than part of the original conceit. The suggested decade of the replica's construction would be consistent with the addition of another significant modification to the church evidently not in the mind of its initial designers. In 1178 the chapter of the church of Saint-Lazare at Autun requested permission from Duke Hugh III to build a large porch in front of the church where lepers could worship. It is possible that the large numbers of these leper pilgrims had not been anticipated. Hugh consented on the condition that it did not have a military appearance.[57] It seems as if the duke agreed with the chapter of Saint-Nazaire that the new foundation had arrogated enough of a prominent position of authority in the city.

"Gislebertus hoc fecit": Detail of the Last Judgment, Saint-Lazare north-west door; own photograph.

If had not been the intention to replace the old cathedral, and if the decision to build was not driven by a desire to profit from pilgrimage, how should the new

[56] Saxer, "Le culte de Marie Madeleine à Vézelay ...", p.8.
[57] Anatole de Charmasse, *Précis Historique*, cliii.

building be interpreted? Linda Seidel has advanced the argument that the inscription "*Gislebertus hoc fecit*" on the Last Judgment depicted on the tympanum represented an assertion of the Autun Church's rights vis-a-vis its lay overlords. Seidel takes issue with the conventional belief that these words identify the sculptor.[58] Rather she understands this to be a reference to the son-in-law of Richard le Justicier, Bosonid duke of Burgundy until his death in 921. Gislebert's son-in-law, Otto became duke of Burgundy. It was Otto's brother, Henry the Great, who, as duke of Burgundy according to a later tradition, was believed to have made the donation of Lazarus' head to the chapter at Avallon sometime before his death in 1002.[59] Seidel interprets the carving of Gislebertus' name on the tympanum as a "*stone charter*" serving "*as a warning to the current duke to respect a distant predecessor's generosity*" as well as more recent acts of ducal benefaction, notably Duke Odo's 1094 donation of the land upon which the new church of Saint-Lazare was being constructed.[60]

Seidel is correct, I believe, in interpreting the building as a stone charter. The decision to commence construction did follow a successful assertion of the Autun church's authority in the city vis-à-vis its lay overlords as described above. However, Seidel's belief that the inscription was intended to serve as a warning to Hugh II seems to sit uncomfortably with the fact of his 1132 reconfirmation of the original donation. If Etienne had been minded to incorporate a warning to the duke in the Tympanum why choose Gislebertus? If the idea was to hark back to a Carolingian predecessor surely Richard Le Justicier, duke of Burgundy and count of Autun, would have been a more suitable candidate, and if it were to remind him of the virtue of his forefathers why not Duke Henry the Great, quondam cleric and pilgrim?[61] As Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki point out in their 1961 study of the sculpture of Saint-Lazare, Etienne de Bâgé was, like the dukes of Burgundy (and unlike his predecessor Norgaud), an enthusiastic Cluniac. They interpret the capital shown below as depicting "*Hugh II, donor of the land on which the cathedral was*

[58] Seidel, *Legends in Limestone...,* pp. 63-78.
[59] See Chaume, "La translation de restes de Saint Lazare à Autun...", p.95, who suggests that this belief may have due to the reference to the *imagio sancti Lazaris aurea* given to Cluny by Hugh I in 1077 not specifying whether it was a statue or a bust, and that from this confusion the idea that it was a head reliquary may have come about.
[60] Ibid., pp. 70 -71.
[61] Richard claimed descent from Saint Leodegar, bishop of Autun. Leodegar established a charity, the *Matricula*, on land upon which Saint-Lazare would later be built. See Devoucoux, *Du culte de Saint Lazare à Autun*, pp.258-260.

built, and Bishop Étienne commending their church to its patron, Saint Lazarus."[62] This capital reads more as a celebration than a warning.

Layman and bishop presenting church to a figure in the clouds - Saint-Lazare; own photograph.

The history of episcopal-ducal relations outlined above does make the argument for regarding Saint-Lazare as a tangible assertion of episcopal authority in the city. However, this was expressed not through the deployment of the name of Gislebertus (about whom the conventional understanding that he was the sculptor seems the most convincing), but through that of Lazarus. Not the inscription 'Gislebertus' but the entire church was intended as a charter confirming the bishops of Autun's ownership of the cult of Lazarus which they continued to defend successfully into the fifteenth century.

Whatever the intention of Saint-Lazare's promoters, the church did rapidly become both the city's principal church and the centre of an enduring cult of Lazarus. The subsequent construction of its porch was a manifestation of its growing popularity. One measure of the way in which Saint-Lazare came to be regarded by the wider community at Autun was the importance of the feast day of Lazarus celebrated on the 1st of September in the life of the city. This was the date which the Besançon martyrology referred to above states has having been the day of his reception into

[62] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun*, p.11.

Autun.[63] It was by no means the only or even the oldest feast day connected with Lazarus. The oldest was the Sunday before Palm Sunday. Its place in the church calendar, just before Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection, makes the most direct connection with the events of the *Gospel of John* and is thus clearly focussed upon Lazarus' own resurrection by Jesus.[64] The eighth-century Martyrology of Ado celebrates the second death of Lazarus on the 17th of December and this date had been long celebrated in Autun, as the Sacramentary of Hugh of Salins shows. Of especial significance for Autun would also have been the 20th of October when the city celebrated the translation of Lazarus from its previous resting place in the old cathedral of Saint-Nazaire, to the newly constructed church of Saint-Lazare.

This last date, being the one most directly connected with the new church might have been expected to take precedence. However, it was on the September 1st that the *Foire de la Saint-Ladre*, one of France's largest, took place into modern times and was the occasion for elaborate theatricals centring on the life of the saint. On that day also, in 1171, Duke Hugh III of Burgundy on the point of departing on Crusade granted the town of Autun the rights of justice for eight days.[65] The date not only commemorated Lazarus' reception at Autun but was important in the city's calendar for other reasons pre-dating the cult of Lazarus. It was believed that Clovis II was said to have visited Autun on September 1st and, in the more recent past, it was the day on which the councils of Autun of 1077 and 1100 were convened.[66] It may be that September 1st was a catch-all date that best reflected the Autun Church's role in the spiritual and political life of the duchy and its promotion confirms that this was underpinned by the cult of Lazarus there.

[63] See p.143 and n.18.
[64] Bibl. Sanct., Vol. 7, col. 1140.
[65] Charmasse, "Precis Historique", p.cliv (by contrast only two days were granted to honour the feast of the *Relevatio Sancti-Lazari* on October 20th).
[66] Ibid. André Baillet in his entry on the cult of Lazarus in *Les Vies de Saints,* Vol.8 (Paris, 1739) p.531, stated that the September 1st was according to a calendar created for Louis the Pious, also the feast of the translation of Saint Nazaire. The commonly accepted feast of Nazaire is in July, the 31st at Autun according to the Martyrology of Jerome, or elsewhere on the 28th. See Bibl. Sanct. Vol.9, col.780.

4.7 The translation of the body to Saint-Lazare

The circumstances surrounding the construction Saint-Lazare support the contention that was intended as a reliquary housing the body of Lazarus, a relic which confirmed the Autun Church and its bishop's place in salvation history. This argument is supported by a much later document, purporting to be an eye witness account of the translation of Lazarus to the new church. Known today as the *Relation de l'Anonyme ,* it is worth examining in some detail.[67] It is a record of debates that the document claimed preceded the decision to translate the relics of Lazarus from the existing cathedral of Saint-Nazaire, the preparations for that translation, and the transfer itself. This document exists as a manuscript on paper dating from the latter part of the fifteenth century, drawn up in Autun at the time of an inquiry into the authenticity of the skull of Lazarus which the collegiate church of Avallon claimed to possess. Although its authenticity as a contemporary eye-witness account cannot be established, the way in which it frames the an account of the translation of Lazarus' bones is consistent with the events leading up to the new church's construction.

The dispute was ignited following a tour in 1479 by Louis XI of France of his newly acquired Burgundian possessions. In poor health, Louis took the opportunity of visiting some of the holy sites they contained in search of divine assistance among which Avallon. On his return to Paris he commanded the fabrication of a reliquary for the head of Lazarus which the collegiate church there claimed to possess.[68] The silversmiths sent to the town to measure the skull for a suitable reliquary returned reporting that they had discovered that the cathedral church at Autun claimed to possess the *entire* body of the saint, including of course the skull. In pressing its claim, Saint-Lazare may well have had in mind the fate of Vézelay two hundred years earlier. In 1267 Louis XI had ordered the fashioning of a reliquary for relics of Mary Magdalen at Vézelay. Only twelve years later, St-Maximin in Provence (from where in the Burgundian account Badilon had rescued the relics of the

[67] A contemporary paper copy of this document can be found in the Archives de la Société Éduenne (série D 1, Reg. 28, fol. 118-122), and it was this that was transcribed in its entirety by the 'abbé Faillon in his *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence* (Paris, 1848), Vol.2, cols. 709-724). The excerpts below are my translation.

[68] For accounts of these events see: de Charmasse, "Enquête faite en 1482"; Claude Rossignol, *Histoire de la Bourgogne Pendant la Période Monarchique* (Lyon, 1853); Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: the Universal Spider* (London, 1971).

Magdalen in the eighth century) claimed to still have her remains. This claim was upheld by Boniface VIII in 1295 to the great disadvantage of the Vézelian pilgrimage trade.[69]

In 1482 Louis charged the bishop of Autun, Cardinal Rolin, with establishing the truth of the matter. How much of this account was constructed for the purposes of the inquiry and how much was based on earlier sources cannot now be determined with certainty, but it is a record of how the events were intended to be remembered. What it reveals is a document supporting Autun's claim that the skull together with the rest of Lazarus' body rested with them, a claim that was not based on an act *furtum sacrum* from Provence, but on the prestige and authority of its own Church. Furthermore it demonstrates that the defenders of the cult of Lazarus at Autun placed great importance on the belief that Saint-Lazare possessed not only a relic but more or less the entire body of the saint.

The *Relation* begins with the decision in 1147 of Humbert, bishop of Autun to transfer Lazarus' relics. Humbert succeeded his uncle Étienne de Bâgé in 1140.[70] The account suggests clearly that Humbert " *of most royal lineage, of noble and honest character*" [71] was prompted to this by the son of Louis VII taking up the cross at Vézelay that Easter. However Humbert's decision was challenged and there arose a debate as to whether it was appropriate to transfer the relics as "*the vestibule, which should have ornamented the church was unfinished*".[72] But inspired by the Holy Spirit agreement was reached and invitations to church dignitaries were sent out. There follows the aside in which it is recorded that two bishops from Normandy, happening to be *en route* to Rome, were diverted from their path by angels in order to assist at the revelation. Two days before the proposed uncovering of Lazarus' bones there was a miraculous parting of the clouds following weeks of heavy rain which had rendered roads impassable. This

[69] Susan Haskins, "Mary Magdalen and the Burgundian Question" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.72 (2010), 99-135, p.101.
[70] The two were seperated by Robert de Bourgogne, bishop for a few months in 1140.
[71] " *dominus Humbertus, Dei gratia Æduorum minister, regali proserpia orius, morum honestate nobilior*...". Faillon, *Monuments inédits,* Vol.2, col.717.
[72] " *Vestibulum quod vestire et delucidare ecclesiam debet nondum confirmatum esse*..." Ibid. This presumably is a reference to the porch referred to above, and if so, would be a later interpolation, as this was probably not planned until decades after the translation.

permitted the attendance of a distinguished group of witnesses including the great bishops and abbots of Burgundy.

On the day masons were commanded to lift the lid of the casket: "*Remove the stone" was spoken just as at the time of the Lord's resurrection of the blessed martyr".*[73] The *Relation* then states that there was particular rejoicing when "*gazing within, they saw the body of Saint Lazarus, with head and the rest of his limbs*" and" *there was a particular joy in the invention of the most precious head of the saint about which some had expressed a doubt*." [74] Such was the ungovernable excitement of the crowds that "*when Odo, duke of Burgundy and William, count of Chalon and other active barons saw this, they abandoned their cloaks, grabbed hold of their staffs and swords, and made a road for the procession of the holy martyr, and with great difficulty conveyed the lord Lazarus to his own house*".[75] During the next week "*there was a great crowd, day and night witnessing...with what number of true miracles the omnipotent saviour glorified the homage paid to his friend, saint Lazarus on this day of the translation to his church.*"[76] On the night of the octave, and following scenes of drunkenness and violence perpetrated by Lazarus' noble guardians, Bishop Humbert reburied the remains of the saint, "*all that is except for his forearm and head, which were conveyed to the mother church, sad to have been deprived of so great a man, there to rest for all time*. *Humbert also found among the bones of the holy martyr gloves with episcopal insignia and a satchel with seal proclaiming his status*".[77]

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[73]" Tollite lapidem*, quomodo in resuscitatione beatissimi martyres ab ore Domini dictum fuit*..." Ibid., col.721.

[74] "*Declinantes itaque paululum, intusque respicientes, viderunt corpus sancti Lazari, cum capite et cæteris membris....Ast de capitis pretiosissimi sancti inventione, de que quibusdam variis opinionibus incerti erant præcipue congratulati sunt.*", ibid.

[75] *"Quod Odo dux Burgundiæ, Guillelmusque Cabillonensis comes, cæterique strenuissimi barones videntes, projectis chlamydibus, propriis acceptis baculis, immo ensibus, viam, et vix, processioni religiosorum sanctum martyrem deferentium facientes, cum magna transmeandi difficultate, dominum ad domum propriam deportaverunt...*" .", ibid.

[76] "*Quo utique loco, cum magna veneratione noctu dieque, cum magna quoque confluentia plebis, ad laudem et gloriam Dei, et convalitudinem male habentium, usque ad octavas fuit. Quot vero quantisque miraculorum coruscationibus omnipotens Salvator, per invocationem amici sui beati Lazari, in ipsa die translationis, ecclesiam suam illustraverit, vix quispiam mortalium explicare potest*...", ibid., col.722.

[77]" *excepto brachio et capite quod ad matricem ecclesiam, quæ plurimum de tanti viri privatione desolata fuerat, delatum fuit, ibidem in sinu ejus reconditum, ad finem usque sæculi permansurum. Invenit item dominus Humbertus sancti martyris inter ossa cirothecas ejusdem, insigne pontificis, et peram signum præconationis et prædicationis...*", ibid., col.723.

Is the *Relation de l'Anonyme* genuine? Neil Stratford, who participated in the reconstruction of Lazarus' monument in the 1980s, believes that it appears "*too good to be true*"[78]. While in its present form it is likely to have been confected for the purposes of the inquiry, Stratford himself believed that this Autun document was itself copied from earlier sources, and in particular an unknown breviary. Extracts from this account, intended to be read on the feast of the translation of Lazarus, figure in a number of Autun breviaries. Furthermore Stratford believed that the oldest collection of these extracts dates from 1452.[79] Being thirty years before the Avallon inquiry, this does indicate that it was not merely fabricated at the time of the dispute. Until there is some further evidence to suggest that the document does in some form date from the twelfth century this is at the very least open to question. Some of the events related, such as the miraculously good weather, can be seen as typical elaborations employed in the authentication of relics employed in Burgundy from the end of the first millennium on.[80] However the mention of angelically diverted pilgrim bishops would be appropriate to the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the church in Burgundy employed relics as a means of encouraging and profiting from pilgrimage.[81] Similarly, the description of a drunken fight that breaks out among the noblemen assigned to guard over the saint's relics may reflect eleventh- and twelfth-century churchmen's concerns about lay violence.[82]

Whether or not the copy attached to the 1482 inquiry does or does not have twelfth-century antecedents, it certainly is a record of how in the fifteenth century these events were intended to be remembered. Furthermore, certain salient

[78] Personal communication, 28.11.20.

[79] Paris Bibl. Sainte Geneviéve, MS 2631 (ff. 427-429). Faillon introduces his transcription with a reference to a *Brevarium ad ritum diocesis Æduensis* of 1550 in the collection of ms of the bishopric of Autun saying that lessons 1-6 for the Feast of the Revelation of Lazarus are taken from this account. Parts of the original manuscript, of which the above is a contemporary 'double' can be found in the Archives Départementales de Saône-et-Loire à Mâcon (5G9, ff. 53-68). A pencil note on this manuscript records it as having been donated in 1929 by Charles Boëll, secretary of the Société Éduenne. At present the library at Autun cannot be consulted as they do not have a conservator. See Stratford" "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun", p.34, n.35.

[80] See Bernard Toepfer, "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the time of the Monastic Reform" in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, eds. T.F. Head and R. A. Landes, (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 41-57.

[81] Ibid., p.49.

[82] See Timothy Reuter, "Introduction: Reading the Tenth Century", in CMH, Vol.3, pp. 1-24, p.21 for Radulf Glaber's promotion of the Peace of God, also Rosamond McKitterick, "The Church", in CMH, Vol.3, pp.130-162, pp.160-161 for church councils and the Peace of God.

points can be inferred insofar as the *Relation* is consistent with what we know of events from other sources:

- Humbert was "*moved by divine command*" to fix a day for the translation.

According to the account the translation was promoted by Humbert " *of most royal lineage*" and the timing was prompted by Louis announcing his decision to take the cross at Vézelay. This would agree with the evidence to suggest that the construction was both the result of episcopal activity and that it promoted the prestige of Autun vis-a-vis that abbey.

- Humbert's decision was controversial.

The subsequent dispute between the canons of Saint-Nazaire and those of Saint-Lazare would suggest that the former was unhappy about the threat to the primacy of their patron Nectarius.

- There was uncertainty as to whether the body of Lazarus would be complete.

The *Relation* ascribes the dispute to a concern that neither the porch nor the church decorations had been completed. This seems unlikely as it probable that the porch was not conceived of until decades later. More likely there was a genuine uncertainty as to what would be uncovered when the tomb was opened up, especially in the light of Avallon's claim to the skull of Lazarus.

- The revelation established Lazarus' episcopal status and the 'Lord Lazarus' commanded local loyalty.

Lazarus' prestige was as the intimate of Jesus but, as has been shown in previous chapters the authority this gave him was confirmed by his position of church leadership. As such he was a fit object of episcopal promotion by bishop Humbert and his predecessor Etienne and an appropriate figure to assume the spiritual lordship of the city which underpinned the durability of his cult. When Humbert ordered that the tomb be opened, the account makes an explicit comparison with the miracle in John's gospel. Like Jesus, Humbert did not merely order the opening of the tomb, but revived the saint, who, now clad in bishop's robes, was able to take his place as patron of the city, and like all patrons, is a fount of good things, the miraculous cures.

In making this direct connection with the events in the *Gospel of John* Humbert, as described in the *Relation*, is not reliant on an account of *furtum sacrum* . His

authority is rooted in the prestige of the bishopric of Autun of which he, "*of most royal lineage*", is a fitting representative. Although the importance of episcopal protagonism is central to the *Relation,* nowhere does the document refer to the removal of Lazarus' bones from Provence by a Bishop Gérard. Lazarus' previous resting place is the church of Saint-Nazaire, a circumstance which unequivocally connects him to the religious life of the city. Unsurprisingly, this omission is echoed by the canons of the collegiate church of Avallon. Moreover they make no reference to the Vézelay version of *furta sacra* involving the other members of the Bethany family even though this might have been thought to be a convincing route by which the skull found its way to Avallon. At the heart of their case was a claim that the skull had been donated to the collegiate church not by Vézelay but by a Duke Henry of Burgundy. Who this duke was is uncertain, but both Maurice Chaume and Victor Saxer believed him to be Henry I (c.950-1002), brother of Hugh Capet.[83] Both these twentieth-century historians seem to accept the truth of this donation, Chaume suggesting that the duke had acquired it on a visit to the East around the year 1000 and Saxer speculating that it had been acquired from the bishop of Autun at about the same time. [84] It may however be a corruption of the memory of Duke Hugh's 1078 presentation to Vézelay of an image of Lazarus, together with possession of the collegiate church at Avallon and the subsequent tradition that Vézelay had donated the skull to Avallon.[85] In any event, the tradition is reminiscent of Hugh's largesse and is another example of the memory of civil authority exercising influence over religious institutions using the relics of Lazarus. There was however no surviving contemporary record of this donation and the 1482 commission, led by Rolin, then bishop of Autun, ruled against Avallon .

The church at Avallon appealed and in a way that made it clear that their argument was founded on the antiquity and prestige of the alleged donor as well as that of the recipient church: *"donques est vray que ladite église d'Avallon est une noble église, puis quatre cens ans en ça ou environ fondée, dressée en douhée par feurent de louable et recommendée mémoire messeigneurs les ductz de Bourgogne, en l'onneur de Dieu et de sa glorieuse mère, et spécialement par feu Girard de Roussillon, en son vivant duc et seigneur audit duché de Bourgogne, et depuis par*

[83] Victor Saxer, " Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay ", p.8.
[84] Maurice Chaume, "La translation de restes de saint Lazare à Autun", p.95.
[85] See above, p.149.

plusiers ses aultres successeurs ducz, par lesquelz y ont esté donné et largi plusiers grans biens et précieulx joyaulx en augmentation et accroissance de ladite fondation et dotation première."[86] It may be that again this appeal to their joint Burgundian heritage stirred the hearts of the canons of Autun for in 1490 the archiepiscopal court at Lyon, while deciding in favour of Autun, dropped all sanctions against Avallon and there the matter was left.

On the one hand, the argument between Avallon and Autun over the head of Lazarus can be seen as an accident provoked by the desire of a sick and fearful king to invoke the spiritual powers of his new territories. Nonetheless, the vigour with which it was pursued through claim and counterclaim over a decade does suggest that this dispute formed part of a process of readjustment following the demise of Burgundy as a *de facto* sovereign state following the death in battle of Charles the Bold in 1477. Both parties involved in the dispute must have felt the loss of prestige consequent upon this defeat. The language they employed echoed that of Charles' father, Philip II, who in his anxiety to be recognised as a sovereign in his own right excavated Burgundy's distant past styling himself duke of Lotharingia, the transient middle kingdom of Charlemagne's divided inheritance the borders of which fifteenth-century Burgundy increasingly resembled.[87]

Thus the dispute shows two centres of spiritual authority asserting their rights before the new secular power. The central argument employed by the canons of Avallon in defence of their relic was the distinguished history of the church itself. By the fifteenth century the story of the arrival of Lazarus in Provence and the subsequent rescue of his remains by the Burgundians from the threat of infidels was well known. But, as with the Autunois account of the translation, Avallon does not make reference to any of this, basing its claim simply on a donation by a Capetian duke. It justifies the appropriateness of this donation by reference to the antiquity of the church, more than four hundred years old. The canons of Avallon make especial reference to Girard de Roussillon, thereby locating the foundation in the by now mythical and glorious past of Carolingian Burgundy. Girard was believed

[86] de Charmasse, "Enquête faite en 1482", p.15-16. quoting from a "*Memoire ms. produit devant la cour métrepolitane de Lyon, 20 Jan 1489* by A. Arbeleste, pour noble demoisel Aulbert de Jaulcourt, seigneur de Villernoul, et les manans et les habitans de la ville d'Avallon" in the archives of the bishop of Autun.

[87] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London-Harlow, 1970), p.195.

to have been responsible for bringing the remains of Mary Magdalen from Provence to his newly established convent at Vézelay and so it is striking that no reference to an act of *furtum sacrum* was contained in Avallon's defence of its relics. This absence could be interpreted as suggesting that whatever twelfth-century source was employed in the creation of its defence did not contain such a reference. It may be that this reflected a belief at the end of the fifteenth century that this story of the rescue of relics was now owned by Autun, or possibly unwillingness to give further credence to a Provençal provenance of the relics which, in the case of Mary Magdalen, had proved so disastrous for Vézelay.[88] What is certain is that the dispute played out in an entirely Burgundian context in which the claimed Lazarus head at Avallon commemorated a time when a noble Burgundy existed within a wider Carolingian realm.

4.9 Conclusion

The cult of Lazarus in Burgundy can be traced both as an act of remembrance, the *Relation,* and as a project, the building of Saint-Lazare. But whereas the act of remembrance benefited from the clarity of hindsight, as a project it was less certain of its direction. As Burgundy, and specifically Autun, adapted to the changing circumstances, its Church's understanding of its reliquary inheritance adapted and eventually coalesced around the cult centred on Saint-Lazare. As fifteenth-century accounts demonstrate, Lazarus and the authenticity of his bones were certainly important in an attempt to connect Burgundy with its Carolingian history. Ultimately the sequence of events which led to the construction of the new church and its dedication to Lazarus cannot be known with certainty, nor can the date by which the legend of the *furtum sacrum* of his bones from Provence was accepted. However, both text and building strongly suggest that the patronage of Lazarus was used as an anchor to which the Autun episcopacy could attach itself and the city to a prestigious past polity and, through this, to those sources of Christian authority which preceded it.

The next chapter will argue that in Marseille, the only other city in the West to adopt Lazarus as its patron, Lazarus' patronage was never truly secure. This was

[88] See p.161.

not only for reasons of local politics but also because there was an absence of belief in his real presence in the city. In Burgundy rivalries between bishop, duke and abbot certainly encouraged the bishops of Autun to re-evaluate the veneration of Lazarus in the city. However, the durability of his cult there rested upon the establishment of a relationship of patronage with the community, a patronage founded on his real presence, his body.[89] Previous chapters have argued that the veneration of Lazarus in the West is a story of multiple identities. These identities had in common the quality of early Church leadership, one that would have been attractive not only to the bishops of Autun but also to other Churches in the West anxious to position themselves within the sweep of salvation history especially at a time when the miracle of his resurrection was being reinterpreted to signify a pivotal moment in that history.[90] Yet, among all these different identities, only in one guise is 'the word made flesh' and that is as a local, Burgundian, saint. Here in Autun he manifested himself as Lazarus, bishop, lord, and patron.

[89] For an alternative assessment of the importance of relics in saintly patronage see Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints* (Cambridge, 1990), p.167. Head argued that 'the *presentia* and *patrocinium* of the 'fathers' which they represented' was even more important than the presence of relics. He cites the example of the monastery of Micy in the in the Orléanais in the eleventh century in which fear that the patron's corpse had been stolen did not affect confidence in his continued patronage.

[90] See Ch.3.

5. Legends of Lazarus: Marseille

5.1 Introduction

Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century life of Mary Magdalen in the *Legenda aurea* tells how Lazarus, fleeing the persecution of the Jews, arrives in Marseille and was chosen to be its first bishop. This post-resurrection identity for the saint was widely accepted in Provence well into modern times and, as the Parisian Jean de Launoy writing in 1641 discovered, to question it could invite a hostile response. Upon publication of his *De Commentitio Lazari et Maximini Magdalenae et marthae in Provinciam appulsu*, debunking the legend, a critic stated that de Launoy had "*offered an insult to all Provence*"[1] and another that "*his life wouldn't be worth much*" if he went there.[2] This chapter asks the question, how did the cult of Lazarus reveal itself in Marseille and was it as successful as the above lines suggest?

For his story Voragine most likely relied on Burgundian tales originating in Vézelay. This chapter will argue that the story of Lazarus in Provence was elaborated in a way that was consistent with the hagiography of the founding bishops of southern French cities. Lazarus, already believed to be the brother of Mary and Martha, became the colleague of Martial of Limoges and Saturnin of Toulouse, with a history in Palestine and a mission in Provence. Lazarus was made to fit into a model of sanctity which is replicated throughout Provence. The themes of early church leadership, exile and conversion which appear in the history of Lazarus are common to all those whose company he kept. His adoption by the bishops of Marseille as their see's patron depended upon this.

The cults of Lazarus in Burgundy and Provence have often been considered together as siblings, rivals for importance or anteriority.[3] Lazarus helped reveal to each of the churches of Autun and Marseille their role in salvation history. Nonetheless they rested upon very different foundations. Whereas in Marseille, it

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[1] Pierre de Brive, *Letter* 6th of June 1642. Bib. Vaticane, Barb. Lat. 3052, f°173.

[2] "*Je croy que s'il allait en Provence, il ne ferait pas seur pour* luy", Père Mersenne, to André Rivet as cited in M. Feuillas, "La controverse magdalénienne au milieu du XVIIe siècle. Ripostes provençales à Jean de Launoy" in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres. Actes du colloque international, Avignon, 20-21-22 juillet,* 1988, ed. E. Duperray (Paris, 1989), pp.89-115, p. 94.

[3] See Saxer, "Le culte de la Madeleine à Vézelay", pp.1-18, and de Vrégille, "Saint-Lazare d'Autun ou la Madeleine de Vézelay?"

was supported by hagiography, at Autun the cult rested upon the belief that they did indeed possess the body of the saint. In Marseille Lazarus had to contend with older and younger claimants to patronage of the city, and the only partial success of his cult there was owing to the lack of such a conviction. It may be that the saint's defenders, in the face of de Launoy's scepticism, were motivated by regional pride as much as profoundly held belief.

5.2 *Passio (a)* and the *Legenda aurea*

The respective chronologies of the cults of Lazarus in Burgundy and Provence have been much disputed, a dispute often fuelled by degrees of belief in the truth of the accounts published by Etienne de Faillon.[4] However, it is clear that the seed of Lazarus' cult in Provence came from Burgundy. Here in the south of France it found soil fertilised by the cults of local legendary founding bishops.[5] Although there is little evidence for the cult of Lazarus in Provence before the twelfth century, and it only came into its own in the thirteenth, the hagiography that accompanied the cult should be seen in the context of an earlier tradition of Southern French writing about saints and especially in a belief in the role of Provence in the Christianising of France. Behind this seeming contradiction lies a process of adaptation by which the Lazarus of Burgundy was re-interpreted to suit local purposes. In order to understand how the saint's hagiography fits into this tradition, I shall begin with a summary of two accounts of his arrival in Marseille dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, an anonymous life (which following Anke Krüger, I shall call *Passio (a)*), and Jacobus de Voragine's account in the *Legenda aurea*. Although Voragine was Genoese, and the provenance of the *Passio* is uncertain, these two works, written when evidence for Lazarus' cult in Marseille becomes more abundant, are of use when compared with earlier hagiographic material in understanding how the saint came to be adopted by the city.

Passio (a) begins with a description of Lazarus' noble birth and royal lineage.[6] Together with his sisters, Mary Magdalen and Martha, he was heir to an estate

[4] Faillon, *Monuments inédites.*
[5] I use the term 'legendary founding bishops' for a group of saints credited with establishing the sees in their respective cities for whom there is no evidence beyond early hagiography. See below.
[6] Albanés, *Gall. christ. nov.*, Vol. 3, pp.1-5, BHL 4802.

which encompassed Bethany and a great part of Jerusalem. The brother and sisters shared out their inheritance so that Mary Magdalen should have the estate of Magdala, Martha, Bethany, and Lazarus the property in Jerusalem. However, while Mary Magdalen gave herself up to carnal delights and Lazarus neglected his military duties, only Martha governed her lands virtuously caring for the poor, her retainers, and their families.

The occasion of Lazarus' conversion was his first encounter with Jesus in Naim where he was present at the miracle of the resurrection of the boy at the city gate. Six days before Easter, following his own resurrection, Lazarus dined with Jesus at the house of Simon the Leper. Here he told of what he had seen and heard in the underworld.[7] Fourteen years after the ascension of Jesus into heaven the disciples, including Lazarus, Mary Magdalen and Martha, are driven out by the Jews in a persecution which saw the martyrdom of Stephen. With them were also Maximinus (described as one of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus spoken of in Luke), Martha's servant Marsilla, Sidonius (born blind but cured by Jesus), Trophimus, Fronto, and Eutropius. These latter three were believed to be respectively the founding bishops of Arles, Périgueux and Orange. They and many other Christians were placed by the Jews in rudderless boats and put out to sea. By divine intervention they escaped drowning and arrive in Marseille. Shunned by the city's inhabitants, they sheltered under the porch of a local shrine. There the disciples gather in prayer at an altar so as to discover who was worthy of becoming the first bishop of Marseille. Lazarus, as a military man and being illiterate, was left outside to guard the doors. Miraculously, a dove landed on the head of Lazarus and having thus been chosen by God, he is unanimously acclaimed as Marseille's first bishop. There follows a description of his fasting and self-mortification.

The story continues by relating how during the reign of the Emperor Decius I four prefects were ordered to Gaul to force all Christians to worship idols or face the sword. Among them is Festinus, sent to Marseille. All Christians there are summoned to worship idols while eight thousand pagans gather to mock them. In front of the crowd, Lazarus plants a stick into the ground which sprouts leaves and, by means of this miracle, the pagans are converted. Infuriated, Festinus tries to

[7] See Ch.6.

have Lazarus arrested, but the soldiers he sends are converted. When Lazarus comes to Festinus and confesses that he is a Christian from Jerusalem he is condemned. Festinus tries in various ways to have Lazarus killed but is miraculously repeatedly thwarted. When Festinus is wounded in the eye by an arrow destined for Lazarus, the saint tells Festinus that he will be cured the next day by his (Lazarus') blood. Festinus orders his beheading the next day and is cured by the blood of Lazarus. Festinus then converts, Lazarus is buried with honour and many miracles take place at his tomb.

In *Passio (a)* are many of the themes important for an understanding of purpose of the Lazarus cult both in Marseille and in the West generally. Lazarus is presented as a conversion saint. Much more important than the fact of his death and resurrection (the theme that occupied late-antique and early medieval commentators) is his own conversion, prompted by his witness of the earlier resurrections performed by Jesus and then confirmed by his own terrifying experience of the underworld. His conversion is then contrasted with the actions of the Jews who force him and his family and colleagues into exile. The divinely inspired and seemingly inappropriate choice of Lazarus as bishop of Marseille only serves to reinforce the idea that the conversion of France is part of a divinely inspired plan. The story ends with another conversion, that of the civil authority, after Lazarus offers himself up to martyrdom in an echo of Jesus' own passion.

Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, compiled around 1260, does not devote a chapter specifically to Lazarus.[8] However, his account of the legend of Mary Magdalen does in many respects agree with the life of Lazarus contained in the roughly contemporary *Passio (a)*. Amongst the additional material to be found in Voragine is a long account of the conversion of the governor of Marseille and his wife by Mary Magdalen. Inspired by Lazarus' sister, the governor decides to go on pilgrimage to Rome. He is accompanied by his wife who dies in childbirth, while at sea. She and her infant son are put ashore. The governor continues to Rome where he meets Saint Peter who consoles him, saying that his wife sleeps and that God has the power to give and take life. Peter and the governor then continue on to

[8] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. W. Granger; introduction E. Duffy (Princetown, 1993), pp.377-381.

Jerusalem, where they visit the sites of Jesus' miracles. On the return journey the governor puts ashore at the place where he had abandoned his dead wife and infant child. The boy is still alive and thrives on his mother's milk. She it turns out was merely sleeping and in her sleep was taken on an identical pilgrimage by Mary Magdalen. The couple return to Marseille where they overthrow the temples and idols of the city and chose Lazarus as its bishop.

As with *Passio (a)* this convoluted tale situates the newly converted lands of the West in salvation history. Jacques le Goff has argued that the central purpose of the *Legenda aurea* was to produce a *summa* on time.[9] His intention, Le Goff believes, is to marry "*the temporale, or the time of the Christian liturgy, which is cyclical, with the sanctorale, or the time marked by the succession of the Vitae of the saints, which is linear, and, finally, with eschatological time, which the Church sees as the temporal road on which humanity travels towards Judgement Day*."[10] This conception of the *Legenda* offers an apt interpretation of the function of the Lazarus story in both it and the *Passio (a)*. The linear structure of these lives is accompanied by repetitive or cyclical elements of pilgrimage and conversion which can be interpreted as liturgical. Together these elements are used as keys to the understanding of eschatological time, that being the course of the unfolding of God's will in through salvation history.

Both the *Passio (a)* and the *Legenda aurea* concern themselves with Lazarus' appointment as bishop, though in different ways. Unlike the *Passio (a)* the *Legenda aurea* has Lazarus appointed by the existing civil powers, the erstwhile pagan governor and his wife. Conversion is in this way presented as demonstrating that God's plan for humanity is consistent and immutable. The community, through the conversion of its leaders, is presented as possessing Christianity *in potentia*. This latency becomes patent however, only when the governor and his wife are exposed to the twin geographic heartlands of Christendom, Rome and Palestine.

The connection between geography and God's will is particularly marked in the *Legenda* of Voragine. Here Lazarus is spectator to a vision of history in which

[9] *In Search of Sacred Time*, *Jacobus de Voragine and the Golden Legend*, trans, Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 2014) p.xii.
[10] Ibid., p.xiii.

empires, both civil and religious interrelate through geography. Steven Kruger, in his examination of the version of this story found in the *Early South English Legendary* life of Mary Magdalene, makes a point that could equally apply to Voragine: *"...the object seems to be a recapitulation of history through a geographical movement. From Western Europe back to Rome and then back to the Holy Land, we move back in time to the originary Christian moment and in reverse through the* translatio imperii *associated with Christianity's spread*."[11] For as Giorgio Agamben argues, because "*the human mind experiences time, but does not possess the representations of it,* (...it) *must, in representing it, take recourse to constructions of a spatial order*".[12] In one sense the *Legenda* can be seen as simply attaching the narrative to authentic or ancient Christianity by way of referencing its key locations. However, this narrative can be seen also as a way in which the conversion of Provence is understood to play its part in the salvation history that began in Palestine and via Rome found its fulfilment in the West. In the *vitae* of the legendary founding bishops, Saturnin and Trophimus, a set which would eventually include Lazarus, authority is thus directly transmitted from Palestine to the south of France by narratives of exile and mission. In the *Legenda aurea*, Lazarus is created bishop through the joint authority of Mary Magdalen and the governor of Marseille and his wife, who themselves returned to Rome and Palestine for conversion. The journeys of the governor of Marseille and his wife to Rome and Palestine reinforce the notion that the time of Provence's conversion can be dated to the original epoch of Christianity.

5.3 Palestine and the south of France

It is the theme of travel in both the *Passio (a)* and *Legenda aurea* that root them in the hagiographic tradition of southern France. These are tales of miraculous arrivals by sea of saints who reinforce that region's connections with powerful and ancient centres of Christianity. This desire to connect was also a feature of the Burgundian Church where the Palestinian and Roman credentials of late-antique conversion saints were documented in the hagiography.[13] In the twelfth century Provence and Burgundy shared some qualities that were relevant to the creation

[11] Kruger, "The Times of Conversion", p.32.
[12] Agamben, *The Time that Remains,* p.65.
[13] See Ch.4.2.

of their saints' cults. Like Burgundy Provence enjoyed a liminal political status with roots going back to its Lotharingian inheritance, neither in West nor East Frankia. Like Burgundy, it retained even after its incorporation into the kingdom of France in the fifteenth century a strong sense of regional identity. Cities whose late Roman remains were still in evidence, such as Marseille, Aix, and Arles, would doubtless base some of this sense of identity on the strength of their links with Antiquity, both imagined and real.

Nevertheless the way veneration of Lazarus manifested itself in the two regions from the twelfth century onwards differed in an important respect. In the previous chapter I argued that for a saint to become the centre of a cult, she or he had first in some sense to be made real. This reality was expressed through the adoption by a community of a certain saint as their patron. Patronage was not merely a matter of nomenclature, but resulted from the conviction that their saint was present in their community to a degree that was not the case elsewhere. The most powerfully effective route to this personification in the Middle Ages was the invention of relics which acted as guarantors of that exclusivity, hence the vigour with which the dispute between Autun and Avallon over the skull of Lazarus was pursued.

Although the invention of relics certainly played its part in Provençal attempts to establish the patronage of Lazarus in Marseille, this was never wholly successful. Unlike Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume's successful claim to the relics of Mary Magdalen which undermined her cult in Vézelay, Marseille never challenged Autun's assertion that it possessed the body of Lazarus. The key factor in the creation of his cult in Marseille was the telling of stories. This element both defined its nature and established its limits. While Lazarus of Autun was a saint of reliquary and liturgy, the saint first manifested himself in Provence, albeit in a supporting role, in the accounts of the legendary bishops credited with introducing Christianity into the southern French cities of late antiquity. These stories, with their theme of exile, form part of a hagiographic genre that ante-dates Burgundian accounts of Lazarus' rescue from Saracen threat. They suggest that, whatever part northern accounts played in the development of his cult in Provence, to see the cult as simply a convenient adoption of these stories would strip it of much of its meaning.

The stories of Lazarus' arrival in the south of France and his role in the conversion of Marseille can be understood best in the context of older stories of exile, arrival, and conversion. Hans Lewy, in his brief essay "*Imaginary Journeys from Palestine to France*" published in 1938, was one of the first to identify this genre of exile legends.[14] Lewy examined the origins of a tradition current among the Jews of southern France that three helmless ships were driven from Palestine into the sea, by order of Vespasian.[15] This he identified as being an adaptation of a legend contained within the late first millennium *Aboth of Rabbi Nathan* in which Titus "*filled three ships with men women and children' sparing them for his Roman Triumph*."[16] These ships eventually landed on the coasts of southern and western France establishing the Jewish communities in Arles, Lyon, and Bordeaux. This tale was incorporated by Petrus Alfonsus, a Spanish Jew and convert to Christianity in 1106, into his dialogue between a Christian and a Jew: "*Ships also were loaded with them and driven into the sea without rudder or help as a sign of dishonour and contempt.*"[17] As Lewy pointed out, this trope of the rudderless ship was incorporated by the monks of Vézelay around the turn of the twelfth century and turned against its originators.[18] In Petrus Alfonsus' account the Jews, having stoned Stephen and initiated persecution of the Christian community, order "*that Mary Magdalen with her sister Martha, her brother Lazarus and other companions should be put into ships without rudder, sail or helm and driven into the sea. By a miracle they passed safely over the waves, landed near Marseile, and settled in the vicinity*."[19] These stories were themselves incorporated into the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, "*the main source of historical knowledge until the close of*

[14] *Lewy,* "Imaginary Journeys ".

[15] A thirteenth-century martyrology from Autun stated that Titus and Vespasian were responsible for sending the relics of Lazarus to Marseille. See 4.3, p.142.

[16] "*Dann füllte er drei Schiffe mit Männern, Weibern und Kindern*", *Monumenta Talumdica*, Vol.5, Geschichte, ed. S. Krauss (Vienna-Leipzig, 1914), p.69, No.133; *Lewy,* '"Imaginary Journeys ", p.252, n.1.

[17] *Ex Judaeo Christiani Dialogi*, PL vol.157, col.571C. Trans. Lewy.

[18] See below, p.185 and n.56.

[19] Lewy, "Imaginary Journeys", p.252. A local legend in Saint Tropez concerns Torpes believed to be a Roman knight beheaded during the persecutions of Nero (Bibl.Sanct. vol.12, col.628). The legend states that, his head having been tossed into the Arno, his body was laid out in a boat together with a cock and a dog, placed there in order to dispose of his remains. However, when this rudderless boat eventually beached his body was found to be intact. The locals, having been advised through the premonition of a holy woman of his arrival, renamed their village Saint Tropez in his honour. Allegedly, the nearby villages of Cogolin and Grimaud were also renamed, in honour of the abstemious cock and dog. (www.nrj-saint-tropez.com/saint-tropez/st-tropez-135.html, accessed 11.4.2022)Other stories are told of a boat containing the body of the third-century Palestinian martyr Reparata, blown by the breath of angels to Nice, and of Devota, a third-century Corsican, whose body was placed in a storm wracked vessel, eventually guided by a dove to Monaco.
http://www.eglise-catholique.mc/it/motscles/devote.htm/(accessed 11.4.2022)

the Middle Ages" and so passed into general currency.[20] Lewy suggests that the motive that lay behind these stories in the Jewish tradition was to justify claims of direct descent from Jerusalem and that this claim was adopted by the Christian church in southern France for similar reasons.

The stories of Lazarus and the Bethany family did not form, but were conformable with, a tradition that can be detected from the sixth century onwards. Although it may be correct to distinguish specific elements in this Jewish exile story that were adopted by Christian writers, evidence can be found in Christian hagiography and legend, pre-dating Petrus Alfonsus' twelfth-century Dialogi, showing that southern French saints' cults celebrated the linked themes of exile, arrival, and conversion. The involuntary nature of their departure from Jerusalem found in this hagiography underlines the central thrust of these accounts which was to show that God was directing salvation history in order to bring about these events. The arrival of legendary conversion bishops marked the moment when their adopted lands shared in the glory of becoming inheritors of Jerusalem. Their enforced departure from that city provides the moral framework for this inheritance. This understanding of Jerusalem's replacement by the West can be dated to as early as the fourth century. In a loose abridgement by Ps-Hegesippus of Josephus' *The Jewish War* Josephus' account of Jerusalem's fall is inserted into one of the crucifixion of Jesus and the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.[21] This serves to interpret the city's destruction as the consequence of the Jewish persecution of Jesus and the Christians, an association not made in the original. Rome's victory and Jerusalem's destruction was seen not just as divinely ordained revenge but as the working salvation history in which the Jews are replaced as the chosen people .

Both the Lazarus hagiography and the post-eleventh-century understanding of his function in the Gospels is consistent with the idea of exile and of vengeance against those who refuse to acknowledge the chosen path of salvation history. [22] The durability and widespread and popular nature of this idea is well illustrated by the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, a prose narrative perhaps dating from the beginning of the

[20] Lewy, "Imaginary Journeys", p.252, n.4.
[21] *De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae*, PL Vol.15, cols.2061-2326.
[22] See Ch.3.

eighth century.[23]. The story is set in the time of the reign of the emperor Tiberius. Nathan, a messenger from Judea who is on his way to Rome with a treaty, is shipwrecked in Aquitaine and taken to Titus, its king. Nathan tells the king, who is afflicted with a cancer, about the miraculous cures performed in Jerusalem by a prophet known as Emmanuel, recently crucified but who rose from the dead after three days and ascended into heaven. Titus curses Tiberius for allowing such a scandalous execution to occur and swears to punish the Jews for the death of his Lord. Having made this vow, Titus is miraculously healed. He confesses his belief in the King he has never seen and prays for divine guidance in his crusade.[24] Jerusalem is besieged and capitulates. As well as what this tale can tell us about the desire to associate Christianity with Romanitas, it also suggests a hierarchy of virtue in which the south of France is presented as avenging the faults committed both in Rome and Jerusalem.

The *Vindicta Salvatoris* demonstrated how later Lazarus accounts can be seen as springing from a popular belief in the three way relationship between Jerusalem, Rome, and the south of France as well as containing the chance element of shipwreck and Jewish mistreatment of Christians as a spur to crusade. This story was popular throughout the Middle Ages and a widely disseminated French prose romance based on the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, *La Vengance Nostre Seigneur* can be dated to the twelfth century.[25] The *Vindicta Salvatoris* and its vernacular descendants show the importance ascribed in France generally to a direct connection between that country and the antique centres of religious authority which predate Burgundian accounts of the Bethany saints. It represented an attempt to drag the course of salvation history from the eastern to the western Mediterranean. More specifically, this narrative dating from the 700s provides a context for material contained within a group of saints' *vitae* dating from the sixth century which tell the story of the conversion of southern France.

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[23] *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., ed. Constantin von Tischendorf (1876; rpt. HIldesheim, 1966), pp.471-486. See Stephen K. Wright's *The Vengeance of Our Lord: Medieval Dramatisations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto 1989), p.29 ff.

[24] Ibid., pp.29-30.

[25] Loyal A. T. Gryting, *The Oldest Version of the Twelfth-Century Poem,* La Venjance Nostre Seigneur, (Ann Arbour, 1952), p.31.

5.4 The *vitae* of southern French conversion saints

The story of exile and revenge examined above suggests the kind of historical thinking that underpinned the *vitae* of conversion saints created over a millennium from the fifth century onwards and which stake out the claim of some of the major cities in the region to being the inheritors of divine favour. They served to assert that the epicentre of Christianity had moved westwards. These *vitae* do not, however, form an homogenous group of saints, but rather fall into four categories, as described by Anke Krüger:[26]

- Early Christian martyrs and confessors: Genesius of Arles, Mitrius of Aix, [27] and Victor of Marseille.[28] These were not bishops, and therefore could not be represented as signifying a transfer of authority from the pagan to the Christian realm.
- Historical saintly bishops from the time of conversion: Cesarius of Arles, Hilarius of Arles, Honoratus of Arles and Exuperius of Toulouse. These were known or believed to have been born in Gaul and in their cases the trope of travel or exile from the East could not be used.
- Apostles of Gaul and legendary founding bishops: Chromatius/Probatius of Marseille,[29] Paul of Narbonne,[30] Saturnin of Toulouse,[31] and Trophimus of Arles,[32] Their legendary apostolic connections connected them with the final group.
- The Bethany saints: Lazarus, Mary Magdalen and Martha.

Like the legendary founding bishops, the Bethany saints were sources of institutional authority. This authority was founded on their Palestinian

[26] *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, pp. 335-247.
[27] Both believed to have been martyred in their respective cities at the beginning of the fourth century.
[28] See below, p.188.
[29] According to eleventh-century legend, present at the Last Supper and the founding bishop of Marseille. Krüger believes that his cult predates this MS. Marseille cathedral had contained an eighth century chapel dedicated to Chromatius, possibly of Aquileia. See *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilig*e, p.177.
[30] Paul was believed to have been sent by Pope Fabian in the mid-third-century to evangelise Gaul. At some point he became associated with Sergius Paulus, a Roman proconsul converted by Paul of Tarsus in *Acts* 13, 6-13. See Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige...*, p.337.
[31] Saturnin was believed to have been the first bishop of Toulouse. In his *passio,* created about the year 900, he is mentioned as having been the companion of Lazarus, together with Marital and other disciples of Jesus in their mission of conversion to the West. [*Passio (c).*, BHL 7507-c. MS Paris, BN lat. 5343, f-138r°-139v°.]
[32] Like Paul of Narbonne, Trophimus was also believed to have been sent by Pope Fabian to evangelise Gaul. See below, p.184.

provenance, their eventual martyrdom, and on their supposed intimacy with Jesus. From this authority and intimacy emerge themes that develop and intensify in successive *vitae* from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries. This may to some extent just be a case of narrative inflation, but it would seem probable that a growing sense of Provence's place in Western salvation history also played its part. Thematically, I shall categorise these themes as:

- Mission: having been sent from Palestine and/or Rome.
- Authority and status: the vicarious authority to convert. Unlike martyrs, much of whose authority derived from their martyrdom and was therefore necessarily post-mortem, these saints were deputised by Jesus.
- Companionship: these saints never arrived alone. They reinforced each other's authority by their companionship. Disciples were confirmed in their status by proximity to the intimate companions and family of Jesus.

When Lazarus first appears in these *vitae* it is in a way that is thematically consistent with the historical understanding they reveal. Tracing the way that these themes develop from their earliest appearance in the fifth century provides a necessary context for the way in which Lazarus was venerated in Marseille from the 1300s.

Mission

The earliest hagiographic material concerning the legendary bishops, possibly dating from the fifth century, the *Passio (a)*of Saturnin of Toulouse[33] and the *Sermo (a)*[34] and *Sermo (b)*[35] of Trophimus make no mention of their subjects having been sent to Gaul from the East or Rome. These accounts resemble the hagiographies of the early Christian martyrs and the historical conversion bishops. However in the later *vitae* of Paul of Narbonne[36] and Trophimus,[37] probably sixth-century, as well as in the reference to Saturnin in the seventh-century *Missale Gothicum,*[38] instances are presented of a theme that would run through much of the

[33] BHL 7495/7496, ed. Th. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, (Regensburg 1859), pp.177-180.
[34] BHL Suppl. 8318 d, Ms. Paris, BN. lat. 5295, f.1r°-2r°.
[35] BHL Suppl. 8318 b, Ms. Paris, BN lat. 5295, f.2r°-6r°.
[36] *Vita (a)*, BHL 6589., *Sancti Pauli Narbonensi*, Ed. Bolland (Antwerp, 1668), pp.373-374.
[37] *Vita (*a), BHL Suppl. 8318 f, Ms. Paris, BN lat. 5295, f.7r°-9v°.
[38] *Missale Gothicum. A Gallican Sacramentary ms. Città del Vaticano, Bib Tegin. lat.317*, Ed., H Bannister, (London, 1917 and 1919).

subsequent hagiography. Paul of Narbonne, following persecution in Rome, was inspired by God to undertake the apostleship of Gaul. Trophimus was chosen by Saints Peter and Paul to be a vicar of the apostolate and sent to Gaul to vanquish paganism. Saturnin was stated as having come from the East to Gaul. In an eleventh-century *Vita*, the origins of the Roman, Paul of Narbonne, are translated further east, as he is identified as pro-consul of Cyprus.[39] Patrick Geary has suggested that Roman saints were supplanting local ones in the eighth and ninth centuries, only to be themselves supplanted by apostolic saints in the eleventh.[40] These saints' *vitae* suggest that rather than being supplanted, saints identities were adapted to suit changing visions of the West's place in history. They also indicate that the desire to possess patrons with apostolic credentials considerably predated the eleventh century. Although, as Geary argues, the 'booty' of Eastern relics during the crusades piqued interest in these saints, a pre-existing interest was founded in an earlier belief that these Easterners could serve to position the West in salvation history. [41]

Authority and Status

The geographic connections with the origins of Christianity are supplemented by personal relationships which reveal their subjects as having direct links to apostolic or divine authority. The eleventh-century *Vita* of Chromatius/Probatius, another claimant to the distinction of being first bishop of Marseille, went so far as to assert that he was one of the original apostles of Jesus and was present at the Last Supper.[42] In the Saturnin *Passio (c)* of circa 900 (in which Lazarus first makes his appearance in the founding bishop hagiography) Saturnin is transformed into a contemporary of Jesus and a follower of John the Baptist. He is described as the son of King Egeus of Achaia and he preaches before senators.[43] In the tenth-century *Vita (b)* of Trophimus, he is cousin of the protomartyr Stephen, Saint Paul and the Jewish teacher Gamaliel. [44] Later accounts also reveal status inflation both in the subject and the company he kept. A late twelfth-century *Vita (e)* of Trophimus has him being commissioned by the emperor, then resident in Arles, to preach and

[39] V*ita (b), (Apocryphal Acts of Theodard)*, BHL 8045, *Vita Sancti Theodardi*, Ed. G. Henschenius (Antwerp, 1680), p.141-156.
[40] *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca-London, 1994), p.205.
[41] Ibid.
[42] *Vita*, Ms. Città del Vaticano, Bib. Apost., Barberiani lat. 556 , f.1r°.
[43] *Passio (c)*, BHL 7507-c, Ms Paris, BN lat.5343, ff.138r°-139v°.
[44] *Vita (b)*, BHL 8319 b, Ms. Rome, Bib. Vallicelliana, G 98, ff.1r°-8v°.

build a church in the palace.[45] These assertions underpin the hagiographer's claims for their subjects as city patrons. As in the *Passio (a)* of Lazarus and the *Legenda aurea*, this association of civic status with apostolic credentials serves to reinforce the idea of divine continuity of purpose. Western Christianity does not signify a change in direction but a revealing of what is latent in salvation history.

Companionship

A third element that can be distinguished is a growth in the number of companions. In the fifth and sixth centuries Paul of Narbonne, Saturnin of Toulouse and Trophimus of Arles make their first appearances alone. Paul's eleventh-century *Vita (b)* referred to above has him in the company of Trophimus and seven other apostles. In Saturnin's ninth-century *Passio (c)* he is, as we have seen, in the company of Lazarus, as well as Martial and the seventy-two disciples chosen by Jesus.[46] Trophimus, in the *Vita (b)* referred to above, is accompanied by Paul of Narbonne and other missionaries. In the eleventh- or twelfth-century *Vita (d)* he is one of the seventy-two disciples and travels with Denis of Paris, Saturnin, Paul of Narbonne, Martial of Limoges, Austremonius of Clermont and Gatian of Tours.[47] To these are added in *Vita (f)* Eutropius of Orange, Fronto of Perigueux.[48] Trophimus is also said to have travelled to Gaul in the company of Mary Magdalen and Martha. His companions are not confined to the living. In his *Vita (b)* and the near contemporary *Vita (c)* Trophimus also finds himself in the company of the relics of Saint Stephen. [49]

Ian Wood sees the multiplication of saints and places in sixth-century Burgundian *vitae* as a form of mapping out the geography of a Christianising landscape.[50] These meridional accounts also seem to furnish a mutually reinforcing story of conversion. Paul of Narbonne's authority is augmented by being in the company of Saturnin of Toulouse and vice versa. And although there are outriders such as Denis of Paris to the canon of saints whose names crop up repeatedly, these saints create a geography that is essentially southern French and centred on loci of Roman

[45] *Vita (e)*, *Roman d'Arles*, ed. C. Chabaneau, *Revue des langues romanes* 33 (1888), pp. 470-542.
[46] See above, n.43.
[47] BHL 8319, Ms. Paris, BN lat. 752,ff.81v°-90v°.
[48] *Romane de Saint Trophime*, ed. N. Zingarelli, *Annales du Midi* XIII (1901), pp.297-345.
[49] Ms. Laurent Bonnemant, *Mémoires* (Arles, Bib. Mun., MS 128), ff.12-14.
[50] "Constructing Cults in Early Medieval France", p.162.

memory. As the *Vita (c)* of Trophimus shows, this companionship is not confined to the living. Many of these accounts explicitly date the exile of these disciples to the stoning of Stephen fourteen years after the passion of Jesus. In bringing with him Stephen's relics, Trophimus confirms that it was in accordance with the protomartyr's wishes and associates him with the project of conversion. The status of these saints is further enhanced by the frequent reference to the seventy-two disciples (seventy in some versions), emissaries commissioned by Jesus himself to spread the Gospel. These accounts are consistently motivated by a desire to attach the conversion of southern France to centres of authentic Christianity, Roman and Palestinian. Finally, this companionship showed that Christianity came to France not as the result of the efforts of individuals, no matter how distinguished, but through the offices of a group to whom authority has been deputised, in other words, an institution. As at Autun, this understanding of these conversion saints would inform the way Lazarus was understood in Marseille. Lazarus was not just the man Jesus raised from the dead, he was a churchman.

Taken as a whole, these developing themes form a potent conceptual framework to which the cult of Lazarus in Marseille adhered. As with the invention of relics, these developments are not the product of conscious acts of creativity, a process which would have been unthinkable, but rather acts of discovery which now would be described as mistaken identity. In his *Vita (b)* Paul of Narbonne is described as proconsul of Tarsus (Sergius Paulus, a Roman proconsul is found in Acts 13, 6-13 where he was converted by Paul of Tarsus).[51] A memory of this initial confusion is preserved by his cult in Narbonne where he is called Saint Paul-Serge. Likewise, Trophimus of Arles becomes confused with a Trophimus referred to in Acts 20, 4 as having accompanied Paul of Tarsus on mission. Accordingly, whereas both saints were in earlier traditions described as having been sent to Gaul by Pope Fabian in the third century, both are transported back to apostolic times.[52] The arrival of Saturnin of Toulouse in France shifts from the time of the consulate of Decius and Gratus to that of the apostles. Such transpositions not only cloaked these saints with the authority of apostolic Christianity, they also assisted in constructing a

[51] In his *Vita (b)* referred to above p.181 and n.39.
[52] Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 30. Referred to as first bishop of Arles by pope Zozimus in 417. (Bib. Sanct. Vol.12, col.666) For substitution of Paul of Narbonne for Sergius Paulus, converted by Paul of Tarsus, Bib. Sanct. Vol.10, col.262).

narrative consistent with that of the Vindicta. Mission to Gaul was not simply a desire to spread the Christian message. Prompted by Roman and/or Jewish persecution, it was the divinely inspired removal of the locus of salvation history from Jerusalem to the West. These identities and meanings were not invented but discovered. Shifting identities did not fracture but re-enforced belief. As at Autun, where events in the eleventh and twelfth centuries caused the Church there to reassess the relics of a Lazarus they believed they already possessed, so could these stories provoke similar ideas.

5.5 The Bethany saints

The *vitae* of the Bethany saints, Mary Magdalen, her sister Martha, and her brother Lazarus, the fourth group in Krüger's taxonomy, though thematically similar to those of the legendary founding bishops, can be seen as a discrete and homogenous group. Whereas the *vitae* of the legendary founding bishops described above were the result of a conflation of traditions of third-century evangelising with gospel texts, this is not the case with the Bethany saints for whom there existed no late-antique evangelising tradition. Therefore, unlike the founding bishop *vitae*, they are not evidence of pre-existing cults dependent upon such traditions.

Although Lazarus' relationship to Mary and Martha was established in the *Gospel of John*, he is for the most part absent from the early *vitae* of his sisters.[53] *Vita (a)* of Mary Magdalen, the *Vita eremetica*, which dates from the ninth century and was probably created in Italy, makes no reference to Lazarus, Martha or the journey to Provence.[54] It relates to the later hagiographic tradition only insofar as she is portrayed as having led the life of a hermit, probably the result of a confusion with Maria Aegyptiaca.[55] The tale of their flight from Palestine first emerges in the

[53] The association of Mary of Bethany, Lazarus' sister in John's gospel, with Mary Magdalen, who figures in all four of the gospels as a follower of Jesus, was made by Gregory the Great. See above p.127. He also identified her with the unnamed woman who anointed the feet of Jesus in Luke 7, 36-50.

[54] BHL 5455/5456.

[55] This transference, echoing those found in lives of the legendary founding bishops was acknowledged in a thirteenth-century collection of saints lives. See Jean Misrahi, " A Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae (BHL 5456) in an Eleventh-Century Manuscript", *Speculum* 18 (1943). pp.335-339, p.336.

Burgundian *Vita (c) of* Mary Magdalen, probably created around 1050 in order to justify her presence in Vézelay.[56] In it she, together with Martha and Lazarus, flee the persecution of the Jews in Palestine and arrive in Marseille. Mary then assigns to Lazarus the task of preaching before retiring to the wilderness. After her death, her remains rested in the church of Saint Maximin until in the ninth century when, according to the *Vita,* they were taken by the knight Adelemus to Vézelay in the reign of the Frankish king Carloman. No reference is made to Lazarus being bishop of Marseille. The roughly contemporary *Vita* of Martha, recounting vanquishing the dragon of Tarrascon and that city's subsequent conversion, differs from the *Vita (c)* of Mary Magdalen in that she and Mary Magdalen are sent by Saint Maximin and the Holy Ghost to Marseille, but without Lazarus. [57] The eleventh-century *Vita (d)* of Mary Magdalen has her arriving in Marseille in the company of Maximin (who becomes the first bishop of Aix) and one of seventy of Jesus' disciples, again with no reference to Lazarus.[58] Krüger suggests that this last *vita* is evidence of an independent Aixois tradition.[59] However if this is the case, then Lazarus' absence in the *vita* suggests he was not part of it. A later twelfth-century *Vita*, seemingly only known in the north of France stated that Mary Magdalen arrived in Provence in the company of Maximin, Martha, Marcella, and Cedonius. Here Lazarus is one of the company but the author makes no mention of his becoming the city's first bishop.[60] These *Vitae* of the sisters of Lazarus resemble thematically those of the legendary founding bishops, structured around tales of exile, mission and companionship (that of authority being superfluous given the Gospel credentials of their subjects). However, they cannot be seen as evidence of a cult of Lazarus in southern France or elsewhere.

The surviving *Vitae* of Mary Magdalen cannot provide evidence of a cult of the Bethany saints outside Burgundy before the start of the thirteenth century. Nonetheless, a 1212 description in Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia* of the town

[56] *Vita (c).,* BHL 5488, Ed. B. de Gaiffier, *Hagiographie bourguignonne.,* Anal. Boll. LXIX 1951), pp,145-147. Another *Vita* from the beginning of the eleventh century, BHL 5443 (Faillon, *Monuments Inédits*, Vol.1, cols. 433-36), tells how Mary Magdalen evangelises Marseille together with the seventy disciples, but without Lazarus. See Jacques Chocheyras, "Les saints de la mer", pp.31-32.
[57] *Vita*, BHL 5545, Ms., Paris. BN lat. 11104, f.130v°-139v°.
[58] *Vita (d),* BHL 5491, ed. Faillon, Monuments inédits. Vol.2pp.433-436, 446-452.
[59] "*Compertum vero iam a multis olim longe lateque habebatur, quod beata Maria Magdalene in territorio ciutatis Aquensisa sancto Maximino pontifice sepulture tradita fuerat ibidimque illius sacratissima ossa seruarentur.*" Ibid., p.238.
[60] *Vita (f)*, BHL 5457. See Krüger, *Südfranzösische Lokalheilige*, p.127.

of Les-Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, situated at the mouth of the Rhone just to the west of Marseille, suggests that this might not be the whole story. Gervase wrote: "*There beside the sea-shore, is the oldest of all the churches on our side of the Mediterranean. It was founded in honour of the most blessed Mother of God, and consecrated by some disciples who had been driven out of Judea and sent out to sea on a raft with no oars. These were Maximinus of Aix, Lazarus of Marseilles (the brother of Martha and Mary in the gospels Eutropius of Orange. George of Velay, Saturnius of Toulouse, and Marital of Limoge, all of whom were numbered among the seventy-two disciples. Martha and Mary Magdalen, along with many other people, were present at the consecration. ... They claim that the two Maries, who came bearing spices to see the tomb early in the morning of the first day of the week, are among them*."[61]

This account, predating late thirteenth-century *Passio (a)* of Lazarus, already contains some of the elements of this story. Notably Lazarus is here described as "*of Marseille*" suggesting that like "Maximinus of Aix" and "Saturnius of Toulouse" he was bishop of that city. Along with these others he is described as consecrating a church which, by virtue of its antiquity and location on "*our side of the Mediterranean*", represents the early passage of Christian authority from East to West. His description alludes to many of the themes that form the subject of this chapter. The church of Les-Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, of great antiquity, has impeccable Palestinian origins. Its foundation is a group effort, shared between the disciples, friends and family of Jesus, of whom Lazarus formed a part.

Gervase, who elsewhere in the *Otia Imperialia* shows an interest in Lazarus, would almost certainly have known of the Burgundian tales of *furta sacra* and it could be argued that Lazarus was inserted by him into this description on that account.[62] However the inclusion of the southern saints Eutropius, Saturnin and Martial suggests that these lines refer to a native tradition. If so, this would be evidence of *Lazarus of Marseille*'s inclusion among the legendary founding bishops at an earlier date than any of the surviving vitae would suggest.

[61]Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia, Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S.E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford, 2002), II.10, p.295.
[62] See below. Ch. 6, pp.223.

How old this tradition was is uncertain. The 'two Maries' to whom the town is dedicated are Mary-Jacobé and her daughter Mary-Salomé, believed to have been related to Jesus through Saint Joseph.[63] No medieval account of their arrival in Provence survives and their bones were not invented in the town that bears their name until 1448.[64] It had been called 'Sancta-Maria-de-Ratis' (Saint Mary of the Boat) as late as 1084 when the canons of Arles ceded it to the Abbey of Montmajour. Laurent Dalliez in his study of the cult, noting that Les-Saintes-Maries lay on one of the principal pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostella, believed that it was the monks of Montmajour who exploited the growth of interest in Palestinian saints following the crusades with this rededication.[65] However, Gervase implies their cult at "*the oldest of all the churches*" was already venerable. In any event the dedication to the two Maries and Lazarus' association with it can be dated to no later than the start of the twelfth century and probably somewhat earlier.

More early evidence of the veneration of Lazarus in Provence is found in the *Vita of Raimondo 'Palmario'* of Piacenza who died around the year 1200. Written by a Master Rufino in the same year as Gervase's account it only survives in a seventeenth-century retranslation into Latin of a lost Italian translation, which Diana Webb in her study of the *Vita* considers authentic.[66] In Webb's translation it tells how: " *Blessed Raimondo set out from Piacenza and did not stop until he had come to St James in Galicia, living by begging with great patience and submission of spirit. Then, having venerated the relics of the most holy Apostle, and returning to Italy, he visited the relics of the most holy Magdalen and the harsh place of [her?] penitence, not far from Marseille. Then he travelled around Provence, and visited the relics of the three Maries and of saints Martha and Lazarus*."[67]

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[63] See the family tree reproduced in Maurice Colinon, *Les Saintes Maries de la Mer ou les Pèlerins du Clair de Lune* (Paris, 1975), p.173.

[64] Jacques Chocheyras, *Les Saintes de la mer: Madeleine, Marthe, les Saintes maries de la Provence à la Bourgogne* (Orleans, 1998), pp. 167-173. To this day their feast is celebrated with a procession in which their remains are carried from the fortified church of the town and into the sea. In the nineteenth century their servant Saint Sara was added to the cult and on Pentecost Saturday her arrival is also commemorated with considerably more aplomb by the Roma who consider her their patron saint.

[65] *Les Saintes Maries de la Mer*: *mythes ou légendes* (Nice, 1978), p.18.

[66] "Raimondo and the Magdalen: a Twelfth-century Italian Pilgrim in Provence", *Journal of Medieval History* 26.1 (2000), 1-18.

[67] 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi Palmarii,' Acta Sanctorum, July, Vol. VI, ed. P. van der Bosch (Paris, 1868), pp. 644-57, p.650, trans. D. Webb.

Raimondo had previously set out on pilgrimage to Palestine and Bethany where his focus of attention was on Mary Magdalen. This interest is mirrored by that of a near contemporary, John of Würzburg, who in his account of this pilgrimage in 1170 wondered at the identity and burial places of the various Marys mentioned in the Gospels, concluding that the texts are "*very hard to understan*d".[68] However, unlike John, who relays the belief of the monks of the church of Saint Mary Magdalen at Bethany that her relics rested at Vézelay, Raimondo's biographer locates them close to the other Palestinian saints in Provence. The *Vita* of Raimondo, therefore, provides us with early evidence for veneration of Lazarus and the Bethany saints in Provence which does not rely on Burgundian sources. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that both in these *Vitae* and in the accounts of Gervase and Rufino's Vita of Raimondo, Lazarus would appear to be something of an adjunct to his sisters.[69] It was not in the Carmargue but Marseille that the cult of Lazarus was to come into its own. Its history is one of episcopal activity. It shares this quality with the cult at Autun. It also is a story of the limitations of such protagonism.

5.6 Marseille's first patron

The history of saintly patronage in Marseille is a complicated one, intertwined with that of the city itself.[70] Like Autun, Marseille was an important urban centre in Antiquity and given its importance as a port was a likely early receptor of Christianity. Also like Autun, which had to content itself with a relic brought back from Milan, Marseille did not possess an early cult to a local conversion saint. In this respect it distinguished itself from Arles and Toulouse, just as Autun did from Dijon. Instead Marseille's first patron was Victor, thought to have been a soldier and possibly martyred during the persecutions of Diocletian. Gregory of Tours refers to the abbey, established outside the city walls in 419 by John Cassian on the site of an earlier Christian basilica, as being dedicated to Saint Victor. The abbey was and remained apart from the city of Marseille. However a sixth-century version of his *Passio*, probably dating to the fifth century, contains textual elements

[68] "Description of the Holy Land" *Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society* Vol.5, trans. A. Stewart (London, 1887-1897), p.24.
[69] And none of this material predates the construction of Saint-Lazare in Autun.
[70] For this, and the following section, I have relied on the narrative given in chapter 3 of Krüger's *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, pp.159-212.

connecting it to Marseille and in some redactions a hymn of praise to the city provides evidence for his cult there as well as in the abbey.[71] This is all the more likely as until the tenth century the role of abbot and bishop were united in the same person.

From Late Antiquity Victor's sway over the city seemed to rest on as certain a foundation as that of Trophimus of Arles or Saturnin of Toulouse. Yet in the central Middle Ages divisions within Marseille weakened the bonds between it and its patron. Across the harbour from the abbey, Marseille *intra muros* was divided into the lower city, which for much of the period in question was under the control of the viscount of Marseille, and the upper city under the control of its bishop. Nevertheless these three centres of authority were interconnected. Even after the person of abbot and bishop were separated the family of Marseille's viscount, to whom from the tenth century the abbot was enfeoffed, also provided the bishops of the city for much of that and the subsequent century. Saint Victor was patron of all three. However, developments associated with the reforming papacy in the eleventh century resulted in an estrangement of abbot and viscount which left the universal patronage of Victor vulnerable. Saintly patronage became the expression of parts of the fragmented city, defining their independence from other parts. As Anke Krüger writes: "*Eleventh century sources show a splitting up of the protective patronage of Saint Victor between abbey, vice-comital family and bishops. In this way what had been an Antique/early Middle-Ages city-patronage of Marseille, developed into a patronage of groups of people (the vice-comital family) or successions of persons (the bishops)*".[72] One product of these divisions between centres of authority in the city was the estrangement of Victor from the city, though the reality of this estrangement might have been exaggerated by the spread of his cult to the north. By the eleventh century versions of his *Passio* which appear to originate in northern daughter houses of the abbey, including probably the abbey of St-Victor in Paris, omit hymns of praise to the city of Marseille.[73]

However, it would seem that it was the fragmentation of the shared patronage enjoyed by the cult of Victor which created space for other cults rather than simply

[71] *Passio (a)*, BHL 8569bis, Ed. and trans. J.C. Moulinier, *Saint Victor de Marseille, le récits de sa passion* (Citta del Vaticano, 1995).
[72] Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, p.172. My translation.
[73] Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, pp.173-176.

another example of what Patrick Geary has charactarised as the increasing popularity of Apostolic saints such as Lazarus and Mary Magdalen. For "*an increasing sense of regional identity on the part of the French, and a related desire to establish a direct connection between their homeland and the apostolic heroes*" did not necessarily result in the supplanting of old saints.[74] In Toulouse and Arles the cults of Saturnin and Trophimus, might have been thought of as equally vulnerable to the appeal of incontestable Apostolic saints. However in their cases, as shown above, the evidence of tenth- and eleventh-century *Vitae* demonstrates a strategy of inflating the existing patron's apostolic credentials. They became apostolic saints. In any event, the cult of Victor did not disappear, his patronage just ceased to be universally acknowledged in Marseille.

5.7 Lazarus, episcopal patron

It is uncertain when Lazarus became a beneficiary of this process. There is very little generally accepted evidence for his cult in Marseille before the translation of the saint's relics to his new church in Autun in the middle of the twelfth century. Much of what evidence there is depends on the Abbé Faillon's *Monuments Inédites* and as Krüger points out Faillon's evidence for a ninth-century cult of Lazarus in the city depends on doubtful sixteenth-century sources.[75] A charter, claiming to be of Benedict IX re-founding the abbey of Saint-Victor and believed by Faillon to date from 1040, mentions Lazarus together with Victor as patrons of the mother abbey: "*necnon passionibus sanctorum martyrum Victoris et sociorum eus, sed seu et sancti Lazari a Christo resuscitati*".[76] But though this would suggest that Lazarus shared the patronage of St Victor at this early date, this is disputed by Victor Saxer who believes these words to be a twelfth-century interpolation.[77] If it was the fame of his cult in Burgundy in the twelfth century which gave rise to the conviction in Marseille that he had been the city's first bishop, reports of his tomb at Autun must also have argued against any claims that his body still rested there. Nonetheless,

[74] Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978) p.77.
[75] Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, pp.179.
[76] Albanés, *Gall. Christ. nov*., Vol.2, no.104, col.55. Saxer transcribed this as "*sed et sancti Lazari...*".
[77] Saxer, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine,* pp.95-6. Saxer believes it to be contemporary with the inventory of relics of 1122 referred to below (n.76) (Saxer, ibid., p.208). Saxer expresses similar doubts about the authenticity of an encyclical letter of archbishop Rostan de Fos, archbishop of Aix in the third quarter of the eleventh century, referring to Lazarus as first bishop of Marseille. Ibid., p.95.

the twelfth century does provide evidence of some Lazarus relics in Marseille. In 1121 Raymond Berangér, count of Provence, donated a reliquary for the head of Lazarus.[78] In the following year an inventory recorded that the relics of "*sancti Lazari quem Dominus suscitavit*", together with twenty-five other saints, were brought to Marseille's cathedral of Notre Dame la Major.[79] However this cannot be considered evidence of patronage any more than can the altar donations found in Ottonian churches in the previous century.

Krüger believes that the introduction of Lazarus' relics into the city's cathedral can be accounted for by the devotion to crusading shown by the counts of Provence.[80] This explanation is consistent with the earliest surviving reference to Lazarus as bishop of Marseille, found in Richard of Devizes's chronicle. Visiting Marseille en route to Palestine, Richard mentions Lazarus' reliquary adding "*qui ibidem septem annis episcopatum tenuit*".[81] However, writing at the turn of the thirteenth century, Roger was probably aware of the Burgundian story of *furtum sacrum* which post-dated the construction of Saint-Lazare and it is likely that these words reflect this. This also emerges in the account of another crusader stopping at Marseille, Gui de Bazoches. Gui acknowledges the tradition of Lazarus' episcopacy there while stating that his relics were in Avallon.[82] This statement, as well as the timing of the translation of the Lazarus relics into Notre Dame la Major in 1121-22, suggests that insofar as the inspiration did come from Burgundy the source was Avallon (whose claim to the head of the saint dated from 1106).[83] Given that the eleventh-century hagiographic material concerning the Bethany saints referred to above originated in Vézelay and given Avallon's connections with that monastery, it would seem that in this period his veneration insofar as it existed in the south, was an adjunct to that of Mary Magdalen. Although crusading activity has provided us with accounts demonstrating a belief that some Lazarus' relics rested in Marseille, twelfth-century evidence that he was venerated as a city patron is lacking.

[78] Presumably a part of the skull.
[79] Albanés, *Gall. christ. nov*., Vol. 2, no.139, col.64.
[80] Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, p.180.
[81] *Ex Gestis Henrici II et Ricardi I,* MGH SS27, p.115, Saxer, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine*, p.208.
[82] Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Aus den Briefen des Guido von Bazoches", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft f. dt. Geschichtskunde* 16 (1891), 69-113, p.104.
[83] See Ch.4, p.149.

Despite the vigour with which de Launoy was attacked in the sixteenth century for doubting the veracity of the Lazarus in Marseille legend, and in spite also of the weight of tradition that underpinned Faillon's massive endeavour of scholarship in the nineteenth, it must be admitted that, compared with Autun, the evidence for a cult of Lazarus in Marseille in any period is slender. Nevertheless what evidence there is, and the dating of such evidence, does provide an insight into a rationale behind the cult. As has been noted, recognition of Victor as patron of Marseille had been dependent upon the interconnectedness of abbot, bishop and viscount. By the middle of the twelfth century it would seem that this was no longer the case and in the city itself the bishop now enjoyed a new degree of independent authority.[84] In 1148 Pope Eugenius III confirmed that the bishop of Marseille, Raymond de Soliers (1122-51) was independent of any lay authority save that of the emperor Frederick. Furthermore he had full judicial authority over the upper town and was granted rights of high and middle justice over the Prévôté quarter surrounding the cathedral. However a dispute in the wake of the death of a childless viscount in 1192 resulted in the bishop losing control of the lower town, including the port area. The bishops evidently refused to accept this state of affairs and in 1225 the bishop, Pierre de Montlaur (the extent of whose ambition was clearly stated in his seal, "*dominus et episcopus Massilie*"), managed to unite the entire city against him.[85] Marseille was placed under excommunication and order was only restored with the assumption by Charles of Anjou to the county of Provence in 1247. He achieved authority over both the upper and lower towns leaving only the area immediately around the cathedral still under the jurisdiction of the bishop.

Up until this time we have no evidence of episcopal promotion of a cult of Lazarus in the city, with the possible exception of the transferring of some of his relics *inter alia* into the cathedral in 1121/22 referred to above, although here the main actor appears to have been Raymond Berangér. Political turmoil seems to have encouraged the bishops of Marseille to seek the patronage of saint with apostolic credentials who, according to some Burgundian accounts, had been that city's first bishop. As has been stated, Marseille had not prior to this time possessed a

[84] See Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, pp.181-187 for the events described below.
[85] Joseph-Hyacinthe Albanés, *Armorial et sigillographie des évêques de Marseille* (Marseille 1884) p.53.

tradition of a legendry founding bishop as did Arles and Toulouse and maybe its bishops did not feel it to be necessary. The *Vita* of Chromatius, dating from the eleventh century had made this claim for him, but if the Church in Marseille was aware of this, nothing came of it.[86] However in 1252 the bishop of Marseille, whose authority in the city had recently been much constrained, consecrated an altar to Lazarus in the Chartreuse of Montrieux, where he was referred to as first bishop of the city.[87] In the following decade Bertrand de Baux swore an oath to the bishop of Marseille on an altar bearing the relics of Lazarus.[88] This action suggests that by then the saint was seen as a guarantor of episcopal authority. At around this time the feast of Lazarus made its appearance in the liturgy of the cathedral.[89] In the following century we find evidence for the financial support the city's bishops were prepared to give to support the cult. In 1320 Gaspert de la Val (1319-1323) gave 40 florins towards a new reliquary for the saint. This reliquary was not translated into its new location in the cathedral until 1356 for which the then bishop, Robert de Mandagot (1344-1359), contributed the considerably larger sum of 200 florins.[90]

These contributions are the more impressive in the light of the financial pressures evidently felt by the bishops. In 1343 their authority was further reduced by the sale of the rights of high justice they still held in the last remaining part of the city, the cathedral quarter (those over the rest of upper city having been sold in 1257).[91] Yet seemingly this diminution did not quench veneration of Lazarus for in 1385 we find the first evidence for a Lazarus chapel in the cathedral.[92] Four years later the cathedral, in consort with the city council, promised to pay for a new reliquary for the saint depicting him with Mary and Martha in scenes from the legend of the Bethany family.[93]

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[86] Seep.181, n.42.
[87] Jacques Ferrier, "Les pionniers de l'historiographie provençale", *Provence Historique* 34 (1985), 39-45, p39.
[88] Antoine de Ruffi, *Histoire de Marseille*, (Marseille, 1696), Vol.10, 2, 7.
[89] On the 31st of August and the 17th of December and their octaves at which times the saint's miracle book was to be read. See Joseph-Hyacinthe Albanés, *Institutions liturgiques de l'église de Marseile* (Paris, 1910) p.143.
[90] Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, p.197.
[91] Ibid., p.198.
[92] "*Item statuimus quod ab ha hora inantea, missa que dicitur por deffunctis, in cappella Beati Lazari celebretur*."Albanés, *Gal., christ. nov*. Vol.2, no.589, col.358.
[93] Ruffi, *Histoire de Marseille*, Vol. X, 7.

5.8 The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: a shared patronage

Nevertheless the cult of Lazarus never had uncontested dominance over Marseille. Victor continued to play a role in the city throughout the period under consideration. These two were joined in the fourteenth century by Saint Louis of Toulouse, son of the King of Naples and bishop of Toulouse, who, following his death at the age of 24 in 1297, was interred in Marseille. The reports of numerous miracles that occurred at his tomb prompted his canonisation early in the next century. The influence of the house of Anjou in Marseille ensured his popularity in the city.[94] It is likely that this shared patronage of the city was promoted by actors other than the bishop. In 1362 it was the Abbey of St-Victor that, celebrating the feast day of Saint Louis of Toulouse, produced a litany in which Lazarus is mentioned as Bishop of Marseille but it is noteworthy that both he and Saint Louis are invoked to protect the city.[95] When in 1365 Urban V, who had been abbot of Saint-Victor, visited the city it was decided that on the occasion of his ceremonial entrance into the city he should be preceded by busts containing the relics of Lazarus, Victor, Louis of Toulouse and John Cassian.[96] Two decades later, the city council decided that images of both Lazarus and Louis of Toulouse underneath that of Saint Victor should embellish the newly constructed city gate, the Porte Lauret.[97]

In 1481, four years after the incorporation of Burgundy into France, Provence too found itself annexed to the French crown following the death of the last count, Charles III. In that year a white marble reliquary containing the principal relics of Lazarus and bearing the inscription "*praesul Massilie hic moribus refulgens*" was brought into Marseille cathedral. Six years earlier work had started on an altar to Lazarus in the same church. The sculpture over the altar depicted Lazarus in full episcopal garb together with his sisters Mary Magdalen and Martha. The altar itself was decorated with scenes taken from John's gospel together with the arrival of Lazarus in Provence and his consecration as bishop.[98]

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[94] Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, pp.192ff.
[95] M. H. Laurent, *Le culte de Saint Louis d'Anjou à Marseille* (Rome, 1954) n. XXXII, 66.
[96] Albanés, *Entrée solonelle du Pape Urbain à Marseille en 1365* (Marseille, 1865) p.28.
[97] Marseille, Archives mun., BB 30, f. 138v^{0}-141.
[98] Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, p.206.

Three further versions of the *Passio* of Lazarus *(b, c* and *d*) can be dated to the fifteenth century. The three are for the most part consistent with the thirteenth-century *Passio (a)* examined at the beginning of this chapter, placing greater emphasis, however, on his nobility and episcopal suitability. *Passio (b)*, in describing how Lazarus was chosen to be bishop by the people and prince of Marseille, omits any reference to his having been illiteratus as in *Passio (a)*.[99] *Passio (c)* goes further stating that Lazarus was sent by Peter to Marseille to be its bishop.[100] None of these *Passios* can be located with certainty either to Marseille or Autun. Although elements of *Passio (b)* were incorporated into the liturgy in Aix and the author of *Passio (c)* shows some familiarity with that of Marseille. However, *Passio (d)* has a distinctly Burgundian feel referring to the relics there and the miracles they enabled.[101]

These developments find their counterpart in the literature of the time. The late fourteenth-century compilation of saints' lives by Petrus de Natalibus, the *Catalogus sanctorum*, differs from the *Legenda aurea* in omitting reference to Lazarus' military status.[102] He is described as having been made bishop by the people and clergy of Marseille[103] (a rather more clerical formulation than that found in other *Vitae*, and indeed in Petrus' own entry for Mary Magdalen, where he is the choice of the prince and princess of Provence[104]). The text does not refer to his martyrdom, his Vita ending simply with "*In domino requievit*", but his relics are stated to be in Marseille cathedral with no reference to the Autun tradition.[105] As is the case for the earlier the *Legenda aurea*, the *Catalogus sanctorum* makes no reference to the development of the cult of Lazarus in Provence. Whether or not the inclusion of the Bethany saints in the compilations of these writers, working in or near Italian port cities whose works are separated by more than a century, was the result of an awareness of the cult in Provence can only be guessed at.[106] The same question must also be asked of the authors of the sequence of *vitae* referred to in this chapter. However, just as *Passio (a)* would appear to be contemporary

[99] *Passio (b)*, BHL. Suppl. 4803 b, Ms. Città del Vaticano, Bib. Apost., Barberiani lat. 2318, f.104v^{0}.
[100] *Passio (c)*, BHL. Suppl. 4803 d, Ms. Città del Vaticano, Bib. Apost., Ottoboniani lat. 1153, f. 15r^{0}.
[101] *Passio (d),* BHL 4803, Sanctilogium de codicis hagiographicis Johannis Gielemans (Brussels, 1895), pp.116-122.
[102] Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum,*, Bk.1, col.72 (Vercelli, 1493).
[103] Ibid., Bk.1, col.72.
[104] Ibid, Bk. 6, col.124.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Petrus de Natalibus in Jesolo near Venice and Jacobus de Voragine, Genoa.

with the first real evidence for a cult of Lazarus in Marseille in the late thirteenth century, the later *vitae* coincide with later evidence for the cult in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It may also be that the decision of Petrus de Natalibus to devote an entire entry to Lazarus in contrast to Jacobus de Voragine, may have been an indication of the growing prominence of his cult over that century.

Further afield, Lazarus was recognised in the liturgy of fourteenth-century Provence in such a way to suggest that this sprang from a general recognition of the importance of the Bethany saints to the region rather than a direct adoption of the cult from Marseille. Although a thirteenth-century Provençal breviary celebrated the feast of Lazarus on September 1st, referring to him as bishop of Marseille, other sources speak of him in varying and more general ways.[107] A fourteenth-century missal from Grasse celebrates his feast day on the 17th of December, referring to him as just "*martyr*", as does one from Arles cathedral.[108] Other missals from Arles and Limoges speak of him as "*bishop*", and Lazarus is celebrated on the 17th of December in Aix-en-Provence as "*bishop and confessor*".[109]

5. 9 Conclusion

One explanation for the cult of Lazarus in Marseille is simply that once Burgundian accounts of Bishop Lazarus having been rescued from Provence by Badilon became known in the south, the church in that city found it convenient to reclaim its lost saint. Although this is undoubtably true it is not a sufficient explanation. There were a number of different versions of this tale of *furta sacra*. While the Vézelian *Vita* of Mary Magdalen stated that Lazarus had been bishop of Marseille, a thirteenth-century redaction of the *Martyrology of Ado* states that the emperors Vespasian and Titus had the body of Lazarus brought to Marseille.[110] This would be more

[107] Avignon, Bib. mun. Ms 124, Krüger, *Südfrazösiche Lokalheilige*, p.188.
[108] Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, Vol. II, No.386, p.211 (Grasse, Bib. mun. Ms. 3), and No.376, p.199 (Paris, BN Ms. lat., 875).
[109] Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, Vol. II, No.457, p.280 (Paris, BN Ms. lat., 839), and No.486, p.312 (Paris, BN Ms. lat., 836); Calendar, Aix, Bib. Mun., Ms 11.
[110] Paris, BN lat. 9883, f.62r°.

consistent with Joselyn of Soissons' 1152 acclamation of Lazarus as bishop in Jerusalem.[111]

The version adopted by Provence was the one that best reflected the themes of exile, mission and conversion which also characterised the *Vitae* of other legendary founding bishops of southern France dating from at the latest the sixth century, notably Trophimus of Arles and Saturnin of Toulouse. Nevertheless, it is significant that though evidence that Lazarus was venerated in Provence survives from the twelfth century, and despite the currency of the story of Lazarus being the first bishop of Marseille, it is not until we can discern an episcopacy under stress in the middle of the thirteenth that any real attempt seems to have been made to establish the saint as patron of the city. Before then the bishops of Marseille must have been aware of the fact that they lacked a tradition of apostolic founding bishop. Yet, when in the eleventh century an attempt was made to establish Chromatius who was present at the Last Supper according to the only surviving *Vita*, nothing came of it. As at Autun, contemporary evidence of intent is lacking but the swearing of an oath to the bishop of Marseille by count Bertrand de Baux in 1268 and the generous funding of reliquaries by successive bishops of the city supports the idea that the prestige that an apostolic founding bishop could bestow was considered necessary in a way that had not been the case two centuries earlier. By this time Burgundian hagiography had rendered Chromatius redundant and Lazarus was enlisted. The attempt was only partially successful as Lazarus' cult had to contend with Victor and Louis of Anjou, promoted by the other powers in the city, both monastic and civil.

However, the limited success enjoyed by the cult of Lazarus was not only owing to these rivalries. Compared with Autun, where the episcopal identity of Lazarus was always somewhat confused, his cult in Marseille had a more convincing story to tell. Lazarus' story as reconfigured in the thirteenth century located the see of Marseille in apostolic history and asserted the status of its bishop as the inheritor of pagan civic authority in the city. And yet, whereas at Autun a new church, ultimately that city's second cathedral, was built and dedicated to the saint, it was not until 1385 that even a chapel to Lazarus was dedicated in the cathedral of Marseille. This

[111] See Ch.4. p.152.

suggests that the attempt to place the its bishops under the patronage of Lazarus was never pursued with complete conviction. Unlike Autun, Marseille never laid claim to the real presence of the saint as authenticated by tomb and body. That a northerner such as Gui of Bazoches visiting the reliquary of Lazarus in Marseille should assert that his body was in fact in Burgundy is hardly surprising. But even the charter of Benedict IX re-dedicating the abbey of Saint-Victor, probably dating from the twelfth century, stated that, though the abbey had once possessed the body of the saint, it had since been transported to Autun.[112] Although Marseille did lay claim to possessing relics of the saint compared with Autun these were decidedly second tier. A cult founded on hagiography but without substantial relics might find its conceptual *raison d'etre* but still struggle to thrive.

[112] See p.190.

6. The conversion of Lazarus

6.1 Introduction

This study has shown Christians addressing two separate if interrelated questions: who was Lazarus and what was the significance of his death and resurrection? For Christians of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages the death of Lazarus provided an opportunity to contemplate mortality and human sinfulness. His resurrection provided proof of Jesus' divine status. From the tenth century onwards, a new concept was attached to that event: conversion. The miracle of his resurrection became understood as an event fraught with significance for the conversion of the world. However, the eleventh- and twelfth-century texts discussed in Chapter 3 did not see Lazarus as having been converted by this event. In them Lazarus remained confined to the mute and passive role Antiquity had assigned to him in the drama of salvation history. Nevertheless his veneration in Byzantium and Germany, and then Autun and Marseille, suggests that Lazarus had become an actor playing a part in the conversion of Cyprus, of Jerusalem, and the West. However, this newfound role depended as much on his prestige as an intimate of Jesus as on any significance attached to his resurrection. This chapter will examine a final iteration in the story of Lazarus in which he himself is converted by his death and resurrection. Just as the miracle of his resurrection was understood as a conversion event by which the Jews were divided into proto-Christians and those who obstinately clung to their old belief, in the twelfth century Lazarus became a saint who, transformed by his descent into the underworld, signified personal conversion.

The principal piece of evidence for this transformation is provided by the *Vision of Lazarus* which survives in a number of manuscripts from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1] According to this anonymous text Lazarus, coming back from

[1] A partial list:

- BN nouv.acq. fr. 16428.
- Bodleian Lib. Douce 134.
- BN MS 966 , f.5r°.
- Cambrai MS 811 (f. 52r°)
- BN MS fr. 450.
- BN MS n.a.fr. 10,032 ff. 175 r° -176 v°
- BN MS fr. 923, ff 116r° -116v°
- BN MS fr. 20,107 .

the dead, reported on the torments suffered by those souls guilty of committing seven types of sin: pride, self indulgence, avarice, homicide, envy, gluttony and idleness. [2] A bi-lingual Latin and Old French version from the end of the fourteenth century recorded Lazarus' description of the " *sept terribles tourmens qui sont permis aux dampnez proportionnez aux vii coulpes des vii pechiez mortelz*"..."*au commandement de nostre Seigneur*", and concluded with a description of Lazarus chastened by his experience: "*Le glorieux Lazaron ami de Dieu aprez qu'il oult esté resuscité de mort à vie fut en fais et dis et en rennomée tres redolent et exemple de perfection en humilité plaisant en pureté cler et net en charité fervent et en comtemplacion avec les apostres et disciples de Jhesucrist perseverant et mortifiant concupiscence et delectation charnelle en rememorant lamritude et affliction de mort qu'il avoit une foiz soufferte et que encore une aultre ffois luy convenoit souffrir."*[3] The late fourteenth-century *Passion* of Isabeau de Bavière struck an even darker note saying that, following his resurrection, Lazarus "*ne monstra signe de ris de ioye ne de leesse mais demoura tousiours pensif et en grant paour."*[4] As Edelgard DuBruck wrote, it is as if Lazarus doubted the completeness of his own conversion.[5]

The *Vision of Lazarus* was the product of late-medieval lay piety and was directed at a lay readership.[6] The terrible prospect of post-mortem punishment was presented as a prompt to conversion. Lazarus, having been converted by his own experience of the underworld, had come back to warn Christians of what awaited them should they fail to convert in this life. The resurrected Lazarus became an exemplar of perfect piety, humility and charity. In what follows I shall argue that this imaginative transformation of Lazarus occurred in, but not before, the twelfth century. Despite Augustine's employment of Lazarus' resurrection as a means of

- Brussels: Cod.7503-18ff. 129v^{o} -131r^{o},
- Chisianus: Cod. ms F IV 94, ff 56v^{o} -59v^{o}
- Venice, Marciana cod. IX 27 f.256.
- Novara, cod.29, f.19.
- Beaune, cod. 6 f.48.
- Rouen, cod. U. f.144.
- Bamberg, KB. cod. E VII 17.

[2] *La Passion Nostre Seigneur* (La Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Paris; Ms 1131) has nine. See Edward Gallagher, "The *'Visio Lazari',* the Cult, and the Old French Life of Saint Lazare: an Overview." in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 90. 3/4 (1989) pp.331-339, p.333.

[3] Gallagher, "The *'Visio* Lazari', p.338. BN MS 923 (ff.116r^{o}-116v^{o}).

[4] Gallagher, "The *'Visio* Lazari', p.338. BN MS 966 (f.5r^{o}).

[5] "Lazarus's vision of Hell: A Significant Passage in Late-Medieval Passion Plays" *Fifteenth-Century Studies Volume 27: A Special issue on violence in Fifteenth-Century Text and Image* (Rochester, NY and Woodbridge, Suffolk; 2002) pp.44-55, p.48.

[6] See pp.229-231.

explaining what it meant to be an ordinary Christian, there is little evidence to suggest that he was a person of interest to the laity before the twelfth century.[7]

Written and iconographic evidence indicate that although surviving versions of the *Vision of Lazarus* do not predate the fourteenth century they sprang from an older understanding of the saint. The transformation of Lazarus into an exemplar of personal conversion was dependent upon the development of concepts of the afterlife which bore fruit in the twelfth century and form another example of how the saint's cult could mutate to serve new purposes. This required a vision literature which would describe a post-mortem purgatorial experience necessary for the conversion of Lazarus during his stay in the underworld.

A parallel development was the scholarly interest in Lazarus' visit to the underworld and the torments he may have seen there found in the texts of Pseudo-Augustine, Peter Comestor and Honorius Augustodunensis. Evidence that interest in Lazarus' encounters while in the tomb was widespread is found in Gervase of Tilbury's early-thirteenth-century *Otia Imperialia*, in which Lazarus was described as the "*betrayer of hell*". Gervase went on to allude to the "*many things*" he wrote about his four days there.[8] No trace of these words survives from that period. However, as I have argued in the introduction to this study, reading across from the disparate strands of evidence for how Lazarus was understood is legitimate. The sculptures which adorn Saint-Lazare, and which connect Lazarus to both Adam and Eve and Lazarus the Beggar, demonstrate that in the twelfth century Lazarus was already seen as a saint who could assist in an understanding of the underworld and the purgation that souls could expect there. Finally, it seems likely that Gervase's "*many things*" referred to hagiography of Burgundian origin, lending further support to the contention that this new understanding of Lazarus came from there.

[7] This can be contrasted with his status in the East. See Walter Puchner's study of the rich Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean tradition of Lazarus folk songs: Puchner, " Südosteuropäische Versionen des Liedes von "*Lazarus redivivus*" " *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 24 (1979), pp.81-126. These traditions also connect Lazarus with Adam which Puchner regards as an example of Byzantine dualism. More surprisingly he sees also Judas as a folk figure of that ilk. It would seem that even in the East, Lazarus' sanctity was of a peculiar kind. See Puchner, *Studien zum Kulturkontext,* esp. pp.19-20.
[8] See below p.223.

6.2 Lazarus and the underworld in Late Antiquity

The conceptual scaffolding that would support an account such as that quoted above was absent in Late Antiquity. In the first chapter I argued that the resurrected Lazarus could not have been considered a saint. So too pre- and early-Christian ideas about the realms of the living and the dead were not conducive to accounts of Lazarus' sojourn in the underworld. The *Gospel of John* made it clear that Lazarus, four days dead, was really dead and that after his resurrection by Jesus had truly come to life again, a fact demonstrated by his presence at the table of Simon the Leper. Lazarus' resurrection may have provided early Christians with evidence of Jesus' divine status, but that a man could rise again after four days when decay had already set in remained a disquieting idea. Colm Tóibin expressed this in his twenty-first-century re-imagining of the miracle, in which he had Jesus' mother Mary say, "...*no one should tamper with the fullness that is death*."[9] In breaking down the barriers between this world and the next Jesus had done precisely that.

The belief prevalent in Late Antiquity that those barriers should remain impermeable combined with the conviction held by early Christians that death for believers ushered in a period of suspended animation before the imminent recreation of the world. This was not conducive to visions of the afterlife in which Lazarus could play a part.[10] As Peter Brown has pointed out, this does not imply that Christians believed that they merited salvation. He argued rather that pre-medieval Christians believed that they would be beneficiaries of divine forgiveness akin to an imperial amnesty. According to Brown, it was the recession of this idea in the post-Imperial West that allowed space for a conception of the afterlife that would eventually coalesce into one of Purgatory.[11] It may also be that early-Christian belief that they would experience a sleep of the just until the second coming fractured under the strain of its continued non-arrival. Attitudes to Lazarus were affected by changes in beliefs surrounding death and the dead, and were transformed by this speculation about the topography of the afterlife.

[9] *The Testament of Mary* (London, 2012), p.31.
[10] See Ch. 1.
[11] *The End of the Ancient Other World,* pp.53 ff.

Pre-dating these developments was one of the earliest Christian descriptions of the underworld, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* referred to Chapter 1.[12] It described a debate between Hades, prince of Hell, and Satan "*the prince and chief of death*" which was prompted by the death and resurrection of Lazarus and the threat posed to their authority by the anticipated shriving of the underworld by Jesus during his own three day sojourn there.[13] It did not describe the sleep of the just promised to Christians (the events described preceding Jesus' own death and resurrection), nor did it portray a place of torment and punishment in terms familiar in later texts. In fact, as D.D.R. Owen pointed out, the *Gospel* avoided any description of Lazarus' experiences while in the underworld.[14]

The first and most striking feature of the hell described in the Gospel of Nicodemus is that it is a kind of condominium in which authority is shared between the two protagonists in this debate. Satan, the prince of death, and Hades, the prince of hell, are in effect a device to preserve the impermeability of this world and the next, with Satan acting as conduit to the world of the dead and Hades its guardian. They are shown quarrelling over their inability to prevent Lazarus from leaving their captivity upon hearing the call of Jesus. Hades, as the guardian of hell, says that if Jesus himself is allowed to enter their realm then *"he will set free all that are here shut up in the hard prison and bound in the chains of their sins that cannot be broken, and will bring them unto the life of his godhead for ever*."[15] Unbelief holds the sinner in chains. This is consistent with the early Christian concept that faith, or lack of it, determined a person's post-mortem fate, but it is also expressive of the antique belief in the underworld's separation from the world of the living.

Later vision literature would assume a close connection between this world and the next which was in turn linked to the belief, evidenced by the cult of relics, in a close connection between the soul and bodily remains of the deceased. Although Lazarus was released from underworld by the call of Jesus, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* left unresolved the question of what happens to the relationship between the body and the soul after death. In anticipating Jesus' arrival in Hades, it speculates that "*Perchance it is he which by the word of his command did restore to life Lazarus*

[12] See Ch.1, p.74. for discussion of Lazarus' agency in this text.
[13] (Latin A text) James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p.128.
[14] *The Vision of Hell,* p.243.
[15] (Latin A text) James, *The Apocryphal New Testament,* p.132.

which was four days dead and stank and was corrupt, whom I held here dead."[16] The *Gospel of Nicodemus* did not suggest that those souls held captive by Hades are suffering torment beyond the fact of their captivity. Furthermore, its description of Lazarus' inert and decomposing body ran counter to the proposition that the dead Lazarus' soul *had* a body that could be subject to the kind of torments mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Hades went on to say that whereas Lazarus, upon hearing the call of Jesus "*departed from us*", it was "*the earth also, which held the dead body of Lazarus straightaway gave him up alive.*"[17] His soul may have been held by Hades but the earth held his body.

This dualism was expressed in the horror with which Lazarus' remains were contemplated by writers such as Potamius of Lisbon and Chromatius of Aquileia.[18] For them the corpse was still the unclean thing of the Roman world in which they wrote, exiled to beyond the town walls. The implication that underlay so much later religious belief and practice, that the body post mortem continued to have some relationship with the soul, was alien to them. This could lead to some rather elaborate thinking. In discussing Lazarus (although it is unclear whether it is the Lazarus in the *Gospels* of Luke or John that he is referring to), Gregory of Nyssa (d. c.395) explained that that the soul, between death and resurrection at the end of time, could have body parts but only *in potentia.*[19] The corporal manifestation of the soul would have to wait until the recreation of the world by Jesus to become manifest. The phrase suggests that, for Gregory, there was no connection between the soul and the deceased body lying in the grave. Not only was this the antithesis of the cult of relics in which the reality of the saint and her/his authority was located in physical remains, it left no space for descriptions of the kinds of bodily torments described in later vision literature including those of Lazarus.

This apparent indifference to the post-mortem fate of individual Christians was born of a sense of communal destiny underpinned by membership of a persecuted Church. By the end of the fourth century this attitude had been replaced by concerns about how individual imperfect Christians could win a place in the new world of Jesus' second coming. Augustine, who had employed Lazarus' death and

[16] Ibid., p.131..
[17] Ibid., pp.131-132.
[18] See Ch. 1.4.
[19] Caroline Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, p.84.

resurrection to define degrees of human sinfulness, aimed to reassure those Christians guilty of minor offences that the gates of heaven were not closed to them. He was compelled to do so in his arguments with Pelagians, who believed that any deviation from the path of God resulted in expulsion from the promised land.[20] The fact that he felt it necessary to address these questions suggests that such ideas were troubling a wider public. The end point might no longer be the same for all Christians and the actions of individuals could determine what it would be.

Concern for one's own fate after death also prompted questions about whether it was possible for the living to be in contact with the dead. Once again Augustine used Lazarus in order to address these concerns. In *De Cura pro mortuis gerenda* he rejected the ancient opinion that contact between this world and the next was impossible. Quoting Virgil's opinion that "*To none is given to pass the hideous banks*"[21] he reposted, "*Who can incline a Christian heart to these poetical and fabulous figments...?*"[22] Nonetheless he was cautious in his assessment of the validity of dreams and visions and used the Lazarus of the *Gospel of Luke* as supporting evidence. Here Lazarus was prevented by Abraham from returning to the land of the living to warn the relatives of his damned interlocutor, a detail that Augustine interpreted as a warning against a too ready acceptance of such visions.[23] Augustine believed that some visions could indeed be genuine. However he warned that, just as God's ability to raise Lazarus of Bethany from the dead did not mean that "*every man rises when he will*", so too assistance from the dead was only possible by "*Divine power*" because "*for the departed to be by their proper nature interested in the affairs of the living is impossible.*"[24]

Despite Augustine's caveats, visions formed a part of Christian literary culture from the earliest centuries of the Church.[25] Yet until the twelfth century there is no

[20] Brown, *End of the Ancient Other World*, p.52.
[21] Aeneid, VI, l.327.
[22] "*Quis cor christianum inclinet his poeticis fabulosisque figmentis...*", CSEL Vol. 41, ed. J.Zycha (1900), Ch. 2, p.624, ll.14-15,; trans. H. Browne, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series,* Vol.3, (Buffalo, NY, 1887) See Paula Rose, *A Commentary on Autustine's De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (Leiden-Boston, 2013) for a recent analysis of this text.
[23] Ibid., Ch.17.
[24] Ibid., Ch.19.
[25] There is an extensive historiography on visions in the Middle Ages including Jacques Le Goff, *L'imaginaire médiéval* (Paris, 1985); J.-C. Schmitt, *Les Revenants: les vivants et les morts dans la société*

evidence of Lazarus featuring in this genre. Only then can he be detected as expressing private eschatological fears in the media of mystery play and vision literature. Borrowing the language of theatre, in which Lazarus was to play his part, these scripts required: a set, that is to say the creation of Purgatory; and character, the development of Lazarus as a conversion saint who could speak about private eschatological concerns.

6.3 Set

Of the two, the construction of a set, providing a new context in which Lazarus as an eschatological saint could be contemplated, is the element which has received the most attention. Jacques Le Goff has maintained that the concept of Purgatory was a product of the twelfth century.[26] His view was challenged by Isabel Moreira, who argued that Augustine's somewhat ambiguous position on the fate of souls was re-interpreted in the early Middle Ages, in particular by Bede, to create a conception of the afterlife that included Purgatory in all but name. According to Moreira, Bede "*effectively broadened the landscape of post-mortem help, creating a theology of Purgatory well positioned for the future involvement of the laity*."[27] Medieval vision literature from the seventh century onwards supports Moreira's proposition that Purgatory should be seen as an idea with a long gestation. However it also shows that that, as le Goff argued, a well articulated description of Purgatory in which sinners repented of, and suffered for, their misdeeds before achieving ultimate salvation was not a feature of vision literature before the twelfth century, the period when Lazarus came to be understood as a saint embodying repentance and conversion.

From the seventh century a shift in conceptions of the afterlife away from early Christian period can be detected.[28] The realm of Hades as represented by the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, having been abolished by Jesus, was replaced in the *Vision of*

médiévale (Paris, 1994); *Claude Carozzi, Le voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (Ve s.- XIIIe siècle)* (Rome, 1994); Paul Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln-London, 1994). See also Introduction, pp.41-42.

[26] Le Goff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire,* pp.130 ff.

[27] *Heaven's Purge, Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2010), p.173.

[28] See A. E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell,* esp. p.207 for the apostle Paul's reticence about hell. In this chapter I have use the word "underworld" rather then hell when referring to a place that would have contained both hell and purgatory.

Barontius and the *Vision of Fursey* by an afterlife that bifurcated into heaven and hell.[29] Their cosmography did not, however, allow for an intermediate zone of temporary punishment. (Although it could be argued that the visions themselves constitute such, as the monk Fursey was said to bear the scars of a sinner consumed by fire hurled at him by a demon for the rest of his life.) Another account from the end of the seventh century, the *Vision of Drythelm*, described a quadripartite afterlife corresponding to the Augustine's division of souls into the *mali* (the damned), the *mali non valde* (those not utterly bad, the *non valde boni* (those guilty of lesser sins and therefore not fit for heaven yet), and the *boni* (the saved).[30] Although the *Vision of Drythelm* described intermediate zones between heaven and hell as le Goff has argued, not until the twelfth century do we find "*an intermediary region between Hell and Paradise, the Purgatory from which the souls, purified by trial and torment gain access to Paradise*." [31] Indeed, as Paul Dutton has pointed out, Drythelm's guide tells him that "*he should not think that he had seen either heaven or hell, but a holding space in between, behold which lay those absolute realms*."[32] As late as the eighth century the idea that a vision of the true afterlife could be granted required some qualification.

Furthermore, despite their monastic provenance, these *Visions* did not suggest an understanding of post-mortem in which the suffering of the souls described could be lessened by the prayers by the faithful on earth, a crucial aspect of Purgatory as it developed in the subsequent millennium.

Bede himself, to whom we owe the *Vision of Drythelm*, wrote extensively about Lazarus. He accepted the identification of Lazarus' sister Mary with Mary Magdalen, posited by Gregory the Great, and described his resurrection in terms which emphasised the human and emotional aspects of the miracle.[33] Nonetheless his

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[29] The *Vision of Barontius*, *Visio Baronti Monachi Longoretensis,* MGH, Scriptores M., 5: 368-94; The *Vision of Fursey* is first found in the Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* (731), pp. 132-137 in trans. Dent, (London, 1916). See *Visions of Heaven & Hell before Dante* (New York, 1989), Eileen Gardiner ed., p.241-242 for seventh century Irish origin.

[30] Also found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* (731), pp. 251-50 in trans. Dent, (London, 1916). For this description of the *Vision of Drythelm* see:
Three Purgatory Poems: The Gast of Gy, Sir Owain, The Vision of Tundale, intro. and ed. Edward E. Foster, (2004) https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/foster-three-purgatory-poems-vision-of-tundale-introduction. Accessed 07.04.2022.

[31] "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys", p.24.

[32] *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (London, 1994) p.44.

[33] See CCSL 120, ed D. Hurst, (1960), *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, Bk.3, p.166-167 and Ch.3.5.

writings contain no suggestion that Lazarus' sojourn in the underworld was of any interest in itself. Over a century later the clergyman and Carolingian administrator, Paulinus of Aquileia, could compose a lengthy poetic representation of the account of his death and resurrection in the *Gospel of John* without once touching upon these matters.[34] This was despite his familiarity with moralising literature aimed at the laity, Paulinus having himself composed an *Exhortatio* on the duties of a Christian for Duke Eric of Friuli.[35] Given that Lazarus' resurrection is one of the very few with a scriptural imprimatur, his absence from a genre representing a growing interest in the afterlife is significant.

All these accounts contain story-telling devices which are elaborate and even, in the Barontius vision, comic supporting the opinion held by Jacques Le Goff that their roots can be found in the popular culture of the time.[36] Le Goff suggested that before the seventh century the Church regarded accounts of journeys to the underworld as folkloric and thus pagan.[37] There would be little incentive, therefore, to lend authority to these accounts by placing them within the context of a miracle with such powerful Christological associations. The miracle may have been too sacred to be bowdlerised in the way of contemporary vision literature. A further obstacle could have been the ambiguous moral status of Lazarus himself. To churchmen the death of Lazarus, though a close associate of Jesus, represented sin and may even have been the product of his own sinfulness. Barontius and Fursey escape their otherworldly experience with a scare. To have meted out similar treatment to someone of Lazarus' biblical pedigree could have seemed inappropriate. Yet for him to pass through the underworld as a relatively unscathed observer of eternal torments in the manner of the *Visions of Fursey* and *Barontius* would have undermined much of the significance of his entombment considered by Church fathers, notably Augustine. The experiences of the underworld recounted in these visions lack the dynamic of post-mortem redemption which would have allowed their protagonists to be seen as both sinners and saints.

[34] See Alexander Good, *Resurrection man: the* Versus de Lazaro *of Paulinus of Aquileia* (University College London, unpublished MA dissertation, 2016).
[35] Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages*, p.116.
[36] Le Goff, "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys", pp.27-29 .
[37] Ibid., p.34.

Although Purgatory is absent in the *Visions of Barontius* and *Fursey*, the subsequent careers of their protagonists locate these visions in the monastic milieu. Medieval monasticism became dependent upon an economy of prayer for souls who suffered torments in Purgatory as described in the *Vision of Lazarus*.[38] Megan McLaughlin has suggested that the roots of this economy can be found in early medieval prayer for the dead, notably the Sacramentary of Gellone. McLaughlin saw in them evidence of a divergence of belief between scholarly and popular Christianity with the latter rejecting Augustine's opinion on the inefficacy of prayers for the dead.[39] However, Le Goff himself interpreted the evidence of Carolingian liturgy containing prayers for the dead not as "*the hope of Purgatory, but growing fear of hell, coupled with the more tenuous hope of Heaven*."[40] There may have been genuine grounds for confusion, given Augustine's view that such prayers might relieve the suffering of the tormented. It would seem that, in the absence of any direct evidence to the contrary, these prayers were as Le Goff asserted born of a desire to petition God to allow the dead to avoid eternal punishment rather than to shorten their stay in Purgatory. Praying for the dead did not presuppose Purgatory. They are not evidence of a post-mortem dynamic of redemption required for the *Visions of Lazarus.*

The late development of an underworld in vision literature that can truly be described as purgatorial supports Le Goff's contention that Purgatory was a twelfth-century creation. Indeed, if one accepts his view that vision literature is a phenomenon of popular Christianity, it suggests that McLaughlin's argument that there was a divergence between scholarly and popular belief on the subject of the efficacy of prayers for the dead was not reflected in beliefs about the topography of the underworld. As late as the tenth, possibly the eleventh, century, the *Vision of Adamnán* demonstrated that ideas about purgation necessary for the understanding of the afterlife demonstrated by the *Vision of Lazarus* were still embryonic.[41] This text created a post-mortem route to salvation in which the dead who are to be spared hell but are not immediately worthy of heaven traverse the

[38] See Marilyn Dunn, *The Vision of St. Fursey and the Development of Purgatory* (Norwich, 2007) esp. p.21. Also Le Goff, "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys", p.34.
[39] Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca-London, 1994), p.203.
[40] Jacques Le Goff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire*, p.123.
[41] "Fis Adamnán", *Irische Texte,* vol.1, ed. E. Windisch, (1880), pp.165-96.

abyss of the damned via a narrow bridge. This is not a zone of purgation however and it differs conceptually little from the Bede's *Vision of Drythelm.* Vision literature in which a truly articulated idea of Purgatory can be found first appears in the twelfth century, coeval with an understanding of Lazarus as a conversion saint.

The *Vision of Tundale*, composed in Ireland at about the time of the consecration of Saint-Lazare in Autun, contained a much more recognisable depiction of Purgatory and one which to a greater extent matched that of the Vision of Lazarus.[42] In this vision the sinner Tundale , having fallen into a violent fit, was given a vision of the afterlife. In the first nine of its ten infernal visions it would seem that those in torment were in a purgatorial state of pre-judgment whereas in the first of the heavenly visions Tundale was shown souls who, though saved, are still suffering hunger and thirst for their sins. This in some respects echoed the organisation of Bede's *Vision of Drythelm*. As with Bede's *Vision*, Tundale's underworld did not have the clear tripartite division of Heaven, Purgatory and Hell. However, it contained features that makes its pairing with the *Vision of Lazarus* in the later Middle Ages and early Modern Era appropriate.[43] As Edward Foster pointed out, unlike Drythelm, Tundale is not a good man, but a sinner who not only sees but suffers the punishments of the tormented.[44] Lazarus, though not a sinner in the rather crude sense depicted in Tundale, was nevertheless thought to represent by his death human sinfulness. He was also like Tundale changed by his stay in the underworld. The *Vision of Tundale* shows that by the twelfth century the 'set' for the *Vision of Lazarus* had been constructed, even though texts of the latter cannot be dated to that period.

6.4 Character

Given these developments in vision literature, it is significant that another twelfth-century genre of religious writing in which Lazarus figures nevertheless omitted any reference to his experiences in the underworld. Developing out of what Honorius

[42] *Visio Tnugdali lateinisch und altdeutsch*, ed.A. Wagner (Erlangen. 1882).
[43] Nigel Palmer, "Illustrated Printed Editions of *The Visions of Tondal*" from the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries" in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. T. Kren (Malibu, 1992), pp.157-170, pp.161-162.
[44] See Foster, *Three Purgatory Poems,* accessed 07.04.2022.

Augustodunensis called the "*theatre of the Church*" (the liturgy) mystery plays enjoyed an increasingly prominent role in lay and eventually vernacular culture.[45] Two plays from the twelfth century devoted to the raising of Lazarus have survived. The first, the *Suscitatio Lazari* was written by a travelling scholar and pupil of Abelard, Hilarius, in about 1125.[46] The second is contained within the *Fleury Playbook*, which has been dated to around 1200.[47] Both can be seen as transitional works insofar as they reveal how Lazarus was understood by the laity and may also reflect how attitudes to Lazarus had developed during that century.

The *Suscitatio Lazari* expressed a horror of death with which fourteenth century readers of the *Visions of Lazarus* would be familiar. Although the text is written mainly in Latin when Mary utters her first expression of sorrow she breaks into the vernacular:

Hor ai dolor,
hor est mis frere morz;
por que gei plor.[48]

This refrain is repeated throughout the text and is used to distinguish those lines which express pure human emotion from those which carry forward the argument of the play. This suggests that Lazarus' fate was being presented in a way that would resonate with lay audiences. Yet it also placed the miracle in a Christological and eschatological context similar to that created by twelfth-century and indeed earlier, churchmen. When he is resurrected rather than making reference to his experiences in the underworld, Lazarus takes the opportunity to laud Jesus and condemn 'the people' (presumably the Jews):

Tu magister, tu rex, tu Dominus,
tu populi delebis facinus.[49]

The language is consistent with Hilarius' near contemporary Rupert of Deutz who understood the miracle as defining the role of the Church in salvation history, as the moment in which one chosen people is replaced with another.[50]

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[45] Meaning the liturgy: *Gemma Animae,* Bk. 1, Ch. 83; PL Vol. 172, col.570.
[46] Hilarii, *Versus et Ludi,* ed. J. Fuller (New York-Holt, 1929).
[47] *Fleury Playbook*, in David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston, 1975).
[48] Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London, 1972), p.44. See also Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church,* Vol.2 (Oxford, 1933), p.213 and 219-219. Young makes the point that though the use of the vernacular does signal "genuine emotion" the closing rubric makes it clear that its use was liturgical.
[49] Bevington, *Medieval Drama* pp.163, ll.207-208.
[50] See Ch. 3.7.

The representation of the miracle of Lazarus which survives within the *Fleury Playbook*, is altogether more reflective of some of the thinking about Lazarus that emerged during the twelfth century. Kathleen Ashley noted that the text moves beyond the long-held understanding of Lazarus as an archetypal sinner whose death is "*interpreted allegorically as entrapment in the bonds of sin*" to one that is more focussed on personal concerns about the consequences of sin.[51] The play does this through the identification of Mary, sister of Lazarus, with Mary Magdalen who, by this time, had long been considered as representing individual repentance and not just the generalised sin of humanity. In resurrecting Lazarus, Jesus is forgiving his personal sins. Ashley argued that, in combining theological exploration and human emotion, the text owed a lot to its twelfth-century context.[52] The consolatory message contained within the play is evidence of an important step in the development of Lazarus as a guide to the underworld:

"We also shall die; Death's fish-hook catches all people alike. This is the law, when we enter the world we must sometime leave the prison-house of the flesh. Do not weep for the death of your dear brother; rather should you rejoice at it. He has been set free from many sufferings and has escaped what remains for others to endure."[53]

The *Fleury Playbook Raising of Lazarus* represents a development of the way in which Lazarus could be seen. The private eschatological concerns that it expresses are not found in earlier texts.

Chapter 3 examined how Praemonstratensian and Victorine efforts to give meaning to the historical sense of the Bible assisted in defining the miracle as an eschatological event.[54] A new understanding of Lazarus *the man* as an eschatological figure was a consequential development. These two plays demonstrate how, by the twelfth century, the story of Lazarus was dramatised so as to speak to the emotions and fears of a lay audience. These two approaches to his resurrection come together in a sermon by Pseudo-Augustine possibly from the early twelfth century. In what remains to date the most comprehensive

[51] Kathleen M. Ashley, "The Fleury Raising of Lazarus and Twelfth-Century Currents of Thought" *Comparative Drama*, 15.2 (1981), 139-158, p.142.
[52] Ibid., p.154.
[53] Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays,* p.352, n.19.
[54] See Ch. 3.8.

overview of the *Vision of Lazarus,* Edward Gallagher suggested that the origins the *Vision* can be traced to this text, which contains the first surviving account of Lazarus' experiences in the underworld: [55]

"...atque ut miraculum divinae virtutis accresceret, dum convivis interrogationibus tristia loca poenarum, sedesque alta nocte semper obscuras, Lazarus indicat diligenti narratione per ordinem; diu quaesiti longisque temporibus ignorati invenerunt tandem inferi proditorem." [56] Encouraged by his fellow guests at the meal of Simon the Leper which he attended shortly after his resurrection , Lazarus told of his experiences (Jn:12,1-2).[57] As Gallagher demonstrated, this account was used by Peter Comestor in his *Historia scholastica:*

"Fecerunt autem ei coenam, et Martha ministrabat, et Lazarus unus erat discumbentium. Qui, ut ait Augustinus de verbis Domini, convivis interrogantibus loca poenarum, et sedes inferni, diligenti narratione indicavit. Et ita inferni longis temporibus ignorati, tandem invenerunt proditorem." [58]

However Gallagher omits the lines in Comestor immediately preceding these:

"Simon fuerat leprosus, et a Domino sanatus, sed tamen adhuc pristinum nomen manebat, sicut et adhuc dicitur Matthaeus publicanus. Multique Judaeorum venerunt illuc, qui convenerant ad diem festum non propter Jesum tantum, sed ut Lazarum suscitatum viderent. Cogitaverunt ergo principes sacerdotum, ut Lazarum interficerent. " [59]

In stating that Simon had been cured of his leprosy by Jesus and by diverging from the account in the *Gospel of John* in suggesting that the publican Matthew was present (his redemption story does not figure anywhere in the *Gospel of John*[60]), Comestor interpreted Lazarus' description of the underworld as a conversion event. While the association of a cure from leprosy with spiritual redemption can be traced to the *Gospels*, the presence of Matthew is a reference to personal conversion. Matthew, the publican or tax collector, was called by Jesus to follow him and in the *Gospel of Luke* and when Jesus was criticised for his association with Matthew he says "*I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*".[61] Moreover, by linking the cured Simon and the converted Matthew

[55] Gallagher, "The *'Visio Lazari',* the Cult, and the Old French Life of Saint Lazare: an Overview" .
[56] Ps-Augustine, *Sermon* 96*, De suscitatione Lazari*, PL Vol.39, cols.1929-1932, col. 1929.
[57] This meal is referred to also in Mk:14, 3-9 and Mt:26,6-13, but Lazarus does not figure.
[58] PL Vol.198, col.1597.
[59] Ibid., col.1596.
[60] It appears in the *Gospels of Matthew* (IX, 9)*, Mark* (II, 14) and *Luke* (V, 27).
[61] Lk:5, 32, KJV.

to the decision of the Jewish priests to kill Lazarus, he was connecting a personal conversion to the conversion of the Jews, or, in the case of the priests, to their refusal to be converted.[62] Comestor ascribed to the events described (or omitted) in the *Gospel of John* a spiritual significance unmediated by metaphor. He and his Ps-Augustine source invented a scene in which Lazarus responded to the eschatological concerns of proto-Christians, his fellow diners at the house of Simon the Leper.

In his study of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* Mark J. Clark supported Beryl Smalley's assertion that it represented the greatest triumph of Hugh of Saint Victor's dictum: "*fundamentum autem et principium doctrinae sacrae historia est*".[63] A belief that an historical understanding of the events of the Bible is the foundation of sacred teaching was the tool by which an understanding of the Lazarus miracle was transformed. It was no longer sufficient just to extract metaphorical significance from Jesus' resurrection of his friend. The real significance of Lazarus' temporary sojourn in the underworld lay in the fact of it having happened. Unfortunately, the account in the *Gospel of John* gave no clue as to what he witnessed or experienced there, so Comestor took Ps-Augustine as his authority, despite the likelihood that the real Augustine would have been allergic to such otherworldly accounts and was himself in great part responsible for the persistence of the metaphorical interpretation of the Lazarus miracle which Comestor is attempting to supplant.[64]

Although Comestor wrote that Lazarus described his experiences in the underworld, he did not specify what they were. What Lazarus had to say about the underworld in later vision literature would conform to the description created by another defender of the importance of historical events in the framing of salvation history, Honorius Augustodunensis.[65] His *Elucidarium* (c.1100) detailed nine types of sin and the appropriate punishments for those condemned to suffer

[62] Jn:12,10.
[63] Mark J Clark, *The Making of the* Historia scholastica, pp.23-24.
[64] See Ch.1.8.
[65] Despite his name, Honorius's Autunois provenance is in dispute. However, Valerie Flint has argued that the *Elucidarius* was written in a monastic setting in Hereford, then a centre of Lotharingian monastic reformers in conflict with secular Norman bishops, and speculates that "*Honorius may then have been a canon of Lotharingian sympathie*s." Flint, The Elucidarius of Honorius Augustodunensis in Late Eleventh Century England" *Revue Bénédictine* 85.1/2 (1975), 178-189, p.188.

torment in the afterlife.[66] Aron Gurevich has pointed out that Honorius (who in his *Speculum Ecclesiae* stated that Lazarus had been bishop of Cyprus for thirty years) was determined to fix the "*singularity and uniqueness of the events of sacred history*".[67] In order to do so, Honorius gave specific time spans to events such as the act of creation and the length of Satan's sojourn in heaven before being cast out.[68] Gurevich believed that the meaning of vision literature can be unlocked by an understanding of its conception of time. He argued that such work represents *"...an 'interiorisation' of retribution for a completed life, the transfer of the centre of gravity from the common fate of mankind to the personal fate of the individual [which] is a characteristic feature of all medieval vision literature*."[69] The 'history' operating in this time was not the salvation history as understood by churchmen, but the private history of the individual contemplating her or his end. Moreover, as Gurevich implied, the 'after-world' was essential to an 'after-life': "*Works of medieval Latin literature , including narratives about other worldly visits , do not permit time and space to be painlessly distinguished as conceptual categories, so deeply rooted are they in a single whole and unbroken vision of the world*."[70] An understanding of 'real' time and 'real' space was an essential part of understanding private eschatologies. By prioritising the historical specificity of Lazarus' resurrection, he became a figure suitable for inclusion in this genre of religious literature.

6.5 Autun and the origins of the *Vision of Lazarus*

Although Gallagher rightly saw Ps-Augustine and Comestor as providing a narrative framework for the later *Visions*, he did not fill the gap between these twelfth-century churchmen and the fourteenth-century texts he analysed. In order to do so, one must turn to Autun. Autun provides evidence for the proposition that many

[66] In particular, Gallager believes that Lazarus' description of the after-world found in the fourteenth-century *Passion Nostre Seigneur* of Saint-Geneviève "is borrowed almost intact from Honorius..." "Visio Lazari ", p.333.
[67] Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 163.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., p.121.
[70] Ibid., p.138. Antonio Sennis argues that "The progressive permeation of space and time was one of the crucial developments of Western Christian mentality...": "Narrating Places: Memory and Space in Medieval Monasteries" in *People and Spaces in the Middle Ages 300-1300*, eds. W. Dvies, G. Halsall, A. Reynolds (Turnhout, 2006), pp.275-294.

of the ways in which Lazarus was seen in later vision literature, prefigured as they were in the texts reviewed above, was already how Lazarus was perceived by Christians in the middle of the twelfth century.

Chapter 4 argued that the introduction of the cult of Lazarus at Autun was an episcopal project. However, the sculptures at the church of Saint-Lazare transcended, and to some extent redirected, episcopal intent. The prominence of these sculptures suggests that this intent was complemented by one which assisted in the creation of a saint whose relevance to personal eschatologies would outlive even his usefulness as a figure of institutional authority. The episcopal protagonists of the veneration of Lazarus created a saint whose meaning aligned with that of those theologians who were mining the story of his resurrection to position the Church in salvation history. The saint that was revealed in the sculptures ornamenting the Saint-Lazare was also relevant to the developing topography of the underworld .[71]

This sculpture can be categorised into four elements (of which only two are today fully extant). Two were found on the church's exterior, the tympanum depicting the Last Judgment over the west (principal) entrance and the ensemble of images, including the now dismantled and partially lost image of Adam and Eve, over the north transept door which formed part of the route between the old cathedral of Saint-Nazaire and its younger sibling. The other two elements, inside the church, are the column capitals and, before its destruction in the eighteenth century, the tomb of Lazarus.

The tympanum over the west door expressed the Autun Church's desire to define the relationship between Lazarus and itself in terms of the course of salvation history beginning with the images of Adam and Eve and ending with the Last Judgment. The trumeau supporting the Last Judgment of the west portal originally

[71] The proposition that programmatic intent can be ascribed to these sculptures of Saint-Lazare has been controversial. See Introduction, pp.31-32. As discussed in Chapter 5, Linda Seidel rejects the identification of "Gislebertus" with the sculptor. Jeannet Hommers, author of the most recent study of the sculptures of Saint-Lazare[71] takes a similarly sceptical position vis-a-vis the Grivot-Zarnecki arguments in favour of Gislebertus' creative independence (*Gehen und Sehen in Saint-Lazare in Autun,* p.17).

depicted the resurrection of Lazarus.[72] The significance is purely eschatological. The Last Judgment represents the culminating point of salvation history, a moment too late for penitence, which the resurrection of Lazarus prefigures. This sculptural ensemble relates most clearly to the intention of the Autun Church as explored in the previous chapter and does not present Lazarus a saint converted by his experience of the underworld.

The significance of the sculpture which decorated the north door is less straightforward. Here, as well as the now dismantled and partially lost images of Adam and Eve, are capitals depicting the story of Lazarus the Beggar. To the left of the north door are images of the Rich Man in hell and Lazarus the Beggar shown as sanctified complete with halo in the arms of Abraham. To the right is an image of Lazarus by the table of the Rich Man, shown here as a leper equipped with a crutch. The connection between this Lazarus and that of Bethany is obliquely referenced by an image of one of Jesus' other resurrection miracles, that of the son of the widow of Nain.

Jeanette Hommers argues that the church was dedicated to a composite saint, an amalgam of the Lazarus in the *Gospels* of John and Luke.[73] According to Hommers, the convergence of identity was the result not only of nomenclature but also because both were connected with death and resurrection. She does not suggest however that there was any contemporary confusion as to the identity of the bones of the saint over which the church was built in the twelfth century. As the previous chapter has shown, the earliest written evidence of this (thirteenth- and fourteenth-century necrologies), confirms later hagiography in calling him 'four days dead Lazarus'.[74] But Hommers makes an important point in suggesting that it was the intention of those who built the church to have those who came there to venerate have in mind both Lazarus of Bethany and Lazarus the Beggar.

[72] Of which only the feet survive in the Musée Rollin. A nineteenth-century sculpture of Lazarus as bishop flanked by his sisters Mary and Martha has taken its place.
[73] Hommers, *Gehen und Sehen*, p.31: "*Der in Autun verehrte Lazarus ist aus heutiger Sicht eine Ineinssetzung zweier neutestamenticher Figuren, die neben der Namensgebung vornehmlich über das Thema des Todes und der Auferstehung zustande kam*."
[74] See Ch.4.3, p.142.

The identification of Lazarus of Bethany with Lazarus the Beggar at Autun was first made by Richard Hamann who, in the 1930s, devoted much energy to the reconstruction of the tomb of Lazarus at Saint-Lazare. Hamann described this double meaning as both "*naïve and subtle...naïve because a trick of the imagination was taken for reality; subtle because they were full of significance and susceptible of more than one interpretation*".[75] He demonstrated that the double meaning is also apparent in churches elsewhere in France where the influence of Burgundian iconography is detectable. He identified imagery in three southern French churches where their sculptural decoration both in their dates and technique may well owe much to Burgundian examples. At Saint-Pierre de Moissac, Lazarus the Beggar is depicted under the table of the Rich Man, with dogs licking at his sores. Also shown there is the soul of Lazarus being brought to Abraham. As at Saint-Lazare, Lazarus is here "*elevated to the dignity of a saint by the halo round his head*."[76] At St. Sernin in Toulouse Lazarus the Beggar is represented as a patriarch. Finally at St. Trophime in Arles, despite Lazarus' later association with Trophime as one of the apostles of Provence, the Lazarus depicted in the church is Lazarus the Beggar.[77] There is an image of Lazarus of Bethany at St. Trophime, not in the church but cloister, where the *Raising of Lazarus* interrupts a sequence of images from the story of Abraham, who of course figures prominently in the parable of Lazarus the Beggar. Hamann argued that these depictions, which present Lazarus the Beggar as a figure of episcopal authority and intermingle images of Lazarus of Bethany with Abraham show the influence of Burgundy. I would also suggest that they were a reflection of how Lazarus of Bethany was understood in Autun.

Despite the construction of the leper porch in front of Saint-Lazare in the 1170s, it is unlikely that the connection between the two was leprosy. It is true that Lazarus the Beggar was usually considered as a leper.[78] He was frequently evoked in medieval funeral liturgies, and the example of his patient acceptance of his

[75] Richard Hamman, "Lazarus in Heaven", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*,.33.364, 3-5 & 8-11, p.4.
[76] Hamman, "Lazarus in Heaven", p.4.
[77] The relics of Trophime were transferred to the new church in 1152, some five years after the transfer of Lazarus' relics at Autun. The omission of any depiction of Lazarus of Bethany in the church supports the argument that there was no local cult venerating Lazarus as bishop of Marseille in the twelfth century. That Lazarus of Bethany should figure in the cloister is also suggestive, as its construction was somewhat later, in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. (Claude Sintes, *St Trophime Cloister Guide* (Arles, 2000).
[78] Although in Luke is not referred to as a leper, but as a "beggar...full of sores"(Lk:16, 20).

condition, rewarded post mortem, figures in sermons addressed to lepers.[79] However, before the thirteenth century there is no surviving reference to Lazarus of Bethany being a leper. This is all the more striking as his presence at the meal held in the house of Simon the Leper was much discussed in patristic writing. Yet nowhere is it suggested that he may also have suffered from the disease. In his commentary on Matthew, Anselm of Laon, (d.1117) introduced Simon the Leper writing "*Simon iste leprosus fuerat, sed curatus a domino, antiquum adhuc tamen retinebat nomen*."[80] And yet, when immediately after he referred to Lazarus, he did not mention the fact that it too might have been a leper.

The resurrection of Lazarus featured among lists of prominent miracles performed by Jesus. The context in which his resurrection was placed can say something about the significance given to it. There are two instances in the New Testament of Jesus having cured leprosy, one in which ten lepers were sent out into the world, only one of which returns to thank Jesus, and a second in which a single leper was cured.[81] Before the twelfth century, these therapeutic acts rarely figure in lists of miracles together with the Resurrection of Lazarus.[82] By far the most frequent association was with the miraculous cure of the blind man, a reference to those Jews whose eyes were opened after witnessing his resurrection.[83] However, in the twelfth century the abbot of Corbie Hugh de Foliet (d.c.1174) amended the conventional list of miracles with which the resurrection of Lazarus was associated, placing the sending out of the ten lepers by Jesus in the *Gospel of Luke* immediately after the resurrection of Lazarus.[84]

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[79] Hyacinthe, *L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare*, p.24.

[80] *Enarrationes in evangelium Matthaei*, Ch.26, PL Vol. 162, col. 1466DA. It has been suggested that the belief that Simon was indeed a leper stems from a misreading of the Aramaic for leper and jar merchant. See: Hebraic-Version Scriptures, http://www.nazarite.net/translations/hrv.pdf,p.VII, accessed 15.03.21. The commonly held belief that Simon was the leper cured by Jesus is one for which there is no scriptural evidence.

[81] Lk:17,12-19 and Mt:8,1-4.

[82] One early twelfth-century example of such a pairing is Odo of Asti, *Commentary on Psalm 44,* "*Praecepit namque Lazaro ut resurgeret, et resurrexit. Praecepit caeco ut videret, et vidit. Praecepit leproso mundari, et mundatus est.*", PL Vol.165, col.1245C.

[83]For instance, Fulbert of Chartres, *Hymnus seu pros de sancto Pantaleone*, "*Qui dederat caeco nato, post creata lumina, ac de tumba jam fetente suscitatus Lazarus , caeteraque mira gesta quorum non est numerus*.", PL Vol.141, col.341B. See Ch. 3 pp.125-126 for the theological signifcance of this pairing.

[84] *Ut videtur de claustro animae libri,*" Bk. 3, Ch.8: "*Dum Lazarus suscitatur, leprosus mundator*...", PL Vol.176, col.1098A.

His near-contemporary Gerhoh, provost of Reichersberg, connects Jesus' command to Lazarus summoning him from the tomb with his command to the blind man to see and to the ten lepers to go out into the world.[85] This association was also made, on a number of occasions, by Gratian.[86] As Gerhoh and Hugh had done, Gratian associated Lazarus with the miracle present in the *Gospel of Luke*, in which Jesus sent out ten lepers into the world rather than with the healing of the single leper told in the Gospel of Matthew. This would suggest that the primary meaning of the connection between Lazarus and the miracle of healing was the conversion of the Jews rather than leprosy *per se.* Whether or not in the above texts the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection is connected with the cure of lepers nowhere do their authors suggest that Lazarus was himself a leper. Although an early thirteenth-century sermon by Hélinant de Froidmont (d.1230) does state the belief that Lazarus might have been a leper, this association is not made in any of the later texts of the *Vision of Lazarus.*

In searching for the origins of the *Vision* at Saint-Lazare, it must therefore be supposed that the significant connection between the Lazarus of Bethany and Lazarus the Beggar is not leprosy. The disposition of the iconography discussed above suggests rather that the intent was to separate and re-define two pre-existing aspects of the Lazarus of Bethany's character, the penitential and the eschatological. The west door with its depiction of the Last Judgment was the principal 'public' entrance, the depiction of the resurrection of Lazarus supports the Church's claim to embody the path of salvation history. Visitors to the church at the end of the twelfth century would have been able to look into the monument reconstructing the Bethany church and see a *tableau vivant* with Mary Magdalen and Martha mourning over the tomb containing what they would have believed to be the actual bones of Lazarus. His death and subsequent resurrection may have been understood as a significant waymark on the road of salvation history but the iconography of Saint-Lazare does not suggest that those who commissioned it wished the 'Lord Lazarus' to be personally associated with sin. Such an association would have undermined the authority with which he had been invested.

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[85] *Commentary on Psalm 21*: "*Dixit Lazaro mortuo in sepulcro jacenti et foetenti: 'Veni foras, et prodiit.' Dixit caeco: 'Respice et vidit.' Dixit leproso: 'Mundare,' et mundatus est.*" PL Vol.193, col.1003C.

[86] *Tractatus de poenitentia; Distinctio* 1*, Causa* 33, *Causa* 87; *Distinctio* 3, *Causa* 32. PL Vol. 187, cols.1529B, 1556b, 1605A.

The north door with its representations of Lazarus the Beggar reminded those entering of the resurrection of Lazarus' penitential meaning. The dominant image would have been the depiction of Adam and Eve on the north portal.[87] The primary significance of this image would have been the sinfulness of man and the need for repentance. However, this image would also have been seen as reference to Lazarus of Bethany himself who, through a tradition originating in Byzantium connected Adam, the first to die , with Lazarus, the first to be resurrected.[88] This association would have modified the primary significance to suggest to the onlooker forgiveness and conversion. Peter, abbot of Celle and later bishop of Chartres, in a Lenten sermon in the second half of the twelfth century likened the recall of Lazarus from the tomb to forgiveness following the confession of, and punishment for, the specific sins of greed, sensuousness, envy and gossip.[89] Similarly in a Lenten sermon his near contemporary, the Augustinian Richard of Saint Victor, stated that in raising Lazarus from the dead, God forgave him.[90]

The accompanying images of Lazarus the Beggar reinforced this message of purgation and conversion. The Rich Man is shown in torment in hell. The accompanying image of Lazarus the Beggar is shown, as in the southern French churches, with a halo. His earthly suffering is depicted by an accompanying image showing him at the table of the Rich Man excluded from the good things of the world. This reminds the onlooker that Lazarus the Beggar has been purged from sin by his suffering on earth which, like Purgatory, is temporal. Unlike Lazarus the Beggar or those who were chosen by God to suffer the living death of leprosy the Rich Man was unable to atone for his sinfulness on earth and so is made to suffer in the hereafter. Abraham tells the Rich Man *"remember that thou in thy lifetime*

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[87] The carving of Adam is now lost, but that of Eve was rediscovered and now is in the adjacent Musée Rollin.

[88] See Puchner, *Studien zum Kulturkontext,* p.20. Alhough in fact in the Gospels he is preceded by an un-named boy and girl.

[89] "*Nam vera confessio et poenitentia, sicut Maria et Martha suis meritis, etiam quatriduanum fetentem Lazarum propter locustam, erucam et rubiginem, id est gulam, luxuriam, invidiam, et detractionem, de sepulcro revocant*."*Sermon 17, Feria sexta post Dominicam primam quadragesimae*, PL Vol.202, col.688A.

[90]"*In resuscitatione autem Lazari invenies utrumque figurari. Hunc enim Dominus et ressuscitat per semetipsum et solvit ministerio famulantium. Per ipsum igitur Dominum solvitur a vinculis interioribus, officio vero obsequentium a vinculis exterioribus*."*Tractatus de potestate ligandi et solvendi* in *Richard de Saint-Victor, Opuscules Théologiques: Texte critique ave introduction, notes et tables*, ed. J. Ribaillier (Paris, 1967), pp.77-110, p.89; also PL Vol.196, col.1166B.

receivedst thy good things, an likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."[91] This is one of the verses most often glossed by churchmen from Late Antiquity onwards.[92] Its message of justice restored in the underworld better accords with the role we know Lazarus to have assumed in later centuries and presaged by Ps-Augustine and Comestor. Finally, though the parable explicitly rejects the possibility of any report of the Rich Man's suffering being made to those still living, by raising the possibility it would have reminded the onlooker of such a report's desirability . The theologian Alan of Lille wrote that Lazarus would not have been able to sin after his resurrection.[93] For him, Lazarus' descent into the underworld triggered a definitive state of conversion. Just as Lazarus the Beggar was purged by his suffering on earth, Lazarus of Bethany was purged by his experience of the underworld. Unlike the Beggar he was, however, allowed to return to warn Christians of the fate that could await them.

The association of Lazarus with leprosy, unbiblical though it was, was powerful enough to transform understanding of the moral context of his illness and death. There is no evidence that the association of Lazarus of Autun with leprosy had been made by those who were engaged in promoting the cult. It may even have been entirely unforeseen and even possibly unwished for. Once made, however, it was catered for and exploited, as the construction of the leper's porch shows. The numerous reports of miraculous cures from a condition that was considered inherently sinful would have supported the reputation of Lazarus as a conversion saint. Having passed through death and seen the hellish consequence of sin, he would have been able to intercede for those who, through their suffering on earth, were already atoning for the sins for which the souls in Purgatory suffered.

By providing a venue for the veneration of Lazarus and through the sculptures that helped define him, the church of Saint-Lazare had contributed to the construction of a saint whom Gervase Tilbury could describe as "*betrayer of hell*".[94] Gervase

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[91] Lk:16,25. KJV.

[92]For instance Ambrose of Milan, *Sermon 18,* PL Vol.15, col.1453C; *Rupertus Tuitensis: De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius, Libros 24-42, De Operibus Spiritus Sancti*, CCCM 24, ed R. Haacke (1972).Bk.9, Ch.16; also PL Vol. 167, col. 1821B.

[93] "*Nos dicimus necessarium fuisse Lazarum salvari, postquam decessit; nec postquam revixit, peccare potuit: fuit enim fomes peccati per mortem in eo exstinctus*."*Regulae Alani de sacra theologia*, PL Vol.210, col.0654A

[94] trans. Scott G. Bruce in *the Penguin book of the Undead: Fifteen Hundred Years of Supernatural Encounters* (London and New York, 2016) p.191. S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns in their translation,

wrote these words in his encyclopaedic work the *Otia Imperialia*, and their context is worth quoting at length:

"*It is often the case that many people have ridiculed us when we try to describe the punishments of hell, or they maintain that what we say about the otherworld is worthless, adding that we have made it up. They do not believe what they have read in the Bible unless they have heard it directly from someone who has either risen from the dead or who has appeared to the living after death. Indeed, they ask how anyone can know this information if they have not seen it or experienced it themselves. To this I reply the weakness of our present age does not allow anyone to return to life after four days in the grave and to announce what happens among the dead. And, indeed, not all of the dead who are permitted to return to us as apparitions are allowed to make known what they have seen, like when Paul, caught up in the third heaven, saw secrets of God "which no one is allowed to utter".*[95] *But Lazarus is called "the betrayer of hell" because he wrote many things about the condition of the souls of the dead, although this book is either not accepted by the church or it is reckoned among the apocryphal works, whose authenticity is in doubt. He is called the betrayer of hell, not because he reported all the things that he saw there,* [*but because out of the many things he saw he revealed some,*][96] *in so far as the power of God granted him dispensation to do so*."[97]

This text is of particular interest to an investigation of the origins of the *Vision of Lazarus.* Previous vision literature avoided adopting genuinely biblical figures as their protagonists. In his text Gervase argued that turning to Lazarus for information about the underworld was a reasonable thing to do. According to him, he and his contemporaries were living in a sceptical age and the testimonies of those who had actually experienced death were needed to confirm the things that one found written in the Bible. According to Gervase, it was no longer possible to find such witnesses. And even if they were to be found, not all were permitted to

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*Gervase of Tilbury, Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor (*Oxford 2002), p.761 translate "*proditor*" as "*unveiler*".

[95] See Paul's *Second Letter to the Corinthians*, 12;2-4 , "*I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven…How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter*." KJV.

[96] The words in square brackets are omitted in Bruce and taken from Banks and Binns (see n.94 above)

[97] See n.94.

reveal what they had seen. Lazarus whose death and resurrection, as well as his friendship with Jesus, had scriptural imprimatur was therefore well suited to this role. However, Gervase added, Lazarus was the "*betrayer of hell*" because, in an act of defiance and in the face of the disapproval of the Church, he had reported what he had seen in the underworld.[98] Gervase seemed to be implying that the reporting of the vision of Lazarus was a response to lay scepticism in the face of a foot-dragging ecclesiastical establishment.

Gervase also claimed that Lazarus "*wrote many things about the condition of the souls of the dead*." To what was he alluding? Surviving versions of the *Visio Lazari* do not predate the fourteenth century, over a century and a half after Gervase's text.[99] Gervase may just have been referring to references to Lazarus having spoken about the underworld in Ps-Augustine and Comestor, but there is no other evidence to suggest that either of these texts were considered apocryphal by the Church. The *Vision of Lazarus* draws on late-antique sources: the *Gospel of Nicodemus* which has of Lazarus in hell; and the *Visio Pauli* which describes the suffering of the damned. However, neither of them referred to Lazarus having spoken of his vision of hell.[100] In his study of a middle Bavarian text of the *Vision of Lazarus*, Max Voigt pointed out that this version claimed as its source a sermon by John Chrysostom. Chrysostom was concerned to portray the reality of Lazarus' death and resurrection, and there are no surviving texts to suggest that this claim is correct, as Voigt acknowledged.[101]

Voigt also suggested that one source of the *Vision of Lazarus* was the 1353 account of an Hungarian knight George Krisszafàn's pilgrimage to Saint Patrick's Purgatory in which was written: *"Item vidit ibi sicut eciam beatus Lazarus in suo libro quem fecit de penis purgatorii et qui communiter et publice legitur in ecclesia Marsiliensi in qua quondam episcopus erat."*[102] In speaking of Lazarus as bishop of Marseille and reporting that his experiences in the underworld were publicly read out in that city, the Krisszafàn text was itself giving a clue as to the origins of the *Vision.* In

[98] It would be interesting to know whom Gervase believed he was quoting. According to Dante, the betrayer of hell is not Lazarus, but Satan.
[99] See Gallagher, "The *'Visio Lazari',* pp.333-337
[100] Owen, *The Vision of Hell,* p.244.
[101] *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter* (Leipzig; 1924), p.13. See also Ch. 1, pp.63-64.
[102] Ibid., p.4. Cited from Ms Bamberg KB.Q III 31ª, f.202v⁰.

Emile Roy's *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle,* one of the four manuscripts of the *Vision of Lazarus* he identified (BN MS fr.923) framed Lazarus' account of the underworld with a life of Lazarus which largely tallied with the account in Voragine's *Golden Legend*.[103] Both relate how Lazarus together with Mary and Martha, their servant Marcella/Martilla and the blind man Cedonius travel to Marseille. Voragine made no reference to Lazarus in the underworld and it was written half a century after the *Otia* of Gervase. However, as was argued in Chapter 5, it relied on hagiographic material which is Burgundian in origin.[104] It would therefore seem probable that the material Gervase of Tilbury had in mind was the kind of literature that was being produced in and around Autun in order to support the story of sacred theft alluded to in the thirteenth-century obit of Bishop Gerard.[105] It was this material that would have been read out in Marseille, as reported in Krisszafàn's *Pilgrimage*, although none has survived that predates Gervase of Tilbury.

The proposition that Gervase's source material came from Autunois supported by an examination of a manuscript found by Gallagher in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Cambrai.[106] This text incorporates Lazarus' visions with an account of his life, his martyrdom under Domitian on September 1st, the miracles performed through his intercession and, finally, the transfer of his bones from Marseille to Autun. Gallagher stated his belief that this is one of only two manuscripts in which the *Vision of Lazarus* also contains a life.[107] The life ends recording December 17th as the feast of Lazarus' translation.[108] It would seem likely that this is evidence of the Autunois provenance of the text, for as Gallager remarked, though the 17th was commonly celebrated in France as the feast of Lazarus, yet at Autun Lazarus' second death was celebrated on September 1st.[109] Further evidence that the church of

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[103] (Paris- Dijon, 1903-1905), p.293, n.1. See Voragine, *The Golden Legend,* trans: W. Granger, p.376 for a comparison.

[104] See Ch. 5.7. Here I argue that there was no evidence of a cult of Lazarus in Marseille before the construction of Saint-Lazare at Autun, and that those crusader chroniclers who made reference to Lazarus having been bishop of Marseille were aware of his veneration in Burgundy.

[105] See Ch. 4, p.142.

[106] Gallagher describes it inadequately as a Cambrai MS containing "*un légendier selon l'année liturgique*", with an entry "*De monseigneur Saint Ladre*" on folios 49r° to 57v°, a copy of which was provided to him by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris.

[107] The other being BN MS fr.923. See above n.103.

[108] "*Le translation de Saint Ladre est le XVII jour de décembre*."

[109] See Leroquais for records of the 17th December feast being celebrated, by way of example, in mid-eleventh-century Besançon (Vol.1, p.59), twelfth-century Cahors Vol.1, p.207), fourteenth-century Arles (Vol.2, p.199). See Ch. 4 p.159 for the significance to Autun of September 1st.

Autun would come to regard the *Visions of Lazarus* as its own is found in the Autun Breviary of 1480 where the recitation of his witness to the seven sins and their punishments formed part of the Office of Saint Lazarus for the Octave of the feast day commemorating his second death on September 1.[110]

These texts together with what Gervase had to say about Lazarus suggest that origins of the *Vision of Lazarus* lay in the twelfth century and were, at the very least, encouraged by the establishment of his cult at Autun. Lazarus vision literature flourished in the last centuries of the Middle Ages forming a part of the *Passion* of Isabeau of Bavaria (d.1435), wife of Charles the VI of France, as well as *the Livre de prières* of Philippe le Bon. Although the focus of Max Voigt's 1924 study is on a German version thought to be composed around the year 1400, these two works, as well as the most complete version discovered by Gallager in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Cambrai, suggest that interest centred on northern France and Burgundy.

When the Lazarus *Visions* were given a new lease of life in the age of print the connection with Autun was maintained. The earliest versions are contained in three French works, the *Traité des princes d'enfer et de purgatoire* and *L'art de bien mourir* of 1492 and the *Kalandrier de Bergiers* of the following year.[111] The last two works both had connections with Autun as the Le Rouge family of engravers who worked on them also were responsible for the 1489 Autun *Breviary* plates.[112]

6.6 Conclusion

Vision literature already had a long history before the establishment of the cult of Lazarus at Autun. What makes the Lazarus vision literature distinctive is the

[110] *Notes sur les Livres Liturgiques des Diocèses d'Autun, Chalon et Macon*, ed. M. Pellechet (Autun and Paris; 1883) pp.237-239. This Office records that Lazarus was head of the church of Jerusalem and went to Cyprus following persecution by the Jews before coming to Marseille. (p.241)

[111] Owen, *The vision of Hell,* p.345. and n.75; For *Kalandrier* (1493) See Kren, Some Illuminated Manuscripts of the Vision of Lazarus, p. 151. The *Kalandrier* was translated into English as the *Shepeard's Kalender,* editions of which were produced into the seventeenth century. See Pamela King, "The End of the World in Medieval English Drama" *Literature and Theology* (vol. 26, no. 4; 2012) pp. 384-399, p. 395 and n.44.

[112] Gallagher "The *Visio Lazari*,"p.338.

interposition of a saint with a genuine scriptural pedigree into this genre.[113] The narrative trajectory described in these accounts militated against the genre including such figures. In the vision literature examined in this chapter the person experiencing these visions travelled to the underworld and was changed by the experience received there. Fursey, a flawed character, bares the scars of burns suffered in the underworld to the end of his days. Unlike Fursey, Drythelm is described as a good man and does not suffer. However he returns to the land of the living improved and, giving his wealth away, joins a monastery. This change, one might almost call a kind of second conversion. Just as the underworlds visited contain degrees of suffering for degrees of wickedness those who witness them, not being perfect, are capable of improvement though already Christian. This addressed the question posed by Augustine: what fate awaits the moderately virtuous Christian and how can she or he achieve salvation? An already sanctified witness such as Paul in the fourth-century *Vision of* Paul, could only ever be a disengaged onlooker. Lazarus was known to have gone to the land of the dead and returned. However, not being a saint, he could not have played the role of Paul in his vision. Moreover, while his post resurrection fate was unknown, a story of redemption could not be attached to him.

By the twelfth century both the setting of the underworld and the character of Lazarus had changed. Although the second conversion undergone by Fursey and Drythelm could be described as a purgation, the underworlds they visited did not contain a clear vision of a Purgatory in which sinners could be redeemed by penitence and suffering. By the twelfth century this was no longer the case. Furthermore, by the twelfth century Lazarus' post resurrection career had been delineated. Before his first death his moral status was uncertain. After his resurrection he became a leader of the early Church. His four-days' sojourn in the underworld, puzzling and unsettling during Christianity's first centuries, could now become invested with penitential and redemptive meaning. Lazarus emerged from the tomb transformed.

[113] In this text Paul is unscathed by his experience, though he does intercede on behalf of the damned and gains them temporary respite. See Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven and Hell,* pp.237-238.

This chapter has argued that this transformation occurred in twelfth-century Burgundy. While the *Suscitatio Lazari* and the *Fleury Playbook* are evidence of the fact that, by the twelfth century, Lazarus had become a the focus of popular piety, contemporary textual evidence for the Lazarus "betrayer of hell" is meagre. Nevertheless, the assumption that the *Vision of Lazarus* was therefore a product of the later Middle Ages ignores the evidence of Saint-Lazare and the Burgundian hagiography that was created to justify Autun's adoption of Lazarus. The bishops of Autun completed the transformation of Lazarus from the passive and mute recipient of divine grace to a figure of authority within the Church. The church dedicated to him portrayed him in sculpture as a saint whose death and resurrection pointed to the recreation of the world at the end of time and who also could address private concerns about what happened after death. This saint, now made real by the veneration of his bones at Autun, had attached to him a conversion story in the Pauline tradition which mirrored that of his supposed sister, Mary Magdalen, who was venerated in neighbouring Vézelay. And while the locus of the cult for Mary Magdalen was to migrate south to Provence, the vision literature of Lazarus remained centred on Burgundy and its environs. The resurrection and conversion of Lazarus imbued Autun with a salvific topography which proved more durable even than that of Vézelay.

7. Conclusion

The tale of the man who was entombed for four days only to come back to this world tells how his name could become a receptacle for shifting interpretations of his story and identity. When late-antique Christians worried about how to be virtuous in a post-Constantinian world his death and resurrection showed how virtue and vice were not absolutes. When emperors far to the west of Christianity's ancient origins worried about their relationship with Constantinian Romanitas, his exile to these lands marked a transference of authority. When in the twelfth century theologians worried about God's plan for their Church, his death and resurrection became a marker on the route to the fulfilment of that plan and an assurance that they played a part in it. The name of Lazarus represented a story so extraordinary that it continues to be used today, whether by David Bowie in his final album facing death, or in a television series about climate catastrophe.[1]

This evolution can be traced in the way *Vision of Lazarus* developed, making it more relevant to lay readers, just as his post-resurrection ecclesiastical career had been constructed to augment his usefulness to churchmen. The extent to which Lazarus vision literature in the late Middle Ages can be seen as eschatological in any sense is open to debate. That may have been the case in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries when lay literacy combined with mendicant preaching fed eschatological interest provoked by works such as Joachim de Fiore's commentary on the Book of Revelation.[2] However, the Black Death seems to have provoked a change in the way in which Lazarus' visions were considered.

Emile Mâle, in describing the change that happened during the fourteenth century believed "...*the thirteenth century spoke to the mind, the fifteenth to the feelings. In French art, hell, suffering, and death blossomed like the sad flowers of autumn*."[3] Johan Huizinga saw Lazarus himself as embodying a fear of death in the Middle Ages final centuries: "*The horror of this hour could not be brought to the mind in a more dreadful image than that of the raising of Lazarus, After his resurrection he*

[1] David Bowie, "Lazarus" in *Blackstar*, released 2016; *The Lazarus Project*, released 2022.
[2] See Renata Bartal, *Gender, Piety, and Production in Fourteenth-Century English Apocalypse Manuscripts* (Abingdon and New York; 2016) p.1, n.3.
[3] *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages- A Study in the Medieval Iconography and Its sources* (Princeton; 1986) p. 420.

had known nothing but a sorrowful dread of the death that he had suffered once before."[4] He and Mâle are supported in this by Gloria Fiero who, in her study of the representations of funerals in Late Medieval Books of Hours, suggested that after the Black Death the realistic imagery of death took precedence over eschatological themes.[5] However Thomas Kren in his examination of late-fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts of the *Vision*, argued that even at this date the eschatological element cannot be ignored. Kren saw these works as not only revealing a "...*taste for graphically moralising imagery...*" but are also *"...about preparations for death and Last Judgment*...".[6]

This combination of an eschatological interpretation of *Vision* together with the natural fear of death evoked by the accompanying imagery was not the only response to an increasingly lay readership. [7] In later lives of Lazarus, stories about his early life were elaborated in such a way as to make them more relevant to lay readers. This can be detected in thirteenth century versions, such as Voragine's *Golden Legend* and the *Passio (a)* discussed in Chapter 5. In Voragine's account, Lazarus played a supporting role in the life of Mary Magdalen. She and her brother possess the town of Magdalum and Lazarus is said to be "*devoted to the military*".[8] The *Passio (a) Lazari* described him as a knight and *"clarrisimus exortis natalibus"*.[9] *The Life of Mary Magdalen,* contained within the *Early South English Legendary* and composed sometime before 1290, accords with the *Golden Legend* assigning an aristocratic background to Mary, complete with a castle which she shared with Lazarus and Martha.[10] As Sarah Schell has commented in her study of illustrations of resurrections of Lazarus and Job in Offices of the Dead from Scotland and England in the late Middle Ages, "*both Job and Lazarus were envisioned within contemporary society as wealthy men of some social standing, and so of particular*

[4] *The Autumn of the Middle Ages,* trans. R.J Payton, U. Mammitzsch (Chicago; 1997) p.167.
[5] Gloria Fiero, "Death Ritual in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination" *Journal of Medieval History* 10.4 (1984), pp. 271-294.
[6] "Some Illuminated Manuscripts of the Vision of Lazarus from the Time of Margaret of York" *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and the* Visions of Tondal (Malibu; 1992) pp.141-156, p. 150.
[7] Le Goff argued that these changes could be detected as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See, "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys", p.34. See also Richard Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970) for a discussion of the effect of a more general rupture between culture and the Church.
[8] *The Golden Legend, Readings on the Saints*, trans. W.G. Ryan (Princeton; 1993) p.375.
[9] Edition: Albanés, Vol. 2, no.1, cols. 1-5; BHL 4802.
[10] Earliest Ms (c.1300) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud Misc. 108, fols. 190r°-197r°.

relevance to persons who were themselves wealthy and important."[11] One curious offspring of this belief in Lazarus' wealth and status is the thirteenth century *Discussio litis super hereditate Lazari et Marie Magdalene* of Drogo of Altovillari.[12] This describes an imagined legal dispute between Mary Magdalen and her brother over his worldly goods, a dispute with which many of the text's lay readers could have related to.

Later fifteenth-century *vitae* build on this chivalric identity. *Passio (c)* describes Lazarus as an ideal Christian knight, on a journey from the secular to the spiritual life, whereas a second, *Passio (d)*, records that Lazarus abandons worldly things to follow Jesus.[13] In these the tension felt by a lay readership between military and spiritual qualities is expressed. More generally, all these texts from the thirteenth century onwards are indicative of the desire to attribute to Lazarus a quality that is peculiarly lacking in earlier writing about Lazarus, that of virtue.

Saint Lazarus

The Lazarus of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts is a very different figure to the one described in the *Gospel of John.* Ariel Kleinberg argued that all saints were intended to be regarded as manifestations of a single saintly paradigm of virtue.[14] The development of the cult of Lazarus shows that virtue was in fact not necessarily a precondition of the construction of a saintly identity. The quality of his virtue was a consequence of sanctity. This can be demonstrated by reference to three aspects of Lazarus' saintly virtue all of which remained ill-defined until after he was recognised a saint.

Firstly, martyrdom: no account of it survives until after the construction of Saint-Lazare when the account in *Passio (a)* gives shape to the account of his second death.[15] Secondly, conversion: Lazarus as a saint who was personally converted by

[11] *The Office of the Dead in England: Image and Music in the Book of Hours and Related Texts, c.1250-c.1500* (PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews; 2011) p.151.
[12] Drogo de Altovillari *Discussio litis super hereditate Lazari et Marie Magdalene. Ein Streitgedicht des 13. Jahrhunderts* ed. and trans.,. M. P. Bachmann, (Bern-New York, 2002).
[13] *Passio(c)*Ms Città del Vaticano , Bib. Apost., Ottoboniani lat. 1153, f. 14v°-15v°; and *Passio (d),* BHL 4804, Edition: Sanctilogium de codicis hagiographicis Johannis Giele- mans, Brüssel 1895, 116-122; Passio Sancti Potiti (ed. AASS Jan I), 116f.
[14] Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*, p.23.
[15] See Ch. 5.2.

his experience of the underworld does not feature before the construction of Saint-Lazare. The earliest versions of Lazarus' account of his experience of the underworld contained in Ps-Augustine and Peter Comestor did not make any mention of any particular virtue attached to Lazarus. Although the context of Comestor's version clearly suggested the theme of conversion, he did not state that Lazarus was redeemed by his experience. Later versions of the *Vision* amend this. Not only did he in these emerge from the tomb "*pensif et en grant paour*" but also an " *exemple de perfection en humilité plaisant en pureté cler*".[16] Thirdly miracles: no account of miracles performed by Lazarus predate the translation of his remains to Saint-Lazare. The *Relation de l'Anonyme* testifies to the belief that these were performed in consequence of his translation.[17]

This reinforces the argument that before the middle of the twelfth century Lazarus was not seen as a protagonist in his own life. He served to be, rather than to do. He was resurrected, exiled, chosen as bishop. His virtue was passive, it lay simply in being the friend of Jesus. However, though a saint need not be actively virtuous he did need to be effective. In contemplating Lazarus' career in the fifteen hundred years that separated the *Kalandrier de Bergers* from the account of his resurrection in the *Gospel of John,* one constant is a search for meaning in his death and resurrection. Although some exegetes, in particular those engaged in the conflict with Arianism, saw the miracle as primarily a demonstration of Jesus' divine power and therefore an end in itself, overwhelmingly the event was seen as meaning something. That search for meaning was the grit around which the pearl of Lazarus' saintly identity was formed. This analogy is however flawed insofar as it suggests that the process was one way, that a fixed meaning created a identity which would remain a constant. Rather, the process should be seen as interactive where meaning created an identity which in turn affected meaning. This process can be clearly distinguished in the way in which Lazarus became the "*betrayer of hell*". Lazarus' four days dead were considered to signify varying degrees of sin well before there was any report of what he had experienced while entombed. Yet, the significance attached to his death assisted in the creation of Lazarus as an eschatological figure. When reports from the after-world became possible and

[16] See Ch.6, p.200.
[17] Faillon, *Monuments inédits,* Vol.2, col.722.

desirable he became someone who, in returning from the land of the dead, was able to report on the suffering of souls there. However, the report he brought back did not describe degrees of sin but spoke of penitence and conversion.

It would be wrong, if convenient, to see this as a straightforwardly iterative process. Insofar as it can be determined, the veneration of Lazarus in the West originates in the decision to translate his remains from Cyprus to Constantinople at the end of the ninth century. This decision was clearly part of a consistent desire on the part of the capital of the Eastern Empire and its rulers to enrich the city with the prestige that sprang from connections with biblical Christianity. The meaning of Lazarus was straightforward. He was the friend of Jesus and this friendship was confirmed by his participation in early Church leadership. In befriending Lazarus, the Emperor partook of this relationship.[18] There is no evidence to suggest that the Byzantine promotors of his cult were influenced by earlier patristic writing about the miracle of his resurrection, or curious about his experiences while in the land of the dead.

Similarly, although veneration of Lazarus was brought to the West from Byzantium as late as the early twelfth century theologians, when glossing the miracle in the *Gospel of John*, would neither make reference to nor show curiosity about his post-resurrection career.[19] Nevertheless, these exegetes seem to reflect implicitly the identity he had acquired since the time of Jerome and Augustine. Their insistence on the idea that his resurrection represented both a moment of decision for Jews and the point at which God revealed his will that the Church should become the vehicle of salvation history is consistent with the role of Church leadership ascribed to him by Byzantium. This interconnectedness reveals itself even more clearly in his adoption by Autun. The Autun episcopacy's belief that Lazarus was a bishop (though of where is less clear) influenced its decision to place itself under the patronage of Lazarus. Yet, as the imagery decorating the church of Saint-Lazare shows with its focus on conversion, penitence and the Last Judgment, its understanding of the kind of bishop they were adopting was influenced both by twelfth-century exegesis and patristic thought. Conceptions of the man and the miracle existed side by side, colouring each other without ever truly merging.

[18] See Ch.2.2.
[19] For instance, Rupert of Deutz, a Lotharingian.

The story of Lazarus

This study has asked three questions. What can veneration of Lazarus tell us about the mutability of a saint's identity? Why was it only in Autun that his veneration developed into a cult of patronage? And how did that development in turn affect the way in which Lazarus was understood? In answering these questions, what is apparent is that Lazarus was a story Christians told to each other to help them understand their place in history and to assuage, or in some cases provoke, fears about their ultimate ends. To begin with the story was one in which Lazarus merely played a part in the drama of his own resurrection. Once Christians began to be concerned about the distance in time and space that separated them from the origins of their faith the name of Lazarus, friend of Jesus, became a sufficiently compelling link with those origins to generate its own story first in the East and then in the West. In Byzantium this appears to have been contemporaneous with the invention of his remains. In the West the process was more opaque with the arrival of relics of Lazarus pre-dating any clear account of how or why this was so. However, the conviction that the body of the friend of Jesus did indeed rest in the West, at Autun, was sufficient to generate accounts of how this came about. In a final iteration in the later Middle Ages Lazarus himself became the story-teller both admonishing his listeners but also by implication tracing for them a route to salvation.

Appendix 1: Lazarus in the *Gospels*.

Lazarus in the *Gospels of John and Luke*

John Chapter 11

1.
Now a certain *man* was sick, *named* Lazarus, of Bethany, the town of Mary and her sister Martha.
2.
(It was *that* Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick.)
3.
Therefore his sisters sent unto him, saying, Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick.
4.
When Jesus heard *that*, he said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby.
5.
Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus.
6.
When he had heard therefore that he was sick, he abode two days still in the same place where he was.
7.
Then after that saith he to *his* disciples, Let us go into Judaea again.
8.
His disciples say unto him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee; and goest thou thither again?
9.
Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world.
10.
But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him.
11.
These things said he: and after that he saith unto them, Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep.
12.
Then said his disciples, Lord, if he sleep, he shall do well.
13.
Howbeit Jesus spake of his death: but they thought that he had spoken of taking of rest in sleep.
14.
Then said Jesus unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead.
15.
And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe; nevertheless let us go unto him.
16.
Then said Thomas, which is called Didymus, unto his fellowdisciples, Let us also go, that we may die with him.
17.
Then when Jesus came, he found that he had *lain* in the grave four days already.

18.
Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off:
19.
And many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary, to comfort them concerning their brother.
20.
Then Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming, went and met him: but Mary sat *still* in the house.
21.
Then said Martha unto Jesus, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.
22But I know, that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give *it* thee.
23.
Jesus saith unto her, Thy brother shall rise again.
24.
Martha saith unto him, I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day.
25.
Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live:
26.
And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this?
27.
She saith unto him, Yea, Lord: I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.
28.
And when she had so said, she went her way, and called Mary her sister secretly, saying, The Master is come, and calleth for thee.
29.
As soon as she heard *that*, she arose quickly, and came unto him.
30.
Now Jesus was not yet come into the town, but was in that place where Martha met him.
31.
The Jews then which were with her in the house, and comforted her, when they saw Mary, that she rose up hastily and went out, followed her, saying, She goeth unto the grave to weep there.
32.
Then when Mary was come where Jesus was, and saw him, she fell down at his feet, saying unto him, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.
33.
When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the spirit, and was troubled,
34.
And said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see.
35.
Jesus wept.
36.
Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him!

37.
And some of them said, Could not this man, which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died?
38.
Jesus therefore again groaning in himself cometh to the grave. It was a cave, and a stone lay upon it.
39.
Jesus said, Take ye away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto him, Lord, by this time he stinketh: for he hath been *dead* four days.
40.
Jesus saith unto her, Said I not unto thee, that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?
41.
Then they took away the stone *from the place* where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up *his* eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me.
42.
And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by I said *it*, that they may believe that thou hast sent me.
43.
And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth.
44.
And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with graveclothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go.
45.
Then many of the Jews which came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him.
46.
But some of them went their ways to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done.
47.
Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many miracles.
48.
If we let him thus alone, all *men* will believe on him: and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation.
49.
And one of them, *named* Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all,
50.
Nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.
51.
And this spake he not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation;
52.
And not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.
53.
Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death.

54.
Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews; but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples.
55.
And the Jews' passover was nigh at hand: and many went out of the country up to Jerusalem before the passover, to purify themselves.
56.
Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they stood in the temple, What think ye, that he will not come to the feast?
57.
Now both the chief priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that, if any man knew where he were, he should shew *it*, that they might take him.

John Chapter 12 verses 1-11
1.
Then Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was which had been dead, whom he raised from the dead.
2.
There they made him a supper; and Martha served: but Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with him.
3.
Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.
4.
Then saith one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Simon's *son*, which should betray him,
5Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?
6.
This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein.
7.
Then said Jesus, Let her alone: against the day of my burying hath she kept this.
8.
For the poor always ye have with you; but me ye have not always.
9.
Much people of the Jews therefore knew that he was there: and they came not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead.
10.
But the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death;
11.
Because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus.

Luke: 16, 19-31

19.
There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day:
20.
And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores,
21.
And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores.
22.
And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried;
23.
And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.
24.
And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.
25.
But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.
26.
And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that *would come* from thence.
27.
Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house:
28.
For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.
29.
Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.
30.
And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent.
31.
And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

Appendix 2: Key dates.

Key dates of writing about Lazarus , evidence of saintly status, and the development of a cult referred to in the text.

Mention of relic:*****
(See text for full references.)

1c
Gospel of John.

?2c
Gospel of Luke.

3c
184/5-253/4 Origen, *Commentary on John*.
210-12 Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro Christianis, De resurrectione mortuorum*; *De carne Christi.*

4c
4c. *The Report of Pontius Pilate.*
330 Eusabius of Caesarea, *The Onomasticon*.
333 The Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem.*
c.350 Potamius of Lisbon, *Sermon on Lazarus*.
mid 4c *Gospel of Nicodemus*.
†c.367 Hilary of Poitiers, *Commentaries on the Psalms*; *De trinitate.*
c.380 Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio laudatoria martyris Theodori*; *On the Soul and the Resurrection.*
c.384 Ambrose *De poenitentia*; *De resurrectione*; *De fide ad Gratianum* Augustum; *Apologia altera prophetae David*; *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*; *Commentaries on the Psalms*; *On the Song of songs.*
c.385, *The Pilgrimage of Saint Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places*.
386 *The Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella about the Holy Places*.

5c
†405 Prudentius, *Dittochaeum: Testamentum novum.*
†406 Chromatius of Aquileia, *Sermons.*
†407 John Chrysostom, *Homily on John..*
†408 Chromatius of Aquileia: *Sermon* 27 *On the resurrection of Lazarus*.
c.411 Augustine *Tractate on St John*; *De natura et gratia liber unus*; Commentaries *on the Psalms; Sermons.*
†420 Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*; *the Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula*; *Contra Vigilantium*; *contra Johannem*; *Letters.*
†450 Peter Chrysologus, *De Lazaro a mortuis suscitato.*
†441 Lazarus bishop of Aix.
mid 5c Arnobius Junior?, *Annotationes ad quaedam evangeliorum loca; ex Joanne.*
†450 Peter Chrysologus, *De Lazaro a mortuis suscitato.*
†473 Claudianus Mamertus, *De statu animae.*
†485 Faustus of Riez, *Letter.*
end 5.c Dracontius, *Carmen de Deo*.

6c
†527-33 Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe, *Sermons*.
530 Theodosius, *The Topography of the Holy Land*.
540 Saint Nectarius bishop of Autun to c.549.
542 First Cathedral of Autun dedicated to Nezarius and Celsus.
before 594 *Passio sancti Benigni.*
c.595 Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*.
late 6c. *Martyrology of St Jerome,* Auxerre.

7c
†679 Leudegar, bishop of Autun.

8c
c.700 *Vindicta Salvatoris.*
†735 Bede, *Commentary on Luke*; *Commentary on John*; *Commentary on the Pentateuch*; *Quaestionem super Exodum ex dictis patrum dialogus.*
774 John of Euboea, *Homily*.
c.790 Paulinus of Aquileia, *Versus de Lazaro.*

9c
9c *Vita eremitica Mariae Magdalenae.*
800-801 Alcuin, *Commentary on John.*
†821 Benedict of Aniane, *Opuscula*.
†849 Walafrid Strabo, *Commentary on John*.
†856 Rabanus Maurus, *De videndo Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae*; *Commentary on Exodus*
858 The foundation of Vézelay as nunnery.
before 860 Ado, *Martyrology*.
870 Bernard the Wise, *Itinerary.*
890 Tomb of "Lazarus four days dead, friend of Christ" found in Larnaca.
898 Eastern Emperor Leo VI transfers Lazarus' remains from Larnaca to Constantinople. Apostrophised by Arethas, Bishop of Caesarea.
after 898 Richardis, wife of Charles the Fat said to have donated the relics of Lazarus to the convent she founded at Andlau in Alsace.

10c
10c? *Vita apostolica Mariae Magdalenae*.
10c *Notae Tegernseensis*.*****
10c *Hymnal Paris Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms 1169.*
before 965 Image of Lazarus in episcopal garb in the church of Tokali in Cappadocia.
925 *Translatio sanguinis domini.*
968-976 Dates suggested by Saxer for the translation of Lazarus to Autun by Gérard, bishop of Autun.
972 September 1: de Vrégille's suggested date for the translation of Lazarus.
976 Death of Gérard, bishop of Autun.
972-982 Decade in which, Saxer and Seidel suggest Theophanu brought relics of Mary Magdalen and Lazarus to Germany.
992? *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium.******

11c

11c Humbert de Moyenmoutier (?). *Liber de s. Hidulphi successoribus in Mediano monasterio.*

11c. 'Inscrit sur grattage' the name of Lazarus on a 10c Tropaire (hymnal?) of Autun.

c.1000 Avalon said to have received head of Lazarus from Autun from Duke Henry.

c.1015 Illustration of the raising of Lazarus in the Bernward Gospels, donation of Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim to his foundation St. Michael.

1016 William of Volpiano's sermon at dedication of Saint Bénigne attacking the new men who had supplanted Carolingians and Ottonians in Burgundy (Glaber).

1024 Death of Gautier I, bishop of Autun, direct successor to Gérard and whom de Vrégille suggests a close relationship with Hugh of Salins.

c.1037-8 Hugh of Salins , *Sacramentaire* Paris BN Lat. 10500.

1035? *Notae Breves Alsaticae Nota Strasburgensis*.*****

1036 *Notae Egmondane*.*****

1044 Rights given to Archbishop Hugo of Besançon by Rudolf III over the *Villare sancti Lazari.*

c.1048 Hugh of Salins, *Liber precum* Monpellier Bibl.de la Fac. de Médec., Ms H 303.

1050 Charter of Pope Leo IX containing the first reference to Mary M's relics at Vézelay.

1050 Mary Magdalen appears as patron of Vézelay and becomes sole patron in **1058**.

c.1050 *Vita (c) of Mary Magdalen*, BHL 5488.

mid 11c *Besançon calendar* (PL 80, col 419).

1051 *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium.*

1064 *Notae S. Salvatoris Scafhusensis*.*****

1065 Council of Autun under aegis of St Hugh of Cluny. Reconciliation of duke Robert of Burgundy with Hagano, bishop of Autun.

1078 Hugh I, duke of Burgundy believed to have given a golden image of Lazarus to Cluny. A charter of Hugh gives the Collegiate church at Avallon together with the golden image of Lazarus to Cluny, who rebuilt the church there. Etienne de Bâgé bishop of Autun, disputes Hugh's possession of same.

1179 *Historia brevis monasterii Salemitani*.*****

after 1079 Donations by duke Odo I (1079-1103) to the church at Autun of the land on which the future cathedral of Saint-Lazare was built and, it was believed, the fabric in which his relics were buried, Saxer believes this forms evidence for the cult of Lazarus at Autun between the 10c translation and the 12c documentary evidence.

1088 *Dedicatio capellae S. Michaelis Treverensis*.*****

1094 Council of Autun, 15 October. Duke Odo I of Burgundy deposed on the altar of the basilica of Saint-Nazaire a charter by which he promised to resign his rights to certain land to the church, upon which the church of Saint-Lazare would be built.

1095 *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum/Monachi Sazavensis*.*****

1099 *Notae Gorziensis*.*****

late 11c *Codex Tegernseenses*. (first ref.)*****

12c
12c *Codex Tegernseenses*. (second ref.)*****
12*?* *Notae Gorziensis.******
12c The *Pélerinage de Charlemagne.*
12c *Vita (f) of Mary Magdalen* BHL 5457.
12c The Paris Tetraevangelion, showing Lazarus as bishop at meal of Simon the Leper.
12c Autun Ms 43 refers to 1 September as the *Natale* of Lazarus.
12c Interpolation of 1040 charter re-founding abbey of St. Victor, Marseille mentioning Lazarus as co-patron.
early 12c Odo of Asti, *Commentary on Psalm 44.*
12/13c *Dedicationes monasterii Lacensis*.*****
1101 Norgaud, bishop of Autun goes to Jerusalem on pilgrimage?
1100 Duke Odo I of Burgundy leaves for Jerusalem.
1106 Pascal II consecrates the new church at Avallon to Lazarus. René Louis believes that it was in the decade following this that the head of Lazarus was given to Avallon by Vézelay.
1112 Accession of Etienne de Bâgé, bishop of Autun and builder of the new cathedral of Saint-Lazare at Autun.
1113 *Dedicatio Ecclesiae in Telfs*.*****
1116 Paschal II confirms the restitution of the Collegial Church of Notre Dame at Avallon to the Bishop of Autun. This church was then designated as Ste-Marie et St-Lazare. The restitution of the church, delayed by the by then Cluniac monks of Avallon for four years, coincides with the decision to build church of St-Lazaire in Autun.
†1117 Anselm of Laon, *Commentary on Matthew*.
c.1119 Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem, founded at a leper hospital in that city.
1119 The Abbot of Vézelay claims that in a recent attack carried out by 'the *clientela* of Count William II of Nevers they had "despoiled the bodies of the saints Lazarus and his sister Martha' and other saints".
1119 Guy, archbishop of Vienne was elected pope at Cluny..
1120 Building of St-Lazare, Autun starts.
1120 Church of Vézelay burns down with loss of 1127 pilgrim lives on eve of feast of Mary Magdalen.
1121 Donation by Reymond Berangér, count of Provence, of a reliquary for the head of Lazarus to cathedral of Marseille.
1122 An inventory of relics in Marseille lists those of *sancti Lazari quem Dominus suscitavit*.
†1123 Bruno of Segni, *Commentary on the Psalms, Commentary on John.*
de Vézelay in the presence of Innocent II.
c.1125 Hilarius, *Suscitatio Lazari.*
†1129 Rupert of Deutz, *Commentary on John.*
1129-30 Violent fights between Cluniacs and anti-Cluniacs for the choice of a new abbot of Vézelay. In 1131 Etienne de Bâgé confers an abbatial blessing on Aubri
1130-35 Construction of the tympanum of church of St. Lazarus in Autun with the inscription *Gislebertus hoc fecit.*
1132 St-Lazare, Autun consecrated by Innocent II.
1136 *Notae Egmondane.******
1092-1138 *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium.*

1146? 20th October: Etiennes de Baugé's successor Humbert (1140-48) transfers relics of Lazarus from the cathedral of Saint-Nazaire to the new church.
mid 12c *Chronica S. Petri Erfordensis.******
mid 12c *Vita apostolica beatae Mariae Magdalenae.*
mid 12c Gratian, *Concordia discordantium canonum*; *Tractatus de poenitentia.*
third quarter 12c Image of Lazarus surrounded by Church fathers at the Cypriot church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio.
†1141 Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis Christiane fidei*; *Summa sententiarum.*
†1152 Joslenus, bishop of Soissons, *Exposito in symbolo*.
†1153 Bernard of Clairvauxs, *De quatriduo Lazari, et praeconio Virginis*.
†1154 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarius*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*.
c.†1155 Zacharias of Besançon, *In unum ex quatuor.*
†1160 Peter Lombard, *Sententiae.*
†1169 Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Commentary on the psalms*.
1170-80 The construction of Lazarus' tomb in Autun cathedral.
c.1170's Peter Comestor, *Historia Scolastica.*
1172 The count of Provence visits the reliquary of Lazarus in Marseille. *Inventory* of Marseille cathedral lists presence of relics of Lazarus.
†1173 Richard of St Victor Paris, *Tractatus de potestate ligandi et solvendi*.
†c.1174 Hugh de Foliet, *Ut videtur de claustro animae libri.*
1175 Marseille Cathedral rebuilt. No reference to Lazarus as bishop nor to a connection.
1178 The chapter of the church of Saint-Lazare at Autun ask duke Hugh III to build a large porch where lepers could worship.
1179 *Historia brevis monasterii Salemitani*.*****
1179 Peter Comestor, *Historia Scolastica.*
†1182 Philip of Harvengt, *Letters.*
†1183 Peter abbot of Celle, *Sermons*.
1190 Roger of Hovenden visits reliquary of Lazarus in Marseile: *Qui ibidem septem annis episcopatum tenuit.* Guy of Bazoches of Chalons also refers to arrival in Marseille of Lazarus, Mary Magdalen and Martha.
†1190 Thomas de Perseigne *Commentary on the song of songs*.
1190 Richard of Devizes *Ex gestis henricis II et ricardi I* refers to Lazarus as bishop of Marseille.
1195 Melchior, a legate of the Holy See adjudicated in a dispute between the canons of the cathedral of St Nazaire and the new cathedral of Saint-Lazare.
late 12c Ps.-Augustine, *De suscitatione Lazari.*
end 12c *Martyrology Besançon Bibl. Mun. Ms 711.*

13c
13c *Martyrology of Autun, Paris Bib. Nat. Lat. 9883*.
13c *Necrology 5 G 1 of des Archives départementales de Saône et Loire à Mâcon.*
13c Drogo de Altovillari *Discussio litis super hereditate Lazari et Marie Magdalene*.
13c Provençal *breviary*,Avignon, Bib. mun. Ms 124.
c.1200 *Livre de Jeux de Fleury* contains *Resuscitatio Lazari*.
†1201 Thomas de Perseigne *Commentary on the song of songs*.
†1202 Alain de l'Isle, *Sermons.*
†1203 Martin of Leon, *Sermons*.
1210-14 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*.
†1211 Peter of Blois, *Sermons.*
†1212 Adam of Dryburgh, *Sermons.*

1212 Master Rufino's 1212 *Life of Raimondo "Palmario" of Piacenza*.
†1215 Sicard of Cremona, *De officiis ecclesiasticis summa.*
†1215 Hélinant de Froidmont, *Sermon.*
Second half 13c *Passio Lazari* (a) [Krüger].
1252 Marseille donates relics of Mary Magdalen and Lazarus to the altar consecration of the Chartreuse at Montrieux. Lazarus is referred to as first bishop of Marseille.*****
1254 *Breviary* of La Majeure Marseille.
c.1260/70 Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*.
c.1260 Bertrand de Baux swears an oath to the bishop of Marseille on an altar containing relics of Lazarus.*****
1264 The Red Book of Marseille Cathedral.
before 1290 *The Life of Mary Madgalene* in *The Early South English Legendary.*

14c
14c Martyrology of Avallon.
14c *Missal*, Grasse (Leroquais *Sacramentaire* No.386).
14c *Missal*, Arles (Leroquais *Sacramentaire* No.376).
14c *Missal*, Arles (Leroquais *Sacramentaire* No.457).
14c *Missal*, Limoges (Leroquais *Sacramentaire* No.486).
14c *Calendar*, Ais-en-Provence, Aix, Bib. mun., Ms 11.
1320 Gaspert de la Val, bishop of Marseille, gives 40 florins for a reliquary for Lazarus.
mid 14c *Le Mystère de la Passion Nostre Seigneur.*
1353 George of Krisszafàn, *Pilgrimage to St Patrick's Purgatory*.
1356 Robert de Mandagot gives 200 florins for a reliquary for Lazarus.
1365 New ceremonial gate constructed in Marseille for the visit of Pope Urban V, decorated with the busts of Lazarus, Victor, Louis of Toulouse and John Cassian.
late 14c Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus sanctorum.*
late 14c *The Vision of Lazarus.*

15c
15c or 2nd half 14c: *Passio Lazari* (b) [Krüger].
15c ?*Passio Lazari* (c) [Krüger].
15c ?*Passio Lazari* (d) [Krüger].
c15c Lazarus altar, Marseille Cathedral.
c15c Lazarus reference in an Oxford manuscript at the beginning of the Office of the Dead.
15c *The Cambrai Legendier* .
First half 15c *Miracolosa leggenda delle dilette spose e care ospite di Cristo Lazzaro, Marta, e Maddalena*.
1400 middle Bavarian version of the *Visio Lazari.*
c.1403 *Notae dedicationum S. Eucharii Treverensis*.*****
1431 Cardinal Jean Rolin bishop of Autun.
mid 15c *Visio Lazari in* BN nouv. acq. fr. 16428.
1452 Extract of translation account figuring in the later *Relation de l'Anonyme* in an Autun *Breviary* Paris Bibl. Sainte Geneviéve, MS 2631.
1475 Work starts on an altar to Lazarus in Marseille cathedral showing him in episcopal robes.
1480 *Brevium Argentinense.******

1481 A reliquary of Lazarus brought into Marseille cathedral bearing the inscription "*praesul Massilie hic moribus refulgens*".
1482 Inquiry establishes relics of Lazarus at Avallon. The *Relation de l'Anonyme* produced around this time.
1484 Strasbourg breviary with account of Richardis giving head of Lazarus to Andlau.
1492 Publication of *L'art de bien mourir*.
1493 Publication of *Kalandrier de Bergiers*.

16c
16c *Notitiae dedicationum ecclesiae Epternacensis.**
16c *Notitiae Dedicationes Brunwilarenses.**

17c
17c *Obit., BN Coll. Baluze 142.*
1641 Jean de Launoy, *Dissertation sur la mensongère venue en Provence de Lazare, Maximin, Madeleine et Marthe.*
1642 Pierre de Brive, *Letter.*

18c
1727 Demolition of the the tomb Lazarus in Saint-Lazare, Autun and publication of a report on its contents.

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