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THE 'THREE HUNDRED ALAMAN SAINTS' OF CYPRUS:
PROBLEMS OF ORIGIN AND IDENTITY
A SUMMARY*

§1. The first mention of a company of *300 Saints* who took refuge in Cyprus at the time of the Arab (=Saracen) occupation of Palestine occurs in a story contained in the British Museum Additional MS 34554 [=B.M. MS], fos 185b-186b.¹ Only thirty-five of them are listed in the MS, whose last folios are missing; the last saint recorded is 'Επαφροῦς at *Palai kythron* and the first one 'Αναστάσιος at *Peristerona Messarias*, by several centuries chronologically distant from each other, as most of them are in relation to one another. Many of the 'known' '300' are listed in *teams of two to four or sometimes even five* (*infra*, §18, §31, etc.). The legend of the '300' is the last part of the MS, a 16th century copy made in Thrace, of a 13th century MS, which seems to incorporate older materials. It contains: (a) non-Cypriot ascetic, hagiographic and homiletic texts (fos 3-169); (b) the story of the 'discovery of the Holy Cross' in Jerusalem by Saint Helen the mother of Constantine the Great and her 'two visits of Cyprus' on her way to and from the Holy Land in 326-327 A.D. (fos 170a-183b), on the second of which she 'built several churches' which she 'endowed with pieces of the Cross', a version of the 'Helena Legend' and part of the 'Judas Cyriacus legend'² linked by a Cypriot author with his island; (c) a confused account of the military and administrative régime established in the island by the 'King Constantine Great among Kings' [=Constantine the Great? or the VI 780-797? or some other Constantine, probably Constans II 641-668, or Constantine IV 668-685?] for its protection against the 'many inroads of the atheist nations of the Hagarenes', which included the periodical despatch of 'a duke for applying the royal laws', the 'installation of a large army under a captain as a [permanent] garrison of the place', etc. (fos 183b-184b); (d) a 'praise of the holy island of Cyprus' for 'its Archbishop and fourteen Bishops', of whom many are enumerated by name (fos 184b-185b: a Synodikon of the Church of Cyprus); (e) an account of 'the relics of saints... found in Cyprus'. These belonged to people who 'took refuge in this island... when ...the infidel Saracens conquered the Land of Promise'. They were 'archbishops, priests and laymen

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1. Publ. in *Νέα Σιών* 1952 by Th. Papadopoulos, pp. 28-30.

2. Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta, The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*, Brill, Leiden, 1992, pp. 79-180; cf. similar stories in Cappadocia.

who survived the persecution'; 'and [then] came also to this island [of] Cyprus a company of three hundred men; [who] hearing that the Greeks [=the pagans, either the Byzantine Greeks or the Romans] were masters of the place, dispersed in this island and dug [into] the earth, and entered [to live in] the caves [dug by them] for [=in] the name of the Lord. And they were living together [in groups of] two or three or four [like the *removoth* encountered in Syria in 375-376 by St. Jeronimos: Chrysotomos A. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας*, Alexandria, 1951, p. 274], and they had also a servant who did service [for what they needed] in their life, and their dress. And they ended their life in this island, and many of them were made manifest by an angel, others because of their innumerable miracles. And the same is true of the burial places of the Archbishops and Bishops. And there also are many others, who have not [yet] been made manifest' (fos 185b-186a). Then follows an enumeration of the names and places of cult of thirty-five out of the '300' saints, the list being interrupted, as we said, by the loss of the last folios of the MS.

§2. The same group of stories (b to e) with some modifications in the list of Saints, Archbishops and Bishops were taken over by Leontios Makhairas [=L.M.] (mid-15th c.) in his *Chronicle* (ed. R.M. Dawkins, Oxford, 1932) in his §3-§9, §30-§39; out of the 300 he mentions forty-two in his §30-§32, §34 and §36. In his §33 L.M. adds 'saints from over the sea, and yet others native to Cyprus... St. John de Montfort in Lefkosia at Beaulieu, a French lord [he died in 1248]. Also St. Mamas (at Morphou who came over) from Alaya.. in a coffin [after] he was martyred.' But these two saints are not counted among the '300' by L. M. The inclusion among the Archbishops of 12th-13th century prelates such as *Barnabas*, *Sophronios*, *Hesaias*, *Neophytos* and *Germanos* in both the B.M. MS and L.M., points to the 13th c. as the most probable time of final composition of the parts d and e, certainly after 1260, the last year of Germanos' tenancy of office. They must have been part of the numerous texts composed (or rewritten) between 1222 and 1264f. by the anti-Latin group of prelates and clergymen in support of the sanctity and Byzantine purity of the Church of Cyprus.³ The four stories b to e are closely interconnected, articulated and integrated into an entity serving as an ideological weapon in the Greek Cypriots' struggle for survival under foreign domination. Like St. Helen, who after 324 A.D. 'became one of the *pillars* upon which the security of the *res publica* rested' (J.W. Drijvers as in fn. 2, p. 43), they appear as 'pillars' upholding the Greek Cypriot Church, its sanctity and its people and 'securing their eternal existence' against alien encroachments (cf. §7, §31). These characteristics help us in grasping the structure, common motifs and inherent motives of the four stories as a whole and in solving the vexed problems of the '300'. The motifs relating to the '300' as they appear in (d and) e, are borne out by the de-

3. C.P. Kyrris in *Ἐπετηρίς*, XIX, 1992, pp. 172-175, 177-178.

tailed study of each member of the 'known' '300', both as individuals and as *teams* of two to four or sometimes even five, and also in comparison with the rest. In particular in the *Vitae*, the *Synaxaria* and the *Ἀπολογίαι* of these saints we are struck by the recurrent similar motifs that go back to the Apostolic and Early Christian eras, which seem to be the source of ideas and patterns of life and behaviour attributed to them. But their historic value is very limited if not-existent: historic or semi-historic nuclei are mostly restricted to the saints' names which are then vested with legends.

§3. The same stories b-e were taken over by the mid-16th c. Cypriot author Florio Bustron [=Fl. B.], either from an MS of L.M.'s *Chronicle* or from L.M.'s source, or from a version of it.⁴ Besides several differences from both, Fl. B. is the first to call without evidence the 300 'immigrants from Alemania, France and many other places', wherefrom they arrived like 'many other Bishops', clearly distinct from the 'local Bishops and Archbishops' [the Synodikon, *supra*, §1 (d)]; these alien *Bishops* came to Cyprus from the above places 'per la fama della santa vitta, che questi [vescovi] de Cipro facevano, e per la dottrina della sacra Scrittura che havevano, et fecero la vitta loro santamente; come sono trecento compagni, che vennero quando si perse la santa città di Hierusalem' (p. 33). The exact date of Jerusalem's fall, obviously to the Moslems, is not fixed; but the Western origin of all the above immigrants points to its capture by Saladin in the Crusader period in 1187 and not to that by the Arabs in 638; the 300 dispersed all over Cyprus and lived in *miracle-working teams* 'tre o quattro in ogni grotta' as in the B.M. MS and in L.M.. Fl. Bustron lists 37 'Aleman, French and other foreign saints' out of the 300 (pp. 33-34) and he adds two more of the same company in accordance with L.M. §34, §36 and Diomedes Strambaldi [=Str.] pp. 14-15, *St. Photios* and *Santi Phanondes* (pp. 34-35), without calling them members of the company. No plausible explanation can be given either for the shift of date from the 7th to the 12th century or for the Westernisation/'Alamanisation' of the immigrant Bishops and the '300 Saints' by Fl. B.; possibly Latin pride was the main reason. To his list of the 'known' '300' Fl. B. (p. 34) adds, like L.M. (§33), 'molti forastieri com' e san Gioan de Montforte in Nicosia, al Bel Loco, gentilhuomo francese; santo Mama... della Cilicia, che fu martirizzato, e... in un' arca... venne in Cipro in la marina de Themorpho...'. Again these two are distinguished from the '300'.

§4. Next, Steffano Lusignano in his *Chorographia e Breve Historia... di Cipro*, Bologna, 1573, fo 27a-b, then in his *Raccolta di Cinque Discorsi Intitolati Corone*, Padova, 1577, fo 52a-b, and lastly in his *Description de toute l' Isle de Cypre...*, Paris, 1580, fo 63a-b (Ch. 14 'Des saincts personnages, qui estans d'etrange pays ... ont leur corps en ceste Isle...', fos 61a-65a), expands on Fl. B.'s statements,

4. *Chronique de l'île de Chypre* par Florio Bustron publ. par R. de Mas Lauric, Paris, 1886, pp. 32-35, 44-46, 461.

which he may have known from discussions with him before the catastrophe of 1570/71 or from his MS or have drawn from a common source: 'Trois-cens Gentils-hommes et Barons, tant François, Flamans, que d' Allemaigne, compaignons de ce Iehan de Montfort, voyans qu'ils ne pouuoient avec leur armee recouurir la Terre sainte, se retirent aussi en Cypre [like 'G(ioan) de Montforte Francese...'], buried in Nicosia, in the preceding §3]: où estans separez en diuers villages, menerent vne vie sainte & solitaire, à la maniere des Hermites, lesquels ont esté honorez des Grecs et tenus pour Saints, bien qu'ils ayent de coustume de ne pas solenniser les festes de Saints Latins, qui sont modernes, et des temps modernes' (*Descr.*) This is a complete inversion of accepted facts, and the time of arrival of the 300 hinted at seems to be just after 1291, the date of the fall of Acre. In fo 65a St. Lusignan states that the bodies of foreign saints reposing in Cyprus are 'trois cent quinze [=315]', a figure very near to the 300. If we deduct the 300 'Alamans' etc., only fifteen other foreign saints remain. Diomedes Strambaldi in his *Cronicha del Regno di Cypro* (ed. by R. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1893), a 'translation' of L.M.'s *Chronicle* up to 1458, knows nothing about the 'Alaman' or 'Western' origin of the 300, whom he calls simply 'huomini' who took refuge in Cyprus together with 'arcivescovi, vescovi, sacerdoti et seculari' when 'li Saraceni tuolsero la terra de promession et uscirono li poveri Christiani' (p. 12), obviously in 638 A.D. His list of the 300 (pp. 121-14) is almost the same as that of L.M. with some mispunctuations; it mentions 39, plus 3 in pp. 14-15, total 42, as in L.M.; 'San Zuane de Montforte' and 'Santo Mama nel casal Morfo' are classed among the 'altri santi nell'isola' (p. 14), distinct from the 300 as in L.M. and Fl. B. (*supra*, §2, §3). In his *Περὶ Ἡρώων, Στρατηγῶν, Φιλοσόφων, Ἀγίων καὶ ἄλλων ὀνομαστῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁποῦ εὐγέχασι ἀπὸ τῶ Νησι τῆς Κύπρου*, Roma, 1659, repr. in *Κυπριακά Χρονικά*, Γ, α', Jan.-Febr. 1925, pp. 32-33, Neophytos Rhodinos, a pro-Latin Cypriot author translates Lusignan's *Chorograffia*, fo 27 a-b, of which the *Descr.*, fo 63a-b is a paraphrase, and, like him, mentions only *John de Montfort* as one of the 300, contrary to L.M. and D. Str., but he gives no list. In 1788 Kyprianos, *Ἱστορία Χρονολογικὴ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου*, Venice [=Kypr.], pp. 351-352 in his chapter 'On the Foreign Saints who lived in the Island', after *Lazaros, Hilarion, Lucius, Epiphanius*, and *Therapon*, gives an account of the 300 copied from N. Rhodinos, so calling them 'French and Alamans, all noble and renowned men', but he omits *J. de M.*, and gives a list of 42, the same number as in L.M. and D. Str. as against 35 in the B.M. MS and 37 or 39 in Fl. B. (*supra*, §1, §2, §3); still Kyprianos's list differs both in the order of names, in punctuation and in several names of saints from L.M., D. Str., Fl. B. and the B.M. MS. This fluctuation points to uncertainty as to the real facts concerning the 300, their number, names, date(s), life, origin and identity.

§5. Meanwhile, probably owing to the Latin origin of many Greek Cypriot prelates after 1571, the 'Alaman' identity was accepted in the *Vitae*, the *Synaxaria* and the *Ἀκολουθίαι* of many of them composed and published by Cypriot

prelates in Venice in the second half of the 18th and the early 19th century on the basis of old MSS and the Orthodox *Μηναῖα* published in Venice from 1522 onwards but with local variations and additions.⁵ This led C.N. Sathas to adopt as historical the 'Alaman' identity of all 'known' among the 300. Although noting the chronological contradictions among them, some like *St. Kendeas* dated to the 4th c. and others like *St. Anastasios* to the 11th - 12th cc. by their Synaxarists,⁶ and while referring to the attested installation of *Palestinian*, certainly not 'Alaman' monks in Cyprus in 774 and 813 due to Arab persecutions, nevertheless he also trusts the unattested legend that 'Après la perte de Palestine par les croisés [1187? 1291?], beaucoup de pèlerins et guerriers s'enfuirent en Chypre sous la conduite de Jean de Montfort, conte de Rohas' and also 'la vie de Saint Thérapon, sur lequel nous possédons des documents chypriotes et byzantins' as a reliable source of the 'fact' that 'des émigrations d'ermites allemands aient eu lieu à diverses reprises et antérieurement aux croisades' (Sathas, p. 407). The 'Cypriot document' is the *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἱερομάρτυρος Θεράποντος τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ*, publ. by Michael [son of] His Beatitude the Archbishop [Chrysanthos] of Cyprus, Venice, 1801, which includes a *Synaxarium* republished by Sathas (pp. 412-416: feast day 14 October), and the 'Byzantine' ones are a 'Life' of St. Therapon in the *Menologium Basilianum*, III, p. 112 republished in the *Μηναῖα* and by Sathas (pp. 416-417, 25 mai) and a long narrative in the [*Acta Sanctorum*=] *AASS Maii*, VI, pp. 682-692.

§6. In the *Men. Basil.* St. Therapon is said to be of unknown origin, date and place of martyrdom, 'his documents having been destroyed' and 'his monastic life to be attested by his icons' whereas his having been a 'bishop martyred in Cyprus' is based on 'old oral traditions'; his 'relics were taken to Constantinople upon the Saint's order in a vision' at a time when 'the Hagarenes were planning to attack Cyprus, and there they work miracles'. The panegyrist who composed the narrative in the *AASS* is said by the editors to have been a contemporary of the translation of the *Saint's relics* from Cyprus to Constantinople (*Sancti Therapontis Miracula*, Auctore Synchrone, ut plurimum teste oculato); 'mais il en ignorait la patrie; c'est pour cela qu'il le confond avec son homonyme, S. Thérapon, martyr de Lydie, en disant 'ex partibus Orientis, ubi et natus est (p. 683)'.⁷ In the *Life* (=Synaxarium) published in Venice (=Sathas, pp. 412-416) and in that published in the *Βίος καὶ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀγίου*

5. *Ἀκολουθίαι τῶν Ὁσίων Ἀναστασίου, Χαρίτωνος, Ἀὔξεντιόν καὶ Κενδέα, τοῦ Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λονκᾶ, τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου τοῦ Κυθήρου, καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μάρτυρος* [all of them 'Alamans'] ed. by Archbishop Chrysanthos, ... Venice, 1779, pp. ε-στ' and passim; cf. *Κυπριακαὶ Σπονδαὶ* [=ΚΣ], Α', 1937, p. 97, and Γ', 1939 [1940], pp. 35-36.

6. C.N. Sathas 'Vies des Saints Allemands de Chypre', *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II, 2, 1883, pp. 406-407, 420-423, 426-427.

7. Sathas, p. 407, fn. 10.

Ἐνδόξου Ἱερομάρτυρος Θεράποντος, Athens, 1904, both of an 'assez basse époque'⁸ according to H. Delehay, St. Therapon for the first time appears as the son of 'noble pious parents from the country of the Alamans', who gradually became the 'Bishop and teacher of Orthodoxy' to which he converted many heretics. Owing to his 'opposition to iconoclasm', he 'was tortured cruelly (his flesh and nails were torn off) and thrown into a dark prison; an angel freed him and advised him thrice to go away; then at dawn he was taken out of prison for a second interrogation [so he had not been really freed!]; profiting from an 'epiphany', a lightening and thunder that paralysed his captors, he 'left his populous and heretical city for Jerusalem', where he became 'famous for his miracles', among them the 'resurrection of the son of a Hebrew woman in the name of Jesus Christ crucified by the lawless Jews'. From there 'he sailed to the glorious Cyprus', where he was hosted by one *Sosias* [obviously a concocted symbolic person], whom and whose wife he healed like many others by just imposing his hand on them; he also censured the heretical *Theopaschitae*, one of whom beat him and was not pardoned by the Saint when later he asked to be forgiven. The Saint's implacability was due to a vision of God as a baby with his tunic torn in two, something which he ascribed to the *Theopaschitae*. The 'pious Cypriots and their President [=?governor?]' having 'admired him and learnt by revelation about him, implored him to stay in the island' and 'become partly [=with another bishop or co-bishop? so a team of two emerged, cf. §1] the leader of a church in Cyprus [=a diocese or episcopal see] which was near the seashore. Here he became... teacher of Orthodoxy [again], ...merciful, father of orphans, defender of widows, guide of those in error, healer of the sick and consoler of these in affliction...' During an 'Arab inroad in Cyprus, when many monasteries and churches were destroyed and many were massacred, these persecutors of the Orthodox faith arrested the Saint while he was performing mass and they butchered him. After this, songs and melodies of immaterial powers were despatched around the body of the Blessed St. Therapon, and the assassins were astounded and forced to repent for their unlawful daring. Then the Saint hieromartyr of Christ was buried.. and his holy relics were, as it is said, transported to the Queen of the Cities' (Sathas, pp. 412-416).

§7. Sathas (pp. 407-408) observed a contradiction between this *Synaxary* presenting St. Therapon as 'Alaman' persecuted by the iconoclasts, and the *Ἀκολουθία* (Venice, 1801, pp. 3, 10) in which he appears himself as a destroyer of altars and idols through his flock. He also noted a request to him in his *Ἀκολουθία* (p. 12) 'to save his flock who were running dangers from the sons of Agar, and who had [already] been ravaged [by them]', and drew attention to the fact that the two Byzantine documents (*supra*, §5) say almost nothing

8. H. Delehay, 'Les Saints de Chypre', *Analecta Bollandiana* [=AnBoll], 26, 1907, p. 247.

about his fatherland and life; from this he deduced that his *'Ακολουθία* did not accompany his relics to Constantinople but stayed in Cyprus. Further, from the dating of the relics' translation to Constantinople by the AASS document during the 'second Arab invasion of Cyprus', which had already been ravaged and was still menaced by them according to his *'Ακολουθία*, Sathas concluded that the translation took place in 690; then Cyprus was abandoned [?] to the Arabs for seven years (690-697), during which 'eut lieu l'émigration dans l'île des 300 ermites Allemands', which he based on L.M.'s phrase (in his §31 ed. Dawkins) 'when the Greeks were ruling the land' [*supra*, §1, §2] and on the mention 'du duc païen de Chypre, Sabinus, sous lequel l'ermite [St. Constantine of Ormidia] subit le martyre' in the latter's *'Ακολουθία* and *Life*.⁹ Sathas identified *Sabinus* with a Greek renegade at the service of the Arabs who persecuted his ex-co-religionists and revolted against the Arabs in Khorassan in 692. He also produced as evidence of the 'Alaman' origin of the 300 the appellation of *St. Auxentios*, another one of them, 'τῶν Κυπρίων φρουρὸς καὶ ἔρρεισμα, στυλὸς ἀδιάπτωτος, Χαίροις Ἀλαμανίας θλαστὸς [καὶ] ἄνθος... τὸν ὀπλίτην Κυρίου ἀνευφημήσωμεν, Ἀλαμάνης τὸ δλάστημα... Ἀλαμάνων τὸ θρόσσος, τῶν ἀσκητῶν ἐφάμιλλος' in his hymns (*'Ακολουθία*... *'Αναστασίου*... *Αὐξεντίου*...).¹⁰

§8. Sathas (pp. 408-409) quotes the list of the 300 *apud* L.M. [=ed. Dawkins, §32, §34, §36], which he dates 'probablement pendant la domination arabe, puisque à la fin les saints sont priés de délivrer l'île occupée par les Sarrasins ou Agareniens [§32: *Σαρακηνοὺς καὶ Τούρκους*]' is added in fn. as another later version; no reference to them in the broken end of the B.M. MS fo 186b]; par ces derniers il ne faut pas comprendre les Turcs qui ne mirent le pied dans l'île au temps de Machéras, mais les Egyptiens... [de] 1426'. He also refers to N. Rhodinos' 'récit diffus' and quotes Kyprianos' list (cf. *supra*, §4). Then (pp. 410-411) he refers to Archbishop Chrysanthos' prologue to the *'Ακολουθία* edited in 1779 (pp. v-vi: *supra*, §5), and makes an interesting point: 'Selon les offices imprimés, la plupart des 300 ermites allemands [this identity is considered by him a fact!] se réfugièrent sur cette partie montagneuse de l'ancien Olympe chypriote, ... *Trachias*, le *Trachonas* [?] des Chypriotes modernes. La vénération exceptionnelle dont jouissent les reliques des saints parmi les habitants de... *Carpassos*¹¹ me porte à... une conjecture... une

9. 1 July, Sathas, pp. 423-425 = Cl. Del. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 222-223.

10. *Op. cit.* n. 5, pp. 20, 21, 28, 39. Cf. his *Life* in Sathas pp. 417-419: 'Αὐξέντιος Ἀλαμάνος ἦν τὸ γένος ὡς ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστορία [=??] δηλοῖ'. Sathas (p. 408) argued that 'la biographie [=Βίος, or *Synaxarion*] insérée dans les offices [=Ἀκολουθία] grecs peut subir des interpolations; mais les hymnes [contained in the Ἀκολουθία] restent toujours inaltérables, tels qu'ils ont été composés par les mélodes contemporains [of the Saints celebrated by them]'. But the problem is *when* they were composed!

11. *L'Office de s. Auxentius* [as in §7 and n. 5], pp. 20, 21, 23, 27, 40...: *Καρπάσιων μέγας φρουρὸς*.

colonie militaire, d'origine albanaise, s'établit à Chypre dès le IV^e siècle, dans le but de protéger les côtes ravagées par les corsaires¹² ...les 300 saints de Chypre furent au commencement des hommes d'armes et sont chantés comme tels [not all!] dans leurs offices. Mais tous ces compagnons en armes et en ascétisme, n'appartenaient pas exclusivement à la nation allemande. Machéras dit [§32 ed. Dawkins] que s. Constantin était un Strathioté,¹³ c'est à dire un Albanais [??]; l'office du martyr [cf. §5, §7] ne dit pas un mot sur l'origine allemande de ce compagnon des 300; au contraire il relate que les saints étaient originaires de divers pays [cf. Sathas, p. 423]...au IV^e siècle... des colonies gothes furent dispersées... au-delà du mont Taurus [Amm. Marcell., l. XXXI]... Machéras disant que les Chypriotes, ravagés par les pirates [the Arabs, *supra*], demandèrent à l'empereur Constantin-le-Grand [= cf. *supra*, §1 (c)] l'établissement d'hommes d'armes... dans leur île, pourrait bien s'accorder avec Zosime [ed. Bonn, p. 73] qui relate que le Goth Fravitos fut nommé gouverneur de toute la côte...entre la Cilicie et la Palestine, dans le but de délivrer tout ce pays ravagé par les corsaires. Dans ce cas je préférerais voir dans cette colonie militaire de Chypre un mélange des Goths et des Albanais. L'élément goth... très petit, fut... absorbé..., les Albanais, plus nombreux, persistèrent... jusqu'au XVI^e siècle...'. Alluding to the possibility of the descent of some Carpassian Greeks from the Goths(!), Sathas concludes by urging the 'exploration...de la Carpassie et...des traditions...parmi ces Chypriotes aux yeux blonds', which 'nous fera aussi mieux connaître le fait hagiographique [the 300's German origin] qui nous occupe' (p. 411).

§9. C.N. Sathas' crucial mistake was that, despite his grasping the chronological inconsistencies in the 'known' 300's *Lives* and *'Ακολουθία*, he did not understand their legendary character and their attachment to repeated motifs and patterns going back to the Apostolic and Early Christian Ages (*supra*, §2), with which the '300' 's 'Alaman' origin is absolutely incompatible. Nor did he realize that this origin, not claimed for all of them or claimed in their *Synaxaries* but not in their *'Ακολουθία* and vice versa, was added *after* its uncritical acceptance by the Cypriot hagiographers in the 17th-18th centuries onwards (*supra*, §5). There is no evidence to prove that St. Therapon's *'Ακολουθία* was composed in ca. '690', when his relics were transported to Constantinople; and the 'two Byzantine documents' ignorance of his fatherland and life proves that these two 'Alaman' elements were added in the *Synaxary* published with his *'Ακολουθία* in 1801 and obviously composed not long before in a

12. Or the 'atheist nations of the Hagarenes': B.M. MS fo 183b; or 'the atheist Saracens': L.M. §5, *supra* §1 (c) ; also for other reasons: C.P. Kyrris in *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου Κυπριακής Ιστορίας (Λευκωσία 2-3 Μαΐου 1983)*, Ioannina, 1984, pp. 17-40, espec. 38-40, and *idem* in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, IV, 1984, pp. 117-133.

13. ...εἰς τὴν 'Ορμετιάν [= 'Ορμίδιαν] ὁ ἄγιος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ στρατιώτης (but St. Auxentios was also a soldier): Sathas, p. 417.

naive, unhistorical style very similar to that of the *Synaxaries* of others of the 300 such as: *St. Constantine of Ormidia* (1 July), *St. Auxentios* (28 September), *St. Kendeas* (6 October), etc. (*supra*, §6, §7). *St. Constantine's* late 12th century wall-painting as a soldier-saint styled 'the junior of Ormidia' on the S.E. pier of the church of *St. Anthony at Kellia* next to *Ormidia*¹⁴ points to his being known as a *military saint* already before the date of his painting, and may argue for his identification suggested below, §12, with a *martyr* of 838 A.D. This excludes his being an 'Alaman' who came to Cyprus from Palestine with 299 others. On the other hand there was no iconoclasm in the 7th century as claimed in *St. Therapon's Synaxary*, and not of course in Germany! The destruction of altars and idols attributed to him and the tortures allegedly suffered by him (tearing off of his flesh and nails: *supra*, §6), are typical of innumerable *martyrs* of the Early Christian period as they are exposed in their Lives published in the *Acta Sanctorum* [=AASS] and the *Μέγας Συναξαριστής*, and catalogued in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* [=BHG] and the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* [=BHL]. What may be partly historical are the items of information in *St. Therapon's* two 'Byzantine documents' analysed above (*supra*, §5, §6); but still they lack any precision, and at least that in the *Men. Basil.* is based on 'old oral sources' and his icons, the first making him a 'Bishop martyred' at an unspecified time 'in Cyprus', wherefrom his relics were taken to Constantinople before an 'Imminent Hagarene attack', and the latter presenting him as 'monk'. The *Ἀκολουθία* seems to draw on these 'documents', but to the Arab context it adds the *typical Early Christian martyrdom*, whereas his *Synaxarium* adds the 'Alaman' context and Iconoclasm, all three unattested in connection with *St. Therapon*. Most probably the model of the 'Cypriot' *St. Therapon*, of whom there are several cult-places and feast days (14 May, 14 October, 25, 26, 27 May, 26 June), was *St. Therapon of Sardeis* in Lydia (*AASS Maii*, 27, VI, 674, 680), a martyr under Valerianus (253-260 A.D.). According to his *Synaxaries*, he was tortured in several towns of Asia Minor before he was killed in Attaleia, wherefrom his relics and cult were brought to Cyprus.¹⁵ This story is similar to that of *St. Mamas of Morphou*, not 'officially' included among the 300 (§3, §17), and to that of *Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion of Peristerona Morphou* (21 October), who are said by their mid-18th century *Synaxary* to have been *soldiers* of 'Cappadocian noble parents', who lived during the reign of Theodosius II [408-450 A.D.], left the army and became 'hermits in caves and mountains and holes in the earth'; they 'died almost fleshless in very old age' and their relics were brought miraculously to *Stomation* near *Morphou*, wherefrom after some visions they were taken to 'Λακκία ἐν πόλει Σολέας... Περιστερώνα' by a *Leontios* from the city of Solea; in the church built for them they healed many peo-

14. A. & J.A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, Trigraph, London, 1985², p. 437.

15. H. Delchaye, 'Les Saints de Chypre', *AnBoll*, 26, 1907, pp. 247-249.

ple.¹⁶ Like St. Therapon and St. Mamas this couple of saints originated in Asia Minor, not in Palestine! As for the 'blue eyes of the Carpassians' but not exclusively those, they can be explained by the *jus primae noctis* and the hellenisation and moslemisation of the Cypriot Latins who survived the massacre of the Ottoman expedition in 1570-1571,¹⁷ and not by the hypothetical Goth 'residents' of Cyprus; these have nothing to do with the equally hypothetical 'Alaman' identity of the '300', who could never have arrived in Cyprus as a group (*supra*, §1). For *Sabinus*, *epiphanies*, etc. see *infra*, §12, §31, etc.

§10. Early Christian elements occur in many other cases of the 'known' 300. In their *Synaxaries* some of them are said to have arrived in Palestine 'from different places',¹⁸ but also unattestedly 'from Alamania' St. Auxentios, St. Kendeas, St. Anastasios (Sathas, pp. 417, 420, 426) and the Sts. Heliophotoi (*infra*, §18, etc.). Like the latter team, St. Auxentios, though 'of unknown parents, religion and time' [cf. St. Therapon, §6], appears as a soldier, in charge of 300 other soldiers who all 'broke with the earthly life' and 'from a coast sailed by ship with God's inspiration to the famous Cyprus'. St. Anastasios appears also as 'a soldier with 300 other Orthodox [soldiers] of Alamania'. St. Kendeas became 'a monk in the desert of Jordanes', where he lived on 'tender twigs' [like St. John the Baptist] in a cave. In St. Jonas' *Ἀκολουθία*, however, this Saint is called 'Ἀλαμανίας τὸ κλέος, ὁ τῶν Κυπρίων φωστήρ' and the like¹⁹, an indication of an author different and probably later than that of St. Jonas' *Synaxarium*, an author who, conforming to an established pattern, had to add the *Alaman* identity missing in the *Synaxarium*. St. Anastasios (17 Sept.) and his comrades are 'dated' to the [Crusader period of the] 'Holy War allegedly made for [the liberation of] the holy pilgrimages; they lived a hermit's life in Cyprus, then under the Orthodox King[s], Alexios Comnenus [1081-1118] and his son John [II 1118-1143 A.D.]... They also came as soldiers with the rest; but seeing that in the fighting the Orthodox were maltreated by the Latins, abandoned the earthly military life and became soldiers of the celestial King [cf. *infra*, §31] and took up the arms of the monastic city in Cyprus, where they lived in deserts and mountains in affliction, being tempted by demons whom [like J. Christ] they defeated with Christ's re-inforcement; due to their great virtue they became worthy of working many miracles both during their life and after death; thus until now [1779, the year of publication of his *Ἀκολουθία* and *Synaxary*] this divine Anastasios [at Peristerona Messarias] shows himself a

16. ΚΣ, B', 1938, pp. 81-104, espec. pp. 97-99, 82-86.

17. C.P. Kyrris in *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Κ.Ε.Ε.*, XIII-VI, 1, 1984-1987 [1988], pp. 255-268.

18. *St. Constantine*, Sathas, p. 423; *St. Ionas*, ΚΣ, A', 1937, p. 122. Cf. also C.D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge, 1908, p. 222. Cf. *supra*, §9.

19. ΚΣ, A', pp. 109, 129.

prompt healer to all those who visit his tomb with piety and faith'.²⁰ The intercalated 'Alaman' and Crusader elements cannot efface the Early Christian hermit environment of St. Anastasios's life, similar to that of the other 'known' 300, such as exposed in the B.M. MS, L.M. and other 'sources' (*supra*, §1-§4) and their *Synaxaries* and *'Ακολουθίαι*. Worth noting is the teaching of piety in St. Anastasios's and all other *Synaxaries* and *'Ακολουθίαι*. To create a team, the oral tradition of Peristerona says that from his cave St. Anastasios used to visit St. Heracleidios at Tamassos through an underground channel!²¹ Similar to that of St. Anastasios is the story of St. Thyrsos in Carpassia (23 July) compiled in 1733 by Akakios (*infra*, §13: KΣ, IA', 1947 [1948], pp. 68-69, 53-74): though not included in the lists of the 300, he is called 'Alaman'. He may have been modelled on the one of the three martyrs of Nicomedia *sub Decio* (Dec. 14, BHG³, II, p. 304 nos 1844z-1846e), or on Thyrsos one of the XXV martyrs of Nicomedia *sub Maximiano* (Aug. 26, BHG³, I, pp. 7-8 nos 27-29), or on both.

§11. All St. Auxentios' comrade 'soldiers scattered all over Cyprus and lived as hermits'; he reached Carpassos, where he lived as hermit in a cave at Jutium, and for long years he performed many healings and miracles. Many years after his death in the cave, not a martyr's death, some faithful from the villages of Κώμη and Ναυτοχώμη found his 'fragrant relics' and after a quarrel as to where they should be taken to, they placed them on a coach driven by two oxen one from either village. Where they stopped, they built a 'beautiful church' for the Saint, where a yearly fair is held (28 Sept.: §16) and miracles are worked (Sathas, pp. 417-19). St. Kendeas's most naive *Synaxarium* continues (cf. §10) by telling how an ascetic Ananias ordered him 'to extract [like Jesus] a demon from an arkhon's son'; then he was ordained priest and entered a monastic cell (λαύρα), which he abandoned for the desert; there [like Jesus] he chased another demon from a boy; then 'the leader of the Blemmyes [cf. §31] chased off that desert all the hermits'; they sailed to Paphos, where they survived the wreckage of their ship; then they dispersed in different parts of the island. Kendeas first 'lived in a hut on a coastal precipice at Paphos', where he suffered from the devil, a robber and a woman who vainly tempted him; hearing that his 'fellow-hermit Jonas' was living at Nea Iustiniané, he went to meet him, '[like Jesus] healing the sick on his way to Mandres near Tracheias', where he took up his residence in a cave; failing to meet St. Jonas, who, according to his own *Synaxary*, lived at 'Pergamos in the area of Tracheias, having neither cave nor tent nor hut',²² St. Kendeas saw St. Jonas being brought by an angel from his cell to his own cave; St. Kendeas then walked and found the

20. Sathas, pp. 426-429; cf. Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion: KΣ, B', 1938, pp. 81-104 espec. 97-99 and *supra*, §9; but they 'came' from Asia Minor, not Palestine.

21. C.P. Kyrris, KΣ, KZ', 1963, pp. 187-188.

22. KΣ, A', 1937, pp. 94, 122, but cf. p. 118.

cell of his friend, who verified the miracle; then 'he returned to his abode' and worked many miracles – healed the sick, produced water in dry places, brought rain.²³ There are many oral traditions in the villages of Tracheias: Pergamos, Akhna, Lyssi, Ormidia, Xylotymbou, etc., presenting the three saints, St. Ionas, St. Kendeas and St. Constantinos as a collaborating team.

§12. In these traditions, whose style and method are the same as those of Synaxarists, Sabinos (*supra*, §7) appears as 'King Sabinos of Tracheia, who beheaded St. Constantinos on a plaque shown on the W. part of the church' of Panagia, 1½ miles to the S. of Akhna (ΚΣ, Α', pp. 93-94). He also appears as the Governor of Cyprus in the 'Εγκώμιον' of Theodotos Bishop of Kerynia (ΚΣ, ΜΕ', 1981, pp. 1-14), in the *Lives* of the late third-early fourth cc. Cypriot martyrs, 'Αθανάσιος 'Αναγνώστης, Δημητριανός, 'Αριστοκλής and Φιλωνίδης,²⁴ of whom Δημητριανός should be identified with his namesake revered at Kophinou together with "Άγιος 'Ηρακλείδιος ὁ 'Επίσκοπος, "Άγιος Λαυρέντιος, "Άγιος 'Ελπίδιος, "Άγιος Χριστόφορος and "Άγιος 'Ορέστης²⁵; he is clearly distinguished from "Άγιος Δημητριανός ὁ 'Επίσκοπος [of Khytroi-Kyθρέα 885-913 A.D., 6 November] in L.M. and Str., not quite in Fl. B. and Kypr. (cf. below §22). Sabinos appears as the *Governor of Cyprus* also in the 'Ακολουθία τῶν ἁγίων... ὁσιομαρτύρων 'Ηλιοφώτου, 'Επαφροδίτου, 'Αμμωνίου, Χουλελαίου καὶ Εὐσθενίου... ΙΓ' 'Ιουλίου,... ἐκ Χειρογράφου τοῦ 1836... ἐν τῇ Μονῇ τῶν 'Αγ. 'Ηλιοφώτων 'Αχερᾶς,²⁶ where he orders their beheading after cruel tortures with 'raw bulls's nerves' and imprisonment. But in the fifth century 'Actes apocryphes de Saint Héraclide de Chypre disciple de l'apôtre Barnabé',²⁷ he appears as a pagan destroying a Christian church in the mid-first century A.D., always an enemy of Christianity. The model of all these *Sabinoi* must have been the historical Praeses of Cyprus Antistius Sabinus (283-1 May 305).²⁸ His early Christian date, at the crucial time of Diocletian, when the last great persecution took place, made him the archetypical persecutor, though not the only one, for the Cypriot Synaxarists. So Sathas' exquisite identification (*supra*, §7) is unfounded. – Our St. Kendeas (no. 2065 of the *BHG*³, I, p. 15, 6 October) can hardly be identified with any of the six *Cendeuses* of the *AASS*, all martyrs: one in Africa (*Martii* 9, II, 3*); another in Bulgaria (*Maii* 10, II, 557); a third in Nicomedia (*Januarii* 20, II, 557); a fourth Cindeus M. Per-

23. Sathas, pp. 420-423; ΚΣ, IX, 1945 [1946], pp. 38-42, and X, 1946 [1948], pp. 78-81.

24. C.P. Kyrris in *Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια [=MKE]*, I, 1984, p. 218, 2, 1985, p. 287.

25. B.M. MS fo 186a, L.M. §32, Fl. B. p. 3, Str. p. 13 and Kypr. p. 352, in the last two mispunctuated.

26. Ed. by Kharal. Papadopoulos, Nicosia, 1926, p. 20.

27. *AnBoll*, 82, 1-2, 1964, p. 164.

28. Documented in T.B. Mitford-I.K. Nicolaou, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis*, Nicosia, 1974, pp. 61-64, 166-168.

gae in Pamphylia (*Augusti* 1, I, 21); a fifth Cindeus Presb. M. Sidae (*Julii* 11, II, 186, 177); and the last Cendeus, one of the XL Sebasteni Martyres sub Licinio [311-323 A.D.] (*Martii* 11, II, 3). Perhaps he is a conflation of some or all of them. St. Ionas (11 Oct.), could be identified with Ionas Presb. in monasterio S. Sabae in Palaestina (*AASS Septembris* 21, VI, 270). St. Constantinos the soldier (1 July), could be identified with *Constantinus Drungarius* one of the Martyres XLII Amorienses + 838 (Mart. 6: *BHG*³, I, p. 125 and II, p. 99 nos 1209 - 1214c; cf. p. 51 and *AASS Martii* 6, I, 456, 457). Note his absence in the B.M. MS and first mention in L.M. §32, which may indicate a late addition. So the grouping of the three 'Tracheias' Saints as a team living there at the same time is an arbitrary concoction due to the hagiographers.

§13. The uncritical methods of these unhistorically-minded pious people are best illustrated in the *Synaxarium* of St. Sozomenos composed in 1733 by Akakios, who states that 'he draws on the oral traditions of Carpasia', according to which 'St. Auxentios was the chief advisor of St. Sozomenos', their caves being next to each other, and they met and talked occasionally [like the 'Tracheias three' Saints, *supra*, §11, §12], 'St. Auxentios departing for his cave on Saturday evening'.²⁹ The team of two is thus created most naturally, although in other centres of St. Sozomenos's cult — Potamia, Astromerites, Davlos — he appears alone (cf. *infra*, §30). His prototype was probably Sozomenus Eleymosynarius, who lived 'at the time of Cyriacos the bishop of Jerusalem';³⁰ this fits the general context of the B.M. MS, in particular the St. Helen story, in which a central part is played by Judas Cyriacos.³¹ So St. Sozomenos fulfils the claim of the B.M. MS and the authors following it, that he was from Palestine like the other '299', many of whom, however, were not; but what came to Cyprus was his cult and not he himself since he had allegedly died in Palestine long before the Arab period, in the fourth century (*BHG*³ as n. 30). So his case too disproves the other claim of the above 'sources', that he and his '299 comrades' came all at the same time to live in the island in that period. This, added to the chronological distance among many of the 300 (*supra*, §1), and their varied provenience, not only Palestine (cf. §9), points to the story of the 300 being a gradually developing symbolic legend similar to many others about real, half-real or unreal groups of saints and especially martyrs — one of the 'pillars' of Cyprus' sanctity and eternity (*supra*, §2 and *infra*, §31). Before we elaborate on these points we shall study briefly some more cases of *teams* and their *acta*.

§14. Sts. Kalandios, Agapios and Barlaam at Arodes could never have come together to live there: St. Kalandios seems to be Calendinus Martyr in Africa (*AASS Aprilis*, 26, III, 415, 420), whose feast day is the same as at Arodes, per-

29. *KΣ*, XI, 1947 [1948], pp. 108-109, cf. pp. αθ'-λδ', ιε'-ιστ'.

30. *BHG*³, III, 1973, p. 181 no. 1322s.

31. *Supra*, §1 (b): fos 170a - 177b, cf. J.W. Drijvers, as in §1, n. 2, pp. 165-180.

haps confused with Calendinus Martyr in Italia (*AASS Ianuarii*, 29, II, 946-947, III, 561) of the fourth c., and/or with Kilandius, one of the Martyres XL Seba-steni sub Licinio (Mart. 9 in the *BHG*³, II, pp. 97-99 nos 1201-1208n. Cf. *AASS Martii*, 9, II, 12-29, p. 19). Out of the numerous Agapioi of the *AASS* and the *BHG*³, our Agapios may be identified with Agapius M. Edessae in Hellade [sub Maximiano] of the *BHG*³, I, p. 10, one of the three sons of Bassa (*ibid.*, p. 95 nos 268-270b, Aug. 20, 21), because she is feasted in Cyprus on 21 August. St. Barlaam, now forgotten at Arodes or rather renamed as St. Miseticos, may be his namesake feasted on 19 November by the Church of Cyprus:³² “Οἱδίου Προφήτου, Βαρθολαῖμ (+304) καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου, Ἀνθίμου, Θαλλελαίου, Χριστοφόρου, Εὐφημίας καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν μαρτύρων”. St. Agapios is locally known also as “Ἅγιος Ἀγαπητικός or Ἀγάπης or Ἀγαπίδης, and from his sarcophagus on the N. side of the church of the three Saints at Arodes pieces are chipped off, powdered and introduced into the drink of a loved person, who is then expected to reciprocate the donor’s passion; the same is done with the sarcophagus of St. Miseticos on the S. side to cause a quarrel with a person.³³ This custom seems to imitate a similar one at Fontana Amoroza not far from Arodes.³¹ The three saint team was here reduced to two for playing a folkloric role on first sight different from that of others of the 300 (healings, etc.); but in fact this belongs to the same general class of ‘miracles’ expected from saints by popular piety.

§15. St. Thallelaeos (see §14), is also celebrated in Cyprus as ὁσιος with Stephanos ὁσιος etc. on 27 February (*EHK* 1993, p. 85): He was an ‘asceta in Syria saec. V’ (Febr. 27, no. 1709 of the *BHG*³, II, p. 266 = *AASS Februarii* 27, III, 680); but there was another Thallelaeus martyr Aegis in Cilicia sub Numeriano [283-284 A.D.], Maii 20’ (nos. 1707-1708d of the *BHG*³, I, p. 26, *Auctarium BHG*³ [=ABHG³], 1969, p. 178 no. 1708, and *AASS Maii* 20, V, 178*), ‘Th. medicus M. Aegis’, identical with that in the *EHK* 1993, p. 143, 20 May (‘Θαλλελαίου μάρτυρος (+284), Νικήτα, Ἰωάννου, Ἰωσήφ ὁσίων. Ἀνακομιδὴ τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου τοῦ ἐν Μύροις’). St. Houlelaeos, one of the Sts. Heliophotoi, who are all called ‘Alamans’ in their *Synaxary* of 1836 (as *supra*, §12, p. 19), is an obvious corruption of Thallelaeos martyr Aegis. St. Helio-photos, unknown to the *BHG*³ and the *AASS*, is a ‘purification’ of ‘Ἀλιφώτης, his folk name (“Ἅγιος Φώτιος > Ἅγισ Φώτης > Ἀλιφώτης), that took place before the 13th c. when the B.M. MS was written or copied (*supra*, 1) since it also spells him Ἡλιόφωτος. This Ἅγιος Φώτιος must be the same as ‘St. Photios

32. Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον Κύπρου [=EHK] 1993, [Nicosia, 1993], p. 220.

33. Rupert Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, London, 1936, p. 177; G. Karouzis in ‘Ο Φιλελεύθερος, 6 April 1983, p. 8.

34. As described by Gunnis, pp. 392-394; cf. K.P. Hadjioannou in *Λαογραφικὴ Κύπρος*, 31, 1981, pp. 9-20 and P.W. Wallace in *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κ.Ε.Ε.*, XII, 1983, pp. 233-243.

near Athienou; and they call the manor St. Photis and the feast is 18 July; and he works many miracles and is one of the 300' in L.M. §34. The *EHK* 1993, p. 166 calls him 'Φωτίου όσίου τών Κυπρίων' [with 'Ονησιφόρου τοῦ άσκήσαντος παρὰ τὸ χωρίον 'Αναρίτα τῆς έπαρχίας Πάφου', 18 July], although, like all the Akhera Saints, he is considered a martyr (*supra*, §12). This possibly points to confusion or conflation of the Akhera and Athienou St. Photios (and of most of the 23 toponyms in the *Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus*, I, Nicosia, 1987, pp. 60-61) with another St. Photios martyr, either the one of the Martyres LX (vel LXIII) ab Agarenis occisi Hierosolymis sub Leone [III] Isaurο [717-741] Oct. 21: *BHG*³, II, p. 101 nos 1217, 1218, cf. II, p. 208, or with the one celebrated on 12 August in the *EHK* 1993, p. 180: 'Φωτίου, 'Ανικήτου (+350), Παμφίλου καὶ Καπίτωνος μαρτύρων, Σεργίου καὶ Στεφάνου όσίων.³⁵ The former's Palestinian origin would argue in his favour as the model of the Akhera and Athienou St. Photios. Eusthenios (or Afxouthenios in the B.M. MS, L.M., and other 'sources'), equally missing in the *BHG*³ and the *AASS*, is probably a corruption of Σωσθένης, celebrated on 8 December in the *EHK* 1993, p. 228: '...Σωσθένης, 'Απολλώ, Κηφά, Τυχικοῦ, 'Επαφροδίτου, Καίσαρος καὶ 'Ονησιφόρου 'Αποστόλων...'³⁶

§15a. According to his 16th century *Synaxary* appended to his 'Ακολουθία briefly analysed by Magda M. Kitromilidou, 'Αναρίτα, 'Ιστορία καὶ Παράδοση, Nicosia, 1992, pp. 17-20, St. Onesiphoros was an 'augustalios that is to say first captain' of the Byzantine fleet; only the flag-ship with him and ten comrades survived a disaster; they arrived at the port of the 'Metropolis Pamphos', wherefrom they moved to the hinterland; Onesiphoros went to the 'κώμη αὐτὴν τῆς 'Αναρήτιδος' where he lived as hermit, died and was buried; he worked miracles both during his life and after death. At Anarita there is a small church of the Ottoman period named after him, now ruined, but his relics have not been found. On Monday after Easter a fair of all neighbouring villagers was held and games were played, including the Ῥιλίτιν. All these elements point to a saint who could be one of the 300, and his name might have been included in the list in the missing fos of the B.M. MS 34554. Note the Byzantine military identity of the Anarita Saint, but also his connection with St. Photios in the *EHK* 1993, p. 166, 18 July, and with Sosthenes [=Afxouthenios] *ibid.*, p. 228, 8 December, where, however, he is called an Apostle. Another connection is attested in an 18th century icon in the church of Anarita depict-

35. Cf. *BHG*³, II, p. 209 nos 1542-1544 f, *Auctarium BHG*³, p. 159 nos 1542-1543, and *AASS Augusti* 12, II, 1705.

36. Cf. *Συναξαριστὴς τῶν Δώδεκα Μηνῶν τοῦ 'Ενιαυτοῦ* by Mauricius, ed. by Nicodemos Hagiorcites, Athens, 1868, pp. 282-283, 8 December: 'μνήμη τῶν άγιῶν πέντε 'Αποστόλων τῶν 70, Σωσθένης, 'Απολλώ, Κηφά, Καίσαρος καὶ 'Επαφροδίτου' quoting *Philipp.* 2, 25 [cf. *Philipp.* 4, 18]. The connection of *Sosthenes* with others of the 70 [or 72] disciples is not fortuitous [cf. *infra*, §18-§20].

ing “Ἅγιος Ἀρτέμιος - Ἅγιος Ὀνησίφορος” (M. Kitromilidou, p. 19 n. 13). Local tradition says that he was born at Anarita, and in his *Ἀκολουθία* he is called “Ἀναρήτιδος καύχημα καὶ Πάμφου ἀγλάϊσμα”. This is a typical confusion of several traditions.

§16. St. Ammonios, another of the Sts. Heliophotoi (§12), should be identified with Ammon martyred with Alexander the student of Origenes at Solia:³⁷ both were among the eleven Cypriot saints adopted by the Latin Church of Cyprus in 1248: ‘Sanctos Barnabam, Epiphanium, Hilarionem, Nicanorem, Tychicum, Iasonem [=Mnasonem] et Spyridionem, Aymonem [=Ammonium], et Alexandrum, Potamium et Nemesium’,³⁸ all of the Early Christian era. St. Alexander is the same as his namesake of the 300 feasted at Axylou with ‘St. Khariton and another Epiphanius’, a team of three according to L.M. §32, Fl. B. p. 34 (Charest for Khariton), Str. p. 13, and Kypr. p. 352 who locates all three at Kurdaka by mispunctuation and changing Χαρίτων into Χερσαίτης, whereas the B.M. MS fo 186b has Alexander alone at Axylou: the missing team is created by L.M. or his source through the addition of two others, Sts. Khariton and Epiphanius. Ammon and Alexander are celebrated on 9 February as Cypriot martyrs with ‘Ammon and Philagrios bishops of Cyprus’ (EHK 1993, p. 79). St. Khariton must be ‘Chariton ab. in Palaestina saec. IV in., Sept. 28’ (nos 300z-301 of the *BHG*³, I, p. 106 and *Auctarium BHG*³, p. 46 nos 301, 301c), celebrated in Cyprus on that day (Sept. 28: *EIK* 1993, p. 199): ‘Χαρίτωνος ὁμολογητοῦ (+350), Βαροῦχ Προφῆτου, Αὐξεντίου τοῦ Κυπρίου ὁσίου’ (cf. *supra*, §11). Dikigoropoulos³⁹ suggests that the coincidence of St. Auxentios’s and St. Khariton’s feast day (Sept. 28) points to the latter being one of the former’s ‘companions’; which would mean that St. Khariton really came to Cyprus, something not attested. What is sure is that St. Khariton’s cult was brought over from Palestine to Cyprus as indicated by the name of a village bearing his name in N.W. Carpassia and another five toponyms listed in *The Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus*, I, 1987, p. 61.

§17. The model of our St. Auxentios must have been his namesake ‘presb. in Bithynia + c. 470 - Febr. 14’ (*BHG*³, I, p. 73 nos 199-203c and *Auctarium BHG*³, p. 37, nos 202, 203c).⁴⁰ The latter was an intrepid cavalryman distinguished in military expeditions ‘all over the inhabited earth, putting an end to the barbarians’ attacks’ during the reign of Theodosios II [408-450 A.D.],

37. J. Hackett-Kh.I. Papaioannou, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου*, B, Piraeus, 1927, p. 175 nos 14, 17.

38. H. Delehaye as n. 8, pp. 233-235.

39. A.I. Dikigoropoulos, *Cyprus 'Betwixt Greeks and Saracens' A.D. 647-965*, Ph. D. Thesis, Oxford, 1961, p. 341.

40. Cf. P.-P. Joannou, *Démonologie populaire - démonologie critique au XI^e siècle, La vie inédite de S. Auxence* par M. Psellos, O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1971, espec. pp. 53-150.

whom his paternal uncle accompanied in the campaigns, one out of many of his family who 'had brilliant posts in the army catalogues'; his weapon was 'divine protection' and 'not the arms made of metal'; so his 'love of God since childhood' led him to choose 'fighting against the spiritual enemies' and with three friends, all 'disciples of the Gospel' placed themselves under the guidance of the anchorite John, who lived 'standing, enclosed from all sides on a solid stone'⁴¹ in the seventh zone of this life at the Hebdomon [seven miles from Constantinople, famous for its military camp] regarding the eighth [=the future life]'; by fasting and attending mass and praying they achieved the eremitic status, in which St. Auxentios became famous for outspokenness, struggle against the demons and other kinds of miracle-working, first in 'Byzantium' [=Cple] and then, to avoid theological strife, on the 'mountain' near Khalkedon named after him, standing on a rock called 'Oxcia', where he lived in extreme poverty and privation, and he died at an advanced age. His relics were vainly claimed by a monastery and a church: they were delivered to a nunnery established by the Saint, where they continued miracle-working.⁴² A military career, turn to eremitism, life in extreme pious hardship on a rock/in a cave, the claiming of his relics by two entities, monasteries/villages, and their delivery to a third, are motifs common to M. Psellos' and to our St. Auxentios's Life, like miracle-working (*supra*, §7, §8, §10, §11); whereas the team concept occurs only in the former; but it is widespread in the 300's Lives and oral traditions, and it occurs also in the *Synaxary* of St. Sozomenos which draws on oral sources. This makes 'St. Auxentios the chief advisor of St. Sozomenos' (*supra* §13) and so presents a two-person team instead of the five-person team in the Life of St. Auxentios by M. Psellos, which, however, seems to have been based on historical facts though slightly distorted and confused,⁴³ rather than on the Biblical team-motif (*supra*, §1, §6, §9, §11, §12, §13, §14, §15, §16 and *infra*, §30).

§18. As for the military career, it is as soldiers that appear St. Constantine of Ormidia, St. Anastasios, Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion of Peristerona Morphou (*supra* §8, §9, §10, §12), but also the five ὁσιομάγιστρος Sts. Heliophotoi both in their *Synaxary* and in their Ἀκολουθία (as cited in §12, pp. 7, 9, 13, 18, 21, 23). The latter are said to have been 'represented in an [old] dim icon [in the monastery]...wearing outside red garments like soldiers' all except St. Heliophotos; still each one is described differently: 'St. Hel. was tall with a long beard like St. Basil, holding the Gospel and blessing like a priest; Epaphroditos

41. A sleepless monk, ἀσώπῳτος, cf. Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, London, 1986, pp. 415-416.

42. Joannou, *Démonologie*, pp. 57-60, 66-78, 134-138 [fns.], 124-127, 147 [fns.], and pp. 78-132 *passim* and fns. on pp. 136-150.

43. P.-P. Joannou, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 68-71, 135-136 [fns.].

and Ammonios young with a little beard like St. Artemon, Epaphroditos holding a shepherd's crook as the chief shepherd of the team, and Ammonios holding only a cross, both wearing outside a red garment; Houlelaïos and Eusthenios were very young like St. Mamas [of Morphou, cf. *supra*, §9, §3; according to local tradition, they were employed by him as the shepherds of his flocks]; they also wear red garments outside like soldiers. We know not how long each one of them lived' (p. 23). In their 'rebuilt church' there is a modern iconostasis with 17th century fragments and an icon of 'Madonna of the Rose that never fades' (late 17th c.) and a rock-cut tomb with some bones.⁴⁴ Only two of the Sts. Heliophotoi are depicted in Cyprus churches: (a) St. Thalelaïos as martyr in that of St. Nicholas of the Roof at Kakopetria (early 11th c. A.D.), and in that of Panagia Phorbiotissa tes Asinou at Niketari (1105/6 A.D.),⁴⁵ and (b) St. Epaphras [confused with St. Epaphroditos? see *infra*] in the church of Panagia Amasgou at Monagri with Sts. Philagrios and Zenon (end of the 12th c.: *ibid.*, p. 243). The Akhera team are said by their 1836 *Synaxary* (in the 12th c.: *ibid.*, p. 243). The Akhera team are said by their 1836 *Synaxary* (in the 12th c.: *ibid.*, p. 243) to have been part of 300 of Alamania, their 'Ἀκολουθία as in §12, p. 10) to have been part of 300 of Alamania, whence they went 'to free [as fighters] Jerusalem from the barbarians'; having defeated them, they left the Holy City for the desert of Jordan, whence they sailed for their fatherland; but their ship was driven to the port of Paphos, where it was broken by the wind; they survived and scattered all over Cyprus, the five Heliophotoi at Akhera on the mountain of Korone. This is a version of the story of other 'Alamans' (*supra*, §3, §6, §7, §10, §11, §15).

§19. St. Epaphroditos, one of the Sts. Heliophotoi (§12), was modelled on "Επαφρόδιτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου [of St. Paul], ὕμῶν δὲ [τῶν Φιλιππησίων] ἀπόστολον καὶ λειτουργὸν" (*Philipp.* 2, 25, cf. 4, 18, cf. AASS *Martii* 22, III, 369). In the B.M. MS fo 186a-b he is one of the Akhera team partly different from those in the 'Ἀκολουθία (§12): 'Εἰς τὴν Ἀχεράν ὁ Ἅγιος Ἡλιόφωτος, ὁ Ἅγιος Αὐξουθίνιος καὶ ὁ Ἅγιος Παφνούτιος'. In L.M. §32 we read: 'Εἰς τὴν Ἀχεράν ὁ Ἅγιος Ἡλιόφωτος, ὁ Ἅγιος Αὐξουθένιος, ὁ Ἅγιος Παμφοδίτης [=Επαφρόδιτος], ὁ Ἅγιος Πα(μ)μέγιστος καὶ ὁ Ἅγιος Παφνούτιος, ὁ Ἅγιος Κουρνούτας'. In Fl. B. p. 34: 'a Achiera, santi Helioghotti, Afxuthenio, Pammegisto, Paphnutio, et Cornuta' [who is missing in the B.M. MS]. In Str. p. 13 by mispunctuation the team is separated from 'Achiera', [which is given wrongly as the locality of the Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion of Peristerona Morphou, *supra* §9]: 'Santo Iliophotog, Santo Auxuthencio, Santo Pafoditis, San Pamegisto, San Pacgnutio, Santo Burnuda [=Curnuta]'. Kypr. p. 352: 'εἰς ἀχεράν, ἡλιόφωτος, ἐξουθένιος, ἐπαφρόδιτος, παμμέγιστος, καὶ παφνούτιος'. 'Επαφρόδιτος is mentioned as Bishop of 'Ἀκτὴ Ἀργείων (near Akanthou) by Kypr. p. 100, who on p. 357 mentions an 'Επαφρόδιτος Ταμάσου as participant in the 4th Ecumenical Council of Khalkedon (451). But Est. de

44. R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 1936, pp. 222-223.

45. A & J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, London, 1985², pp. 55, 133.

Lusignan (*Description*, 1580, fo 47a-6) says: 'Epaphras, dict des Grecs Epaphrodite, l'un des septante deux disciples,...fit compagnie a saint Paul' citing *Coloss.* [I, 7: 'ἐμάθαστε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρῶ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστι πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ', cf. 4, 25 and *Philem.* 23], and stating that some claim that Ἐπαφρῶς or Ἐπαφρόδιτος was 'Euesque des Actes des Argives'; that others say that St. Paul had written to 'H(e)racleie [=Ἡρακλείδιος] ...successeur de Saint Barnabé en l'Archeuesché de Salamine, qu'il eust à sacrer Auxebe Romain, Euesque de Solie, et Epaphras de Paphe, en laquelle il est mort' (cf. fo 16a). This episode is told in §13 of the 6th century Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ... Αὐξιθίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου... Σολίας, 17 Sept.⁴⁶ which uses the apocryphal Acts of St. Barnabas⁴⁷ and is itself 'apocryphal' too: St. Paul is said to have sent Ἐπαφρῶς, Τυχικός and others to 'St. Heracleidios the Archbishop of the island' with a letter asking him to appoint the first as Bishop of Paphos, the second of Neapolis [=Lemessos], and Auxibios of Soloi.

§20. The confusion of Ἐπαφρῶς with Ἐπαφρόδιτος attributed to 'the Greeks' by Lusignan must be a late development, since in the B.M. MS fo 186b he is distinct from the latter (in §18, §19 *supra*): 'Εἰς τὴν τοποθεσίαν τοῦ Παλαικύθου ὁ ἅγιος Ἐπαφρῶς ἐκ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἀποστόλων'. His cult at Palai-kythron exists no more, but at 'the village [of] Nesos his tomb and holy Head' were still to be seen at the time of Kyprianos (*Ἱστορία*, 1788, p. 246), who, like Lusignan (*supra*, §18), calls him Ἐπαφρῶς ἢ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁμαθητάς' quoting *Coloss.* too. His tomb as described in 1936 by R. Gunnis (*Historic Cyprus*, p. 355) was 'a Hellenistic tomb turned into a buried chapel... [it] contains a marble sarcophagus...with a large Byzantine cross cut in relief on the lid...an inner shrine [with] an altar...mural paintings... commemorated on Dec. 9th', but in the *EHK*, 8 Dec., he is called Ἐπαφρόδιτος (*supra*, §15)! For similar tombs cf. Arodes in §14; St. Heracleidios near Kophinou, *infra* §22; Sts Orestes and Reginos at Kophinou and Phasouleia in §24; St. Auxibios in §28. St. Paphnutios is most probably modelled on 'Paphnutius et socii DXLVI mm. in Aegypto sub Diocletiano', 20 April.⁴⁸ St. Pammegistos is unknown both to the *BHG*³ and the *AASS*; he may be either a symbolic fiction, the Greatest of Saints, or a corruption of some similar name [=?]. St. Curnutas is identifiable

46. Published by Ath. Papageorgiou, 'Ο Ἅγιος Αὐξιθίος, Nicosia, 1969, p. 21. J. Noret, *An-Boll*, 104, 3-4, 1986, pp. 445-451 dates the 'Βίος' between 600 and 649 and refers to the use in it of the term Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, but he ignores its occurrence in Cyprus already in an inscription of 533 A.D.: C.P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1985, pp. 170-171; idem, in *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερῆς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 2, 1993, pp. 164-174.

47. Περίοδοι καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Βαρνάβα τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II, 2; H. Delehaye, 'Saints de Chypre', *An-Boll*, 26, 1907, pp. 236-239.

48. Sept. 24, 25, nos 1418z - 1419a of the *BHG*³, II, p. 169 and the *ABHG*³, p. 146 no. 1419a; cf. *AASS Septembris* 24, VI, 681, and *EHK*, p. 129 (19 April) and p. 198 (25 September).

with 'Cornutus M(artyr) Iconii in Lycaonia 12 Sept'.⁴⁹ There are 17 entries of his in *The Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus*, I, 1987, p. 48, 7 being in Nicosia district, though not in Akhera. In the church of St. Mamas at Louvaras St. Curnutas is depicted with the 'Alaman' St. Therapon and three other saints,⁵⁰ whereas in his Palestinian icon of 1879 at Lapethos he is painted walled in a cave together with the 'Seven [Sleeping] Boys'.⁵¹

§21. The B.M. MS fo 186a mentions another *team* worshipped at Kophinou village: 'ὁ ἅγιος Ἡράκλειος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ ἅγιος Λαυρέντιος, ὁ ἅγιος Ἐλπίδιος, ὁ ἅγιος Χριστόφορος, ὁ ἅγιος Ὁρέστης, ὁ ἅγιος Δημητριανός': same in L.M. §32, Fl.B. p. 34, but in Str. p. 13 by mispunctuation they are all located at Levcomiati, whereas Cofirni [= Κοφίνου] is connected with St. Epiphanius (*infra*); Kypr. p. 352 locates 'Ἡράκλειος [sic] alone at Kophinou, and 'Ἐλπίδιος, Χριστόφορος, Ὁρέστης καὶ Δημητριανός' at Βιτζάδα. St. Heracleios is identical with St. Heracleidios Bishop of Tamassos known from the fifth c. *Actes Apocryphes de Saint Héraclide...*, as in §12 *supra*.⁵² His feast day, 17 September, the same as that of St. Anastasios (*supra*, §10) and that of St. Auxibios (*supra* §18, *infra* §25-§28), both 'Alamans' of the 300, cannot be fortuitous (cf. *EHK* 1993, p. 196, 17 Sept.). His 'Actes' incorporate dubious traditions covering a hardly definable historical nucleus⁵³ which are connected with other Cypriot Saints' legends dated to the Apostolic Age by their fifth - sixth century authors.⁵⁴ At least one of the 'Actes' heroes, 'father [St.] Mnason the teacher' (19 Oct.) and successor of St. Heracleidios in the see of Tamassos,⁵⁵ is known from the *Acts*, 21, 26 as the host of St. Paul in his house near Caesarea in Palestine. In the 'Actes' (pp. 147, 151, 153, 165, 169) he appears as one of a team of early Christian missionaries in the area of Tamassos, all akin to one another, whose centre was a cave or cell as in the legends of the 300. The alleged 'author' Rhodon claims to have received order from ὁσιος Θεόδωρος to record the deeds of Sts. Heracleidios and Mnason (pp. 139-40) and to have been chosen by St. Heracleidios as St. Mnason's successor (p. 169).

§22. St. Theodoros is not unknown as said by Halkin (p. 139 n. 2): he is St. Theodoros of Politiko (4 Oct.) who is said by the obviously 17th - 18th cc. *Syn-*

49. *AASS Septembris* 12, IV, 9, martyred in 258 A.D. Cf. *EHK* 1993, p. 191, (12 Sept.) and *Χρονικά τῆς Λαμπήθου*, II-III, 1972-1974, pp. 100-102.

50. A & J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, 1985², p. 254.

51. Nos 1593-1599 of the *BHG*³ dated to 249-251 A.D.

52. *AnBoll*, 82, 1-2, 1964, pp. 133-169. Cf. *KΣ*, Z, 1943 (1945), pp. 47-69, espec. pp. 63-65 a *Synaxary* based on that printed in Venice in 1774, and the *Προσκυνητάριον ὁ Ἅγιος Ἡρακλείδιος καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ αὐτοῦ Μονή*, Nicosia, 1980, p. 28.

53. Halkin, *art. cit.*, pp. 133-39; J. Noret in *AnBoll*, 86, 1-2, 1968, pp. 180-82.

54. Ath. Papageorgiou as cited n. 46, pp. 14, 18-22f.; *idem* in *Δελτίον Ὁμίλου Παιδαγωγικῶν Ἐργονῶν Κύπρου*, Ε', 9-10, July - Dec. 1966, pp. 19-20.

55. 'Actes', *AnBoll*, 82, pp. 140, 166-169.

axary of St. Mnason to have been called Θεωνᾶς before he was baptized and ordained lector by him; then both with Sts. Heracleidios, Paul, Mark and Barnabas lived in a cave near Tamassos, working for the effacing of paganism.⁵⁶ In St. Theodoros's 18th-19th cc. *Ἀκολουθία* the Saint is associated with St. Heracleidios, St. Mnason and Rhodon,⁵⁷ and is requested to free his flock from 'the [yoke of the] sons of Agar' (pp. 49, 35) — a hint at the Ottoman rule of Cyprus possibly confused with an older substratum of the Arab period. In St. Theodoros's *Synaxary* (*ibid.*, pp. 47-48), he and St. Mnason are said to have been sent by the Apostles [from Jerusalem] to Rome, where they were taught by some of the 70 and returned to Jerusalem; there they were baptized by St. Peter and St. John and on their advice they returned to Cyprus, where they met Sts. Paul, Mark and Barnabas; St. Mnason stayed with them, but St. Theodoros lived for 38 years as an iron-tied hermit until his death [in a cave near Tamassos]. In St. Mnason's *Synaxary* St. Heracleidios appears as martyr beheaded on 17th September by pagans who demolished his cell too, whereas St. Mnason died at an advanced age after having worked many miracles and pointed to Rhodon as his successor.⁵⁸ In his own fifth c. 'Actes', however, St. Heracleidios is said to have died of old age too after having performed many miracles and appointed St. Mnason as his successor, expressing the wish that Rhodon should also become a bishop ('ποιμὴν προβάτων'); he was buried in the cave at Tamassos where he 'had been consecrated bishop by St. Barnabas'⁵⁹; St. Heracleidios urges St. Mnason to protect his body from 'the anger of mischievous and atheist men [=pagans] in that cave'.⁶⁰ The danger from the pagans of the 'Actes' is transformed into St. Heracleidios's martyrdom in St. Mnason's 17th - 18th cc. *Synaxary*. Whereas St. Heracleidios and his team's cave(s) or cell(s) near Tamassos have not been traced, 'a rock-cut chamber below the ruins of a church...dedicated to St. Heraclidius, near Kophinou, may have been his hermitage',⁶¹ 'once painted...said to have contained the body of the saint... [as] borne out by fragments of a ...sarcophagus'.⁶²

§23. St. Laurentios of the Kophinou team (§21) was probably modelled on *Laurentius apud Graecos* of the *AASS Maii* 10, II, 58, celebrated in Cyprus until today on 10 May (*EHK* 1993, p. 139: Λαυρεντίου ὁσίου), perhaps confused with 'Λαυρέντιος ὁσιος ὁ ἐκ Μεγάρων' feasted on 7 March (*ibid.*, p. 92). St. El-

56. J. Hackett - Kh.I. Papaioannou, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου*, B', 1927, p. 199.

57. *ΚΣ*, Γ, 1939 [1940], pp. 31-50, see pp. 45, 49, 33-35.

58. J. Hackett as *supra*, B', pp. 199-201.

59. Cf. *Περίοδοι*, as cited n. 47, p. 299, §17.

60. 'Actes', *AnBoll*, 82, pp. 168-169.

61. A.I. Dikigoropoulos, *Cyprus...*, as cited n. 39, p. 347.

62. R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 1936, p. 282; cf. similar tombs *supra*, § 14, §19, § 23.

pidios should be the same as his namesake feasted with St. Laurentios and five others on 7 March (*ibid.*), the nos 265z-267 of the *BHG*³, I, pp. 94-95, all bishops and martyrs 'Chersonae sub Diocletiano'. St. Christophoros is considered by A.I. Dikigoropoulos (as *supra*, n. 39, pp. 128-129) to be identical with his namesake the pupil of St. Stephen the Younger, possibly elected Archbishop of Cyprus in 787 A.D. and known also from a seal. Obviously as a foreigner who lived in Cyprus he was eligible for a place among the 300; but since many of them were martyrs and the bishops among them are defined thus (e.g. St. Heracleidios, St. Basileios and St. Demetrianos at Pera, Tamassia: L.M. §32, the third not in the B.M. MS), another St. Christophoros may have been the model of ours, most probably 'Christophorus m(artyr) in Lycia sub Decio [242-251 A.D.]',⁶³ who is said to have been martyred 'in the fourth year of Decius' reign' and is celebrated on 9 May by our Church (*EHK* 1993, p. 138). The same Saint seems identifiable with ἅγιος Χριστόφορος worshipped at Kurdaka together with ἅγιος Ἐπείγων [sic] (B.M. MS fo 186b; but Πήγων in L.M. §32, Pagon in Fl.B. p. 34; Pigo in Str. pp. 33-34; "Αρόδαν, Πήγων καὶ Χριστόφορος' in Kypr. p. 352); probably Πήγων, the [Long] Bearded Saint, a descriptive name for a fictitious person unknown both to the AASS and to the *BHG*³. He occurs twice as St. *Epigon* as a monk with others in St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, in the narthex (13th-early 14th cc.) and on the N. wall of the N. arm (late 14th c.).⁶⁴ As for 'Πρὸς τὴν στράταν τῆς Ζώτιας ὁ ἅγιος Εἰρηνικός',⁶⁵ although not called a bishop, Eirenicus may have been one of the Cypriot bishops who took part in the Council of Sardica in 343/4 A.D.,⁶⁶ so he came once [back] to Cyprus (cf. *infra*, §24)! For St. Demetrianos see *supra*, §12: he was a comrade in martyrdom in 293-305 A.D. to Athanasios the Lector, Aristocles and Philonides and was otherwise called Domitianos. St. Basil the Bishop at Pera was worshipped, according to L.M. §32, Fl. B. p. 34 (with Saint Dimittiano), Str. p. 14, Kypr. p. 352 (locating them at Βασιλεία, not in the B.M. MS fo 186b), with St. Demetrianos the Bishop (*supra* and §12), a team of two. He should be identified with Βασίλειος ἐπίσκοπος μάρτυς Χερσῶνος who with St. Elpidios and five other bishops was martyred in that city under Diocletian (*supra* and §21). There is no evidence that St. Elpidios or St. Basileios ever came to Cyprus; but St. Demetrianos, a Cypriot, did indeed return to Cyprus from Baghdad after a successful diplomatic mission.⁶⁷ However it is possible that the St. Demetrianos of Pera was a hermit Bishop of Tamassia celebrated on 27 Ja-

63. 'Maïi 9' of the *BHG*³, I, pp. 108-10 nos. 308 W - 312; cf. *ABHG*³, p. 47 nos. 308W-311m.

64. A. & J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, pp. 66, 74.

65. B.M. MS fo 186b, L.M. §32, Fl. B. p. 34, Str. p. 13 [*Santo Amniaco*], Kypr. p. 352 [εἰρηνικός καὶ ζωρίον].

66. G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I, 1949, pp. 250-51.

67. See the collective volume: Petros Stylianou - Costas P. Kyrris, *Ὁ Ἅγιος Δημητριάδης Κυπρίων*, Nicosia, 1973: feast day 6 November.

nuary (*EHK* 1993, p. 73) as indicated in his *Ἀκολουθία* composed (or copied?) on 26 January 1832 by a priest Christodoulos and by his ruined church at Pera and also in a Codex from Paphos.⁶⁸ This Saint can not have been a foreigner. The real identity of the 32 'St. Demetrianos' toponyms in Cyprus⁶⁹ is hard to define.

§24. St. Orestes, the last of the *Kophinou team* (§20), is also known from the 18th-19th cc. *Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων... μεγαλομαρτύρων Πηγίνου καὶ Ὁρέσου... 20 Αὐγούστου καὶ Βιογραφία αὐτῶν.*⁷⁰ Both are said to have originated in Khalkedon and been soldiers who were betrayed to the 'most impious Greeks' and persecuted by the army leader [στρατηλάτης=magister militum] Persentinos [=the persecutor?] for their Christian preaching; St. Reginos was tortured on a burning iron table like many other early Christian martyrs,⁷¹ then he was put in a sack and thrown into the sea but was saved by two dolphins and re-imprisoned with his fellow-soldier St. Orestes, one of many witnesses of the miracle, that for Perentinos was a 'sorcery'; helped by an *angel*, both saints and the converted prisoners escaped in various God-inspired directions; St. Orestes and St. Reginos with others came to Cyprus, where they scattered and some lived as 'hermits in secret places' and others were beheaded by the pagans. The two saints via Neapolis-Nemesos arrived at Phasouleia, where they were tortured and beheaded; their relics were buried by Christians and later on their sarcophagus was inscribed with their names (cf. *supra*, §14, §18), was discovered after a vision by a priest who built a church for them and painted their icon showing them young, seated on horse [obviously to fit with their soldierly capacity, cf. *supra* §15, §17, §18 and *infra* §27]. Both Saints are celebrated as Cypriot martyrs by our Church on 20 August (*EHK* 1993, p. 182). St. Orestes may have been modelled on one of his four namesake Early Christian martyrs: Orestes with four others 'In Armenia sub Diocletiano, Dec. 13' (*BHG*³, I, nos. 646-646c and *ABHG*³, nos. 646-646c; *EHK*, p. 23); or 'Orestes m. Tyanis in Capadocia sub Diocletiano, Nov. 9, 10' (*BHG*³, II, nos. 1383-1385; *EHK*, p. 217 10 Nov.); or 'Orestes M. Alexandriae' (*AASS Julii* 3, I, 636); or 'Orestes apud Graecos' (*ibid.*, *Junii* 9, II, 171). Reginos is unknown to the *BHG* and cannot be identified with 'Reginus Ep. Scopulorum [=Scopelos]' (*AASS Februarii* 25, III, 495, 500; *EHK*, p. 84: 'P. ἐπ. Σκοπέλου [+355]'). Was he perhaps modelled on Reginos the Bishop of Constantia who took part in the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesos (431) decisive for Cyprus's Autocephaly? His return to Cyprus

68. N. Klerides in *KΣ, KΖ*, 1963, pp. 137-151.

69. *The Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus*, I, 1987, pp. 38-39; cf. C.P. Kyrris in P. Stylianou - C.P. Kyrris, *Ὁ Ἅγιος Δημητριάδης*, pp. 121-122.

70. Limassol 1942 (repr. of the 1902 ed. by S. Menardos).

71. E.g. *St. Constantine of Ormidia*: Sathas, 'Vies', p. 23, *St. Mamas*: *KΣ, KΕ*, 1951 [1952], pp. 130, 133; etc.

might have allowed his inclusion among the 300 (cf. *supra*, §23). So the Early Christian *two-person team* was created by the Synaxarist on the basis of the Kophinou legend (§21) but located at the neighbouring Phasoula.

§25. The Roman connection of St. Theodoros and St. Mnason (*supra*, §21 - §22), in St. Auxibios' 'Βίος' (as cited n. 46) appears as Roman provenance of this Saint. He was known to L.M. §30, Fl. B. p. 33 and Str. p. 12 ('Eutichio' [=Euxiphio = Αὐξιίδιος]) as Bishop of Solia but not as one of the 300, nor as a Roman, nor as Archbishop of Solia, the term used in the 'Βίος' for him (p. 17), and for St. Heracleidios (p. 21: "Ἡρακλείδιον τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς νήσου"), both pointing to 'local patriotism'. The B.M. MS fo 185a-b ignores the Bishops of Solea. Est. de Lusignan (in *Description*, fos 48b, 62a) knows St. Auxibios's Roman origin and much of what is said about him in the 'Βίος'. N. Rhodinos⁷² calls him by misprint 'Αυξιίδιος... ἀπὸ τὴν Ρώμην', but he adds: 'καὶ ἄλλος Αὐξιίδιος ἐπίσκοπος Κυπριώτης... εὐρέθη εἰς τὴν... ἐν Νικαίᾳ [Α' Οἰκουμενικῇ] σύνοδον [325 A.D.], ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς Τη [318] Θεοφόρους πατέρες, ἀκόμῃ καὶ εἰς τὴν Σαρδικὴν Σύνοδον [343/4 A.D.]'.⁷³ This may have been the same as his namesake attested with other Cypriot bishops, none's see stated, as participants in the latter Synod.⁷⁴ He may have served as the remote model for our St. Auxibios of Soloi but he cannot be identified with him as suggested with hesitation by Ath. Papageorgiou.⁷⁵ Our St. Auxibios's *Synaxary*⁷⁶ is an 18th-19th cc. linguistically simplified abridgement of the 'Βίος', both making no reference to the 300. He is celebrated on 17 February and 17 September.⁷⁷

§26. But the naive unhistorical *Synaxarium* of 'εὐξιφηνος επισκόπου αλαμανίας' [Good Sword Man, a hint at military life] worshipped at Astromerites (17 Febr.), which was composed (with an 'Ακολονθία drawing on those of eleven other saints) in 1717 in faulty folk language by the monk *Gabriel Khartoullaris* and copied in 1853 [-1856] by Argyros Protopapas of Astromerites,⁷⁸ did transform the Early Christian Auxibios of Rome of the 'Βίος' into a man of 'πόλιν χώραν τῆς Ἀλαμανίας', born by 'Theophilos and Christina the Christians'

72. 1659: *Κυπρ. Χρον.*, Γ, α', Jan.-Febr. 1925, pp. 20-21.

73. Cf. Kypr., pp. 347, 357, 97, and below §33.

74. Ath. Papageorgiou, 'Ο Ἅγιος Αὐξιίδιος, 1969, pp. 13-14. J. Noret as n. 46, pp. 451-452, 445, 447 believes that the St. Auxibios of the Sardica Council 'était sans doute le saint dont la mémoire se perpétue dans la *Vita*' because 'la première basilique de Soli fut construite à peu près à l'époque de ce Concile', i.e. in 335-337. My view is slightly different: that Saint Auxibios (of Sardica) was the *model* of his namesake of the *Vita*.

75. *Op. cit.*, n. 74, p. 14.

76. Republished from the *Μέγας Συναξαριστὴς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, ed. by V. Mathaios, B', Athens, 1955², pp. 286-294 in A. Papamoyseos Zakos, *Ἀκολονθία τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις... Αὐξιίδιου πρώτου Ἐπισκόπου Σόλων...* ὑπὸ Γεωσ. Μικραγιαννανίτου, Astromerites, 1971, pp. 10-17.

77. *EIK* 1993, pp. 81-82, 195-196.

78. Zakos, *op. cit.*, pp. 21f., 33-35, III-V.

[obviously symbolic names concocted by Gabriel] at the time of *Marcian* (450-457 A.D.). He was taught the 'sacred letters', at the age of 25 was ordained 'ἱεροδιάκος' in a monastery, and after five years 'καὶ ἱερομόναχος'; then owing to his 'extreme [self-]humiliation, self-discipline and virtue' he became 'a monk too', and stayed in the monastery 'ca. eleven years'. His father died then; after a year he distributed his property to the poor and made his mother a 'nun (καλογραῖα)' in [another] monastery, where soon she became a '[wo-man-]monk (μοναχῇ) – and lived in [self-]discipline and [did] good deeds' until she died. Euxiphios was studying 'the Sacred Scripture and Law' and leading an exemplary ascetic Christian life for fifteen years when died the 'Bishop of the same country of Alamania', who had been elected 'by common vote' and 'suffered many persecutions from the impious [like St. Therapon, *supra*, §6-§7]... and worked many miracles and assisted the poor generously...'; Auxibios was appointed his successor against his will; 'wishing to live the rest of his life in peace and without property, he resigned his throne to someone else...and at night he sailed by ship to the famous island of Cyprus [like St. Therapon, St. Anastasios, St. Auxibios, St. Kendeas, St. Constantinos of Ormidia, etc., but not via Palestine to Paphos and not as a soldier like many of them: *supra*, §7-§12, §17] and... he arrived at some[!] village called Astromerites, and...lived alone in a small cave in hardship... singing and studying the Scripture, eating three ounces of bread only at night without having his fill of it... working many miracles and ...achievements [so he was not quite alone, cf. *infra*, §29]...[until] he died. He was...of medium age [?=size], a little low and broad enough, a hunchback, of glad-glowing face, good [=?] colour, bald, his jaws adorned with a beard not long but a bit wide and dense enough and blond, his forehead signed [=?ὑπογραμμένον=?], [with] broad cheeks and thick<er> lips, and in disorder [regarding his] white hair [cf. *supra*, §18]; his feast is celebrated in the most Holy Great Church [of Constantinople, but this is not true!...]...[he died] at the age of 107 years' (Zakos, pp. 33-35).

§27. Though no reference to the 300 occurs in this legend, owing to his 'Alaman' identity this St. Auxibios is automatically included among those already considered 'Alamans' from the mid-sixteenth century onwards (*supra*, §3-§5). The equally unhistorical 'Ακολουθία makes Εὐξίφιος a 'destroyer of Areios'! (325 A.D.: Zakos, p. 21), a 'liberator and protector of all the wronged people' (Zakos, pp. 22, 23), like St. John Chrysostomos in Neophytos Enkleistos, 'Ἀνέκδοτον Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἰωάννην Χρυσόστομον,⁷⁹ a frequently occurring Biblical concept; it also makes him an 'inflexible pillar and guard of Alamania(!)' (Zakos pp. 22, 25; also N. Enkleistos, *op.cit.*, p. 13; cf. *supra*, §2, §7: a very frequent military-religious concept in others of the 300's 'Ακολουθία; cf.

79. Ed. by C.I. Dyonouniotes, offprint from *Ἐπιστημ. Ἐπετ. Θεολογ. Σχολ. [Πανεπ. Ἀθην.], Α'*, 1926, pp. 11-12, 17.

infra, §27); 'a man of God' (Zakos, p. 23) or 'Saint of God' (*idem*, pp. 27, 28), the first recalling the same phrase in the 'Actes de St. Héraclide'⁸⁰ and both, especially the second, reminiscent of the Holy Man of Oriental Monastic Christianity of the early period made illustrious by P.R.L. Brown⁸¹ and Han J.W. Drijvers;⁸² of course a healer (Zakos, pp. 28, 30, 31, 38) and a 'fighter against demons' (*idem*, pp. 28, 31, 32). The 'Απολονθία also presents its 'Alaman' hero as originating in the 'greatest city of the Romans' (*idem*, p. 35), in full agreement with his 'Βίος!' (§25 *supra*). With regard to the Saint's description (§26), it may refer to a missing local icon like that of the Sts. Heliophotoi (§18, cf. §24). In Cyprus wall-painting he occurs: (a) in the apse of the bema of St. Nicholas, Kakopetria together with seven other prelates in medallions: 'Spyridon, Heracleidius, Lazarus, Auxibius, Hypatius, Tychon, Zenon, Nicholas' (14th c.);⁸³ (b) in Panagia tou Arakou, Lagoudera, 'seven busts of Cypriote prelates in medallions: Zenon, Nikon, Philagrius, Auxibius, Heracleidius, Makedonius, Triphyllius,' late 1192⁸⁴; (c) in the low apse of the bema of Panagia at Moutoullas below the Blessed Virgin Mary 'the prelates Nicholas, Gregory, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius and Auxibius are depicted with liturgical scrolls in their hands', 1280.⁸⁵ Possibly the Saint may be depicted in the style described in his *Synaxary* (§26) in some of the old icons of his former church at Astromerites now in the gallery of his 1876 church.⁸⁶

§28. In his 'Βίος'⁸⁷ St. Auxibios is said to have been born in Rome of rich pagan [=Ἑλληνες] parents and had a brother Themistagoras; he was clever and mild like Moses and prudent like Joseph.⁸⁸ He 'studied secular wisdom', avoided marriage, escaped 'with others' [like the 300] by ship via Rhodes and Pamphylia to Λίμνη or Λιμνίτης near Soloi 'to save many souls'. Here he was met by St. Mark, who was in Cyprus for a second mission with St. Barnabas; after the latter's martyrdom at 'Salamis, now Constantia', where they had appointed St. Heracleides Archbishop of Cyprus, St. Mark escaped persecution by the Jews by hiding for 'three days and nights in a cave' near Ledrai; then with Timon and Rhodon [a three-person team] he arrived at Limnites; there

80. *AnBoll*, 82, 1-2, 1964, p. 144.

81. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61, 1971, pp. 80-101, etc.

82. In *The Byzantine Saint*, Univ. of Birmingham, ed. S. Hackel, Studies Suppl. to *Sobornost* 5, 1981, iii, pp. 25-33; T.D. Barnes in *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S., XIX, 1968, pp. 509-31, esp. p. 511.

83. A. & J. Stylianou, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

86. R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 1936, p. 184.

87. Ath. Papageorgiou, 'Ο Ἅγιος Ἀνξίβιος, 1969, pp. 17-28, cf. *supra*, §25, §19.

88. With Jesus three models of the Holy Man: H.J.W. Drijvers as cited n. 82, pp. 28-30, etc.

he baptized and ordained Auxibios Bishop and sent him to convert the pagan Soloi by pretending to be a pagan and gradually teaching them Christianity 'in a veiled manner' – a method recalling Early Christian double life and transitional forms of conversion.⁸⁹ St. Auxibios converted his host the priest of Zeus, and secretly entered the city every day and taught the faith. From Alexandria St. Paul, having heard from St. Mark of St. Barnabas' death, sent Epaphras [*supra*, §12, §19, §20), Tykhikos [a Cypriot Saint]⁹⁰ and others to St. Heracleidios the Archbishop with a letter asking him to appoint 'Epaphras Bishop at Paphos, Tykhikos at Neapolis [=Nemessos] and others in each town...and Auxibios at Soloi but without ordaining him since he had already been ordained by Mark'.⁹¹ So did St. Heracleidios, and with St. Auxibios he entered Soloi and marked out the plan of a church, which the latter built soon; then Auxibios preached in a public place and baptized and healed many Solians and neighbouring peasants.⁹² One of them, Auxibios from the village of Solopotamia, became as wise as his teacher, who interpreted a 'wreath of ants assembled on his head while asleep' at Ταρχιδίου [=?cf. Τραχειάς in §8, §11, §12, §13] as a sign of his future prelacy. The local 'Auxibios [ever since] subdued himself to him and served him with everything and helped him like a good servant his own master'⁹³ [so a two-person team emerged once more]. Then Themistagoras with his 'virtuous wife Maria Timo' arrived to meet his famous brother. In the 'Επισκοπεῖον' they were baptized and ordained deacons by him, and then 'separated themselves from [carnal] sin' [so the team became a four-person one]. Since by now almost everybody believed in Jesus, St. Auxibios built a bigger 'holy Catholic church'; he continued his 'pastor's work...like [St.] Paul...', and he is praised for his many achievements resembling those of a 'brave soldier' and of Moses (as *supra*; note the military-religious concept, as in §18, §24, §26). Three days before his death he did [like St. Heracleidios ordaining St. Mnason],⁹⁴ appoint his pupil Auxibios his successor; his body was buried in a *larnax* [cf. our §18, §21, §24] and was a source of healings and attracted many from the area around, among them 'forty demon-stricken Paphians'⁹⁵ who 'were cured by the Saint's shadow before reaching his tomb...so the

89. Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Viking, London, 1986, pp. 623-624, 668, 785; W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, London, 1984, pp. 411, 432, 561-567, 585-587.

90. Kyr. Hadjioannou, 'Η Ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικά Πηγάς, Α', Nicosia, 1985², pp. 342-345.

91. Ath. Papageorgiou, 'Ο Ἅγιος Ἀὐξίδιος, pp. 17-21, cf. *supra*, §20, §21.

92. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

94. *AnBoll*, 82, pp. 165-169.

95. A hint at the '40-1 blows' received by St. Paul at Paphos? Cf. C.P. Kyrris in Στασῖνος, Πρακτικά τοῦ Ἀ' Παγκυπρίου Συνεδρίου Ἑλληνικοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ, 'Ἑλληνιστική Περίοδος', Nicosia, 1974, pp. 117-120.

Paphians until now [5th - 6th cc.] celebrate the hosios' memory' [an explanation of the diffusion of his cult]. Themistagoras deemed himself unworthy of being buried, as the Saint had wished, in his miracle-working brother's sarcophagus, which 'until today has remained sealed by the cross...'⁹⁶

§29. 'In the area of Kerynia near the Casapiphani [=Casal Epiphani(os)] St. Hilarion, not the abbot but a young(er) one' in the B.M. MS fo 186a, points to the MS having been (redacted or) rewritten in the Frankish Period owing to the very use of the term casal(e); but the tradition transmitted is not necessarily to be dated to that period (*supra*, §1); cf. L.M. §32: 'by Casa Piphani St. (E)Piktetos: in the castle of St. Hilarios [sic], St. Hilarion the Young(er)'; Fl. B. p. 34: 'al casal Piphani, S. Petito; al castel Dio d' amor, St. Hylario il gio-vene'; Str. p. 13: 'verso il casal, Santo Pictito; nella città [=?] Santo Hilarione'; not in Kypr.'s list of the 300 (*Ιστορία*, 1788, p. 352) but see p. 37: 'St. Hilarion was named Bishop not of Κυπρίας χώρας but of Kerynia, he wrote enough against Dioskoros and Eutuches the heretics'; pp. 50-51: 'Castle of Love...dismantled by the Venetians except for some houses [?] and the Church of St. Hilarion, who when in Cyprus, came...here to avoid the numerous sick and demon-possessed... [he lived] in a hut with a small garden... a pagan's property... inhabited by the demons...who to make him leave...tempted him by playing the guitare...; he healed its owner suffering from leprosy...; there he died and was buried by his students [so he was not alone!, cf. *supra*, §26]; sick people from all over the island thronged [there] and were healed. For this reason the Church in the name of St. Hilarion was constructed. But a year after his burial one of his students...from Egypt [=Hesychios, *infra*]...stole his relics to Egypt. But as Hieronymos [his biographer, *P.L.*, 23, cols. 29-54] says, ...his miracles did not disappear from that garden..., after some time that place became a very strong Castle, called by some the God of Love, and by others [Castle] of St. Hilarion'; in p. 351 Kyprianos informs us that St. Hilarion was living in 250 A.D. [misprint for 351]; he came to the Paphos area, where he was living as hermit at Χάρδουρις; there by request of the Bishop of Paphos he taught and converted the still existing pagans; from there he moved to the mountains of Kerynia, at the place where later on the Castle of the God of Love was built, where he lived and died at the age of 80. Kyprianos follows Est. de Lusignan (*Description*, 1580, fos 35b-36a, 40a), who, however, does not know St. Hilarion's initial residence in the area of Paphos, cf. Fl.B. p. 32: 'Hylarion abbate, maestro di Epiphanio'. N. Rhodinos (*KXQ*, Γ', α', Jan.-Febr. 1925, p. 31) does not fix St. Hilarion's residence, and mentions the stealing of his relics from Cyprus to Egypt and the miracles at his garden; but he informs that 'ὁ ἅγιος ἐκράζετο (ὡς λέγει ὁ Νικηφόρος) Χάρδουρις ... Σαλαμίnius, Φωκίων, Μελχίων, καὶ Κρισπυρίων ἀδελφοὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἴδιον τόπον, μοναχοὶ καὶ μαθηταὶ τοῦ

96. Ath. Papageorgiou, 'Ο Ἅγιος Ἀνξίθιος, pp. 24-27.

ἁγίου Ἰλαρίωνος, οἱ ὅποιοι... ἡγίασαν'.

§30. L. Philippou produced sufficient documentary and oral evidence proving that St. Hilarion lived and died in the region of Paphos,⁹⁷ the latter confirming the former. St. Hilarion lived in a cave near Paphos, where St. Epiphanius in 367 A.D. met him before he moved to Constantia [like St. Kendeas and the *Tracheias team*, *supra*, §11 - §12], where he was consecrated Bishop. St. Hilarion the Great's connection with the Pentadaktylos mountain is due to confusion with the Younger Hilarion of the sources; this is implied by Est. de Lusignan and Kyprianos. Although in 1350 Ludolph of Suchen wrote that 'prope Paphum est locus ubi Sanctus Hilarius degebat et multa miracula faciebat' (KΣ, Δ', p. 37), already in 1332 Guillaume de Boldensella and later in 1357-1371 Sir John de Mandeville 'knew' that 'St. Hilarion's body was lying in the Castle of Amoure' (KΣ, Δ', p. 38, cf. KΣ, B', 1938, p. 51). This body could not have been the relics of St. Hilarion the Great, which had been stolen by his student Hesychios from his tomb in his garden and taken to his 'monastery' at Majuma in Palestine (KΣ, Δ', pp. 34, 38); it could not have belonged to St. Hilarion the Younger abbot of the monastery of Πελεκητῇ near Prussa either, celebrated on 28 March (EHK 1993, pp. 109-110), since he never came to Cyprus (KΣ, B', p. 49, Δ', pp. 37-38), but possibly to some local hermit also called Hilarion, who was distinguished from both and from St. Hilarion the comrade of St. Barnabas of Peristerona Morphou (*supra*, §9), who are feasted with St. Hilarion the Great and others on 21 October (EHK, p. 208). The rock-cut hermitage and chapel in the precipice of St. Hilarion's castle (KΣ, B', p. 50) must have belonged to the local Hilarion. The historically attested duet to St. Hilarion the Great - Hesychios and their Palestinian origin, arrival and residence at Paphos suited best the *team* and *other concepts* pervading the 300's legends: when transferred to Pentadaktylos by folk piety, their story was adapted to the local Hilarion's circumstances like that of St. Sozomenos of Carpasia, who in his other centres of cult appears alone (*supra*, §13, §17).

§31. I shall conclude this selective case-study by a brief investigation of its motifs and origin. The *pillar concept* intertwined with the *team* motif (*supra*, §2, §7, §27) occurs in *Gal.* 2, 9: 'Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι' of the early Christian community of Jerusalem. It corresponded to the 'leading triumvirate of priests at Qumram' of the sect of Covenanters closely resembling Christianity.⁹⁸ A *team of two* (apostles sent by Jesus as missionaries) occurs in *Luke* 10, 1 ('ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν'), *Mark* 6, 7 ('ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο'). In the Cyprus context the model of a *three-person team*, formally *two*, St. Paul and St. Barnabas with a *third*, John Mark as their servant, that arrived from Seleucia in Salamis and from there

97. KΣ, Δ', 1940 [1942], pp. 33-38.

98. W.H.C. Frend, *op. cit.*, n. 89, pp. 28, 49, 88, 113.

went to Paphos (*Acts*, XIII, 4-6), was the nucleus of the first Christian mission to the island.⁹⁹ It was followed with variations by the apocrypha and the legends of many of the '300' (e.g. *supra*, §1(e), §9 - §14, §17, §21 - §30 *passim*). Paphos, as the first place where a conversion occurred in 45 A.D., Salamis (with its region including Carpassia) as the place of St. Barnabas's martyrdom, Tamassos-Pera and Solia (with its region), Limassol and its region and other places by extension, Pamphylia a centre of anti-Christian Jewish activities (R.L. Fox, *op. cit.*, n. 89, pp. 482-83, 758) as place of provenance of St. Paul and St. Barnabas (with St. Titos in another version: C.P. Kyrris, *op. cit.*, n. 95, pp. 109-10, cf. St. Auxibios *supra*, §28), Rome and the area of Constantinople [the new Rome!] especially Khalkedon (§24, cf. §17), Cappadocia (*ibid.* and §9), in particular Jerusalem and more generally Palestine the Holy Land that produced Christianity, later on 'Alamania' [an imaginary generalisation of Rome after the introduction of the 'Alaman' concept?], and ascetic caves or cells are the 'statutory' geographic scenes of the drama of the '300's' miraculous life and usually martyr's death. As for the *military concept* (*supra*, §9, §12, §17, §18, §24, §26, §28), it goes back to the New Testament, e.g. *Philipp.* 2, 25: Epaphroditos was St. Paul's 'συστρατιώτης': though symbolic, this term could be taken in its literal meaning by the hagiographers. In ca. 323 A.D. St. Pachomios organized his monastery at Tabennisi 'along the quasi-military lines he had learned as a soldier of Licinius' army' (Freund, *op. cit.*, n. 89 pp. 576, 590). Several early Christian monasteries in Egypt were provided with 'fortified enclosures' and had a *kasr* [=castle] or tower of refuge or keep: 'by the fifth century this is known to have existed in at least one of the Natrun settlements, and soon became a common feature of other communities',¹⁰⁰ whose confessors' reconciliation and loyalty to the Empire was won over at the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. by Constantine (Freund, *op. cit.*, n. 89, p. 500). In fifth-sixth cc. N. Africa, Syria, the Middle East and the Balkans 'fortress and monastery were joined in a symbiosis strange only to us'.¹⁰¹ The usefulness of a monastery's fortress is illustrated, *i.a.*, by the survival of only those monks who took refuge in it during the two battles between Christian Saracens and non-Christian Blemmyes [known to Cypriot Synaxarists: *supra*, §11] between 373 and 379 A.D. at Sinai and Raithou, both refortified by Justinian for the defense of Palestine.¹⁰² Ever since Constantine

99. In 45 A.D.: C.P. Kyrris in Στασίνοϋ, *Πρωτικά του Α' Παγκυπρίου Συνεδρίου Έλληνικοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ*, Nicosia, 1974, pp. 97-125, espec. pp. 108-112.

100. C.C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt*, Aris & Phillips, Warminster, England, 1974, pp. 7, 34, 79-85 f., 91-93, 99, 109, etc.

101. R. Krauthheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, London, 1986¹, pp. 259-262 f., 490-491, 164, 194 f.; Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, II, 6', γ', θ', III, 8', ζ', ν'.

102. I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1984, pp. 297-329. Chrysost. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία της Έκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας (62-1934)*, Alexandria, 1935, pp. 160, 463-467; Th. Papadopoulos, *Africanobyzantina, Byzantine Influences on Negro-Sudanese Cul-*

the Great 'had militarised the image of Christ and Christianity'¹⁰³ and became a Christian through epiphany and vision — both well known to our Synaxarists — in a military context,¹⁰¹ the role of the army in the diffusion of Christianity and the politico-military role entrusted to holy men and monks especially in frontier zones¹⁰⁵ gave rise to numerous legends of military saints known from the AASS, the BHG, the BHL and the Μέγας Συναξαριστής, in particular from H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes de Saints Militaires*, Paris, 1909, and other subsequent studies in *AnBoll*, etc. They were στρατιῶται Χριστοῦ [cf. *supra*, §10] symbolising the Christian spiritual struggle against evil.¹⁰⁶

§32. Groups of saints occur very frequently in hagiography. I shall mention just a few: *The Forty Martyrs of Sebastea sub Licinio*, 9/10 March (BHG³, II, pp. 97-99 nos 1201-1208; AASS Martii X, II, pp. 12-29; ABHG³, pp. 128-129 nos 1201-1208; and *Novum ABHG*³, 1969, pp. 143-144 nos 1201-1208m); they are the best known. Out of the groups approaching 300: 'IX Maii Idus...In Persida natale Martyrum trecentorum decem [=310]' (AASS Martii, II p. XVIII); 'IX Octobris VII Idus in Colonea Gereon Martyris cum aliis trecentis quindem [=315+1=316]' or 'septendecim [317 +1=318]', or 'CCCXVIII [318+1=319]' (*ibid.*, p. XXXII); or 'X Oct. VI Idus...In Colonia Agrippina natale [=death] Gereonis Martyris cum aliis trecentis et octodecim [318+1=319]' or 'cum aliis trecentis triginta [=330+1=331]. B. In Africa natale SS. Eusebii, Eraclii, Dionysii. Et alibi Malusii cum aliis trecentis et triginta [330+1=331]' (*ibid.*); or 'Martyres CCC [=300] in Africa sub Hunerico - Dec. 7 vel 8' (*Novum ABHG*³, p. 248 no 2262; *Menaea* Dec. 7, *Synax. Eccl. C/politanae*, 287-289, Cod. Athen. 1029 dated to the reign of Zeno [474-491 A.D.]). In some cases the figure is a multiple of 310, e.g. 930, in AASS Martii 13, II, p. XXXIX, or of 300, e.g. 900, *ibid.* The tradition, accepted as valid by some scholars, of St. Gereon's church in Cologne having been founded by St. Helena like that of St. Cassius in Bonn and of St. Victor in Xanten (J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta* as cited n. 2, pp. 23-24) recalls St. Helen's activity in Cyprus and the stories connected with or emanating from the Legend of the 300 (§1 - §3). The number 318 instead of 300 occurs in Cyprus too: in at least one village, Pano Arkhimandrita, Paphos district, 'in a large niche in the north wall [of a

tures, Athens, 1966, pp. 8-40, 76, 102, 107, 110; D.G. Letsios, *Βυζάντιο και Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλασσα, Σχέσεις μετὰ τῇ Νοβία, Αἰθιοπία καὶ Νότια Ἀραβία ὡς τὴν Ἀραβικὴ Κατάκτηση*, Athens, 1988, pp. 75-80, 199-226, 235-238 and passim: *Βλέμμενες* = barbarians, nomads; V. Christides, 'Misr', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, VII², Leiden, 1993, pp. 152b, 154a, 155a, 158a.

103. I. Shahid, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

104. R.L. Fox, *op. cit.*, n. 89, pp. 190-191, 600-601, 645, 610-622f.

105. Shahid, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-106, 154-158, 198-199, 288-345, 496-529, 550-563; *idem*, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 1989, pp. 149-230, 257-262, 289-301, etc.

106. Delehaye, *Saints Militaires*, p. 118; *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 1961, pp. 8-14; Eusebius in *P.G.*, 21, col. 106; *The Byzantine Saint* as cited n. 82, pp. 14-15, 218.

Roman tomb converted into a chapel once painted with saints, of whom only St. Onouphrios is recognisable, near the church of St. Theodosios, one of the 300] lie hundreds of skulls and bones, said to be the remains of 318 saints driven by persecution from across the sea... This... chapel is dedicated to the Holy Fathers, but who these 318 saintly men were and whence they came no one knows. The village tradition is that they were holy men who came across in a boat from Syria and landed at Pissouri at night (whence its name... black). At the dawn they reached Alekhtora, when the cocks were crowing (Alekhtora = cock), and led by an archimandrite came to this village, where they were massacred by the heathens. A site near... is shown with the footprints of these holy men and their horses; also a spot where the only woman who accompanied them was found to be suffering from leprosy and at once slain in case she should infect the others'.¹⁰⁷

§33. This is a version of the usual story of the 300 adapted to the Limassol area (cf. §24) but eventually located in Paphos. The skulls and bones recall the 'slabs full of relics...called the Saints Manifested [Ἅγιοι Φανέντες] at Casa Piphani...dried up...set hard like stone, or ... heavy as if...stone: these are of the Three Hundred who fled from Syria' (L.M. §36). Cf. Lusignan, *Description*, fo 63a-b, who calls them 'Confesseurs. Ils font plusieurs miracles...sont conioincts; Fl. B., p. 65; Str., p. 15; H. Delehay, 'Saints de Chypre', *AnBoll*, 26, 1907, p. 254; 'bears and other animals' according to Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Berlin, 1893, p. 229. R.M. Dawkins in L.M., II, pp. 66-67 §36.8 compares them with similar ossuaries at Pyla ('Forty Saints'), Paphos ('Seven Sleepers'), and Kythrea. The Ἅγιοι Φαίνοντες are already mentioned in the 'Life of St. Constantine the Jew' (9th c.): *AASS Novembris*, IV, 636. What is important with the Arkhimandrita Saints is their alleged number, 318, which is that of the 318 or 319 Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.): 'its members were equated with the 318 servants of Abraham and regarded therefore as a type (in the Old Testament) of the highest sanctity'.¹⁰⁸ The model was *Genesis*, XIV, 14-16 in which Abram [=Abraham] is reported to have sent to the help of Lot 'the 318 members of his own family [τοὺς ἰδίου οἰκογενεῖς, obviously his clan], who saved Lot and his family from an aggression of the kings of Sodoma and Gomorra. The 318 Nicaean Fathers, all 'men of God' with 'Constantine the servant of Christ',¹⁰⁹ acquired a symbolic significance in Christian ideology far beyond the Biblical tribal connotations: they became the symbol of redemption from idolatry, sin and disaster, and

107. R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 1936, pp. 174-175; N.G. Kyriazis, *Τὰ Χωρία τῆς Κύπρου*, Larnaca, 1952, p. 54 no. 340; N. Clerides, *Χωριά καὶ Πολιτεῖες τῆς Κύπρου*, Nicosia, 1961, p. 48; Makarios III, *Κύπρος ἡ Ἁγία Νῆσος*, Athens, 1968, pp. 43-44 fn. 65.

108. Frend, *op. cit.*, n. 89, pp. 500, 517.

109. Fox, *op. cit.*, n. 89, pp. 625, 655, 664.

they could be used in other analogous cases. The variation of their number, 318 or 319 (*supra*, §32) is as old as the Coptic Corpus of the Proceedings of the Council of Nicaea in which 'un mystérieux 319e Père (entendez le Christ ou le Saint Esprit) siègeait avec les évêques au Concile de Nicée',¹¹⁰ rendant gloire aux évêques et aux canons établis par eux'.¹¹¹ The rounding down of the 318/9 to 300 may have been produced by comparison with such military corps as that of the *Excubitores* established in 468 A.D.¹¹² or with the Roman *cohors* or Byzantine *tagma* consisting of 300-360 men.¹¹³ The *Arkhimandrita* story (§32) seems to have preserved the original number of 318 Fathers [of Nicaea] who were considered as one of the pillars of Cyprus' eternity before the rounding down. Though the Council of Nicaea is not mentioned in the B.M. MS, L.M., Fl.B., Lusignan or Str., it is well known to Kypr.¹¹⁴, and to N. Rhodinos, who mentions the Fathers' number, 318 (*supra*, §25). Lusignan's estimate of the foreign saints' bodies 'reposing in Cyprus' as 315 (*supra*, §4) approaches the 318 and may reflect a stage in the process of rounding down from 318 to 300.

110. M. Aubineau in *Revue d'Hist. Ecclés.*, LXI, 1966, pp. 5-43, 35-36, cf. H. Chadwick, *ibid.*, pp. 808-811.

111. E. Lucchesi, in *AnBoll*, 102, 3-4, 1984, pp. 394-396.

112. L. Bréhier, *Le Monde Byzantin, Les Institutions de l'Empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1970², pp. 272-273, 527.

113. M. Cary, *A History of Rome down to the Reign of Constantine*, London, 1957², pp. 80-81, 86-87, 523-526, 704-707, etc.; Delchaye, *Saints Militaires*, pp. 121-28, 136-37, etc.; *Three Military Treatises*, Text, Translation and Notes by G.T. Dennis, Dumbarton Oaks, CFHB Vol. XXV, 1985, pp. 76-77, 84-85, 138, 141, 200-203, 218-219, 250-256, espec. pp. 202-203: 'tagma: the basic unit of about three hundred soldiers'; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, Introduction, Edition, Translation and Commentary by J.F. Haldon, CFHB Vol. XXVIII, Wien, 1990, pp. 86-91, 123-129, 146-147, 164, 170, 171, 241 n. to pp. 120-121, and *passim* as in the Index A p. 313 s.v. τάγμα and Index B p. 337 s.v. tagma. For Roman precedents see also: K. Christ, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zu Konstantin*, München, 1988, pp. 112-115, 400, 415, 712-715; J.E. Karayannopoulos, 'Ιστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους, Α'. Γενική 'Ιστορία Πρωίμου Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους (324-565), Thessaloniki, 1978/1980, pp. 603, 627-628.

114. Kypr., pp. 97 ['in 318(!) or 325 A.D.'], 101, 347, 357, 389.