## CHAPTER I.

OF CODEX 13 AND THE CALABRO-SICILIAN SAINTS IN ITS MENOLOGY.

AT first sight it might seem as if there was not much further to be said with regard to the Paris representative of the Ferrar-group, beyond the elucidations which have been thrown upon its palaeography and its calendar by the Abbé Martin. But as this is, as far as I know, the first instance in which the treatment which is commonly bestowed on Latin Missals and Horae has been applied to Greek Gospels, and since the method applied to this one codex is capable of extension to other members of the group, it may be worth while to spend a little more time and attention on the points raised by the Abbé.

If the menology attached to a copy of the Gospels has a group of saints from some special locality, the Gospels are themselves localised; always bearing in mind that in these matters great saints do not count for as much as small ones, and that one swallow is not the conclusive harbinger of summer. Supposing, then, that a MS. has an overplus of Calabrian or Sicilian saints, we are entitled, if the menology is contemporary with the rest of the MS., to call it a Calabro-Sicilian MS.; and even if the menology should be later in date than the main body of the MS., we can still infer that the book has passed through Calabro-Sicilian hands.

In the case of Cod. 13, Martin gives the following South Italian features from the menology:

- a. S. Elias Σπηλιώτης
   β. S. Leo of Syracuse
   γ. S. Conus
   δ. S. Fantinus
   11 Sept.
   20 Feb.
   3 June.
   24 July.
- e. Translation of S. Fantinus 30 Aug.

Reviewing this list of festivals as a whole, we are able at once to say that they are sufficient to establish Calabrianism. Moreover one of the group is not a very bright star and is a star of recent appearance. He can, therefore, only have been honoured in his own locality.

We find from Ferrarius, De Sanctis Italiae, p. 170, the following allusion to S. Conus:

Conon, qui et Conus, monachus S. Basilii, Naxi seu Nasi in Sicilia honestis parentibus ortus, etc.

a Basilian monk, died in 1236.

S. Conon

saint.

Naxi, where the saint was born, is in the neighbourhood of Taormina (Taurominium), and the date of his death is given by Ferrarius as 1236.

From this we see (1) that the MS. cannot be as old as the twelfth century, as Scholz said; we must place it, with Gregory, in the thirteenth, and not very early in the thirteenth: (2) we are thrown amongst the Greek Basilian monks, either in the N.E. angle of Sicily or on the opposite mainland.

We pass on, in the next place, to discuss the case of S. Fantinus, for if S. Conon helps us to fix more accurately the date of the MS., Fantinus helps us to fix its geographical origin. It will be noticed that, in distinction from the other saints, S. Fantinus has two days assigned to him, one for his regular commemoration, probably the day of his death, the other for his translation. This second festival is almost meaningless, except for the community amongst whom S. Fantinus is buried or where he is held in peculiar honour. Can we determine where S. Fantinus lived and died, and whither his relics were removed?

Fantinus, a famous Basilian saint, Fantinus is the foremost of a group of S. Italian saints at a time when monachism was very much in vogue amongst the Greek population, something like, though on a lesser scale, the state of things which we find in the Thebaid. The principal members of the group are Fantinus, his brother Lucas, and their friends or immediate disciples Nilus, Bartolomaeus and Zacharias<sup>2</sup>.

Reference should also be made to Gaetani,

Vitae Sanct. Sicul. published at Palermo in 1657.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ferrarius is working from the Martyrology of Maurolycus of Syracuse, and from a MS. of the Church at Nasi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, IX. 174. Plurimos Calabria caelicolas tulit in quibus...con-

Their monastic head-quarters is a Basilian convent at Taurianum, Abbot of on the Italian coast not very far to the north of the strait of Messina. in Cala-Fantinus was the Abbot of this convent, which had formerly been bria. known as the convent of S. Mercurius. The town of Taurianum and presumably the convent in its neighbourhood were destroyed in an invasion of the Saracens, and apparently the monks fled, for a time, to some safer retreat further inland.

Although there are many ecclesiastical and monastic notices connecting Fantinus with Taurianum, I have not succeeded in finding an early testimony that he is buried there'. The suggestion arises that his body has been removed, or as the menology says, translated. And as we shall find several other cases of the translation of ecclesiastics and monks, belonging properly to Taurianum, to neighbouring towns, we are inclined to look to some one of

fessores ex ordine quidem divini Basilii viginti tres, Nilus scilicet abbas...Elias, Zacharias, Fantinus, Ioannes, Lucas, Georgius, Stephanus, Proculus, Bartholomaeus, Nicolaus.

Barrius, De Antiq. et situ Calabriae, lib. v. p. 1190. Haud dubium est multos alios Calabros viros divi Basilii monachos per ea tempora sanctitate floruisse, tantis ac talibus ducibus florentibus, utpote Phantino, Zacharia, Helia, Ioanne, Bartholomeo aliisque.

1 Barrius, De Antiq. et situ Calabriae, II. .

Inde est Parma [= Palmi] oppidum super mare cum oleo nobili, distat a Geolia millia passum sex: non longe est beati Phantini delubrum, olim beato Mercurio dicatum, divi Basilii monachorum monasterium.

I do not suppose that we can conclude from this notice that Fantinus is actually buried there.

Barrius is usually explicit on the question of relics. If he meant us to draw the conclusion that the "delubrum" was a shrine containing the relics, he would probably have said so directly.

Ferrarius, Catalogus novus sanctorum, p. 318, indicates the following festival:

Tauriani in Calabria, S. Fantini Abbatis. At first sight this looks like the festival of the translation of the saint: but a note which Ferrarius adds shows that he is not thinking of the translation; for he says,

Hic diversus esse videtur ab eo de quo in Martyrol. Rom. die 30 Aug. agitur. De hoc in Chron. Calab.

Here he argues that there must be two saints of the name of Fantinus, for there are two festivals. He is clearly wrong, as our Synaxarium shows, for the second festival is the translation of the saint honoured in the first. Ferrarius was not, however, consciously referring to a translation festival when he gave the notice above.

Or take an earlier writer, almost contemporary and collocal with Codex 13. Nilus Doxapatrius, writing his Notitia Patriarchatuum in 1143 A.D. to Roger, King of Sicily and Calabria, says:

ή δε Καλαβρία πάλιν ένα μητροπολίτην τον 'Ρηγίου' είχε δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκοπὰς ὑφ' έαυτήν, ήγουν την Ταυριάνην, δπου ό άγιος Φαντίνος [?+ έχει] τὸ Μοναστήριον, τὴν Βιβώνην ανθ' ής νθν το Μίλητον, την Κωνσταντίαν την καὶ Κουσεντίαν νῦν λεγομένην, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πάσας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Καλαβρίαν.

Observe that Nilus, writing at a time when the festival of the translation of Fantinus was certainly kept, does not say positively that Fantinus is buried at Taurianum.

these towns with their associated churches and monasteries as the place of his deposition. In order, however, to avoid hasty conclusions, we will go into the matter at some length, with the view of finding out all that can be known as to the origin and last restingplace of the saint.

First of all, Fantinus is a Greek saint; the conventional Greek view of him may perhaps be given from the modern Συναξαριστής of

Nicodemus Hagioreites1.

Έκ Καλαβρίας της εν Ἰταλία οὖτος καταγόμενος, ήτον υίὸς Γεωργίου καὶ Βρυαίνης, άφιερωθείς δὲ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν εξ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν τῶν βρεφικῶν σπαργάνων, ὅταν ἔφθασεν εἰς κατάλληλον ήλικίαν, εἰσήχθη εἰς Μοναστήριον, ἔνθα μετεχειρίζετο πᾶσαν ἀρετήν Ἐπειδή δὲ έγινεν ἐργάτης δόκιμος τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡξιώθη ἀποκαλύψεων. Ούτος διήλθε νήστις είκοσιν ολοκλήρους ημέρας, καὶ έμεινε γυμνὸς τέσσαρα έτη, καὶ πολλάς άλλας κακοπαθείας και κινδύνους υπέφερεν ο αοίδιμος, όταν οι Σαρακηνοί εἰσέβαλον ληστρικώς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, λεηλατοῦντες τοὺς τόπους αὐτῆς. 'Αφ' οῦ λοιπὸν έν τοιούτοις πειρασμοῖς διήνυσεν έξήκοντα έτη, παραλαβών υστερον τοὺς δύο μαθητάς του, Βιτάλιον και Νικήφορον, υπήγεν εις την Πελοπόννησον, διατρίψας δε εις την Κόρινθον πολύν χρόνον, έγινεν είς πολλούς πρόξενος σωτηρίας. Μετά ταῦτα μετέβη είς τὰς tems in πολυν χρονον, εγονονήσας τον έκει εθρισκόμενον τής Θεοτόκου ναόν, ανεχώρησεν είς or perhaps Αδήνας, και προσκυνήσας τον έκει εθρισκόμενον τής Θεοτόκου ναόν, ανεχώρησεν είς or perhaps την Λάρισσαν εκείθεν δε, αφ' ου προσέμεινεν αρκετον καιρον είς τον τάφον του άγιου 'Αχιλλίου επισκόπου Λαρίσσης, υπήγεν είς την Θεσσαλονίκην, καὶ ἀφ' οῦ ἀπήλαυσε καὶ κατετρύφησεν εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου ἐπὶ ἔτη ὀκτω, μεταχειριζόμενος τὸν συνήθη κανόνα τῆς ἐγκρατείας, τελειόνει τὴν ζωήν του μὲ γῆρας ἀγαθον, καὶ έκδημεί πρός ον ἐπόθησε Κύριον.

S. Fantinus exposed to perils at the hands

> The account is at once recognised as, in the main, conventional, S. Fantinus doing all the things proper for saints to do, and finishing up with a regular pilgrimage to all the famous Greek shrines. We suspect that none of this is history, nor are the names of his parents or disciples to be trusted. The Synaxaristes does not know when he was born, nor where, and is equally ignorant of his death and burial. What it does know is that he suffered in the Saracen invasion of Italy; this is history and almost sufficient to be chronology: for the time when the Saracens began to harry the Italian coasts can be determined with some closeness?

<sup>1</sup> Zacynthi, 1868 A.D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Cambridge Chronicle of Sicily (ed. Caruso) which runs from A.D. 827 to A.D. 964, furnishes a good many of the chronological landmarks for the assaults of the Moslems

on Sicily and Calabria. Here are some specimens for Sicily:

A.D. 827 the Moslems arrive in Sicily.

capture Messina. 831 " ,, Palermo. 832 "

We must turn to Italian writers if we are to get more definite information.

So far we have seen reason to believe that Fantinus is buried, either at Taurianum or in some not very distant church or monastery.

But when we begin to consult the Calabrian and Sicilian writers Is claimed we find a strife amongst them, some claiming Fantinus for Taurianum lycus for and some for Syracuse.

Barrius, in his third book, attacks Maurolycus, of Syracuse, for claiming Fantinus as a citizen of that city:

"Franc. Maurolycus in suo martyrologio divum Phantinum Taurianum sancti Basilii monachum, de quo dudum scripsimus, quasi Licinia et Mucia lege, ut Ciceronis verbis utar, repetit Syracusas, illiusque parentes martyrio vitam finisse blaterat."

The charge of inaccuracy is repeated again in c. 22,

"Beatum Phantinum, Calabrum hominem, quasi Iulia lege, repetit Syracusas."

Barrius is referring to Cicero, Brutus xvi. 63,

"Lysias est Atticus, quamquam Timaeus eum quasi Licinia et Mucia lege repetit Syracusas,"

a beautiful and apt quotation, which he may be forgiven for repeating. It is certainly too bad of the Syracusans to steal our saints, and they deserve to be belaboured with appropriate quotations from choice writers.

A.D. 845 the Moslems capture Motrica.

Leontini. 847 " " Ragusa. 848 " Castrum Ennae 859 " [Castrogiovanni].

Again in

Malta. 870 " in 872 are defeated at Salerno,

and in

878 capture Syracuse, after a terrible siege.

Raids into Calabria occur constantly throughout the earlier years of the tenth century.

From the same chronicle we learn that in A.D. 924 Saklab, whose name is Masud, came from Africa, and took S. Agatha.

A.D. 926 Hageb came to Oria, which he captured; that he made a truce with the Calabrians, taking Leo the bishop of Sicily and the prefect of Calabria as hostages.

In A.D. 929 we find Saklab raiding the territory of the Lombards, probably Beneventum by way of Bari, and taking many captives.

In A.D. 930 Saklab raids Calabria, captures the citadel of Termulah and takes 12,000 captives.

The destruction of the monastery of S. Mercurius appears to belong to the date 951 A.D., though it is open to question whether it may not be a century earlier.

"S. Fantinus conf. Syracusanus sub Const. Imperat, 24 Iulii apud oppidum Tabaritanum Calabriae obiit ex Cajetano,"

i.e. he quotes Cajetanus (Gaetani) as the authority for the statements that Fantinus is a Syracusan, and that he dies at Taurianum?. He continues:

the Syracusan origin being perhaps conceded num.

"Per tab. Syrac. narrat idem Cajet. in sua Idea fol. 90 se habere Petri Occidentis episc. narrationem de vita et miraculis S. Fantini transl. ex Graeco":

and here it seems as if a direct appeal had been made to the Greek in a lost Greek life, life of Fantinus in favour of the opinion that he was a Syracusan. by Peter of At least, the Syracusans say so. Have a care, O Calabrians, that your saints be not stolen! To steal a saint, it is flat burglary. Against this opinion Marafioti, in his Croniche di Calabria<sup>3</sup>, makes a vigorous protest:

> p. 55. "Scrisse questo Francesco Maurolico, che S. Fantini di Tauriano (città antica di Calabria ma hoggi distrutta, della quale ragionaremo nel fine di questo primo libro) fosse stato Siracusano, e ch' il padre Fanto e la madre Diodata fossero stati martiri. E non d'altra occasione si mosse, solo perche nel tempo della distruttione di Tauriano, il beato Fantino fuggendo la guerra (secondo alcune non certe opinioni) andò ad habitare in Siracusa. Mà io dico che si deve dare più

1 Reprinted in Graevius, Antig. Sic. Vol. II.

p. 575.
<sup>2</sup> Gaetani, Vit. Sanct. Sic. Vol. 1. pp. 160 sqq. is working from a Greek MS. in the monastery of S. Salvatore at Messina, attributed to Peter, Bishop of Taurianum. The bishop is reported as having seen with his own eyes a marvellous shipwreck of Moslem corsairs at the hands of S. Fantinus, who appeared miraculously for their destruction. As the tale is reported in Amari, Storia dei Musulmani, I. 230, the storm which Fantinus raised took place on the 14th July, which is, as the menologies show, the proper day for him to raise the wind. But why Amari should call him a thaumaturge of the fourth century, and label him Fantinus of Syracuse, does not appear, unless it be that having made two Fantinuses out of one, one of the pair has to be provided with a fresh chronology. Amari's report is as follows: "ci si

narra che san Fantino di Siracusa, taumaturgo del quarto secolo, vivuto da solitaria in Calabria, apparuè un di, ventiquattro luglio, tra i turbini e le folgori su la spiaggia di Seminara per affondare una nave musulmana venuta a corseggiare in quelle parti. E tal miracolo, di cui si dicono testimonii i Musulmani che camparono dal naufragio, va riferito ai tempi di Leone." Amari tries to prove that this storm occurred between A.D. 813 and 820: Fantinus was, as we suspect, of much later date than this, and à fortiori so was his ghost. Note that Gaetani's transcripts, in eight volumes, are preserved at the National Library, Palermo (see Martini, Manoscritti Greci, 1. 135). Amongst the pieces described as contained in these volumes, I do not see the life of Fantinus, though it may very well be there.

3 Padova, A.D. 1601.

fede à quelle legende de' Santi approbati della Santa Chiesa, quali continuamente si leggono da monaci dell' ordine di S. Basilio, nel recitare del loro uffizio, che non si devono credere le scritture di Maurolico, e se in quella legende si ritrova scritto, che S. Fantino è stato cittadino di Tauriano, per quel cagione egli lo scrive cittadino Siracusano? di ciò posso dare certezza vera, perchè, con gli occhi proprii, cosi ho veduto scritto, in un libro greco, degli uffizii di quelli predetti monaci, nel collegio del Salvatore di Messina, e l' istesso ho veduto in un altro libro d' uffizii, nel monasterio di San Bartolomeo, dell' istesso ordine, posto in un casale di Calabria detto S. Eufemia, nel territorio di Sinopoli. E nel martirologio antico d' Usuardo si leggono queste parole, Calabriae oppido Tabritano sancti Phantini confessoris."

The last quotation does not seem much to the point; Fantinus might surely be commemorated at Taurianum, and yet have been both born and buried in Syracuse.

Marafioti returns to the charge again on p. 73:

"In questa citta Tauriano è stato nativo cittadino S. Fantino monaco dell' ordine di S. Basilio, abbate del monasterio allhora detto S. Mercurio, ma hoggi chiamata la Chiesa dal suo nome S. Fantino, poco lontano da Parma. La vita di S. Fantino è stata scritta in lingua greca d' uno cittadino di Tauriano, ed hoggi si ritrova appresso i monaci di S. Basilio, in un libro di carta pergamena, nel monasterio di S. Bartolomeo, posto poco lontano da S. Eufemia, casale di Sinopoli, dal quale hauemo fatto ricordo poco inanzi."

So far, then, as our examination of the question has gone, there is a conflict of opinions as to whether S. Fantinus was born at Taurianum or at Syracuse; it is, however, certain that the greater part of his life was spent in the Basilian monastery at Taurianum; it is extremely likely that he died there, and the ultimate question will then be whether his relics are at Syracuse or in some church or monastery not far from Taurianum. Probably the best way to settle this point would be to examine the Greek life of Fantinus, of which there is almost sure to be a copy in the Library at Grotta Ferrata or at Messina.

But without exploring for the Greek life, we may perhaps decide the matter by a tradition which was current in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the year 1551, a visitation of the Basilian monasteries was made by order of Pope Julius the third. The visitors made a report of all the monasteries in Calabria, and they expressly state that they found the body of S. Fantinus in the monastery at Seminara<sup>1</sup> which bears his name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Seminara is close to Palmi (Parma) but a little more inland.

Die 27 Aprilis discessimus a Sancta Maria de Molochi et accessimus ad monasterium Sancti Heliae et Sancti Philareti de Siminara, distans a Siminara duobus millibus, et invenimus ibi priorem cum quinque monachis, et invenimus competenter ornatum.

Die 28 Aprilis discessimus a monasterio Sancti Heliae et Sancti Philareti, et accessimus ad monasterium Sancti Ioannis de Lauro, et invenimus ecclesiam quasi speluncam latronum et sine cultu divino, discoopertam, et domos dirutas, quia erat abbas dicti loci Ioannes Baptista de Cavaleriis canonicus basilicae Sancti Petri Romae, qui Romae morabatur.

Die predicto discessimus a monasterio Sancti Ioannis de Loro, et accessimus ad Abbatiam Sancti Phantini de Seminaria ubi invenimus corpus Sancti Phantini, sed ecclesiam destructam a Mauris vel Turcis, quia situm erat circa mare dictum monasterium.

There is a flavour of traditional information about the statement of the destruction of the Church of S. Fantinus by Moors or Turks, for this can only be a reminiscence of the raids made in Fantinus' own day; still, if we could trust the eyes of the commissioners, or rather the tradition as to the identity of the relics exhibited, we should have to allow that the bones of Fantinus were preserved in the monastery that bears his name<sup>2</sup>.

While we are discussing the question of the translation of the saint, it is well to keep in mind that translations of two of his companions are recorded. For example, we shall presently see that the body of S. Bartholomeo's was transferred to the island of Lipari, probably

S. Bartholomew removed to Lipari

<sup>1</sup> The complete text will be found in Batiffol, L'Abbaye de Rossano, p. 109, from the Paris MS. Lat. 13,081.

<sup>2</sup> There is, as Batiffol shows, another famous monastery of S. Fantinus at Bova: so that the centres of his praise are principally three, Seminara, Bova and Syracuse.

<sup>3</sup> It will be seen that we reject as a legendary accretion the statement that this is Bartholomew *the Apostle*.

It is stated by Amari that, as early as 838 the body of the Saint had been stolen by the Beneventans, who were threatened by the Moslems on the side of Brindisi. It seems to me that this is too early, and that if the

relics had really been removed, the cult of S. Bartholomew in Lipari would have ceased before the eleventh century. However, here is what Amari says: he is describing the conflicts between the Lombards of Benevento under Sicardo, and the Moslems who were raiding Brindisi. "Tra questa sconfitta e la morte, il tiranno beneventano ottenne singolar favore dal cielo, dicono i cronisti narrandoci tuttavia le orribilità sue: assassanii, stupri, tradimente, ruberie, carnificine. Avendo appreso che la superstizione potesse far ammenda dei delitti, Sicardo mandava a cercare per ogni luogo ossami di santi: spesso a rubarne; e n' avea raccolto un

because it is his native soil. We shall also see in the case of S. Elias and S. Speliotes, to which we shall presently refer, that his body lies in the Galatro. church at Galatro, which does not, however, claim to be his birthplace. On the other hand, there is a record that two bishops of Taurianum, George and John, both of whom appear to be Basilian saints, are buried in the church of S. Fantinus at Taurianum. The inference is that Fantinus is himself buried there, but, as we have pointed out, it is not quite a secure inference'.

It will, however, be admitted that the place of translation is located within a very moderate geographical radius, and hence we infer that Cod. 13, which belongs to some church or monastery celebrating the double festival of Fantinus, is also geographically located within narrow limits, which may be capable of still further contraction.

S. Elias Speliotes, who is also found in the menology of Cod. 13, is one of the same group of Basilian saints. He also was an Abbot of Taurianum, and over his birthplace also, there is a strife between Calabria and Sicily.

Ferrarius, De Sanctis Italiae, p. 588, speaks of him as follows:

"S. Helias, abbas apud Taurianum. Helias Ennae in Sicilia natus &c. Vitam S. Elias primum apud Taurianum urbem in Calabria excisam in monte prope Parmam Speliotes oppidum solitariam egit: postea, multis ad eum ob sanctitatis famam confluentibus, Enna seque ejus disciplinae committentibus, extructo monasterio...autoritate praefuit... corpus hoc tempore Galatri oppido proximo in ecclesia, quae de illius nomine Tauria-S. Helias vocatur, pie asservatur. Colitur autem non solum Bovae, ubi natus ab aliis num, is buried putatur, sed et Ennae et alibi."

and his cult is kept

The 'alibi' probably refers to Rhegium, where a Greek life of up at Ga him fixes his birthplace. The case is very similar to that of Fantinus. and Enna. Two of the saints in the menology of Cod. 13 are thus Basilian abbots of Taurianum. For the honour of having given birth to

tesoro, quando gli capitò alle mani una reliquia miracolissima, s' altra mai ne fu. Le nave longobarde che giravan le isole dando la caccia ai Saraceni, l' ottocente trentotto, approdate a Lipari, trovaron bello ed intero il corpo di San Bartolommeo, che chiuso in uno avel di marmo era venuto a galla a galla dalle foci del Gange alle isole Eolie; dove riconosciuto, e come no? ebbe culto e altari,

finchè i Musulmani non guastarono ogni cosa. In più lieve barca, viaggiarono le reliquie da Lipari a Salerno, onde poi furono tramutate a Benevento."

<sup>1</sup> Barrius, lib. III. c. 69, quoting Maurolycus, "in aede divi Phantini quae non procul a Parma oppido extat, sepultos ait esse Ioannem et Georgium Episcopos Taurianos."

According either of them, Sicily and Calabria contend. Marafioti, in his Croniche di Calabria, p. 155, has the following notice of S. Elias:

S. Elias was born but some say at Reggio: he was a monk of the conhe died at and is buried at

"In questa città [Bova] è stato nativo cittadino S. Elia abbate, monaco dell' ordine di S. Basilio, il quale fiorè nel tempo del beato Nilo.... Questo S. Elia portò l' origine sua da Reggio dall' antica cassata la bozzetta, e nel tempo ch' egli vivendo essercitava la vita monacale, dimorò molt' anni nel monasterio di S. Mercurio edificato in luogo poco lontano da Parma, la cui chiesa sta hoggi sotto 'l nome di S. Fantino abbate, come habbiamo detto nel primo libro. Soleva fare la sua vita solitaria 'l beato Elia sù l' altezze d' un monte vicino alla predetta habitatione Parma in una grotta chiamata allhora S. Michele Arcangiolo, ma hoggi dal nome del Santo è chiamata he lived as S. Elia'. Quivi era 'l santo spessissime volte visitato dal Beato Nilo suo coetaneo. Passo egli da questa vita nel monasterio posto in Melicoccà, dove insino ad hoggi dimorano i monaci del suo ordine, laqual chiesa è dedicata al suo nome, il suo santo corpo sta sepolto in Galatro nell' anticha chiesa del suo nome, laqual' anticamente Melicocca, era monasterio del predetto ordine di S. Basilio. La festività del detto glorioso santo si suole celebrare à gl' undici di Settembre.

> It will be seen that this notice dates S. Elias in the days of S. Nilus. The latter saint is a special friend of St Fantinus, from which it perhaps follows that Elias is either the predecessor or the successor of S. Fantinus in the monastery of Taurianum. At all events they were warm friends and close neighbours2.

> The last of the special saints mentioned by Martin from Cod. 13 is S. Leon of Syracuse, celebrated on Feb. 20. From the form of the statement, one might perhaps infer that the writer of the menology was not himself a Syracusan, but this would be too hasty a conclusion. He might be distinguishing him from some other Leo, or he might have appropriated the saint from some other place, which was better entitled than Syracuse to do him honour. This latter alternative appears to be defensible, for we find on examination that his right title is S. Leon of Catana.

singing the Psalms in Church with S. Fantinus. The notice suggests that Nilus succeeded Fantinus. It appears, further, that he had some difficulty in getting admission to the order: he first tried S. Maria in Patirio, which convent passed him on to S. Nazarius, from which place he found his way to S. Mercurius and to the cave of his election on the mountain side.

<sup>1</sup> The chapel of S. Elias is marked on the Italian Ordnance Maps.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Barrius, lib. v. 1154, describing the life of S. Nilus, says "ad coenobium beati Mercurii secessit monachalem habitum suscepturus in quo tum plerique sancti viri degebant, atque inter caeteros erant divini illi viri Phantinus, Zacharias et Lucas." He also tells (p. 1186) how he was cured of a wound inflicted on him by the devil, as he was

Thus the Synaxaristes from which we have previously quoted gives the following sketch of his life, with excellent legendary accretions, but at the same time with chronology and geography that can probably be tested, according to which the saint was born in According Ravenna, and flourished in the latter part of the ninth century'.

Ούτος ὁ άγιος ήτο κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ ἐν ἔτει ωπ5'. κατήγετο in the year δὲ ἐκ τῆς 'Ραβέννης πόλεως τῆς 'Ιταλίας, υίὸς γονέων εὐσεβῶν ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ εὐγενῶν. flourished δὲ ἐκ της Γαρεντης πολεως της Ιτακας, διήλθεν όλους τοὺς βαθμοὺς τῆς Ἱερωσύνης, S. Leo of Διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς ζωῆς του καθαρότητα, διήλθεν όλους τοὺς βαθμοὺς τῆς Ἱερωσύνης, Ravenna, γενόμενος αναγνώστης, υποδιάκονος, διάκονος καὶ πρεσβύτερος τελευταίον δὲ, με θεϊκήν ψηφον, έγινε και επίσκοπος της Μητροπόλεως Κατάνης, η δποία κείται κατά την περίφημον who beνήσον της Σικελίας, όπου ευρίσκεται και το βουνον της Αίτνης, το όποιον έξερεύγει φλόγας shop Meπυρὸς μέχρι της σήμερον. Ούτος λοιπὸν ὁ μακάριος, ως Λέων πεποιθώς κατὰ τὸ ονομά tropolitan του, καὶ ζήλον έχων διὰ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἔλαμψεν ώς φωστήρ εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ of Catana, μέρη, ἐπιμελούμενος τῶν ψυχῶν, τῶν χηρῶν ὧν προστάτης, τοὺς πτωχοὺς παρηγορῶν, τὸ σκότος τῆς πλάνης διώκων, καὶ διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς του κρημνίσας χαμαὶ εν εἰδωλικὸν destroyed άγαλμα. Οὖτος ἔκτισε καὶ ναὸν μεγαλώτατον εἰς τὸ ὅνομα τῆς καλλινίκου Μάρτυρος Λουκίας, his prayers της εκ Σικελίας, με εδικά του φιλοτεχνήματα, και κατέκαυσε τον μάγον και τερατοποιον and built a της εκ Δικελιας, με ευικα του φιλοτεχνημαία, και οδους τους έκει ευρισκομένους Χριστιανούς, church in Ήλιοδωρον. ἐπειδή γὰρ αὐτὸς δὲν ἔπανε μὲν ἐνοχλών ὅλους τους ἐκει ευρισκομένους Χριστιανούς, honour of τέρατα ποιών ψευδή και φαντασιώδη, υστερον δε επεχείρησε να φερθή και εναντίον τής του S. Lucy of Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας, τούτου ἔνεκα ὁ μακάριος οὖτος Λέων ἐκράτησε τὸν τερατοποιὸν ἐκείνον Palermo; διὰ τεχνασμάτων παντοίων, καὶ δέσας αὐτὸν μὲ τὸ ἰερὸν ἐπιτραχήλιόν του, διέταξε νὰ he cnαναφθή μεγάλη πυρκαϊά εν τῷ μέσφ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀφ' οῦ ὁ Αγιος εδημοσίευσε καὶ countered καθαρώς εἰς όλους τὴν ἐδικήν του μὲν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου son ol καθαρώς είς όλους την εδικήν του μεν ευσερείων και δεν μέσω της πυρκαϊάς, και δεν Μαρε, την δαιμονιώδη κακοτεχνίαν, εμβήκε μετά του 'Ηλιοδώρου εν μέσω της πυρκαϊάς, και δεν Μαρε, whom he εξήλθεν εξ αὐτῆς, εἰ μη ἀφ' οῦ κατεκάη τελείως ὁ ἄθλιος εκείνος καὶ δείλαιος.

Τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα ἐξέπληξεν ἄπαντας, διότι ὅχι μόνον ὁ Αγιος ἔμεινεν ἄφλεκτος ὑπὸ to a bonfire του πυρὸς, άλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς τὰ ἴερά του ἄμφια ήγγισε διόλου ή φωτία. "Οθεν ἐπειδὴ ή in the φήμη του τοιούτου θαύματος έφθασεν είς τὰ πέρατα του κόσμου, διὰ τουτο καὶ οἱ αὐτο- place, preκράτορες Λέων ὁ Σοφός καὶ Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υίος του, ακούσαντες, έστειλαν καὶ έφεραν τὸν serving himself by "Αγιον είς Κωσταντινούπολιν, και λαμβάνοντες τους ιερούς πόδας του, παρεκάλουν αυτύν the virtue νὰ δέηται τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Οὖτος ὁ Αγιος ὅχι μόνον ζῶν ἦτο μέγιστος εἰς τὰ of incomθαύματα, άλλα και αφ' οὐ ἀπέθανε και ἐνεταφιάσθη, ἐνήργει περισσότερα θαυμάσια.

Such is the story of S. Leon of Catana, and here we may say Mage himself, of again, in Ciceronian language, "Cod. 13 repetit S. Leonem Syra-world re-

"bishop of Sicily" is significant. We shall see that this means Catana, and that the chronicler concedes that this place is the religious metropolis. The Leo mentioned is the Leo of our Menology.

1 The date assigned must be too early, for we find in the Cambridge Chronicle of Sicily that in A.D. 926, Hageb came to Oria in Calabria and captured it, that he made a truce with the Calabrians and took Leo, the bishop of Sicily, as a hostage. The language

bustibility.

Nilus tells us' that, in his time, Sicily had only one metropolitan, viz. the bishop of Syracuse: εἶχε δὲ ἡ Σικελία πᾶσα ἔνα μητροπολίτην τὸν Συρακούσης. But he recognises that Catana was also the seat of an Archbishopric and explains it as follows:

p. 249. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Κατάνη, οὖσα τὸ παλαιὸν τοῦ [sc. ἐπισκόπου] Συρακούσης, ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὸν ἄγιον Λεόντιον [l. Λέοντα] τὸν ταύτης ἐπίσκοπον εἰς ἀρχιεπίσκοπον.

р. 259. Ή Κατάνη έπισκοπη ούσα Συρακούσης, τιμηθείσα δε δια τον άγιον Λέοντα.

From this it is easy to see that there has been a strife in the matter of ecclesiastical dignity between Catana and Syracuse. Hence also we see clearly that S. Leon is really S. Leon of Catana and not of Syracuse, and that our MS. (Cod. 13) is again suspect of ecclesiastical felony<sup>2</sup>. If this suspicion could in any way be confirmed, we should locate the MS. in one of the churches or monasteries of Syracuse<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Le Moyne, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> In confirmation I note that the Menology in Cod. Evv. 561 expressly says Catana, Feb. 20, τοῦ ἀγίου Λέοντος ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης, and that this is right appears also from the Greek life, preserved in Gaetani's transcripts at Palermo [Vol. VIII. = II. E. 15] where the heading is Bios καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης.

It is further confirmed by the heading of a hymn in honour of S. Leo, also preserved amongst Gaetani's papers [Vol. III. = II. E. 10], headed "Sancti Iosephi hymnographi in D. Leonem Epm. Catanensem hymnus."

In the same volume will be found again the Greek life of S. Leo, headed Βίος κτέ Κατάνης as above.

<sup>3</sup> In the time of Nilus Doxapatrius, the following bishoprics in Sicily, and five bishoprics in Calabria, were subject to Constantinople:

Ή Συρακοῦσα τῆς Σικελίας, ἔχουσα ἐπισκοπὰς κα΄ δν (α) ἡ Κατάνη, (β) ἡ Ταυρομίνη, (γ) ἡ Μεσήνα, (δ) τὰ Κεφαλούδη, (ε) τὰ Θερμά, (ε) Πάνορμον, (ξ) Λιλύβαιον, (η) Τρόκαλα, (θ) ᾿Ακράγας, (ι) Τυνδάριον, (ια) Καρίνη, (ιβ) Λεοντίνη, (ιγ) ϶ Αλεσις, (ιδ) Γαῦδος νῆσος, (ιε) Μελίτη νῆσος, ἡ λεγομένη Μάλτα, (ιε) Λίπαρις νῆσος, (ιζ) Βουρκάπος, (ιη) Δίδυμος, (ιθ) Οὐστένα, (κ) Ταίναρος, (κα) Βασιλούδη; while of Calabria he says:

'Η άγία Σεβερίνη της Καλαβρίας, έχουσα έπισκοπάς ε'.

We have now discussed the Calabrian elements in the menology of Cod. 13. The impression which the enquiry leaves on the mind is that the MS. is of Syracusan origin; but we have not been able to decide definitely between the neighbourhood of Syracuse and the neighbourhood of Taurianum, though the balance of opinion is perhaps in favour of a Syracusan origin.