

industry with the specific activities of traditional Greek musicians and promoters can we ever hope to learn the actual history of Greek music since the 1890s.

## The Religious Encounter Between Orthodox Christianity and Islam as Represented by the Neomartyrs and their Judges\*

NOMIKOS MICHAEL VAPORIS<sup>†</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

Contemporary historians of the history of the Orthodox Church identify Neomartyrs as those Orthodox Christian men, women, and teenagers of Albanian, Bulgarian, Georgian, Greek, Rumanian, Russian, Serbian, Syrian, and Ukrainian heritage who found themselves during the Muslim Ottoman hegemony (thirteenth to the twentieth century) in a situation which required them to choose between conversion to the Muslim faith to preserve their lives, or suffer torture

\*This preliminary study of the Neomartyrs, based almost exclusively on the hagiographical texts, is dedicated to friends and colleagues: Professor Evie Zachariades Holmberg, Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology; Professor Harry J. Psomiades of Queens College; The Very Reverend George Karahalios, Provost of Hellenic College and Holy Cross; The Very Reverend Professor Demetrios J. Constantelos of Stockton State College; The Very Reverend Father Constantine J. Raptis of Las Vegas, Nevada; The Very Reverend Father Iliia S. Katre, Pastor of St. John the Baptist, Las Vegas and Vicar General of the Albanian Diocese of the United States; The Very Reverend Anthony Tomaras and his Presbytera Dr. Sophronia Tomaras; and Professor Alexander and Gloria Avgis of Watertown, Mass. I am also grateful to Professors Speros Vryonis, Jr. and Harry J. Psomiades for their helpful comments.

<sup>†</sup>Father Vaporis fell asleep in the Lord while this paper was in an advanced stage of preparation. He did not personally review the final version.

and certain death if they persisted in remaining Orthodox Christians.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Neomartyrs are also considered those Muslims who were born into the Islamic faith and freely became Orthodox Christians,<sup>4</sup> as well as those Orthodox Christians who converted to Islam at one time, often under unusual and bizarre circumstances, but later changed their minds and hearts and returned to the Orthodox Church.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the *Lives* of the Neomartyrs were written by anonymous authors. Others were written by such men as Petros the Presbyter, Nicholas Malaxos, Anastasios Gordios, John Karyophyllis, Nikodemos Hagioretis, Nikephoros of Chios, Makarios Notaras, and by a few western clergymen and travelers who witnessed a few martyrdoms. In more recent times, some *Lives* were authored by John Perantomis, Gerasimos Mikrogiannites of the Holy Mountain, and a number of others less known scholars.

In addition to individual *Lives*, a number of collections also have appeared, the first being *Neon Martyrologion heioti martyria ton neophanon martyron ton meta ten halosin tes Konstantinoupoleos kata diaphorous kairous kai topous martyresanton* (Venice, 1794). The volume was collected and published by Saint Nikodemos the Hagioretes. Later Constantine Ch. Doukakis produced the twelve volume *Megas synaxaristes* (Athens, 1889-96). This series was followed by Vitkor Mathaios' *Ho megas synaxaristes* (12 vols. Athens, 1950). All three series have had more than one edition. John M. Perantomis, who sought to produce a new series of *Lives* in a more succinct form for the one hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Greece, has given us the *Lexikon neomartyron: Hoi martyres apo tes halosios tes Konstantinoupoleos mechri tes apeleutherosios tou donlou ethnos. Ekklesiastikaki ekdoses ethnikes ekatonpentekontaeteridos, Arith. 8, 9, 10* (Athens, 1972). This collection was written by him and was based on sound research. But in its presentation, the author erred on the side of brevity.

Nearly all the *Lives* cited above have been reprinted in a convenient volume published by Stylianos N. Kementzetzides as: *Our Holy and God-bearing Fathers Makarios of Corinth, Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain, Nikephoros of Chios, and Athanasios the Teacher, Synaxaristes Neomartyron: Ergon psychophelestaton kai sotierodestaton, periechon martyria 150 kai plion Neophanon Hagion Martyron tes Orthodoxou tou Christou Ekklesias mas ton eton 1400 eos 1900 meta Christon* (Thessalonike, 1984). All references, unless otherwise noted, are to this volume and are cited as *Synaxaristes*.

<sup>3</sup>They are Hodja (Hoca) Amiris in Jerusalem (1614), *Synaxaristes*, p. 750; Two anonymous dervishes from the island of Rhodes (1622), Ahmed the Muslim *defedar* from Constantinople (1682), *Synaxaristes*, p. 509; Alexander the dervish from Thessalonike (1794), *ibid.* pp. 547-52; and John the Muslim from Konisa, Vellias, Epeiros (1814), *ibid.* pp. 770-73.

<sup>2</sup>See below Appendix 1.

The latter two categories were also given the same choice by the Islamic authorities, return to the Muslim faith or, if they persisted as Orthodox Christians, suffer torture and execution.

#### HOW THEY DIED

It is interesting to note that the death devised by the Muslims for the Neomartyrs sometimes depended upon the disposition of the official who did the sentencing. The least painful of these deaths, it is surmised, was beheading, suffered by at least 92 Neomartyrs, followed by 50 who were hanged, 12 who were tortured to death, another 10 who were burned at the stake, 5 were thrown on iron spikes, 5 were literally cut to pieces while still alive, 4 were impaled, 3 were dismembered, 2 were stoned, 2 were beaten to death, 1 was stabbed to death, 1 was shot with firearms, 1 was drowned, 1 died from a blow to the head; and 1 was crucified by being nailed to a tree. In addition there were 16 Neomartyrs whose manner of death is not known to us.<sup>3</sup>

Of all the methods used to put the Neomartyrs to death, the most painful of all must have been impalement<sup>4</sup> primarily because of the length of time it took its victims to die. Fortunately the punishment was imposed on only four Neomartyrs: Malachias the son of a priest from the island of Rhodes (+1500), Archbishop Serapheim of Planarion and Neochorion (+1601), Deacon Avakum and Hegoumenos Pajsije who both suffered the same fate in Bosnia.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>See below Appendix 2.

<sup>4</sup>Impalement usually involved inserting a stake with a pointed end through the victim's anus, and slowly pounding it on its flat end until it came out in an opening just behind the neck, which was cut open to allow the pole to exit more easily. The idea was to avoid the vital organs of the body so that the victim remained alive. He was then stood up. Those suffering such a death usually lasted two or three days before dying. Sometimes, before the victim died, he was also placed in a fire and roasted like an animal. Being burned, butchered, and tortured to death must have been equally painful.

For a truly graphic description of execution by impalement, see Nobel prize author Ivo Andric's book *Bridge on the River Drina* (New York, 1959).

<sup>5</sup>For the Greek texts, see *Synaxaristes*, pp. 82 and 1185-91. For the Serbian source for the *Lives* of Avakum the deacon, Pajsije the hegoumenos, and Demijiti, Pajsije's brother, see Justin Popovic, *Zitija Svetih* (12 vols. Belgrade, 1972-1977) 12, pp. 478-94.

Most of the Neomartyrs suffered numerous tortures before and in between the three interrogations, mandated by Islamic law and imposed by a *kadi* (judge) and other judicial and administrative officials. In most instances, the interrogations were intended to convince the Orthodox Christian to become a Muslim or to return to Islam for those who had left it.

During torture the victims were often trampled by horses; had heated metal devices put on their heads; their feet put into excruciating stocks; many suffered the bastinado (the beating of the bottom of their feet which induced great shock to the nervous system); some were buried alive up to their necks; almost all were beaten at some time with rods and whips; some had parts of their bodies burned, others were partially skinned, in addition to numerous other tortures, all intended to inflict the most agonizing suffering and pain.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE NEOMARTYRS

Constantinople was the capital and most important city of the Ottoman Muslim Empire. As such it contained the largest Orthodox Christian population which was continuously augmented by a steady flow of immigrants from other parts of the empire because of the economic opportunities it provided and promised. Perhaps because of this, the honor of providing the largest number of Neomartyrs belonged to some of the less affluent areas of the empire.

The largest number of Neomartyrs, 98, originated in the areas of the empire known today as Greece, followed by 31 Neomartyrs who called Asia Minor home. Bulgaria followed next with 15, then Constantinople with 7, Wallachia with 7, European Turkey with 5, Bosnia 2, Egypt 2, Syria 5, Albania 2, Russia 2, Cyprus 2, Georgia 2, Serbia 2, and Ukraine 1. In addition there were 23 Neomartyrs whose origins are unknown to us.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE PLACES OF MARTYRDOM

When we examine the places where the Neomartyrs were martyred it is not surprising, given the origins of the Neomartyrs, that the largest number, 68, suffered death within the boundaries of what is present day Greece. Of the particular locations, the island of Chios led with 10, followed by Thessalonike with 9, and the island of Crete with 8.

<sup>6</sup>See Appendix 3 below.

Of the cities, however, Constantinople led all cities and towns with 54 martyrdoms. The reasons for this are due to the large Orthodox Christian population and the affluence of the capital city, and the presence of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, the two highest officials of the empire, who also exercised judicial responsibilities. Moreover, since the Ottoman Muslims believed that torture and the public execution of the Neomartyrs would discourage Orthodox Christians (it had the opposite effect) who had converted to the Muslim faith from returning to Orthodoxy, the number executed in Constantinople was important. Death in the imperial city, it was probably supposed, would have a greater overall impact since it was also the center of the Orthodox Christian world with the largest possible Orthodox Christian audience.

Asia Minor came next with 35, 12 of them in the city of Smyrna, another large Orthodox Christian and commercial center. European Turkey was the scene of 8 martyrdoms, Bulgaria 10, Syria 6, Egypt 3, Jerusalem 2, Bosnia 1, Serbia 2, Moldavia 1, Wallachia 1, Albania 1, and 12 whose place of martyrdom is not known.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE OCCUPATIONS AND VOCATIONS OF THE NEOMARTYRS

One of the major differences between the Neomartyrs and the Christian martyrs of previous centuries is the occupation of the former. As Nikodemos the Hagioreites pointed out in his introduction to his *New Martyrologion*,<sup>8</sup> the Neomartyrs were by and large men and women of humble station who possessed little or no formal education. Nikodemos uses this fact to stress to his contemporaries that any Orthodox Christian could consequently be a defender of the Orthodox Christian faith and therefore a Neomartyr.

The occupations and vocations exercised by the Neomartyrs were as follows: 2 were artists, 2 baker's assistants, 1 barber, 2 bartenders, 2 basket weavers, 3 boatmen, 1 bread seller, 1 builder, 1 cabinet maker, 1 camel attendant, 1 child, 4 clerks, 2 coppersmiths, 1 iconographer, 6 farmers, 1 fisherman, 2 furriers, 2 gardeners, 4 goldsmiths, 1 gro-

<sup>7</sup>See Appendix 4 below.

<sup>8</sup>See pp. 9-25. For an English translation, see N. M. Vaporiis, "The Price of Faith," which includes an English Translation of Nikodemos Hagioreites' "Introduction" to his "New Martyrologion," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 23 (1978), pp. 193-215.

cer, 1 horsegroom, 1 laborer, 5 maidens, 14 monks, 1 peddler, 4 sailors, 3 sandal makers, 5 servants, 2 shepherds, 2 shoemakers, 4 slaves, 2 soldier, 9 tailors, 2 tanners, 1 teenager, and 1 wife.

Those listed below, in all probability, possessed some education although we cannot be certain of the extent of this education in many cases. In any event, the Neomartyrs listed below pursued the following occupations and vocations: 2 were archbishops, 3 bishops, 1 chaplain, 2 community leaders, 1 *defthedar*, 2 dervishes, 16 merchants, 10 monastic priests, 3 metropolitans, 2 noblemen, 1 nun, 3 Patriarchs of Constantinople, 1 physician, 9 presbyters, 5 princes, 2 secretaries, 3 students, 1 son of a community leader, 9 tailors, 2 teachers, in addition there are 29 whose occupations are not known to us.<sup>9</sup>

#### MUSLIM AND ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN APOSTATES

*The Muslims.* Muslims who converted to Orthodox Christianity knew that by their change of faith they were giving up a very privileged and honored position in an Ottoman Muslim society. That is, among other things, more personal security, less taxation, better land to cultivate, and the acceptance of one's testimony in court. This also meant joining an element of society which was discriminated against and was at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. Moreover, apostasy meant death.

There are five recorded instances of Muslims converting to Orthodox Christianity and suffering a martyr's death because they would not return to Islam. The first is Hodja (Hoca) Amiris, the Muslim soldier who was martyred in Jerusalem where he was stationed in 1614. Hodja Amiris was attracted by the Easter services conducted at the Church of the Resurrection and as a consequence became an Orthodox Christian and paid for this conversion with his life.<sup>10</sup>

During the same century Ahmed, a Muslim *defthedar* in Constantinople was attracted to Orthodoxy because of his mistress, a Russian slave. Ahmed noted that after each time his mistress attended church services, she emitted an incredible fragrant aroma which when he asked the reason for this, she attributed it to eating *antidoron* (the bread distributed to the congregation at the end of the Divine Liturgy) and drinking *hagiasmos* (holy water). This drew him to the Patriarchal

Church of Saint George where he was greatly impressed by the Divine Liturgy celebrated by Patriarch Dionysios IV. In the end this led Ahmed to seek entrance to the Orthodox Church in the year 1682.<sup>11</sup>

In the eighteenth century the martyrdom of Anastasios the farmer from Paramythia, Epeiros (+1750) so impressed Mehmed Pasha's son, Musa, that he secretly visited Anastasios in prison and not only became friends with the Neomartyr but learned enough about Orthodox Christianity that he converted, taking the name of Demetrios. Later Musa-Demetrios became a monk and as such took the name Daniel. The desire for him to be martyred was great, but each time he was dissuaded from fulfilling his desire by other Orthodox Christians who feared the consequences that would follow for Orthodox Christians in general when it would be revealed that Musa was the son of a Muslim governor. The monk Musa-Demetrios-Daniel died in peace on the island of Corfu.<sup>12</sup>

The nineteenth century produced two Neomartyrs of Muslim descent: John the Muslim from Konisa, Vellas, Epeiros (+1814) and Constantine the Muslim from Mitylene (+1819).

John, who was of Muslim aristocracy and a son of a dervish and sheik from the town of Konisa, was affected by the war between the Ottoman Muslim forces and the Russians in the area of the Ionian Islands. He suddenly began acting like an Orthodox Christian. Later he received baptism and married an Orthodox Christian woman. When he was discovered he refused to return to Islam and was therefore beheaded.<sup>13</sup>

Constantine the Muslim from Mitylene (+1819) moved to and worked in Smyrna where he was attracted by the services and readings he heard at the cathedral church conducted by Archimandrite Kallinikos. Constantine later became a monk on Mount Athos where he decided to seek martyrdom. The later event took place in Constantinople.<sup>14</sup>

*The Christians.* Orthodox Christians who refused to apostatize were giving up the opportunity to attain the economic and social rewards

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. p. 509.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. pp. 158-63.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid. pp. 70-73.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid. pp. 584-96.

<sup>9</sup>See Appendix 6 below.

<sup>10</sup>*Synaxaristes*, p. 50.

that the Muslims enjoyed in addition to the many other privileges and comforts that an Islamic society provided for its own and withheld from non-Muslims. The testimony of Christians, for example, when challenged by Muslims was not accepted in Muslim courts, something obviously very important in general and in particular in the trials of Neomartyrs.

Although Islam does not ordinarily advocate forced conversions nor accept conversions not based on sincere conviction, these provisions were frequently ignored. Consequently we have converts to Islam who converted to avoid punishment: Hatzetheodore from the island of Mitylene (+1784),<sup>15</sup> Luke from the city of Adrianople (+1802),<sup>16</sup> and Mark from Smyrna 1801 who became involved with a Muslim woman and converted for this reason (+1801).<sup>17</sup>

Nikodemos from Vithkuqi, Korca, Albania (+1722) abandoned his Orthodox faith in order to marry a fourth time, his previous three wives having died.<sup>18</sup> Argyres the tailor, on the other hand, became a Muslim to get out of jail in 1806<sup>19</sup> as did George the seaman from Chios in the next year, 1807.<sup>20</sup> Hatzegeorge the sandal maker from

<sup>15</sup>Ibid. pp. 263-65.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid. pp. 385-405.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. pp. 597-618.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid. pp. 683-85; Nikodemos Hagioireites' published text lacks a number of very important details which appeared in another *Life* of Nikodemos the father, who was martyred in Berat, Albania in 722, and whose *Life* was written by the Albanian author Dhimiter Permeti over a half a century ago. According to Permeti, Nikodemos was from the village of Vithkuqi near Korca, not from Elbasan, and the reason for his apostasy was his inability to marry in the Church a fourth time. Moreover, his intended fourth wife was a Muslim which required his conversion if he were to be permitted to marry her. He did both and had all of his children, except for one, converted as well. One son was spirited away by Orthodox Christians to Mount Athos; Nikodemos, now a Muslim, followed to retrieve his son. Instead, he remained on the Holy Mountain and became a monk. Later he walked back to Berat to witness for Christ and was martyred. His martyrdom inspired three village elders (from three different villages) who had gone to Berat to become Muslims, to remain Orthodox Christians. See my forthcoming book, "Witnessing for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437-1860."

<sup>19</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 520-23.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid. pp. 164-71.

Philadelphia, Asia Minor in 1794,<sup>21</sup> and Prokopios the monk apostasized in 1810<sup>22</sup> in order to extricate themselves from some difficulty.

Constantine the servant (1800),<sup>23</sup> Demetrios the Arkadian (+1803),<sup>24</sup> Gedeon the priest from Kapourna, (+1818),<sup>25</sup> Athanasios the servant (+1819),<sup>26</sup> and Nektarios the camel attendant (+1820)<sup>27</sup> became Muslim when in the employ of Muslims, while Theodore, George, Manuel, and another George accepted Islam when they became prisoners of war and were enslaved in 1835.<sup>28</sup>

Demetrios (Metros) from the Peloponnese was converted while drunk (+1794)<sup>29</sup> as was Polydoros the merchant from Lefkosa, Cyprus (+1794)<sup>30</sup> and George from New Ephesos (+1801).<sup>31</sup>

Nicholas the baker's assistant from Metsovo, Epeiros was coerced into becoming a Muslim in 1617,<sup>32</sup> while Theophilos the sailor was forcibly circumcised in 1635<sup>33</sup> as was Lampros in 1835.<sup>34</sup> Markos the student (1643)<sup>35</sup> and George of Atraleia (1823)<sup>36</sup> became Muslims as children.

Angeles, Manuel, George and Nicholas from Crete were crypto-Christians, who revealed themselves as Orthodox Christians after an uprising in Crete which took place in conjunction with the Greek Revolution. They were martyred in 1824.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. pp. 83-85.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid. pp. 638-43

<sup>23</sup>Ibid. pp. 144-57.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid. pp. 447-63.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. pp. 195-211.

<sup>26</sup>See Richard Clogg, "A Little-known Orthodox Neo-Martyr, Athanasios of Smyrna (1819)," *Eastern Churches Review* (1975) pp. 28-36.

<sup>27</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 670-85.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid. pp. 424-30.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid. pp. 447-63.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid. pp. 51-60.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. pp. 419-24.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. pp. 531-33.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid. p. 687-88.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid. p. 649.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid. pp. 529-31.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid. pp. 631-38.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. pp. 104-07.

Prokopios the monk from Varma, Bulgaria (+1810),<sup>38</sup> Gerasimos the servant (+1812)<sup>39</sup> and Akakios the shoemaker (+1815)<sup>40</sup> converted because of the kindness on the part of Muslims. This was in contrast to Christophoros (+1818)<sup>41</sup> and Theodore the artist (+1795)<sup>42</sup> who were attracted by the material advantages that Islam offered.

One of the last Orthodox Christians on record among the Neomartyrs, John the teenager from Bulgaria, became a Muslim for reason that are unknown to us.<sup>43</sup>

The most unusual case was perhaps Timotheos-Triantaphyllos (1820) who became a Muslim to retrieve his wife who had run off and married a Muslim. As a Muslim the process of getting her back was much easier for him to accomplish. In the end he succeeded in being reunited with her.<sup>44</sup> He then provided for her and later went off to a monastery to prepare for his martyrdom.

#### SITUATIONS WHICH RESULTED IN MARTYRDOM

The vast majority of Neomartyrs, however, found themselves in a position brought on by a variety of circumstances and events where they had to either convert to the Muslim faith or refuse and stand as witnesses for their Orthodox Christian beliefs and die as a consequence. In these instances Orthodox Christians were actually being threatened with the loss of life, with no real attempt on the part of the Muslims to convince them of the truth of Islam. It would appear that the Muslims involved were more interested in numbers, relying on the pressures of a common element in Islamic society and the threat of death for converts to remain Muslims.

Yet the treatment of Orthodox Christians by the early Ottoman Muslims was quite tolerant and could have served as an example of true religious tolerance, especially as compared to the same period in Western Europe where the treatment of minority religious groups by the dominant element was quite different. The relative tolerance in

<sup>38</sup>Ibid. pp. 638-43.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid. pp. 649-56.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid. pp. 493-508.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid. p. 465.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid. pp. 303-22.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid. p. 340.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid. pp. 108-09.

the Ottoman Empire, however, began to decline and worsen as the failures of the Ottoman Muslims increased on the battlefield and the borders of the Empire began to gradually shrink.<sup>45</sup>

Military operations brought about the crucifixion of Ephraim the monastic monk in Attica (+1426),<sup>46</sup> while a similar occurrence led to the death of Raphael the presbyter from the island of Ithake, Nicholas the deacon, and the young maiden Irene on the island of Mitylene (+1463).<sup>47</sup>

The uprising of the Orthodox Christian Serbs in 1814 led to the execution of many innocent Serbs in Bosnia and ended in the martyrdoms of Pajsije the hegoumenos (iguman), his brother Dimitrije, and Avakum the deacon (+1814-15).<sup>48</sup>

Eleven Neomartyrs were martyred as a result of being accused of political activity against the Ottoman state: Archbishop Serapheim of Phanarion and Neochorion (+1601) was suspected of having participated in the revolutionary activities of Metropolitan Dionysios of Larissa,<sup>49</sup> Patriarch Parthenios III of Constantinople (+1657) was accused of conspiring with the Cossacks,<sup>50</sup> Archbishop Gabriel of Ipek

<sup>45</sup>For the decline of the Ottoman Empire, see Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (New York, 1973) pp. 41-52; idem, "The Ottoman Decline and its Effects upon the Regaya," in Hendrik Birbaum and Speros Vryonis, Jr. (eds.), *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change* (The Hague, 1972) pp. 338-54. See also the very illuminating study of Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14th-16th Centuries," *ibid.* pp. 151-76, especially pp. 162-72, and his basic and fundamental study, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971). See also the provocative study of Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, Volume 144 (Bloomington, 1983), especially his chapter entitled "The Tent of Osman, The House of Osman," pp. 1-50. Finally there is the newer study of Alan Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1992).

<sup>46</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 510-12.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 432-36.

<sup>48</sup>Justin Sp. Popovic, *Zitija Svetih* (12 vols. Belgrade, 1972-77), 12, pp. 475-94. I owe this life to the kindness of Fr. Alexander Vlakovič of St. Sava Serbian Church, Wakefield MA.

<sup>49</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 185-91.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 406-13.

(+1684) was maligned by a fellow Orthodox Christian bishop who aspired to Gabriel's see and accused him of conspiring against the Sultan;<sup>51</sup> Metropolitan Zacharias of Corinth (+1684) was thought to be in correspondence with the Venetians who were then at war with the Ottoman Muslims;<sup>52</sup> Michael Pakranas a gardener and fruit peddler was accused of transporting gun powder (+1771);<sup>53</sup> and Prince Constantine Brancoveanu of Wallachia (1714), who was also accused of conspiring against the Sultan and of not paying his tribute, saw his sons (Matthew, Radu, Constantine, Stefan, and Ivanche his counselor) put to death as an additional punishment because of his refusal to convert to Islam.<sup>54</sup>

Engaging in religious and social activity was not above suspicion as the following Orthodox Christians discovered: Metropolitan Arsenios of Verroia, who tried to bolster the spirit of his flock distraught because of the conditions following the Ottoman occupation (end of the fifteenth century);<sup>55</sup> Makarios the monk from the Vatopedi Monastery of Mount Athos (1527);<sup>56</sup> Damianos the monk (+1568);<sup>57</sup> Philothei the nun in Athens, whose crime was to establish institutions for the protection of Orthodox Christian women and to shelter Muslim ladies who fled their tyrannical husbands (+1589);<sup>58</sup> the monastic priest Kosmas Aitolos, the tireless preacher and evangelist, who spent nearly twenty years spreading the gospel of love over large parts of Albania, western Greece and the Greek islands (+1779);<sup>59</sup> Argyres from Thessalonike (+1806);<sup>60</sup> Demetrios from Samarina, Ioannina (+1808);<sup>61</sup> and Joseph the presbyter and teacher from Damascus, who

sustained his flock during the massacre of Orthodox Christians by Muslim Druzes in the city of Damascus (+1860).<sup>62</sup>

Accusations of various kinds resulted in a number of martyrdoms. Andreas Argentes from Chios (+1465)<sup>63</sup> was accused of having been a Muslim, as was Michael Mavroieides (end of the fifteenth century),<sup>64</sup> Kyriilos the tanner (+1566),<sup>65</sup> and Auxentios the furrier (+1720),<sup>66</sup> while Patriarch Gabriel II (+1659) was put to death on the false charge that he had baptized a Muslim.<sup>67</sup>

Ten others were accused of promising or wanting to become Muslims: John the tailor (+1526), Makarios the tailor (+1590), Theophilos the sailor (+1635), Nicholas Karamanos (+1657), Athanasios of Kios (+1670), Joseph of Aleppo (+1686), Theodore from the Dardanelles (+1690), Chrestos the gardener (+1748), Nicholas the builder from Karyais, Chios (+1754), and Demos the fisherman from Asia Minor (+1763).<sup>68</sup>

Others were accused of insulting Muhammad the prophet: Malachias the monk (+1500), Nicholas the peddler (1554), John the cabinet maker (+1575), and Iordanes,<sup>69</sup> while Gabriel (+1522) and his brother Kyrimidolos the secretaries (+1522) were accused of insulting and cursing Islam, as was Demetrios Tomaras (+1564), John Koulikas (+1564), John the apprentice tailor (+1652), and Gabriel the deacon (+1676).<sup>70</sup>

John the merchant (1492), George the goldsmith (1515), and Athanasios (1774) fell victims because of envy and because they engaged in religious discussions with Muslims.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>62</sup>Touma Bitar, "The Biography of the Hier martyr Joseph the Damascene," trans. Michel Najim, *The Forgotten Saints in the Tradition of Antioch* (n.p., 1995) pp. 507-18. I owe this life to the personal kindness of Fr. Michel Najim, Dean of St. Nicholas Cathedral, Los Angeles.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.* p. 563.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 347-55.

<sup>65</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 663-67.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 246-50.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 184-85.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 193-94; 85, 743-47; 687; 344-45; 686; 279; 695-700; 298-99; 109-18; and 44-47.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 82; 302-03; 333-34; and 272-72.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 98-101; 343; 430; 193-94; and 270-72.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 728-30.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 192-93.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.* p. 414.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 647-48.

<sup>54</sup>Texts from the Rumanian *Patiricon* were furnished to me by Fr. Nicholas Apostola of Worcester MA to whom I am indebted for this kindness.

<sup>55</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 747-49.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 62-63.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 300-01.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 322-32.

<sup>59</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 731-42 and N. M. Vaporiis, *Father Kosmas the Apostle of the Poor: The Life of St. Kosmas Aitolos Together with an English Translation of His Teaching and Letters*. The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources No. 4 (Brookline, 1977).

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 520-23.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 728-30.

Argyre (+1721), Kyranna (+1751), Ziata (+1795), Helen Bekiars (eighteenth century), all rejected the advances of male Muslims,<sup>72</sup> while Demetrios from Constantinople (+1802) and John from Bulgaria (1802) resisted the advances of Muslim females: and paid with their lives.<sup>73</sup> George from Cyprus (+1752) and Lazaros the shepherd from Bulgaria (+1802) were accused of molesting a Muslim lady.<sup>74</sup> Myron the tailor in Crete, on the other hand, was accused of molesting a young Muslim boy (1793).<sup>75</sup> Doukas the tailor (1564) together with John the Vlach (1662) proved to be too attractive to Muslim ladies who were rejected.<sup>76</sup>

Theodore the artist (+1795) and Demetrios of Philadelphia succumbed to the possibility and lure of wealth;<sup>77</sup> Damaskenos from Constantinople (+1795), and George the seaman (+1847) accepted the Muslim faith to avoid punishment only to repent later.<sup>78</sup>

Gyorgy, who was captured in an Ottoman military operation in Georgia and ended up in Mitylene, converted in his slave status (1770),<sup>79</sup> while Demetrios from Tripolis (1803) and George the horse groom (1838), because of their association with Muslims, also converted.<sup>80</sup>

Anastasios of Paramythia (1750) found himself in great difficulty because he tried to defend his sister from the sexual designs of a Muslim,<sup>81</sup> Apostolos (1686) and Stamatis the community leaders (1680) tried to protest excessive taxes,<sup>82</sup> while the sandal maker Hatzegeorge (1794) refused to pay an illegal fee,<sup>83</sup> and the anonymous servant from Crete (1811) was tried for killing his intended rapist.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 418-19; 335-38; 95-98; and 119-22.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 250 and 340.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 478 and 480-87.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.* p. 345.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 488-89 and 524-25.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 581-84.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 140-44 and 164-71.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 214-15.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 447-63 and 234-71.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 269-70.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 718-25 and 726-27.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 83-85.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.* p. 692.

Romanos the pilgrim (1694), Alexander the dervish (1794), Prokopios the monk from Yarna (1810), Angeles the physician (1813), and Euthymios the student (1814) stand out among the Neomartyrs because they voluntarily converted to the Muslim faith only to change their minds later.<sup>85</sup>

Theophanes the monk from Constantinople (1559), Anastasios the iconographer (1655), Nicholas from Karpenesi (1672), Athanasios of Attaleia (1700), and Michael Vourliotes (1772) were tricked into converting.<sup>86</sup>

The picture gets darker with Iakovos the shepherd (1520), Dionysios the monk (1520), and Iakovos the deacon (1520) who were betrayed by an Orthodox Christian bishop,<sup>87</sup> whereas John, Stamatis, and Nicholas the Albanian merchants from Spetses (1822) were betrayed by a fellow Orthodox Christian.<sup>88</sup>

Niketas the monastic priest was martyred voluntarily to atone for the crypto-Christianity of his parents (1809).<sup>89</sup>

Makarios the tailor of Kios, Asia Minor (1590), Nicholas the baker from Metsovo (1617), John the boatman from the island of Kos (1669), Pachomios the tanner from the Ukraine (1730), and Manuel the slave from Crete (1792) were simply forced to accept the Muslim faith.<sup>90</sup>

George the soldier from Sofia, Bulgaria (1437), Ioasaph the monk and disciple of Patriarch Nephon II (1536), Markos the student from Crete (1643), and Kyprianos the monk from Klentzos (1679) were martyred because they stood up and witnessed for Jesus Christ,<sup>91</sup> whereas Chrestos the boatman from Preveza (1668), Christodoulos the tailor from Valtza, Kassandra (1777), and Anastasios the presbyter from Ankyra (1743) came to the defense of Orthodoxy and paid with their lives.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 228-31; 547-52; 638-43; 173-74; and 356-85.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 618-19; 269-70; 74-79; 231-32; and 463-64.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 123-31.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 273-78.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 321-22.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 85; 743; 531-33; 431; 535-38; and 424-30.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 408-13; 103-04; and 657-91.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 700-703; 689-91; and 667-69.

## THE FOCUS OF THE NEOMARTYRS

Given the importance of the Theotokos and the Saints in Orthodox Christian services and hymnography, it is interesting to note that, of the 91 Neomartyrs who speak and/or pray in their *Lives*, only 13 – Philothei the nun (+1589), Archbishop Seraphim (+1601), Apostolos the bartender (+1686), Auxentios the furrier (+1720), Nicholas from Chios (+1720), John the Peloponnesian (+1773), Polydoros the merchant (+1794), Theodore the artist (+1795), Constantine from the island of Hydra (+1800), Demetrios from Chios (+1802), Demetrios the Peloponnesian (+1803), John from the island of Crete (+1811), and Ignatios the monk (+1814) – mention the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, and of these, three (Philothei, Nicholas from Chios, and John the Peloponnesian) also make references to the Saints. But only two cite the Saints alone: Helen of Sinope (eighteenth century) and Angeles the physician (+1813).<sup>93</sup>

All the other Neomartyrs, and they are 76 in number, focus exclusively on Jesus Christ as Lord, Savior, and God. Theologically speaking, of course, this makes eminent sense, since according to the Orthodox Christian faith it is the risen Lord, Jesus Christ, who grants life and entrance into the Kingdom.

## THE DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE NUMBER OF NEOMARTYRS

During the period of decline Muslim sacred law (*Sheriat*) was continuously transgressed by the Muslim judicial and administrative authorities. The *Sheriat*, for example, prescribed death only for the crime of treason<sup>94</sup> and not for the various charges brought against the vast majority of Neomartyrs, most notably that of apostasy, which according to many Muslim authorities did not automatically bring the death penalty.<sup>95</sup> Thus the decline in Ottoman Muslim society in general and the Ottoman state in particular explains in some measure the increased

numbers of Neomartyrs, whose numbers continued to increase greatly from one century to the next.

In the fifteenth century, for example, there were 12 Neomartyrs, in the sixteenth century there were 25, in the seventeenth century 41, in the eighteenth century 57, and in the shortened nineteenth century, by which time the vast majority of Orthodox Christian peoples in the Balkans had freed themselves from Ottoman rule, an incredible 66.<sup>96</sup>

These numbers, of course, are only relative, for all who have dealt with the question are unanimous in their belief that the number of Neomartyrs is far greater because many Neomartyrs left no record of their martyrdoms. In fact there are some Neomartyrs who are known to us by their name and very little else.<sup>97</sup>

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MARTYRS

The longevity of Muslim lordship over Orthodox Christianity by Seljuk and Ottoman Muslims, in some areas beginning in the eleventh century, could not but cause Orthodox Christians to feel inferior and their faith inadequate. As the Ottoman military victories increased many apostasies took place over the centuries; apostasies that increased with the passage of time and which were assisted in the later centuries by coercion, outright force and trickery, as the *Lives* of the Neomartyrs attest.

This is why Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite (of the Holy Mountain, 1748-1809), a prolific author and editor of a number of Orthodox Christian religious texts, and a great ascetic and spiritual figure in his own right, became one of the first compilers, authors, and publishers of the *Lives* of Neomartyrs. Nikodemos believed that the story of the Neomartyrs was important and should be known by all Orthodox Christians as an example for them and as an antidote to prevent apostasies to Islam.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>93</sup>See below Appendix 5

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 322-32; 185-91; 718-25; 246-50; 109-18; 101-03; 51-60; 303-21; 144-57; 252-63; 447-63; 64-66; 86-94; 119-22; and 173-84.

<sup>95</sup>On crimes punishable with death see Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V. I. Menage (Oxford, 1973) pp. 260-62.

<sup>96</sup>See Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islam: A Comprehensive Discussion of the Sources, Principles, and Practices of Islam* (Lahore, 1990), pp. 438-39

<sup>97</sup>Such Neomartyrs as Kosmas (+ circa 1453), Nikodemos the monk from Meteora (+1551), Athanasios the monastic priest (+1653), Paraskevas from Trebizond (+1659), George the tailor (+1693), Nicholas from the parish of Marnaron, Constantinople (+1732), Kosmas the monk from Hagia Anna (+1710), Nicholas the priest from Mitylene (+1771), Petros from Tripolis (+1776), Anastasios from Ankyra (+1777), the Anonymous presbyter in Antioch (+1820), Lampros in Makre (+1835), and Adrianos (+April 17).

<sup>98</sup>*New Martyrologion*, p. 10 and Vaporiis, "The Price of Faith," p. 194.

Nikodemos asked a fundamental question which he then proceeded to answer, "Why has God condescended for such [Neo]martyrs to appear at the present time?" He then went on to give five reasons why "God has permitted" the appearance of the Neomartyrs and why they were and continued to be in his day extremely important for the survival of Orthodox Christians: 1) for the renewal of the whole of the Orthodox faith; 2) so that those without faith might not have any defense on the day of Judgment; 3) so that [the Neomartyrs] might be the glory and pride of the Eastern Church and the censure and shame of the heterodox; 4) so that they [Neomartyrs] might serve as examples of patience for all of the Orthodox Christians who were being tyrannized under the heavy yoke of enslavement; and 5) and last, so that they [Neomartyrs] might stand as personifications of the sort of courage deserving of imitation in the deeds of all Christians who may be forced by similar circumstances to suffer martyrdom. But especially and particularly for those who have earlier come to deny the Orthodox faith.<sup>99</sup>

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RELICS OF THE NEOMARTYRS

The eagerness and enthusiasm of Orthodox Christians to acquire and even purchase from the Ottomans the relics of the Neomartyrs is one indication of the high regard they had for those who willingly suffered death rather than surrender their faith. The Muslims executed the Neomartyrs in public to serve as an example for those who might be thinking of becoming Orthodox Christians or reverting back to Orthodox Christianity, as the case might be. However, the public executions, I believe proved to have the opposite effect, as illustrated by the martyrdom of Gennadios who was martyred in Berat, Albania (+1722), and whose example of steadfastness to the faith in Jesus Christ prevented the Islamization of three Albanian community leaders, who were ready to commit themselves and their fellow villagers to Islam. In fact the inhabitants of the three villages have remained Orthodox Christians to the present day.<sup>100</sup>

This effect of public executions was also noted by some Muslim officials who tried to make it impossible for Orthodox Christians to

acquire relics. The martyrdoms therefore had an opposite effect on those who witnessed them. In fact, they gave courage to Orthodox Christians, for here was ample proof of the worth of Orthodoxy since there were men, women, and teenagers, from all walks and stations in life, who were willing and, in some cases, eager to demonstrate their loyalty to Jesus Christ by enthusiastically sacrificing their lives.

#### THE KNOWLEDGE OF ISLAM HELD BY THE NEOMARTYRS AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY AS REVEALED BY THE MUSLIM JUDICIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES

It goes without saying that much information concerning life in general and Orthodox Christian-Muslim relations in particular, in the Ottoman Empire, can be gleaned from a reading of the Lives of the Neomartyrs. In this part of the study the information that derives from the Lives can be divided into the following topics: 1) Muhammad and Islam as viewed by the Neomartyrs; 2) The Islamic view of Orthodox Christianity as expressed by the *kaids* (judges) and other Muslim religious and administrative officials; 3) The perception of Islam as expressed by the *kaids* and other Muslims of their own religion, Islam; and 4) Jesus Christ and Orthodox Christianity according to the views of the Neomartyrs.

The information for the above is derived almost exclusively from the statements, conversations, and dialogues that took place between the Neomartyrs and their interrogators during the trials and confrontations of the former with the various religious and administrative officials of the Ottoman Empire. To these are added contributions made by onlookers, Muslims and Christians, of the Neomartyrs' interrogations and martyrdoms which almost always were public.

It should be said at the outset that by and large the Neomartyrs, and in many instances their biographers, had a very limited and distorted view of the Muslim religion, which bore little resemblance to what Islam truly and normally advocated and taught as a religion. In addition, their own views of Muhammad the Prophet, as could be expected, was anything but respectful.

One must remember this was polemical "literature." Added to this is the fact that the Orthodox Christians in the Muslim Ottoman Empire were prohibited, for example, from attending a mosque, reading the Koran, or studying Islam in general, unless they wished to convert. One wonders, for example, where Orthodox Christians could

<sup>99</sup>Ibid. pp. 194-206; *New Martyrologion*, pp. 10-18.

<sup>100</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 683-85. See my forthcoming book, "Witnesses for Christ: The Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437-1860."

have derived an accurate picture and understanding of the Muslim religion. We have only to recall the *Life of Neomartyr Nicholas the grocer* from Karpnesi, Greece (+1672), who was tricked into reciting the Muslim *salibati*, considered a declaration and a commitment of faith by his Muslim language teacher who had plotted with other Muslims to bring about Nicholas' conversion to Islam.

By inserting the *salibati* in his Turkish language lesson, which was read by the unsuspecting Nicholas, the Muslims present accused him of voluntarily professing the Islamic faith. This example alone tells us how dangerous it was for Christians to be caught reading, if they could read Turkish or Arabic material concerning the Muslim faith, or even to be heard saying anything, even positive, concerning Islam. In Nicholas' case he was taken before the Kadi and told that he had a choice to make, either to accept conversion to Islam or die. Nicholas choose to die rather than give up his faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>101</sup>

What knowledge Christians had concerning Islam they probably derived from observing their Muslim neighbors, overhearing them in conversation, if they understood Turkish, or if the Muslims spoke Greek. Some knowledge of Islam was acquired by those few Orthodox Christians who had access to a Byzantine reservoir of literature which began assembling information concerning Islam beginning in the eighth century when Bishop Peter of Mainura (+743) was martyred because he condemned Islam publicly and called Muhammad "a false prophet" and the "forerunner of the anti-Christ,"<sup>102</sup> and from Saint John of Damascus (c. 652-c. 754) who was employed by Muslims in an administrative capacity and wrote his *Fount of Knowledge*, one part of which deals with heresies and reviews Islam in chapter 101 of the third part of his work.<sup>103</sup>

Ignorance also characterizes the Muslims with whom the Neomartyrs came in contact with concerning their views of Orthodox Christianity. But of course, being the dominant religious as well as the dominant social and political group they felt no need to learn much about Orthodoxy or Christianity in general. Thus it can be safely said that both Muslims and Christians held very superficial, inaccurate, and distorted views of each other's religion and, not surprisingly be-

cause of the general level of education, as well as of their own. It should be emphasized that, with rare exceptions, there was no real desire on the part of either side to learn anything substantive about the other's religion. What the vast majority of Neomartyrs, as well as Orthodox people in general knew, we must assume they learned from fleeting observations and casual conversations.

#### MUHAMMAD AND ISLAM AS VIEWED BY THE NEOMARTYRS

*Muhammad*. It is from the *Life of George*, an Orthodox Christian soldier from Bulgaria, who was martyred in 1437, and George the goldsmith from Kratovo, Bulgaria (+1515) that we have our first information from the Neomartyrs concerning Muhammad. According to George the soldier from Sofia, Muhammad, considered by the Muslims to be *The Apostle, The Messenger*, and *The last Prophet of God*, was no true prophet but a simple mortal man who did not know even the smallest part of the truth.<sup>104</sup> The Neomartyrs in general, as well as all other Orthodox Christians who thought about such matters, considered John the Baptist to be the last true prophet after whom there could not be any other prophets with any new revelation. It was with Jesus Christ that divine revelation became complete and final.

Muhammad's claim to be a prophet could not be substantiated, the Neomartyrs contended, because no other prophets prophesied about him as they did of Jesus Christ. Neither did Muhammad perform any miracles or perform any signs. This of course precluded him from being considered a saint and therefore it is impossible for his followers to become saints, which should be the goal of all people. Moreover, there is no proof that God spoke to Muhammad since there were no witnesses as there were, for example, in the case of Moses to whom God spoke before many witnesses, nor can anyone verify that Muhammad received the Koran from God while asleep.<sup>105</sup>

In the next century John the cabinet maker (+1669) saw Mohammad as a mortal man, an illiterate person who never did any good in this world nor did he perform any miracles in his time like other prophets. Muhammad, in fact, was a creation of his followers,<sup>106</sup> while Michael the bread seller from Granitsa, Greece (1547) dismissed him as a

<sup>101</sup>Ibid. and *Synaxaristes*, p. 75.

<sup>102</sup>See Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam. "The Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden, 1972).

<sup>103</sup>*Synaxaristes*, pp. 409-10.

<sup>104</sup>See *Life of George* from Kratovo, *ibid.*, pp. 289-90, 293.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 333.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 351.

prophet since he came after Jesus Christ.<sup>107</sup> This belief is shared by Anastasios and Demetrios the basket weavers (1816).<sup>108</sup>

According to Neomartyr Iakovos, a shepherd from a village near Kastoria, who was martyred in 1520,<sup>109</sup> and John the cabinet maker (+1575), Muhammad was an enemy of Christ, of God, and of the Orthodox Christian faith, and with his mythologies and make believe, he appeared acceptable to the simple and inexperienced people who followed him.<sup>110</sup> John the tailor, who came from the city of Ioannina and was martyred in Constantinople in 1526, considered Muhammad an illiterate fashioner of myths who was also an enemy of Christ. Therefore Muhammad was detested by all Christians as was his faith. In fact it was only Muhammad's word that there were prophecies about him. On the contrary he came to deceive the world.<sup>111</sup> This view was also shared by Gabriel the deacon who was martyred in 1677,<sup>112</sup> Akakios the monk who was martyred in 1815, and Dimitrii from Sliven, Bulgaria (+1841), who proclaimed, "Your faith was not given by God but by a simple man named Muhammad [whereas] our Orthodox Christian religion was given to us directly by God through Jesus Christ."<sup>113</sup>

Dimitrii goes on to say, "Your prophet is false because he neither talked to God, nor did he suffer for the salvation of humanity as our Lord Jesus Christ did. In one word, you are all unbelievers and sons of Satan. But I am an Orthodox Christian, and I am ready to bear everything you can do to me."<sup>114</sup>

Constantine the servant from the island of Hydra (+1800), joined by Luke the assistant clerk (+1802) and Paul the sandal maker (+1818)<sup>115</sup> added that Muhammad was a liar and a deceiver,<sup>116</sup> while Ignatios the monk from the Rila Monastery in Bulgaria (+1814) believed that Muhammad was a friend of the devil<sup>117</sup> and an apostate of

<sup>107</sup>Ibid. p. 715.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid. p. 128.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid. pp. 333-34.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid. p. 468.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid. p. 271.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid. p. 494.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid. p. 150; *ibid.* pp. 543-44.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid. p. 91.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid. p. 702.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid. p. 501.

God whose teaching was satanic and whose followers were destined for hell.

Chrestos the boatman from Preveza (+1668) went even further and called Muhammad the Beast of the Apocalypse (see Revelation, chapter 13) and the Forerunner of the anti-Christ,<sup>118</sup> a view shared by Akakios (1815),<sup>119</sup> while Euthymios the student (+1814) was convinced that Muhammad was the anti-Christ.<sup>120</sup>

In his reply to the Kadi who invited him to become a Muslim, Ignatios the Bulgarian monk, cited above, replied, "Your false prophet Muhammad is a teacher of perdition, a friend of the devil, and an apostate of God. His teaching is satanic and you unprofitable servants believed in him and are destined for hell unless you believe in Christ the true God."<sup>121</sup>

On the other hand, no one has saddened God as much as Muhammad, according to Iakovos the shepherd (1520). This he believed, held true for all those who placed their hope in Muhammad.<sup>122</sup> In fact, Constantine the servant (+1800) told the Kadi, who was interrogating him, that all who followed Muhammad were adulterers and homosexuals and whoever believed and followed him became like him."<sup>123</sup>

*Islam.* The religion that Muhammad introduced is any easy religion which loves everything that is material and of the flesh; it is a religion handed down to a naive people who had no knowledge of the doctrine of faith (George the Serb, +1515).<sup>124</sup> This view is shared by John the cabinet maker, (+1575),<sup>125</sup> who added that Islam was directed toward inexperienced people.

That Islam was a false religion was, of course, something all Neomartyrs believed, but it was Makarios of Kios from Bithynia, Asia Minor (+1590),<sup>126</sup> joined by Chrestos the boatman from Preveza,

<sup>118</sup>Ibid. p. 375.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid. p. 91.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid. p. 128.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid. p. 152.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid. pp. 287-90.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid. pp. 333-34.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid. p. 744.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid. p. 746.

Greece (+1668) who articulated this belief when the latter asked the Mulla who was interrogating him, "What good does your faith have when it is deception, false, myth, error, and filled with every kind of filth? What sensible person believes in such a faith?"<sup>127</sup>

John the tailor (+1527), John the cabinet maker (+1660), Joseph of Aleppo (+1686), with Alexander the dervish (1794), and Constantine from the island of Hydra (+1800) believed that Islam was simple myth and darkness.<sup>128</sup>

The Islamic paradise, according to George the Serb (+1515) was of a material nature, of the flesh, and offered sexual rewards instead of spiritual ones. Hence the people who followed it were people of the flesh and not of the spirit. In general Muslims lived a life of fornication for which they did not repent.<sup>129</sup> Joseph of Aleppo (+1686) agreed that Islam was a very materialistic faith, and added that it boiled down to eating and drinking, which was gluttony, and ended up in debauchery.<sup>130</sup>

According to Nicholas the grocer (+1672), the gifts and honors offered by the Muslim to induce conversion were dust and shadows, whereas Christ's gifts were inexhaustible and good because they belonged to the eternal kingdom and had unfading glory.<sup>131</sup> On the other hand Islam's offer of rewards, honors, and glory were all perishable and useless, and were lost together with those who sought them, according to Neomartyr Stamatios from a village near Volos (+1680).<sup>132</sup> Michael Mavroieides (1547) believed Islam was darkness in contrast to Orthodox Christianity which was light; Islam was falsehood, while Orthodox Christianity was truth. As far as Theodore from the Dardanelles (+1690) and George from New Ephesos, Asia Minor (+1797) were concerned, Islam was filth,<sup>133</sup> while Gedeon (+1818), who at an early age was abducted by Muslims and forcibly converted, thought Islam appeared attractive on the surface, like a silver tobacco box, while in reality it was black and evil on the inside.<sup>134</sup> Moreover,

he considered Islam to be darkness, while Christianity was light. Islam was falsehood, Christianity was truth. Islam meant money and fleeting glory, while the Christians looked forward to the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>135</sup>

Alexander the dervish (+1794), who had been converted to Islam and remained a Muslim for many years and received an Islamic education, repented and returned to Orthodoxy, responded to his interrogator with the following, "I have gone to your Mecca and have examined all of your faith and I have understood that everything about it is false and abominable."<sup>136</sup>

Nektarios the camel attendant (+1820) described the Muslim faith as "nonsense, filthy, false, deceptive, and vile."<sup>137</sup>

Circumcision, the symbol of the acceptance of Islam was an abominable sign, a badge that made entrance into heaven impossible according to Akakios the shoemaker (+1815),<sup>138</sup> while three years later Gedeon described it as the seal of Satan.<sup>139</sup>

A number of Neomartyrs such as Michael the coppersmith (+1764), Makarios the tailor from Kios (+1590), Hatzetheodore from Mitylene (+1784), and Hatzegeorge the saddle maker from Philadelphia, Asia Minor (+1772) characterized Islam as lead or copper as opposed to Christianity which was pure gold.<sup>140</sup> Michael Vourliotes the coppersmith, from Vourola, Asia Minor (+1772), said to his interrogator, "Take back the lead which you gave me for the gold, that is, your religion, and I will take back my gold, which I gave you, that is the faith of my parents."<sup>141</sup>

Paul the sandal maker from Sopoto, Kalavryta (+1818) told the Kadi, "I was a young boy who had a valuable vessel [Orthodoxy] studded with precious stones. A liar [a Muslim] deceived me and being a foolish child, he took it from me and in its place he gave me another, a counterfeit one [Islam]."<sup>142</sup>

<sup>127</sup>Ibid. pp. 333-34; *ibid.* p. 279; *ibid.* p. 549; *ibid.* p. 149.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid. p. 287.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid. p. 279.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid. pp. 76-77.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid. p. 727.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid. p. 697; *ibid.* p. 421.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid. p. 201

<sup>134</sup>Ibid.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid. p. 550.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid. pp. 676, 677, 678.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid. p. 501.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid. p. 678.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid. p. 464; *ibid.* pp. 263-64; *ibid.* p. 84.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid. p. 464.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid. p. 543.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid. p. 84.

Hatzigeorge from Philadelphia, Asia Minor (+1794)<sup>143</sup> also agreed Islam was a counterfeit religion, while Akylina the maiden from Zagliveri, Thessalonike (+1764)<sup>144</sup> believed Muslims stunk while still alive. Theodore the artist from Neochorion Constantinople (+1795), on the other hand, saw Muslims as servants of the Devil and playthings of demons under whose authority and will they became subject.<sup>145</sup>

For Michael the bread seller from Granitsa (+1547), Islam was darkness, while Orthodoxy was truth.<sup>146</sup> Nicholas the Grocer from Karpenesi, Greece, who was martyred in Constantinople (+1672), saw Islam as dust and shadows, while Orthodoxy was unfading glory.<sup>147</sup> Both Michael the bread seller and Gerasimos, also from Karpenesi (+1812), also saw Islam as darkness and falsehood.<sup>148</sup> Alexander the Dervish (+1794), had similar thoughts concerning Islam. He said to the Mulla who was interrogating him, "I realized the value of my former faith which I lost, while your faith, as I have come to know it, is darkness. So I have come before you to confess that I have made a mistake by denying the light and accepting the darkness."<sup>149</sup>

When it came to Muslim officials, Constantine the Muslim from the island of Mitylene (+1819) and a convert to Orthodox Christianity from Islam, believed that they were "truly tyrants, wild animals, and not rational human beings."<sup>150</sup>

#### ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY AS VIEWED BY MUSLIMS

The views on Orthodoxy were expressed in the main by the kadis, mullas, muftis and high administrative officials who were involved in the interrogation of the Neomartyrs. However, not very many officials expressed their opinions concerning Christianity despite the fact that Orthodox Christians and Christian Armenians made up a substantial portion of the population of the Ottoman Muslim Empire.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid. p. 81.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid. p. 303.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid. p. 353.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid. p. 78.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid. p. 653.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid. p. 549.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid. p. 593.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid. p. 593.

It is with the interrogation by the Mufti of George the Goldsmith from Kratovo, who was martyred in Sofia, Bulgaria (+1515), that we have some idea of what a number of Muslims thought of Orthodoxy. The Mufti inquired about beliefs of Orthodox Christianity and added, "Young man, if you would abandon your miserable religion, unacceptable as it is to all in the world and come to ours, which is a good and easy religion, you would gain much glory and honor, and become an heir to much wealth."<sup>151</sup> George, of course, rejected the Mufti's offer and instead expressed the truth of the Orthodox Christian faith as he knew it. The Mufti in turn expressed his love of Jesus Christ and said he honored Him. He also acknowledged that Christ was born of a virgin and of the Holy Spirit, without human intervention, and that He would return to the world on the last day. Moreover whoever did not believe in Him would be damned." So the Kadi asked rhetorically, what was wrong with Orthodox Christians honoring Muhammad and keeping his laws, for Muhammad held the keys of Paradise.<sup>152</sup>

But it was Michael the bread seller from Granitsa in the Agrapha area of Greece (+1547) from whom we learn more of what the Muslims thought of the Orthodox Christian faith, encompassed in the questions the Kadi asked Michael. "Since you are not educated," the Kadi said, "how is it that you can say that Christ the man is true God and the Creator of all? And indeed as you [Orthodox Christians] say, that He suffered the passion and was crucified and was buried?"<sup>153</sup>

The Kadi then asked what Orthodox Christians believed concerning the Virgin Mary, that is, "Mary who gave birth to Jesus," Michael answered, "because she gave birth to Jesus Christ, who was perfect God and perfect man, we name her with the greatest name, declaring her to be true Theotokos [birth giver of God]."<sup>154</sup>

The Kadi then asked a question that went to the heart of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation: "Is it possible for God to be contained in a womb and be born?"

To this Michael replied, "All that is impossible and difficult for me is possible and easy for God. And whenever God wishes, the order of

<sup>151</sup>Ibid. p. 593.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid. p. 286; *ibid.* p. 151; *ibid.* p. 593.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid. p. 239.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid. p. 349.

nature can be overcome. This is why we believe that the Uncontainable was contained and was born in time as a man."<sup>155</sup>

#### ISLAM AS VIEWED BY THE MUSLIMS

Perhaps it was the interest of the reporters or eyewitnesses of the martyrdoms, or the unwillingness on the part of the kadis and mullas to discuss Muslim theology and try in this way to persuade Orthodox Christians as to the truth of Islam that we have very little exposition of the Muslim faith on the part of the Muslim participants in the drama of the martyrdoms of the Neomartyrs.

"God has entrusted Muhammad with the keys of the Kingdom," according to the Kadi who questioned George the Serb,<sup>156</sup> while the Mulla in Kios, Asia Minor instructed Makarios from the same city, that the fruit of Islam was "the Kingdom we have, the glory, the power, and the wealth."<sup>157</sup> Moreover, the Mulla asserted that if the Muslim faith were not good, God would not have given all the above to them, an argument brought forward by the Ottoman Muslims as early as the fourteenth century. The Christians, however, contended that Muslim success was due to the sins of Christians and not to the truth of Islam. Makarios, however, was unimpressed by the Mullas arguments and argued that his assertions were all transitory, while the Kingdom of God was eternal. Equally unimpressed was Gedeon the worker from Kapourna, Demetrias (1818) when the same claim was made by the Kadi, who said to him, "Do you see what beautiful things we Muslims have?"<sup>158</sup>

Archbishop Gabriel of Ipek, Serbia replied in a similar fashion when he is offered high office, honors, and joy. "I am ready," said the Archbishop, "with the power of my Christ to undergo thousands of tortures and to die for His love, not once but a hundred times if possible. As for the honors and whatever else you promise me, keep them for yourself."<sup>159</sup>

In most instances, the Neomartyrs were being tempted by Muslim officials with honors, offices, rewards of various kinds, and especially

riches. This certainly was the case even with the Kadi in the instance of George the Serb, when the former insisted that Islam was better than Christianity and this translated into rewards and honors.

Muslims wore white and bright clothing to be separate from the Orthodox Christians who were forced to wear black clothing, which was contemptible, while being a Muslim allowed one to enjoy the world. And with money, all Orthodox Christians would look up to him, honor and venerate him, Constantine the servant from the island of Hydra (+1800) was assured by the pasha who was interrogating him.<sup>160</sup>

In order to entice Apostolos, from the village of Hagios Lavrentios, Pelion, Greece (+1686), to join Islam, a Kadi in Constantinople offered what he believed was the best Muslim attraction: many wives, honors, and riches.<sup>161</sup>

One must admit that this was a very poor representation of Islam, if in truth it was represented as such, and was on the lowest and most superficial level.

#### JESUS CHRIST AND ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY AS VIEWED BY THE NEOMARTYRS

Rejecting Islam as "darkness" as opposed to Orthodox Christianity which is "true light," Luke the assistant clerk (+1802) proclaimed, "I believe and worship a true God, my Lord Jesus Christ who will come to judge all the world, the living and the dead, and who will render to each according to his works. If you do not believe in Him as I do, you will all be damned."<sup>162</sup>

The Neomartyrs spoke of Jesus Christ as Lord, Master, and true God, perfect, blameless, Savior, Author, Creator, faith, and love who holds the keys of the Kingdom.<sup>163</sup> Some Neomartyrs become rather theological as did Michael (+1547) who confessed "There is one God, three Persons, and the three Persons are again one God. God therefore has the Word and Spirit, and they are not without hypostases, as we humans are except that He [Jesus Christ] is perfect as is proper with God."<sup>164</sup>

<sup>155</sup>Ibid. p. 351.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid. p. 293.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid. p. 745.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid. p. 201.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid. p. 192.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid. p. 286.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid. p. 149.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid. p. 723.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid. p. 397.

According to Euthymios the student (+1814), "Jesus Christ was true God who became man for the salvation of all people. He will come again to judge all people and to render to each according to their works! [Moreover] there is only one true faith, that of the Orthodox Christians and one God with three hypostases, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one undivided nature of divinity in whose name I was baptized and became a son of God by grace. How then can I [Euthymios asks] believe in your false prophet, Muhammad the anti-Christ?"<sup>165</sup>

"Mark from the island of Crete (+1643) worships and venerates Jesus Christ as true God<sup>166</sup> while for Anastasios the artist (+1655) Jesus Christ was his Creator and Savior.<sup>167</sup> Jesus Christ was the Maker and Savior and would judge the living and the dead and give each according to his deeds declared Nicholas Karamanos (+1657) to the Kadi who urged him to accept the Muslim faith.<sup>168</sup>

Demetrios of Philadelphia (+1657) insisted that Jesus Christ was the King of Kings and was taught this truth by the Holy Spirit,<sup>169</sup> while Akylina the maiden (1714) declared to her father who had become a Muslim to get out of trouble and was now pressuring her to follow in his footsteps, "Am I of so little faith as you are to deny my Author and Creator, the Lord Jesus Christ who suffered the Cross and death? May this never happen to me. am prepared to suffer every torture, even death for the love of my Christ."

Angeles the goldsmith (+1680) said to the Kadi who questioned him, "My Christ died for me, so is it a great thing if I should die for his love? I will by necessity die, today, tomorrow, or after that. Hence it is better to die for my Christ today and enjoy His heavenly Kingdom."<sup>170</sup>

Angeles was visited by his wife in prison to urge him to take pity on her and the family and get himself released by converting to Islam and not to persist in remaining an Orthodox Christian. They needed him at home, she reminded him, which was for her far more important than maintaining his Orthodoxy. To his wife's pleadings Angeles replied,

<sup>165</sup>Ibid. pp. 349-50.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid. p. 375.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid. p. 603.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid. p. 269.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid. p. 344.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid. p. 582.

Woman, above all let Christ be sufficient for you and me. Today I surrender you and your children to Him. I await with joy this tyrannical death. You too, woman, should accept my loss for Christ's sake, so that on His dreadful and glorious appearance we will see each other and rejoice. What good could come of our temporary reunion and life from which in a short while we shall be separated again? What profit will come to us from the pleasures of this world, and perchance damage our souls, for which the entire world is not worthy (cf. Matthew 16.36)? I go as soon as possible to my desired God and shortly you too will be coming to enjoy with me eternal blessedness."<sup>171</sup>

Zlata (Chryse) the Bulgarian maiden, who found herself in trouble because she refused a Muslim suitor and was martyred in 1795, confessed to her tormentors,

I believe in my Christ and only Him do I worship and acknowledge as my bridegroom. I will not deny Him ever even if you were to inflict upon me countless tortures, or cut up my body into small pieces.

To this Zlata's mother said to her,

Dearest daughter, take pity on yourself and on us your parents and on your sisters. We are in danger of being destroyed because of you. Deny Christ for the sake of appearances so you can save yourself and us. Christ is compassionate and He will forgive you this sin committed by necessity and due to force.<sup>172</sup>

Zlata, however, remained adamant, for her love for Jesus Christ was stronger than her love for her parents and sisters. To the pleas of her family that she fake conversion to Islam, she replied,

You, who urge me to deny Christ the true God, are no longer my parents and my sisters. Nor do I wish to consider you as such in the future. In your place I have my Lord Jesus Christ as my father, the Lady Theotokos as my mother, and the Saints as my sisters.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>171</sup>Ibid. p. 80.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid. p. 49.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid. p. 95.

When offered wealth, many wives, and other enticements to become a Muslim, Anastasios and Demetrios the basket weavers responded that as Orthodox Christians the holy and pure faith of the Savior Jesus Christ prohibited them from accepting such gifts, gifts that the Koran allowed.

Some 126 years earlier Theodore from the Dardanelles also rejected the riches and rewards Islam offered and said to those making these offers, "I don't need your riches, your marriage, or your cure [they had offered to cure him of his ailment when he became ill] because Christ whom we Orthodox Christians worship is omnipotent and can cure me as can the Virgin Mary. His most holy mother, who grant me health when they consider it beneficial to my soul."<sup>174</sup>

For John the merchant from Trebizond (+1492), John the tailor (+1526), Mark the monk (+1527), Michael from Granita (+1547), Anastasios the artist (+1653), Nicholas Karamanos (+1657), Chrestos the boatman (+1668), Jesus Christ is the Son of God and/or the Savior who brings true knowledge of God to the entire world.<sup>175</sup>

Finally, George the horse groom, the patron saint of the city of Ioannina, Epeiros (+1838), summed up what many Neomartyrs believed, thought and declared, "Orthodoxy is brighter than the sun, and I die as an Orthodox Christian! What could be better?"<sup>176</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

There is little doubt that the public execution of the Neomartyrs and their public heroic endurance of the many tortures inflicted upon them, which became widely known to other Orthodox Christians, contributed greatly to the buttressing of the Orthodox Christian faith of the various Orthodox Christian people living in Ottoman Muslim society.

Undoubtedly because the Neomartyrs on the whole represented the common Orthodox people, their relics, so dear to Orthodox Christians because of the common belief that they were vehicles of divine grace and contributed to miraculous cures, also enhanced the faith of many.

Nikodemos Hagioresites' book the *New Martyrologion* was an attempt to rally Orthodox Christians, in the face of forced and voluntary

<sup>174</sup>Ibid.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid. p. 696.

conversions to Islam, to preserve and maintain their Orthodox faith before all obstacles and hindrances, and if confronted in a situation where a choice had to be made, to persist, despite everything and anything that might be inflicted upon them and remain true to Jesus Christ.

In addition, martyrdom was also a confirmation and a validation of the Orthodox faith since so many ordinary men and women were willing to die for the faith all over the Ottoman Muslim Empire. In this Nektarios the camel attendant, who was martyred in Vryoulla Asia Minor in 1820, was typical of many Neomartyrs when he replied to his interrogators the "love of Jesus Christ allows me to accept all tortments with joy."<sup>177</sup> As for martyrdom itself, the bottom line for many Neomartyrs seems to have been encapsulated in what many are represented as saying, "I was born an Orthodox Christian and I will die an Orthodox Christian."<sup>178</sup>

Finally, it must be stated that except for the Albanians and the Greeks of several Aegean Islands, the latter protected for centuries by Latin powers, *only* those people who remained Orthodox Christians preserved their distinct cultures and were able to identify themselves later as Bulgarians, Greeks, Rumanians, and Serbians. Hence if there are people today who consider themselves to be Greeks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Serbians it is because their ancestors remained Orthodox Christians despite the pressures to convert and all the advantages they could have enjoyed over a period of four to seven centuries. Those who did convert from among the above people, consider themselves to be Turks and or Muslims to the present day.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid.

<sup>178</sup>See below Appendix 7.

## APPENDIX 1 – THE APOSTATES:

Nicholas from Ioannina, forcibly circumcised (+1555); Theophanes the monk, tricked (+1559); Nicholas the baker's assistant from Metsovo, Epeiros, under pressure (+1617); Markos the student from Crete, as a child (+1643); Anastasios the artist from Nauplion, under mental stress (+1655); Nicholas Karamanos, to avoid "a scandal" (+1657); Demetrios the son of a priest from Philadelphia, Asia Minor, attracted by Muslim rewards (+1657); John the boatman from Kos, when mentally ill (+1669); Damaskenos the young man, to escape punishment (+1681); Elias the barber from Kalamata, on a dare (+1686); Nikodemos the father from Albania, to marry a fourth time (+1722); Niketas the teenager from Nisyros, due to father's conversion (+1732); Konstantios the Russian Embassy chaplain, dissatisfied with superior (+1743); Elias the son of a priest from Trebizond, Asia Minor, due to torture (+1749); Gyorgy (Zorzes) the slave from Georgia, because of slavery (+1770); Michael Vourliotes the copper-smith from Vourla, Asia Minor, tricked by employer (+1772); Zacharias the furrier from Arta, Greece, for unknown reasons (+1782); Hatzitheodore the father from Mitylene, to escape punishment (+1784); John the teenager from Bulgaria, for unknown reasons (+1784); Manuel the slave from Crete, forced (+1792); Metros (Mustafa) the vali from the Peloponnesos, forced as a child (+1794); Polydoros the merchant from Lefkosa, Cyprus, while drunk (+1794); Hatzitheodore the sandal maker from Philadelphia, Asia Minor, to avoid taxes (+1794); Theodore the artist from Neochori, Constantinople, attracted by the wealth of the imperial palace where he worked (+1795); and John the tile maker from Sloven, Bulgaria, to save his life (+1822).

## APPENDIX 2 – HOW THEY DIED

## BEHEADED

Andreas Argentes from Chios (1465); John the merchant from Trebizond (1492); Michael Mavroides from Adrianople (last quarter of the fifteenth century); Metropolitan Arsenios of Verroia (end of the fifteenth century); Gabriel the secretary from Egypt (1522); John the tailor from Ioannina (1526); Makarios the monk in Thessalonike (1527); Ioasaph the monk in Constantinople (1536); Demetrios Tomaras (1564); John the cabinet maker from Constantinople (1575); Makarios the tailor from Kios (1590); Markos the student from Crete (1643); Jordanes the copper-smith from Trebizond, Asia Minor (1650); John the apprentice tailor from Thasos (1652); Athanasios the community leader from Kios (1670); Nicholas the grocery clerk from Karpenesi, (1672); Gabriel the deacon from Alloni, Prokonnesos (1676); Kyprianos the priest from Klentzos, Agrapha (1679); Triantaphyllos the sailor from Magnesia, Asia Minor (1680); Stamatios the community leader from Hagios Georgios, Demetrias (1680); Angeles the goldsmith from Constantinople (1680); Damaskenos the monk from Constantinople (1681); Paul the Russian slave (1683); Metropolitan Zacharias of Corinth, Peloponnesos (1684); Joseph of Aleppo, Syria (1686); Apostolos the bartender in Constantinople (1686); Romanos the pilgrim from Solovak, Karpenesi (1794); Romanos the priest from Dementitza (1695); Athanasios of Atraleia, Asia Minor (1700); Prince Constantine Brancoveanu of Wallachia (1714), Constantine Brancoveanu the Young of Wallachia (1714), Stefan Brancoveanu of Wallachia (1714), Radu Brancoveanu of Wallachia (1714), Matthew Brancoveanu of Wallachia (1714); Iavanche the counselor of the prince of Wallachia (1714); Auxentios the furrier from Vellas, Ioannina (1720); Nikodemos from Korra, Albania (1722); Savvas Nigdeles from Nigdi, Asia Minor (1726); Pachomios the Ukrainian, in Usaki, Asia Minor (1730); Niketas the teenager from Nisyros, (1732); Konstantios the Russian embassy chaplain (1743); Anastasios the priest from Saint Vlasios, Ioannina 1743; Chrestos the gardener from Albania (1748); Anastasios the farmer from Paramythia, Epeiros (1750); Nicholas the builder from Karyais, Chios (1754); Demos the fisherman from Uzum Kiopru, Adrianople

(1763); Michael Paknamas the gardener from Athens (1771); Michael Vourliotes the coppersmith from Vourla, Asia Minor (1772); Anthony the laborer from Athens (1774); Demetrios the bartender from Constantinople (1784); John the teenager from Bulgaria (1784); Manuel the slave from Crete (1792) Alexander the dervish from Thessalonike (1794); Metros (Demetrios) the governor from the Peloponnesos (1794); Hatzigeorge the sandal maker from Philadelpia, Asia Minor (1794); George the priest from Neapolis, Asia Minor (1797); Helen Bekiaries (eighteenth century); George the father from New Ephesos, Asia Minor (1801); Markos from Smyrna (1801); Demetrios the merchant from Chios (1802); John the goldsmith from Bulgaria (1802); Zacharias the monastic priest from Prousa, Asia Minor (1802); John the Shoemaker from Thessalonike (1802); Demetrios from Arkadia, Peloponnesos (1803); Hilarion the clerk from Crete (1804); George the seaman from Kydonies, Chios (1807); Prokopios the monk from Varna (1810); Gerasimos the servant from Megalo Chorio, Karpenesi (1812); Angeles the physician from Argos, Peloponnesos (1813); Euthymios the student from Demetsana (1814); John the Muslim from Konitsa, Epeiros (1814); Akakios the shoemaker and monk from Neochori, Thessalonike (1815); Onuphrios the monastic monk from Gabrovo, Bulgaria (1818); Gennadios the monastic monk from Dionysiou (1818) Christophoros from Adrianople (1818); Agathangelos the sailor and monk from Ainos, Thrace (1818); George Laskaris the teacher from Rapsane, Larissa (1818); Paul the sandal maker from Sopoto, Kalavryta (1818); Athanasios the boatman (1819); Nektarios the camel attendant from Vryoulla, Asia Minor (1820); Timotheos the husband from Paraora, Thrace (1820); John the Albanian merchant from Spetses (1822); Stamatis the Albanian merchant from Spetses (1822); Nicholas the Albanian merchant from Spetses (1822); Angeles the Crypto-Christian from Melampes, Crete (1824); Manuel the Crypto-Christian from Melampes, Crete (1824); George the Crypto-Christian from Melampes, Crete (1824); Nicholas the Crypto-Christian from Melampes, Crete; Panagiotis the servant (1839); Dimitrii from Sliven, Bulgaria (1841); and George the son of a priest from Alikiano, Kydonia, Crete (1867).

#### HANGED

Takovos the deacon in Adrianople (1520); Dionysios the monk in Adrianople (1520); George from Sofia, Bulgaria (1534); the Anonymous

Fiancée from Constantinople (end of sixteenth century); Two Anonymous dervishes from Rhodes (1622); Symeon the goldsmith from Trebizond, Asia Minor (1653); Nicholas the Karaman from Smyrna, Asia Minor (1657); Patriarch Parthenios III of Constantinople, (1657); Paraskevas from Trebizond, Asia Minor (1659); Patriarch Gabriel II of Constantinople (1659); Archbishop Gabriel of Ipek, Serbia (1659); John the Rumanian nobleman (1662); Ahmed the Muslim (1682); Bishop Simeon (Symeon) of Somokov, Bulgaria (1737); Elias the priest from Trebizond (1749); Gyorgy (Zorzes) the slave (1770); Damaskenos the monastic monk from Gabrovo, Bulgaria (1771); Athanasios the student from Koliokkia, Thessalonike (1774); Petros from Tripolis, Peloponnesos (1776); Christodoulos the tailor Valta, Kassandra (1777); Kosmas Aitolos the monk Mega Dendro (1779); Hatzitheodore the father from Mytilene, (1784); The Three Anonymous Neomartyrs from the Peloponnesos (1786); Myron the tailor from Megalo Kastro, Crete (1793); Polydoros the merchant from Cyprus (1794); Theodore the artist from Neochorion, Constantinople (1795); Constantine the servant from Hydra, (1800); Luke the assistant clerk from Adrianople, 1802; Lazaros the shepherd from Gabrovo, Bulgaria, (1802); Argyres the tailor from Apranome, Macedonia (1806); Niketas the monastic monk from Epeiros (1809); An Anonymous servant from Crete, (1811); John the farmer from New Ephesos, (1811); David the Monk from Aivaii (1814); Ignatios the monk from Rila Monastery, Bulgaria (1814); Anastasios the basket weaver in Kasampa, Asia Minor (1816); Demetrios the basket weaver in Kasampa, Asia Minor (1816); Constantine the Muslim from Mytilene (1819); Joseph the iconographer from Dionysiou Monastery (1819); Patriarch Gregorios V of Constantinople (1821); George from Attaleia (1823); Solomon the presbyter from Antioch (1820); the Anonymous companion of Solomon from Antioch (1820); John the tile maker from Sloven, Bulgaria (1822); George from Attaleia (1823); Theodore from Samothrake (1835); George from Samothrake (1823); and George the groom in Ioannina, 1838.

#### TORTURED TO DEATH

Nicholas the deacon in Mytilene, (1463); Raphael the priest in Mytilene (1463); Nimat the Young from Bakhaa, Antioch (1471);\* Iakovos the shepherd and monk from Kastoria (1520); Kyrimidoles the secretary from Egypt (1522) Philothei the nun from Athens (1590);

Argyre the faithful wife in Prousa, Asia, Minor (1721); Kyranna the maiden from Avyssoska, Thessalonike (1751; Akylina the maiden from Zagliveri, Thrace (1764); Zachariis the furrier from Arta (1782); Spas (Anastasios) the clerk from Rodovisi, Bulgaria (1794); Nicholas the shepherd from Yia Yia Kyo, Asia Minor (1796); and Demetrios the monk from Samarina, Pindos (1808).

## BURNED

George the soldier from Sofia, Bulgaria (1437); Michael from Granitsa, Agrapha (1547); Nicholas the peddler from Ichthys, Corinth (1554); Kyrrillos the tanner Pelagonia, Asia Minor (1566); Damianos from Myrichovo, Agrapha (1568); Nicholas the baker's assistant from Metsovo, Epeiros (1617); Theophilos the sailor from Zakynthos (1635); Chrestos the boatman from Preveza, (1668); John the boatman, from Kos (1669); and Elias the barber from Kalamata (1686).

## THROWN ON IRON SPIKES

Doukas the tailor from Mytilene (1559); John Koulikas (1564); Theophanes the monk in Constantinople (1564); Doukas the tailor (1564); Manuel from Samothrake, (1835); George from Samothrake (1835).

## CUT TO PIECES

Anastasios the artist, from Nauplion, Peloponnesos (1655); George the consulate employee from Cyprus (1752); Zlata (Chryse) the young maiden from Muglena, Bulgaria (1795); (1752); Michael of Samothrake, (1835); Joseph the presbyter of Damascus, Syria (1860).

## STABBED TO DEATH

John the teenager from Geraki, Momenbasia (1773).

## SHOT WITH FIREARMS

Maria Methymopoulos from Crete (1826).

## DISMEMBERED

Irene the Youngster from Mytilene (1463); Demetrios the son of a priest from Philadelphia, Asia Minor, 1657; and Geideon the worker from Kapourna, Demetrias (1818).

## IMPALED

Malachias the son of a priest from the island of Rhodes, (1500) and Archbishop Seraphim of Phanaion and Neochorion (1601); Avakum the deacon (1814-1815); and Pajsije the hegoumenos (1814-1815).

## STONED TO DEATH

Nicholas the Bulgarian from Ioannina (1555); and Bishop Vissarion of Smolen (1670).

## DROWNED

Athanasios the slave (1846).

## BLOW TO THE HEAD

George from Sofia, Bulgaria (1515).

## BEATEN TO DEATH

Metropolitan Anthimos of Wallachia (1716).

## CRUCIFIED

Ephraim the monastic priest from Attica (1426).

## MANNER UNKNOWN

Kosmas the monk, c. 1453; Petros the priest (c. 1453); Nikodemos the monk from Meteora, (1511); Hodja Amiris the soldier in Jerusalem (1614); Avvakoum in Thessalonike (1628); Athanasios the monastic monk from Sparta, Asia Minor (1653); George the tailor from Mytilene (1693); Nicholas from the parish of Marmaron, Constantinople, (1732); Kosmas the monk from Hagia Anna Monastery (1760); Panagiotis the son of a Jew from Caesaria, Cappadocia, (1765); Nicholas the priest Mytilene (1771); Anastasios from Ankyra (Ankara), Asia Minor (1777); Bishop Methodios of Melampes, Crete, (1793); Dimitrije in Belgrade (1814-1815); Lampros in Makre (1835); and Adrian (???)

## APPENDIX 3 – THE ORIGIN OF THE NEOMARTYRS

## GREECE

Ephraim the monastic priest, Attica (+1426); Raphael the Priest, Ithake (+1463); Irene the maiden, Thessalonike (+1463); Nicholas the priest in Mitylene (+1463); Andreas Argentes from Chios (+1465); Malachias the Son of a Priest (+1500); Iakovos the Shepherd (+1520); John the tailor, Ioannina (+1526); Michael the breadseller, Granitza (+1547); Nicholas the peddler, Ichthys, Corinth (+1554); Doukas the tailor, Mitylene (+1564); Damianos the monk, Myriochovo, Agrappa (+1568); Philothei the nun, Athens (+1589); Archbishop Serapheim, Bizoula, Agrappa (+1601); an Anonymous Dervish from Rhodes (+1622); Nicholas from Meisovo, Meisovo (+1627); Theophilos the Sailor, Zakynthos (+1635); Makarios, Crete (1643); John the Apprentice Tailor from Marious, Thasos (+1652); Anastasios the artist, Nauplion (+1655); Patriarch Parthenios III of Constantinople, Mitylene (+1657); Chrestos the Boatman, Kos (1668); John the boatman, Kos (+1669); Nicholas the grocer, Karpenezi (+1672); Kyprianos, Klientzos, Agrappa (+1679); Triantaphyllos the Sailor, Zagoras, Volos (+1680); Stamatiot, Hagios Georgios, Demetrias (+1680); Elias the Barber, Kalamata (+1686); Apostolos, Hagios Lavrentios, Pelion (+1686); George, Plomari, Mitylene (+1693); Romanos the pilgrim, Solovak, Karpenezi (+1694); Romanos, Dementitza, Lakaidemonia (+1695); Auxentios the furrier, Vellias, Ioannina (+1720); Niketas the teenager, Nisyros (+1732); Anastasios the priest, Saint Valsios, Ioannina (+1743); Anastasios, Paramythia, Epeiros (+1750); Kyrama from Avysooka, Thessalonike (+1751); Nicholas, Karyais, Chios (+1754); Akylina, Zaglieri, Thessalonike (1764); Nicholas the priest, Mitylene (+1771); Michael Paknanas, Athens (+1771); John, Geraki, Monemvasia (+1773); Anthony, Athens (+1774); Athanasios, Koliakia, Thessalonike (+1774); Petros, Tripolis (+1776); Christodoulos, Vala, Kassandra (+1777); Kosmas Aitolos, Mega Dendro, Aitolia (+1779); Zacharias the furrier, Arta (+1782); Hatzitheodore, Mitylene (+1784); The Three Anonymous Neomartyrs, Peloponnesos (+1786); Manuel the Slave, Sphakia, Crete (+1792); Bishop Methodios of Lampes, Vyzari, Amaron, Crete (+1793); Myron, Mega Kastro, Crete (+1793); Alexander the dervish, Thessalonike (+1794); Metros (Demetrios),

Vali, Peloponnesos (+1794); Constantine, Hydra (+1800); Demetrios, Chios (+1801); John, Thessalonike (+1802); Demetrios, Arkadia (+1803); Hilarion, Crete (+1804); Argyres Tailor (+1806); George from Chios (+1807); Demetrios, Samarina, Pindos (+1808); Niketas the monastic priest (1808); Niketas the monastic priest (+1809); the Anonymous Servant (+1809); John the Farmer (+1811); Gerasimos, Megalo Chorio, Karpenezi (+1812); Angeles the Physician (+1813); Euthymios the Student, Demetsana (+1814); John the Muslim, Vellias (+1814); Akaktios, Neochorion, Thessalonike (+1816); Anastasios, Mitylene (+1816); Demetrios, Hagiasos, Mitylene (+1816); Georgios Laskaris, Rapsane, Larissa (+1818); Paul Sopotio, Sopotio, Kalavryta (+1818); Agathangelos from Thrace (+1818); Gedeon, Kapourna, Demetrias (+1818); Constantine the Muslim, Psilometopon, Mitylene (+1819); Patriarch Gregorios V, Demetsana (+1821); John the Albanian merchant from Spetses (+1822); Stamatiot the Albanian merchant from Spetses (+1822); John the Albanian Merchant from Spetses (+1822); Angeles from Melampes, Crete (+1824); Manuel, Melampes, Crete (+1824); George, Melampes, Crete (+1824); Nicholas, Melampes, Crete (+1824); Maria Methymopoulos, Crete (+1826); Theodore from Samothrake (+1835); George from Samothrake (+1835); Michael from Samothrake (+1835); George the Young from Samothrake (1835); George from Tsourchli, Grevena (+1838); George from Alikiano, Crete (1867); Athanasios from Lemnos (+1846).

## ASIA MINOR

Petros, Trebizond (circa +1453); Nicholas, Media (+1463); John the merchant, Trebizond (+1492); Kyrillos the tanner, Pelagonia (+1566); Makarios, Kios (+1590); Jordanes, Trebizond (1650); Symeon, Trebizond (+1653); Athanasios the monastic monk, Sparta (+1653); Nicholas Karaman, Smyrna (+1657); Paraskevvas, Trebizond (+1659); Gabriel, Alloni, Proikonnesos (+1676); Theodore, Orphyrmion, Dardanelles (+1690); Athanasios, Attaleia (+1700); Argyre, Prousa (1720); Savvas, Nigdehis (1726); Elias, Trebizond (+1749); Panagiotos, Caesaria (+1765); Michael Vourliotes, Vourla (+1772); Anastasios, Ankyra (1777); Hatzigeorge, Philadelphia (+1794); George from Neapolis (1797); Helen Bekiaries, Sinope (eighteenth century); George, New Ephesos (+1801); Markos, Smyrna (+1801); Zacharias, Prousa (+1802); David the monk, Aivali (+1813); Nektarios, Vryoulla (+1820); and George from Attaleia (+1823).

## BULGARIA

George the soldier, Sofia (+1437); George from Sofia (+1534); Nicholas the shoemaker, Ioannina (+1555); Bishop Vissarion of Smolen, Smolen (+1670); Bishop Simeon of Sanokov, Samokov (1737); Damaskenos the monastic priest (+1771); John the teenager (+1784); Spas the clerk, Rodovisi (+1794); Zlata the maiden, Muglena (+1795); Lazaros, Gabrovo (+1802); John, Suma (+1802); Prokopios from Vama (+1810); Ignatios the monk, Eski Zagora (+1814); Onufrii (Onuphrios), Gabrovo (+1818); Ivan (John) the tile maker, Sloven (1822); and Dimitrii, Sliven (+1841).

## CONSTANTINOPLE

John the cabinet maker (+1575); Anonymous fiancée (end 16th. century); Iordanes (+1650); Damaskenos (+1681); Nicholas from the parish of Marmaron (+1732); Demetrios the Bartender (+1784); Theodore the artist (+1795).

## RUMANIA

John the Vlach from Rumania (+1662); Prince Constantine Brancoveanu, Wallachia (+1714); Constantine Brancoveanu, junior, Wallachia (+1714); Radu Brancoveanu, Wallachia (+1714); Stefan Brancoveanu, Wallachia (+1714); Matthew Brancoveanu, Wallachia (+1714); Ianache the counselor, Wallachia (+1714); Nicholas from Marmara (+1732).

## EUROPEAN TURKEY

Michael Mavrovides, Adrianople (+last quarter, fifteenth century); Demos the fisherman, Utzum, Kiopru (+1763); Luke from Adrianople (+1802); Christophoros, Adrianople (+1818).

## BOSNIA

Pajsije the hegoumenos (+1814-1815); Avakum the deacon (+1814-1815); Dimitrije (+1814-1815).

## EGYPT

Gabriel the secretary (+1522); Kyrmidoles the secretary (+1522).

## SYRIA

Joseph of Aleppo (+1686); Solomon the presbyter, Antioch (+1820); the Anonymous presbyter from Antioch (+1820); Joseph the presbyter, Damascus (+1860).

## ALBANIA

Chrestos the gardener (+1748); Nikodemos, Vihkuqi, Korca (+1722).

## RUSSIA

Paul the Russian (+1683); Konstantios the chaplain (+1743).

## UKRAINE

Pachomios the tanner (+1730).

## CYPRUS

George the consulate employee (+1752); Polydoros from Lefkosia (+1794).

## GEORGIA

Metropolitan Anthimos of Wallachia (+1726); Gyorgy (Zorzes) (+1770).

## SERBIA

George the Goldsmith, Kratovo (+1515).

## UNKNOWN

Kosmas (*circa* +1453); Metropolitan Arsenios of Verroia (end of the fifteenth century); Iakovos the deacon (+1520); Dionysios the monk (+1520); Makarios the disciple of Patriarch Nephon (+1527); Ioasaph the disciple of Patriarch Nephon (+1536); Nikodemos from Meteora (+1551); Demetrios Tomaras (+1564); Theophanes the monk (+1559); John Koulikas (+1564); Hodja Amritis (+1614); Avvakum (+1628); Patriarch Gabriel II of Constantinople (+1659); Metropolitan Zacharias of Corinth (+1684); Gennadios from Dionysiou Monastery (+1818); Joseph the iconographer (+1819); Lampros (+1835); Panagiotos the Servant (+1830).

## APPENDIX 4 – PLACE OF MARTYRDOM

## CONSTANTINOPE

Andreas Argentes, 1492; John the tailor, 1526; Ioasaph the monk, 1536; Theophanes the monk, 1559; John the cabinet maker, 1575; the Anonymous Francé, circa end of the sixteenth century; John the tailor, 1652; Iordanes the coppersmith, 1650; Symeon the goldsmith, 1653; Patriarch Parthenios III, 1657; John the Rumanian, 1662; Athanasios the community leader, 1670; Athanasios of Kios, 1672; Nicholas the grocer, 1672; Gabriel from Alloni, 1676; Kyprianos the monastic priest, 1680; Triantaphyllos the sailor, 1680; Stamatis the community leader, 1680; Angeles the goldsmith, 1680; Damaskenos the monk, 1681; Apostolos the bartender, 1686; Ahmed the *defedar*, 1682; Paul the Russian, 1683; George the tailor, 1693; Romanos the pilgrim, 1694; Romanos the priest, 1695; Constantine Brancoveanu the prince, 1714; Constantine Brancoveanu the Young the prince, 1714; Matthew Brancoveanu the prince, 1714; Radu Brancoveanu the prince, 1714; Stefan Brancoveanu the prince, 1714; Auxentios the furrier, 1720; Nicholas from Marmaron 1732; Konstantios the chaplain 1743; Anastasios the priest, 1743; Chrestos the gardener 1748; Kosmas from Hagia Anna 1760; Panagiotos from Casaria 1765; Gyorges the Georgian, 1770; Antonios the laborer, 1774; John the teenager from Bulgaria, 1784; Demetrios the bartender, 1784; Theodore the artist 1795; Demetrios from Chios, 1802; John the Bulgarian 1802; Hilarion the clerk, 1804; Gerassimos the servant, 1812; Euthymios the student 1814; Ignatios the monk, 1814; Akakios the shoemaker, 1814; Gennadios the monk 1814; Constantine the Muslim 1819; Joseph the artist 1819; and Patriarch Gregorios V, 1821.

## ASIA MINOR

*Ankara (Ankyra)*: Anastasios, 1777.  
*Avyosoka*: Kyranna, 1751.  
*Dardanelles*: Athanasios the monk.  
*Karatasu*: HatziGeorge, 1794.  
*Kasampa*: Anastasios the basket weaver, 1816; Demetrios the basket weaver, 1816.

*Smyrna*: Markos the student, 1643; Nicholas Karamanos, 1657; Michael the coppersmith, 1772; Athanasios from Attaleia, 1700; Demos the fisherman, 1763; Alexander the dervish, 1794; John from Thessalonike, 1803; Prokopios, 1810; Agathangelos the sailor, 1818; Athanasios, 1819; Constantine the Muslim, 1819; Demetrios the basket weaver, 1816.

*Kombia Diere*: George the priest, 1797; Helen Bekiars, 18th century; George of Attaleia.

*Kryo Nero*: Elias the son of priest, 1749.

*Kydonies*: David the monk, 1813; George from Chios, 1897.

*Magnesia*: Nicholas the shepherd, 1795; Athanasios the monk, 1653.

*Mountania*: Elias from Trebizond, 1653.

*New Ephesos*: Polydoros, 1794; George, 1801; John the farmer, 1811;

*Ontemesia*: Petros, 1776.

*Pelagonia*: Kyrillos the tanner, 1566.

*Philadelphia*: Demetrios the son of a priest, 1657.

*Prousa (Bursa)*: Makarios the tailor, 1590; Patriarch Gabriel of Constantinople, 1659; Archbishop Gabriel of Ipek, 1659; Zacharias,

1802; Argyre, 1721; Demetrios the basket weaver, 1816.

*Suma*: Lazaros, 1802.

*Trebizond*: Petros, circa 1453; Paraskeva, 1659.

*Tsana Kale*: Theodore from Ophrynton, 1690.

*Usaki*: Pachomios the tanner, 1730.

*Vryoula*: Nektarios the camel attendant, 1820.

## GREECE

*Thessalonike*: Mark the disciple of Patriarch Nephon, 1527; Michael the bread seller, 1547; Kyrillos the tanner, 1556; Avvakoun, 1628; Athanasios, 1774; Christodoulos, 1777; Spas, 1794, Argyres, 1806; David the monk, 1813.

*Arta*: Zacharias the furrier, 1782.

*Athens*: Michael Pakranas, 1771; Philothei, 1589.

*Attica*: Ephraim the monastic priest, 1426.

*Avyssoko*: Kyranna, 1751.

*Chios*: Theophilos the sailor, 1635; Niketas, 1732; Nicholas the builder, 1754; Manuel the slave, 1792; Markos from Smyrna, 1801; Angeles the physician, 1813; Onouphrios, 1818; John from Speises, 1822; Stamatis from Speises, 1822; Nicholas from Speises, 1822  
*Corinth*: Metropolitan Zacharias, 1684

- Alkiano, Crete*: George from Alikí, 1867;  
*Lampes, Crete*: Bishop Methodios of Lampes, 1793  
*Rethymno: Crete*: Angeles the Crypto-Christian 1824, George the  
 Crypto-Christian, 1824, and Nicholas the Crypto-Christian, 1824.  
*Kato Phournai, Crete*: Maria Methymopoulos, 1826  
*Mega Kastro, Crete*: Myron the tailor, 1793.  
*Ioannina*: Demetrios the monk, 1808.  
*Kalavryta*: Paul Sopotó, 1818.  
*Kalinkountase, Epeiros*: 1779.  
*Larissa*: John the teenager, 1773.  
*Kalamata*: Elias the barber, 1686.  
*Kos*: Chrestos the boatman, 1668; John the Boatman, 1669.  
*Makre, Thrace*: Manuel, 1835; Theodore, 1835; Michael, 1835;  
 George, 1835; Lampros, 1835.  
*Mitylene*: Irene, 1463; Nicholas, 1463; Raphael, 1463; Gyorgy, 1771;  
 Hatzitheodore, 1784; Luke, 1802.  
*Nauplion*: Anastasios the artist, 1655.  
*Nisyros*: Niketas, 1732.  
*Parras*: Zacharias the furrier, 1782.  
*Phanarion*: Archbishop Serapheim, 1601.  
*Rhodes*: Two anonymous dervishes, 1622; Constantine from Hydra,  
 1800.  
*Serres*: Niketas the monk, 1809.  
*Trikalla*: Nicholas, 1617.  
*Tripolis*: Demetrios the worker, 1803.  
*Tourli, Grevena*: George the groom, 1838.  
*Tymavo*: Gedeon, 1818.  
*Veroia*: Metropolitan Arsenios Verroia, end 15th century.  
*Voulgarine*: Damianos, 1568.  
*Vrachori*: Three Anonymous Neomartyrs, 1786; John the Muslim,  
 1814.

## EUROPEAN TURKEY

- Adrianoople*: George from Sofia, 1437; Michael Mavrooides, last quar-  
 ter 15th century; Iakovos the shepherd, 1520; Iakovos the deacon,  
 1520; Dionysios the monk, 1520. Christophoros, 1818; Timothy,  
 1820.  
*Selyvria*: Nicholas the Peddler, 1654.

- Akkerman*: John the merchant, 1492  
 WALLACHIA  
*Near the Danube*: Metropolitan Anthimos of Wallachia, 1716.

## JERUSALEM

- Malachias, 1500; Hodja Amiris, 1614; Panagiotos the servant, 1839.

## SYRIA

- Antioch*: Nimat the Young, 1471; Solomon the presbyter, 1820; the  
 Anonymous Presbyter, 1820.  
*Damascus*: Joseph the presbyter, 1860; Joseph, 1686.  
*Tyre*: George from Cyprus, 1753.

## BULGARIA

- Muglena*: Zlata, 1795.  
*Sfistovi*: Damaskenos, 1771.  
*Sofia*: George the goldsmith, 1515; George, 1534; Nicholas, 1555;  
 Bishop Simeon of Samokov, 1737  
*Sliven*: Dimitrij, 1841.  
*Sloven*: John the tile maker, 1822.  
*Smolen*: Bishop Vissarton, 1670.  
*Varna*: Prokopios, 1810.

## ALBANIA

- Berat*: Nikodemos, 1722.

## BOSNIA

- Pajsije* the hegoumenos, 1814-15; Dimjtrije, 1814-15; Avakum the  
 deacon, 1814-1815.

## EGYPT

- Anonymous servant, 1811; Kyrmidolos the secretary, 1522; Gabriel  
 the secretary, 1522.

## UNKNOWN

- Kosmas, circa 1453; Metropolitan Arsenios, end of 15th century;  
 Michael from Granitsa, 1547; Nikodemos from Meteora, 1551;  
 Demetrios Tomaras, 1564; John Koulikas, 1564; Savvas Nigdeles,  
 1726; Anastasios Paramythias, 1750; Nicholas from Mitylene, 1771;  
 George from Neapolis, 1797; George Laskaris, 1818; Adrian, ????

APPENDIX 5  
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEOMARTYRS

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Ephraim the monastic priest from Attica	May 5, 1426
George the soldier from Sofia, Bulgaria	March 6, 1437
Kosmas	<i>circa</i> 1453
Petros (Peter) the priest from Trebizond	<i>circa</i> 1453
Raphael in Mitylene	April 9, 1463
Nicholas in Mitylene	April 9, 1463
Irene from Mitylene	April 9, 1463
Andreas Argentes from Chios	May 29, 1465
Niamet from Bokhaa, Antioch	1471
John the merchant from Trebizond	June 2, 1492
Michael Mavrooides from Adrianople	last quarter 15 century
Metropolitan Arsenios of Verroia	end 15 century

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Malachias the son of a priest	September 29, 1500
George the goldsmith from Kratovo	February 11, 1515
Iakovos the shepherd	November 1, 1520
Iakovos the deacon	November 1, 1520
Dionysios the monk	November 1, 1520
Gabriel the secretary from Egypt	October 18, 1522
Kyrimidoles the secretary from Egypt	October 18, 1522
John the tailor from Ioannina	April 18, 1526
Makarios the monk	September 14, 1527
Georgi (George) from Sofia, Bulgaria	May 26, 1534
Ioasaph (Joasaph) the monk	October 26, 1536
Michael the breadseller from Granitisa	March, 1547
Nikodemos the monk from Meteora	August 16, 1551
Nicholas the peddler from Ichthys	February 14, 1554
Nicholas from Ioannina	May 17, 1555
Theophanes the monk from Constantinople	June 8, 1559
Demetrios Tornaras	March 19, 1564
John Koulikas	April 8, 1564
Doukas the tailor from Mitylene	April 24, 1564

Kyriillos (Kyriakos) from Pelagonia	July 6, 1566
Damianos the monk from Myrichovo	February 26, 1564
John the cabinet maker	February 26, 1575
Philothei the nun from Athens	February 19, 1589
Makarios the tailor from Kios	October 6, 1590
The Anonymous Fiancée	end of the sixteenth century

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Archbishop Serapheim of Phanarion	December 4, 1601
Hodja Amiris the soldier in Jerusalem	December 4, 1601
Nicholas the baker's assistant from Metsovo	May 17, 1617
Two anonymous dervishes from Rhodes	May 1622
Avvakoum the monk in Thessalonike	August 6, 1628
Theophilos the sailor from Zakynthos	July 24, 1635
Markos (Mark) the student from Crete	May 4, 1643
Iordanes the coppersmith from Trebizond	February 2, 1650
John the apprentice tailor	December 10, 1652
Athanasios the monastic priest	October 29, 1651
Symeon the goldsmith from Trebizond	August 14, 1653
Anastasios the artist from Nauplion	February 1, 1655
Nicholas the Karamanos from Smyrna	March 19, 1657
Patriarch Parthenios III of Constantinople	March 24, 1657
Demetrios the son of a priest from Philadelphia	June 2, 1657
Paraskevas from Trebizond, Asia Minor	March 1, 1659
Patriarch Gabriel II of Constantinople	January 1, 1659
Archbishop Gabriel of Pec, Serbia	December 12, 1659
John the Rumanian nobleman	May 12, 1662
Chrestos the boatman from Preveza	August 5, 1668
John the boatman from the island of Kos	April 8, 1669
Athanasios the community leader from Kios	July 24, 1670
Bishop Vissarion of Smolen	July 29, 1670
Nicholas the grocer from Karpenesi	September 2, 1672
Gabriel the deacon from Alloni	February 2, 1676
Kyprianos the monastic priest	July 5, 1679
Triantaphylos the sailor from Zagora, Volos	August 8, 1680
Starnatios, community leader, Hagios Lavrentios	August 16, 1680.
Angelos, goldsmith from Constantinople	September 1, 1680
Damaskenos, monk from Constantinople	November 13, 1681
Ahmed the Muslim from Constantinople	May 3, 1682

- Paul the Russian slave April 4, 1683  
 Metropolitan Zacharias of Corinth March 30, 1684  
 Elias the barber from Kalamata January 31, 1686  
 Joseph from Aleppo February 4, 1686  
 Apostolos the bartender August 16, 1686  
 Theodore from Ophryniou, Dardanelles 1690  
 George the tailor from Plomari February 14, 1693  
 Romanos the pilgrim from Solovok, Karpenesi 1694  
 Romanos the priest from Dimentitsa January 6, 1695

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- Athanasios from Attaleia, Asia Minor January 7, 1700  
 Prince Constantine Brancoveanu August 16, 1714  
 Constantine Brancoveanu the son August 16, 1714  
 Stefan Brancoveanu the son August 16, 1714  
 Radu Brancoveanu the son August 16, 1714  
 Matthew Brancoveanu the son August 16, 1714  
 Ianache the counselor from Wallachia August 16, 1714  
 Metropolitan Anthimos of Wallachia September 27, 1716  
 Auxentios the furrier from Vellas January 25, 1720  
 Argyre the faithful wife from Prousa April 5, 1721  
 Nikodemos the father from Korca, Albania July 11, 1722  
 Savvas Nigdeles the merchant November 12, 1726  
 Pachomios the tanner from the Ukraine May 21, 1730  
 Niketas the teenager from Nisyros June 21, 1732  
 Nicholas from the parish of Marnaron November 12, 1732  
 Bishop Simeon (Symeon) of Samokov August 21, 1737  
 Konstantios the chaplain from Russia before July 8, 1743  
 Anastasios the priest from Hagios Vlasios July 8, 1743  
 Chrestos the gardener from Albantia February 12, 1748  
 Elias the son of a priest from Kryvo Nero February 27, 1749  
 Anastasios the farmer from Paramythia February 18, 1750  
 Kyranna the maiden from Ayyssoka February 28, 1751  
 George the consulate employee from Cyprus April 23, 1752  
 Nicholas the builder from Karayais, Chios October 31, 1754  
 Kosmas the monk of Hagia Anna 1760  
 Demos the fisherman from Uzun Kopru April 10, 1763  
 Akylina the maiden from Zagliveri September 27, 1764  
 Panagiotos from Caesaria June 2, 1765

- Gyorgy (Zorzes) the slave from Georgia January 2, 1770  
 Damaskenos, monastic priest from Gabrovo January 16, 1771  
 Nicholas the priest from Mitylene January 16, 1771  
 Michael Paknanas the gardener July 9, 1771  
 Michael Youriotes, coppersmith from Yourla 1772  
 John the son of a priest from Geraki October 21, 1773  
 Antonios (Anthony) the laborer from Athens February 5, 1774  
 Athanasios, student, Koliakia, Thessalonike September 8, 1774  
 Petros (Peter) from Tripolis, Peloponnesos January 6, 1776  
 Christodoulos the tailor from Valtia, Kassandra July 28, 1777  
 Anastasios of Ankyra (Ankara) Asia Minor 1777  
 Kosmas the monastic priest from Mega Dendro August 24, 1779  
 Zacharias the furrier from Arta, Greece January 20, 1782  
 Demetrios the bartender from Constantinople January 27, 1784  
 Hatzitheodore the father from Mitylene January 30, 1784  
 John the teenager from Bulgaria March 5, 1784  
 The anonymous three merchants 1786  
 Manuel the slave from Crete March 15, 1792  
 Bishop Methodios of Lampes, Crete July 7, 1793  
 Myron the tailor from Mega Kastro, Crete 1793  
 Alexander the dervish from Thessalonike May 26, 1794  
 Metros (Demetrios) the Vali May 28, 1794  
 Spas (Anastasios) the clerk from Rodovitsi August 8, 1794  
 Polydoros the merchant from Lefkosia, Cyprus September 3, 1794  
 Hatzigeorge the sandal maker from Philadelphia October 2, 1794  
 Theodore the artist from Neochorion February 1795  
 Zlata (Chryse) the maiden from Muglena October 13, 1795  
 Nicholas the shepherd from Yia Yia Koy April 24, 1796  
 George the priest from Neapolis, Asia Minor November 3, 1797  
 Helen Bekiaries from Sinope end of the eighteenth century

## NINETEENTH CENTURY

- Constantine the servant from Hydra November 14, 1800  
 George the father from New Ephesos April 26, 1801  
 Markos from Chios in Smyrna June 5, 1801  
 Demetrios from the merchant from Chios January 29, 1802  
 Luke the clerk from Adrianople March 23, 1802  
 Lazaros the shepherd from Gabrovo April 23, 1802  
 John the goldsmith from Suma, Bulgaria May 14, 1802

Zacharias the monastic priest from Prousa	May 28, 1802
John the shoemaker from Thessalonike	May 29, 1802
Demetrios the builder from Arkadia	April 4, 1803
Hilarion the clerk and monk from Crete	September 20, 1804
Argyres (Argyros) the tailor from Apanome	May 11, 1806
George the seaman from Chios	November 26, 1807
Demetrios the Vlach from Samarina	August 18, 1808
Niketias the monastic priest from Epeiros	February 19, 1809
Prokopios the monk from Varna	June 25, 1810
The Anonymous servant from Crete	July 7, 1811
John the farmer from the island of Crete	September 9, 1811
Gerassimos the servant from Megalo Chorio	July 3, 1812
David the monk from Aivali, Asia Minor	June 26, 1813
Angeles the physician from Argos	December 3, 1813
Euthymios of the student from Demetsana	March 22, 1814
John the Muslim from Konitsa, Vellas	September 23, 1814
Ignatios the monk from Rila Monastery	October 8, 1814
Paisije (Paisioa) the hegoumenos	December, 1814-15
Avakum (Avvakoum) the deacon	December 1814-15
Dimitrije (Demetrios), brother of Paisije	December 1814-15
Akakios the shoemaker from Neochori	May 1, 1816
Anastasios the basket weaver from Asomatoi	August 11, 1816
Demetrios the basket weaver from Hagiaso	August 11, 1816
Onufrii (Onouphrios) the monk from Gabrovo	January 4, 1818
George Laskaris from Rapsanes, Larissa	March 5, 1818
Gennadios the monastic priest of Dionysiou	April 6, 1818
Christophoros (Christopher) from Adrianople	April 16, 1818
Athanasios (Agathangelos) the sailor	April 19, 1818
Paul the sandal maker from Sopotio, Kalavyta	May 22, 1818
Gedeon the clerk from Kapourna	December 20, 1818
Athanasios the servant	May 1, 1819
Constantine the Muslim from Mitylene	June 2, 1819
Joseph the artist of Dionysiou Monastery	1819
Nektarios the camel attendant from Vryoullia	July 17, 1820
Triantaphyllos (Timotheos) from Paraora	October 29, 1820
Solomon the presbyter from Antioch	1820
The Anonymous presbyter from Antioch	1820
Patriarch Gregorios V of Constantinople	April 10, 1821
John, Albanian merchant, Spetses	February 3, 1822

Stamatios, Albanian merchant, Spetses	February 3, 1822
Nicholas, Albanian merchant, Spetses	February 3, 1822
John tile maker from Osman Pazar, Bulgaria	July 16, 1822
George from Ataleia (Atalya), Asia Minor	June 25, 1823
Chrestos, monastic priest, Ioannina	before August 1824
Angeles the crypto-Christian Crete	October 28, 1824
Manouel the crypto-Christian Crete	October 28, 1824
George, crypto-Christian, Melampes	October 28, 1824
Nicholias, crypto-Christian, Melampes	October 28, 1824
Maria Methymopoulos, maiden, Crete	May 5, 1826
Mannuel from the island of Samothrake	April 6, 1835
Theodore from the island of Samothrake	April 6, 1835
George from the island of Samothrake	April 6, 1835
Michael from the island of Samothrake	April 6, 1835
George the Young from Samothrake	July 2, 1835
Lampros in Makre	July 2, 1835
George horse groom, Tsourli, Grevena	January 17, 1838
Panagiotes the servant	January 31, 1841
Dimitrii (Demetrios), Sliven, Bulgaria	1841
Athanasios the monk from Great Lavra	1846
Joseph the presbyter from Damascus, Syria	1860
George the son of a priest from Crete	1867
Adrianos (Adrian)	????



## FURRIERS

- Auxentios 1720  
Zacharias from Arta 1782

## GARDENERS

- Chrestos 1748  
Michael Paknanas 1771

## GOLDSMITHS

- George from Kratovo 1515  
Symeon from Trebizond 1653  
Angeles from Constantinople 1689  
John from Suma, Bulgaria 1802

## GROCER

- Nicholas from Karpenesi 1672

## ICONOGRAPHER

- Joseph 1819

## HORSE GROOM

- George from Tsourchli, Grevena 1838

## MAIDENS

- Kyranna 1751  
Akylina 1764  
Zlata 1795  
Maria Methympoulos 1826

## MERCHANTS

- Andreas Argentes 1465  
John the merchant from Trebizond 1492  
Michael Mavroicides *circa* end 15th century  
Iakovos the shepherd and monk 1520  
Anonymous Fiancée *circa* end 16th century  
Theodore from the Dardanelles 1690  
Savas Nigdeles 1722  
Three Anonymous merchants 1786  
Polydoros 1794  
Demetrios from Chios 1802

- Luke from Adrianople 1802  
John from Spetses 1822  
Stamatis from Spetses 1822  
Nicholas from Spetses 1822

## METROPOLITANS

- Arsenios of Verroia *circa* end 15th century  
Zacharias of Corinth 1684  
Anthimos of Wallachia 1716

## MONASTIC PRIESTS

- Ephraim from Attica 1426  
Athanasios 1653  
Kyprianos from Agrapha 1679  
Danaskenos 1771  
Kosmas Aitolos 1779  
Zacharias 1802  
Pajsije the hegoumenos 1814-15  
Onufrii (Onouphrios) 1818  
Gennadios 1818

## MONKS

- Dionysios 1520  
Makarios 1527  
Ioasaph 1536  
Nikodemos 1551  
Theophanes 1559  
Damianos 1568  
Kyprianos 1681  
Kosmas 1760  
Demetrios from Samarina 1808  
David from Aivali 1813  
Ignatios from Rila Monastery, Bulgaria 1814  
Christophoros 1818  
Athanasios 1846

## NUN

- Philothei the Athenian 1589

OFFICIALS

Gabriel the secretary 1522  
 Kyrmidoles the secretary 1522  
 Ahmed the defedar 1682  
 Ionache the counselor 1714  
 George the consulate employee 1752

PATRIARCHS

Parthenios III of Constantinople 1657  
 Gabriel II of Constantinople 1659  
 Gregorios V of Constantinople 1821

PEDDLER

Nicholas 1554

PRESBYTERS

Petros *circa* 1453  
 Raphael in Mitylene 1463  
 Romanos from Dementitza 1695  
 Anastasios 1743  
 Konstantios the chaplain 1743  
 Elias from Trebizond 1749  
 Nicholas from Mitylene 1771  
 George from Neapolis 1797  
 Pajisje the hegoumenos 1814-15  
 Solomon from Antioch 1820  
 Anonymous presbyter from Antioch 1820  
 Joseph from Damascus 1860

PHYSICIAN

Angeles from Argos 1813

SAILORS

Triantaphyllos 1680  
 George from Chios 1807  
 Agathangelos 1818

SANDAL MAKERS

Hatzigeorge 1794  
 Paul from Sopoto, Kalavryta 1818

SERVANTS

Constantine from Hydra 1800  
 Anonymous from Crete 1811  
 John from Crete 1811  
 Gerasimos 1812  
 Panagiotes 1839  
 Dimitrii from Sliven 1841

SHEPHERDS

Nicholas 1796  
 Lazaros 1802

SHOEMAKERS

John from Thessalonike 1802  
 Akakios 1816

SLAVES

Paul the Russian 1683  
 Gyorgy 1770  
 Anthony 1774  
 Manuel 1792  
 Manuel from Samothrake 1835

SOLDIERS

George from Sofha 1437  
 Hodja Amiris 1614

SON OF A COMMUNITY LEADER

Niketeta from Nisyros 1732

SONS OF PRIESTS

Malachias 1500  
 Demetrios from Philadelphia 1657  
 Elias from Trebizond 1749  
 George from Alikiano, Crete 1867

STUDENTS

Matkos from Crete 1643  
 Athanasios from Koliakia 1774  
 Euthymios from Demetsana 1814

## TANNERS

Kyriillos 1566  
 Pachomios 1730

## TAILORS

John from Ioannina 1526  
 Doukas 1564  
 Makarios from Kios 1590  
 John the apprentice 1652  
 George from Plomari 1693  
 Nikodemos from Berat 1722  
 Christodoulos 1777  
 Myron 1793  
 Argyres 1806

## TEACHERS

George Laskaris 1818  
 Joseph from Damascus 1869

## THE MAKER

John from Sloven 1822

## UNKNOWN

Kosmas *circa* 1453  
 Nimat the Young 1471  
 Avvakoum 1628  
 John Koulikas 1664  
 Nicholas Karamanos 1657  
 Paraskevas from Trebizond 1659  
 George from Aleppo 1686  
 Romanos the pilgrim 1694

## WORKERS

Anthony 1774  
 Demetrios from Arkadia 1803

APPENDIX 7  
 "I WAS BORN AN ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN,  
 I DIE AN ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN"

John from Trebizond (1492) p. 620  
 Michael Mavroieides (1544)? p. 353  
 Nicholas from Trkala (1617) p. 532  
 Markos (1642) p. 530  
 Theophilos (1635) p. 638  
 Anastasios (1655) p. 269  
 Nicholas Karamanos (1657) p. 344  
 Athanasios from Kios (1670) p. 686  
 Nicholas the grocer (1672) pp. 75, 77  
 Angeles (1680) p. 48  
 Auxentios (1720) p. 214  
 Gjorgy (1770) p. 214  
 Damaskenos (1771) p. 233  
 Theodore (1690) p. 697  
 Polydoros (1794) p. 57  
 Hatzigeorge (1794) p. 85  
 Alexander (1794) pp. 551-52  
 Stamatis, John, Nicholas from Spetses (1822) pp. 275, 277  
 Timothy the monk (1820) p. 108  
 Angeles, Manouel, George, and Nicholas from Crete (1824) 105  
 George from Tzourchle, Grevena (1838) pp. 237, 238

## APPENDIX 8 – LIVES TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

The largest number (100) of *Lives* in English can be found in the volume published by St. Nektarios Press entitled *New Martyrs of the Turkish Yoke*, trans. Leonidas J. Papadopoulos, Georgia Lizardos, et al (Seattle, 1985). The volume includes the *Lives* of: Ahmed the defterdar, Alexander the dervish, Anastasios from Epeiros, Anastasios from Macedonia, Anastasios from Nauplion, Anastasios the pilgrim from Ancyra, Angeles of Constantinople, Anthony the Athenian, Akylina, Argyre from Prousa, Athanasios from Attaleia, Athanasios the monastic priest from Attaleia, Athanasios from Chios, Athanasios from Thessalonike, Auxentios from Constantinople, Christodoulos from Kassandra, Chrestos from Ioannina, Chrestos the gardener from Constantinople, Constantine the Muslim, Konstantios the Russian, Kyprianos from Constantinople, Damaskenos from Constantinople, Damaskenos from Spistovi, Damianos from Larissa, Daniel the Muslim from Epeiros, Demetrios from Constantinople, Demetrios from the Peloponnesos, Demetrios from Philadelphia, Demetrios Tournaras, Demos from Smyrna, Dionysios of Galtista, Doukas the tailor, Elias Ardounes, Gabriel Patriarch of Constantinople, Gabriel, Archbishop of Pec, George from Chios, George from Cyprus, George from Tsourchli, Ioannina, Giorje from Georgia, Hatzigeorge from Karatzou, Hatzitheodore from Mitylene, Gepor the tailor, Gregory V, Patriarch of Constantinople, Ioasaph Irene from Mitylene, Ialogos from Galtista, John from Chios, John from Crete, John from Larissa, John Koulikas, John the Vlach, John the Bulgarian, John the cabinet maker, John from Kos, John the tailor from Ioannina, Kyranna from Thessalonike, Luke from Mitylene, Makarios from Crete, Makarios from Prousa, Manouel from Crete, Maria Methymopoulos from Crete, Mark from Crete, Michael Vourliotes, Michael the gardener, Myron from Crete, Niketas from Albania, Niketas from Nisyros, Niketas from Epeiros, Nicholas from Chios, Nicholas from Magnesia, Asia Minor, Nicholas from Metsovo, Nicholas from Mitylene, Nicholas from Ichthys, Nicholas Karamanos, Nikodemos from Berat, Nikodemos from Meteora, Pachomios from Usaki, Panayiotos from Constantinople, Parthenios, Patriarch of Constantinople, Paul the Russian, Philothei the nun, Polydoros of Cyprus, Raphael of Mitylene, Romanos of Diminitisa,

Romanos of Karpenesi, Savvas Nigdeles, Serapheim, Archbishop of Phanarion and Neochorion, Symeon the goldsmith, Stamatis from Volos, Hatzitheodore from Mitylene, Theophanes from Constantinople, Theophilos from Zakynthos, Timothy of Esphigmenou Monastery, Zacharias from Corinth, Zacharias from Patras, Zlata from Slatena, Bulgaria.

*The Lives of the Holy Women Martyrs: An Orthodox Martyrologion of Spiritual Heroines through out the Year according to the Church Calendar*, published by the Holy Apostles Convent (Buena Vista, Colorado, 1991) retells the *Lives* of: Kyranna from Avyssoka, Thessalonike, Argyre of Prousa, Akylina of Thessalonike, and Zlata of Slatena, while the Serbian *Patericon: Saints of the Serbian Orthodox Church* by Daniel Rogich, vol. 1 (by St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood (1994) includes: Onouphrios, Damaskenos from Gabrovo, George from Kratovo, and Niketas from Serres.

The *Lives* of George from Sofia, Iakovos the shepherd, Iakovos the deacon, and Dionysios the monk appeared in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 4 (1961-62) pp. 12-12 and 5 (1963) pp. 12-12. Otto F. A. Meinardus, the Anglican minister in Athens, Greece, produced *The Saints of Greece* (Athens, 1970) which contains brief biographical entries, more suitable for a dictionary of saints, among which are 135 entries of Neomartyrs, while Nikolai Velemirovic's, *The Prologue from Ochrid: Lives of the Saints and Homilies for Every Day in the Year*, trans. Mother Maria (4 vols. Birmingham, 1985-1986), presents only 41 very brief biographical sketches.

Eva Catafygiotu Topping has written *Saints and Sisterhood: The Lives of Forty-Eight Holy Women* (Minneapolis, 1990). Mrs. Topping briefly retells the lives of Neomartyrs: Akylina, Zlata, Philothei, Kyranna and Argyre.

## APPENDIX 9

## ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF THE NEOMARTYRS

Adrian	???		
Ahmed, Muslim defedar from Constantinople	1682		
Akakios the shoemaker from Neochori	1815		
Akylina from Zagliveri, Thessalonike	1764		
Alexander the dervish from Thessalonike	1794		
Anastasios from Ankyra (Ankara)	1777		
Anastasios from Paramythia	1750		
Anastasios the artist from Nauplion	1655		
Anastasios the basket weaver from Mytilene	1816		
Anastasios the priest from Hagios Vlasios	1743		
Andreas Argentes from Chios	1465		
Angeles the Crypto-Christian from Crete	1824		
Angeles the goldsmith from Constantinople	1680		
Angeles the physician from Argos	1813		
The Anonymous Fiancée	end 16th century		
The Anonymous Presbyter from Antioch	1820		
The Anonymous Servant from Crete	1811		
The Anonymous Three Merchants	1786		
The Anonymous Two Dervishes	1622		
Anthimos, Metropolitan of Wallachia	1716		
Antonios the laborer from Athens	1774		
Apostolos the bartender	1686		
Argyre the faithful wife from Prousa	1721		
Argyres the tailor from Aparone, Macedonia	1809		
Arsenios, Metropolitan of Verroia	end 15th century		
Athanasios from Attaleia	1700		
Athanasios the community leader from Kios	1670		
Athanasios the monastic priest from Sparta	1653		
Athanasios the servant	1819		
Athanasios (Agathangelos) the sailor	1818		
Athanasios the slave from Great Lavra	1846		
Athanasios the student from Koliokkia	1774		
Auxentios from Vellas	1720		
Avakum the deacon from Bosnia	1815		
Avvakoum in Thessalonike	1628		
Chrestos the gardener from Albania	1748		
Chrestos the boatman from Preveza	1668		
Chrestos the monastic priest from Ioannina	1824		
Christodoulos the tailor from Valta, Kassandra	1777		
Christophoros from Adrianople	1818		
Constantine Brancoveanu of Wallachia	1714		
Constantine Brancoveanu the Young	1714		
Constantine the Muslim from Mytilene	1819		
Constantine the servant from Hydra	1800		
Damaskenos the monastic priest from Gabrovo	1771		
Damaskenos the monk from Constantinople	1681		
Damianos the monk from Myriochovo	1568		
David the monk from Aivali	1813		
Demetrios the bartender from Constantinople	1784		
Demetrios the basket weaver from Mytilene	1816		
Demetrios the builder from Arkadia	1803		
Demetrios the merchant from Chios	1802		
Demetrios the son of a priest from Philadelphia	1657		
Demetrios the Vlach from Samarina	1808		
Demetrios Tomaras	1564		
Demos the fisherman from Utzen Kiopru	1763		
Dimijtrije brother of Pajsije the hegoumenos	1815		
Dimitri from Sliven, Bulgaria	1841		
Dionysios the monk	1520		
Doukas the tailor from Mytilene	1564		
Elias the barber from Kalamata	1686		
Elias the son of a priest from Trebizond	1749		
Ephraim the ordained monk from Attica	1426		
Euthymios the priest from Demetsana	1814		
Gabriel, Archbishop of Pec	1659		
Gabriel the secretary from Egypt	1522		
Gabriel II, Patriarch of Constantinople	1659		
Gabriel the deacon from Alloni	1676		
Gedeon the priest from Kapourna	1818		
Gennadios the monastic priest from Dionysiou	1818		
George from Attaleia	1823		
George from Samothrake	1835		
George Laskaris	1818		

- |  |              |  |                           |
|--|--------------|--|---------------------------|
| George the Crypto-Christian from Crete         | 1824         | John the teenager from Bulgaria                | 1784                      |
| George the father from New Ephesos             | 1801         | John the son of a priest from Momenvasia       | 1773                      |
| George the goldsmith from Kratovo, Serbia      | 1515         | John the tile maker                            | 1822                      |
| George the horse groom from Tsourli, Grevena   | 1838         | Joseph from Aleppo                             | 1686                      |
| George the consulate employee from Cyprus      | 1752         | Joseph the artist from Dionysiou               | 1819                      |
| George the priest from Neapolis                | 1797         | Joseph the presbyter from Damascus             | 1860                      |
| George the seaman from Chios                   | 1807         | Kosmas   | <i>circa</i> 1453         |
| George the soldier from Sofia, Bulgaria        | 1437         | Kosmas the monk from Hagia Anna                | 1760                      |
| George the son of a priest from Crete          | 1867         | Kosmas the monastic priest from Mega Dendro    | 1779                      |
| George the tailor from Mytilene                | 1693         | Konstantios the Russian chaplain               | 1743                      |
| George the Young from Samothrake               | 1835         | Kyprianos the monastic priest from Klentzos    | 1679                      |
| Georgi from Sofia                              | 1834         | Kyranna the maiden from Avyssoka               | 1751                      |
| Gerasimos the servant from Megalo Chorio       | 1812         | Kyrimdoles from Egypt                          | 1520                      |
| Gregorios V, Patriarch of Constantinople       | 1821         | Kyrrillos (Kyriakos) the tanner from Pelagonia | 1566                      |
| Gyorgy (Zorzes) from Georgia                   | 1770         | Lampros  | 1835                      |
| Hatzigeorge the sandal maker from Philadelphia | 1794         | Lazaros the shepherd from Gabrovo, Bulgaria    | 1802                      |
| Hatzitheodore the father from Mitylene         | 1784         | Luke the assistant clerk from Adrianople       | 1802                      |
| Helen Bekiars the teenager from Sinope         | 18th century | Makaros the monk                               | 1527                      |
| Hilarion the clerk from Crete                  | 1804         | Makaros the tailor from Kios                   | 1590                      |
| Hodza (Hoca) Amires the soldier in Jerusalem   | 1614         | Malachias the son of a priest from Rhodes      | 1500                      |
| Iakovos the deacon from Adrianople             | 1520         | Manouel from Samothrake                        | 1835                      |
| Iakovos the shepherd from Kastoria             | 1520         | Manouel the Crypto-Christian from Crete        | 1824                      |
| Ianache the counselor from Wallachia           | 1714         | Manouel the slave from Sphakia, Crete          | 1792                      |
| Ignatios from Rila Monastery                   | 1814         | Markos from Chios in Smyrna                    | 1802                      |
| Ioasaph the monk                               | 1536         | Markos the student from Crete                  | 1643                      |
| Iordanes the coppersmith from Trebizond        | 1650         | Maria Methymopoulos the maiden from Crete      | 1826                      |
| Irene from Mytilene                            | 1463         | Mathew Brancoveanu the son                     | 1724                      |
| John Koulikas                                  | 1564         | Methodios Bishop of Lamps                      | 1793                      |
| John the Albanian merchant from Speses         | 1822         | Metros (Demetrios ) the Vaiti                  | 1794                      |
| John the boatman from Kos                      | 1669         | Michael from Samothrake                        | 1835                      |
| John the cabinet maker from Constantinople     | 1575         | Michael Kapannas the gardener                  | 1771                      |
| John the farmer from Crete in New Ephesos      | 1811         | Michael Mavroeides                             | last quarter 15th century |
| John the goldsmith from Bulgaria               | 1802         | Michael the bread seller from Granitsa         | end 16th century          |
| John the merchant from Trebizond               | 1492         | Michael the coppersmith from Yourla            | 1772                      |
| John the Muslim from Konitsa                   | 1814         | Myron the tailor from Megalo Kastro, Crete     | 1793                      |
| John the Rumanian nobleman                     | 1662         | Nektarios the camel attendant from Vryoula     | 1820                      |
| John the shoemaker from Thessalonike           | 1802         | Niamet from Bokhaa                             | 1471                      |
| John the tailor from Ioannina                  | 1526         | Nicholas from Ioannina                         | 1555                      |
| John the tailor from Thasos                    | 1652         | Nicholas the Crypto-Christian from Melampes    | 1824                      |

Nicholas from the parish of Marmaron	1732
Nicholas the peddler from Ichthys	1554
Nicholas Karamanos from Smyrna	1657
Nicholas the Albanian merchant from Spetses	1822
Nicholas the baker's assistant from Metsovo	1617
Nicholas the builder from Karyais, Chios	1754
Nicholas the Crypto-Christian from Crete	1824
Nicholas the grocer from Karpenesi	1672
Niketias the ordained monk from Epeiros	1809
Nicholas the peddler from Ichthys	1554
Nicholas the priest from Ithake in Mytelene	1463
Nicholas the priest from Mitylene	1771
Nicholas the shepherd from Yia Yia Kyo	1796
Niketias the teenager from Nysiros	1732
Nikodemos from Berat, Albania	1772
Nikodemos the monk from Meteora	1551
Onufri (Onouphrios) the monk from Gabrovo	1818
Pachomios from the Ukraine	1730
Pajsije the hegoumenos from Bosnia	1815
Panagiotes from Caesaria	1765
Panagiotes the servant in Jerusalem	1839
Paraskevas from Trebizond	1659
Parthenios III, Patriarch of Constantinople	1657
Paul the Russian slave	1683
Paul the sandal maker from Sopotio, Kalavryta	1818
Peter (Petros) from Tripolis, Peloponnesos	1776
Petros (Petros) the priest from Trebizond	<i>circa</i> 1453
Philothei the nun from Athens	1590
Polydoros the merchant from Lefkosa, Cyprus	1794
Prokopios the monk from Yarna	1810
Raphael the monk from Ithake in Mytilene	1463
Radu Brancoveanu the son	1714
Romanos the pilgrim from Solovak, Karpenesi	1694
Romanos the priest from Dementisa	1695
Savvas Nigdeles from Nigdi Asia Minor	1726
Serapheim, Archbishop of Phanarion	1601
Simeon (Symeon), Bishop of Samokov	1737
Solomon the presbyter from Antioch	1820
Spas the clerk from Rodovisi	1794

Stamataios the Albanian merchant from Spetses	822
Stamataios the community leader	1680
Stefan Brancoveanu the son	1714
Symeon the goldsmith from Trebizond	1653
Theodore the artist from Neochori, Constantinople	1795
Theodore from Ophrynton, Dardanelles	1690
Theodore from Samothrake	1835
Theophanes the monk from Constantinople	1559
Theophilos the sailor from Zakynthos	1635
Triantaphylos (Timotheos) from Paraora	1820
Triantaphylos the sailor from Zagora, Magnesia	1680
Visarion bishop of Smolen	1670
Zacharias metropolitan of Corinth	1684
Zacharias the furrier from Arta	1782
Zacharias the monastic priest from Prousa	1802
Zlata (Chryse) the maiden from Muglena	1795