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RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG

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TOMASZ DERDA
ADAM ŁAJTAR
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FOUNDATION

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Paweł Nowakowski

THE SO-CALLED ANATOLIAN SAINTS IN EGYPT

THE EGYPTIAN AND ANATOLIAN PATTERNS OF SELECTIVE TRANSMISSION OF CULT*

EGYPT WAS ONE OF THE MOST QUICKLY CHRISTIANISED REGIONS. Nevertheless, even she was susceptible to the influence of the cults of foreign saints that rose in those parts of the Empire in which it took

* The article was written in the frame of a research project *Epigraphic patterns in the cult of saints in Asia Minor*. The project was carried out from February 2013 to January 2015 under the auspices of the Preludium 3 grant awarded by the Polish National Science Centre (no. DEC-2012/05/N/HS3/01517). In addition to the standard papyrological sigla, as listed in the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (available on-line at <<http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>>), the following abbreviations are used in the text: *I. North Galatia* = S. MITCHELL, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor*, II: *The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia* [= *British Archaeological Reports, International Series 135*], Oxford 1982; *P. Dem. Saq.* I = H. S. SMITH & W. J. TAIT, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri* [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations 7; Excavations at North Saqqâra Documentary Series 5*], London 1983. Work on the present paper was completed before the publication of the important contribution to the study of Anatolian Christian religious practice: S. DESTEPHEN, 'Martyrs locaux et cultes civiques en Asie Mineure', [in:] J. P. CAILLET *et alii* (eds.), *Des dieux civiques aux saints patrons (IV^e–VII^e siècle)* [= *Textes, images et monuments de l'Antiquité au haut Moyen Âge 12*], Paris 2015, pp. 59–116. The reader is advised to consult this work for further comments on the cults of specific Anatolian martyrs, which are discussed below.

Christianity a longer time to become the dominant religion. The area which appears to be the most influential in this respect is Asia Minor. Arietta Papaconstantinou points out that saints of Anatolian origin were the most prominent and numerous group among foreign saints venerated in Egypt in Late Antiquity.¹ Another list of saints enjoying extraordinary popularity in Egypt was created by Roger Bagnall² – and of course it also contains entries with names of Anatolian saints. These two breakdowns are the starting point of the present article. First I am going to compare the data provided by the said lists with the evidence of Anatolian inscriptions included in the corpus I am currently editing.³ Then I will examine the patterns of selection of saints whose cult was transmitted. I will look at the types of written non-literary sources (i.e. mostly inscriptions and papyri) that allow us to study the process of transmission, suggest some possible channels of transmission and make several remarks on the patterns of adoption of cults of foreign saints in Egypt. These issues are very complicated and of course cannot be thoroughly discussed in such a short paper, but an overall sketch supported by some general observations can be briefly introduced.

¹ Arietta PAPACONSTANTINO, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*, Paris 2001, p. 231.

² R. S. BAGNALL, 'Religious conversion and onomastic change', *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 19 (1982), pp. 110–111. Bagnall was actually studying popular Christian names and tried to use them to determine the possible moment of conversion of certain families. One of the paragraphs of his paper deals with the popularity of names of Christian saints reflecting their social recognizability. For a new approach to the issue of whether certain names can be considered as 'Christian' see M. DEPAUW & W. CLARYSSE, 'How Christian was fourth century Egypt? Onomastic perspectives on conversion', *Vigiliae Christianae* 67 (2013), pp. 407–435, and for the meaning of 'conversion', see D. FRANKFURTER, 'Onomastic statistics and the Christianization of Egypt: A response to Depauw and Clarysse', *Vigiliae Christianae* 68 (2014), pp. 284–289.

³ I included the first results of my research in the forthcoming article P. NOWAKOWSKI, 'Diffusion and functions of the cult of saints in Asia Minor up to the end of the 6th c. (the epigraphic evidence)', [in:] W. AMELING (ed.), *Die Christianisierung Kleinasiens in der Spätantike, Internationale Konferenz 18.03.–22.03.2013* (forthcoming). The corpus will be an integral part of my book dealing with this issue. Tables in this paper provide only excerpts from relevant statistics.

1. CHOOSING SAINTS

Table 1 below shows the aggregated written non-literary evidence for the veneration of eighteen saints of Anatolian origin whose cults are attested in Egypt according to the list of Papaconstantinou.⁴ At the same time, the cults of only eight of them⁵ are attested in the Anatolian epigraphic evidence. Further details on the spread of the Anatolian attestations of their cults are introduced in table 2a.⁶ One can notice that although table 2a consists of the said eight entries, a greater number of attestations is ascribed only to four saints. Conon is the most popular figure,⁷ then follow Thecla, Quiricus, and Theodore. On the other hand, Euphemia, Pantaleon, Plato,⁸ and Sisinnius are rarely attested.

In Egypt the above scheme is preserved (see table 2b: Theodore, Thecla, and Quiricus are very popular, though Conon appears less frequently). Similar conclusions can be drawn from Bagnall's list.⁹ He tries to determine which names of martyrs and other saints were especially popular

⁴ PAPACONSTANTINOÛ, *Le culte des saints en Égypte* (cit. n. 1), p. 231 n. 3.

⁵ In most cases scholars cannot discern which of the homonymous saints is mentioned. Actually, it is more accurate to say that the table shows the frequency of the occurrence of certain saints' names rather than of the attestations of cults of specific saints known from the hagiographic tradition.

⁶ Table 2a does not reflect the absolute popularity of these saints in Asia Minor. Attestations of the cult of saints of Anatolian origin are overwhelmed by inscriptions attesting to the cult of the Virgin Mary, Archangel Michael, and St. John the Apostle, while some non-Anatolian saints like Stephen or George were equally popular as those listed in this table. This issue is also studied in my paper: NOWAKOWSKI, 'Diffusion and functions of the cult of saints' (cit. n. 3).

⁷ This is most probably Conon of Isauria, who was said to have died in times of the Apostles and was also considered a powerful conqueror of demons (*BHG* 2077–2079). His sanctuary was located in Bidana, where a night festival was celebrated in his honour, see C. FOSS, 'Pilgrimage in medieval Asia Minor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), pp. 135–136. Conon, a gardener from Magydus (*BHG* 361) or Conon of Iconium (*BHG* 360) are much less probable.

⁸ Though the martyr shrine of Plato in Ancyra is described in literary sources as a major place of his cult (see: H. DELEHAYE, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Brussels 1912, p. 186), the saint is attested only once in epigraphical sources from Asia Minor, in *I. North Galatia* 427.

⁹ BAGNALL, 'Religious conversion' (cit. n. 2), p. III.

Table 1. Aggregated written non-literary evidence for the cult of Anatolian saints in Egypt and Asia Minor (numbers in parentheses refer to sources other than papyri)

<i>Saint</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Asia Minor</i>	
Theodore	47 / (6)	6	
Quiricus	17 / (4)	7	
Thecla	16 / (2)	8	
Euphemia	7 / (o)	o or 1?	For the geographical distribution of sources, see tables 2a and 2b
Conon	4 / (4!)	12	
Pantaleon	1 / (1!)	1	
Plato	1 / (1!)	1	
Sisinnius	1 / (1!)	1	
Dorotheus	7 / (o)	o	
Polyeuctus	5 / (5!)	o	
Mercurius	5 / (3)	o	
Phocas	3 / (o)	o	
Theopompus	2 / (2!)	o	For the geographical distribution of sources, see table 3
Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia	2 / (1) (7th / 8th c.)	o (before 9th c.)	
Calliopius	1 / (1!)	o	
Julitta	1 / (1!)	o or 1?	
Tarasius	1 / (1!)	o	
Elpidius	1 / (o)	o	

among the inhabitants of the Egyptian *chora*. This allows us to draw conclusions about the actual spread of cults of these saints among common people and gain some insight into the attitudes towards the cults of ‘foreign’ saints in every-day life.¹⁰ Despite the fact that Bagnall’s list consists

¹⁰ For a similar opinion on the relationship between name giving and the spreading of the cult of St. Thecla, see S. J. DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla. A Tradition of Women’s Piety in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2009, p. 174. The author provides also a list of places in which the name of this saint was especially popular: Fayum, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Aphrodite, Hermonthis, Thebes, and Syene.

of several dozen names, only two Anatolian martyrs are included: Theodore and Thecla. Thus, Bagnall's list may indicate that the influence of cults of other Anatolian martyrs is much overestimated.

Perhaps the most important conclusion for this section is, however, that the cults of some Anatolian saints are attested in Egypt, while the corresponding written non-literary sources from Anatolia say nothing about them.¹¹ Table 1 indicates ten such cases: Elpidius, Theopompus, Julitta,¹² Calliopius, Mercurius, Polyuctus, Tarasius, the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia,¹³ Phocas,¹⁴ and Dorotheus.¹⁵ This peculiar phenomenon can be explained only if we answer the question about the character of the collected evidence.

¹¹ Although the present paper deals with non-literary sources, it is necessary to remember that some of the mentioned saints are also listed in literary papyri. For example St. Thecla is attested in *P. Ant.* I 13 and *P. Oxy.* I 6, which contain the *Acts of Thecla* (see DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* [cit. n. 10], p. 85). Further evidence is provided by the non-written non-literary sources which include paintings or other depictions put onto walls, tombstones, small objects (like combs, lamps, etc.), or textiles, see *ibidem*, p. 86.

¹² D. FEISSEL, *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1987–2004*, Paris 2006, no. 517, argues that Julitta might occur in an inscription from Yanikhan in Cilicia. The conjectural reading *Κηρύκ(ου) <Ιου>λιττάς* is quite probable, even though no other Anatolian inscription mentions the mother of Quiricus before the 9th century. Of course the lack of epigraphic attestations does not mean that Julitta was not venerated in Anatolia – the veneration of a certain Julitta is attested, for example, by a homily of Basil devoted entirely to her (*PG* 31, coll. 237–262); cf. J. LEEMANS *et alii*, 'Let us die that we may live'. *Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. AD 350 – AD 450)*, London – New York 2003, p. 12.

¹³ To the best of my knowledge there are no references to the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in Anatolian epigraphical sources predating the 9th century. Later they are mentioned, for example, in, e.g., N. M. KONTOLÉON, 'Εἰδήσεις περὶ τῶν χριστιανικῶν μνημείων τῆς Νάξου' [in:] *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Τ. Ἀμάντου 1874–1960*, Athens 1960, no. 5; G. DE JERPHANION, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce II*, Paris 1942, pp. 158–159, no. 158.

¹⁴ Phocas is attested only in the Aegean Islands (see below).

¹⁵ The case of St. Dorotheus is more complicated. These attestations may refer to an indigenous Egyptian martyr, the so-called Arsinoite Dorotheus, but Papaconstantinou admits that there is the possibility that they can likewise refer to one of several Anatolian martyrs bearing this name. During the the 27th International Congress of Papyrology Jean Gascou delivered a paper on yet another Dorotheus – a holy ascetic living in the mountains close to Antinoopolis, attested by Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 2.

Table 2a. Geographical distribution of written non-literary sources attesting to the cult of selected Anatolian saints in Asia Minor

<i>Saint</i> <i>Province</i>	Conon	Thecla	Quiricus	Theodore	Pantaleon	Plato	Sisinnius	Euphemia	Total
Asia		1	1	1					3
Pamphylia I & II	2								2
Phrygia I & II		1	1		1				3
Pisidia	1								1
Lycaonia			1	1					2
Bithynia I & II								1 (?)	1 (?)
Hellenopontus			1	2					3
Armenia				1					1
Galatia I & II	2					1			3
Cappadocia I, II, & III	1	1	2						4
Isauria		4			1				5
Cilicia I & II	6	1	1	1					9
Total	12	8	7	6	1	1	1	1 (?)	37

Table 2b. Geographical distribution of written non-literary sources attesting to the cult of selected Anatolian saints in Egypt (numbers in parentheses refer to sources other than papyri)

<i>Saint</i> <i>Place</i>	Theodore	Quiricus	Thecla	Euphemia	Conon	Pantaleon	Plato	Sisinnius	Total
Abu Qir								1 (1)	1 (1)
Abu Mena					1 (1)				1 (1)
Arsinoites	16 (0)	1 (0)	11 (0)						28 (0)
Arabon	1 (0)								1 (0)
Oxyrhynchites	3 (0)		2 (0)	4 (0)					9 (0)
Antinoe	1 (0)	1 (1)							2 (1)
Hermopolites	14 (0)			3 (0)					17 (0)
Apollinopolites Heptakomias	1 (0)								1 (0)
Panopolis		1 (1)				1 (1)			2 (2)
Koptites	1 (0)								1 (0)
Djeme		7 (0)							7 (0)
Hermonthis	3 (0)	1 (0)							4 (0)
Apollonos Ano		1 (0)			1 (1)				2 (1)
Elephantine	1 (1)								1 (1)
Unidentified	6 (5)	5 (3)	3 (2)		2 (2)		1 (1)		17 (13)
Total	47 (6)	17 (5)	16 (2)	7 (0)	4 (4)	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	94 (20)

2. THE CHARACTER OF SOURCES

The proportions illustrated in table 1 may be at least partially explained by the fact that the meaning of ‘the written non-literary sources’ changes considerably when one juxtaposes Egypt with virtually any other area. There is no need to stress that this is caused by a large number of papyri which are lacking in Asia Minor. Because of that I mark the actual amount of Egyptian non-papyrological evidence by numbers in parentheses. This procedure reveals that some saints, although attested in Egypt, do not occur in papyri at all. The phenomenon is underlined by an exclamation mark put after each digit. It appears that this phenomenon pertains to the ten Anatolian saints who are attested in Egypt but are absent in the corresponding non-literary sources from Asia Minor. Table 3 below provides further details on these ten and portrays the spread of attestations of their cults in specific regions. The character of inscriptions attesting to their cults is also very specific – in the cases of Theopompus, Julitta, Calliopius, Poyeuctus, and Tarasius we are dealing exclusively with texts put on oil lamps. Theopompus is attested twice in this manner,¹⁶ Julitta once,¹⁷ Calliopius once,¹⁸ Poyeuctus five times,¹⁹ and Tarasius once.²⁰

¹⁶ (1) KATIA LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, ‘Ενεπίγραφοι κοπτικοὶ λύχνοι τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη’, *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας* (1970–1972), no. 12037; (2) O. WULFF, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, III: *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, 1: *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1909, no. 1282. In the case of lamps and ampullae the numbers on the list do not correspond to the actual number of all preserved objects but only to those cited by Papaconstantinou. She admits that an attempt to consider all of them would require a massive query in museums all over the world, because hundreds of such objects are still unpublished.

¹⁷ LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, ‘Ενεπίγραφοι κοπτικοὶ λύχνοι’ (cit. n. 16), no. 12022.

¹⁸ D. M. BAILEY, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, III: *Roman Provincial Lamps*, London 1988, Q 2218.

¹⁹ (1) Marie-Christine HELLMANN & Catherine TROST, *Lampes antiques du département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques*, III: *Lampes chrétiennes*, Paris 1996, no. 189; (2) Viviane HOFF, ‘Lampes romaines tardives et lampes chrétiennes en terre cuite’, [in:] Christiane LYON-CAEN & Viviane HOFF, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des lampes en terre cuite grecques et chrétiennes*, Paris 1986, no. 152; (3) Maria Ludwika BERNHARD, *Lampki starożytne* [Ancient lamps], Warsaw 1955, no. 360; (4) G. LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d’Égypte*, Paris 1907, no. 737; (5) SB I 4102.

The form of oil lamp inscriptions is in all cases but one identical: τοῦ ἁγίου δεῖνος. Only one inscription on a lamp is exceptional, as it reads as follows: ἡ ἁγία ἀμα Ἰουλίττα. Not only was the title ἀμα²¹ added to the formula but also the case, nominative, differs from the genitive occurring on other lamps.

Modern scholars still do not know much about this kind of source, because in most cases the whereabouts of lamp discoveries remain obscure. Usually there is no information on the archaeological context of these finds and there is no way to date them.²²

The main question is whether these lamps were brought to Egypt by pilgrims visiting foreign sanctuaries or were genuine Egyptian products. Katia Loverdou-Tsigarida points out that the clay used to produce the lamps kept in the Benaki Museum collection resembles that from the Fayum Oasis.²³ However, the examination of other exemplars (mostly from the British Museum) shows that they were manufactured chiefly near Aswan (at Elephantine some moulds were found too) and then distributed in Upper Egypt²⁴ and Nubia.²⁵ In addition, the scarcity of similar finds in other provinces strongly supports the supposition that these

²⁰ Marie-Christine HELLMANN, *Lampes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale*, I: *Collection Froebner*, Paris 1985, no. 75.

²¹ For the titles ἀββα / ἀπα / ἀμα / ἀμμα, see T. DERDA & Ewa WIPSYCZKA, 'L'emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* dans l'Égypte Byzantine', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1994), pp. 23–56; PAPAConstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte* (cit. n. 1), pp. 241–245.

²² See Pascale BALLEt, 'Lamps', [in:] EADEM, 'Ceramics, Coptic', [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia* II, New York – Toronto 1991, p. 494: 'The study of lamps suffers from an almost total absence of reliable elements for dating. Either because of method or because the context did not lend itself to doing so, archaeological work has rarely furnished data capable of allowing an approach at once typological and chronological.'

²³ LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, 'Ἐνεπίγραφοι κοπτικοὶ λύχνοι' (cit. n. 16), pp. 142–143.

²⁴ For the so called Early Christian Aswan Ware, see BALLEt, 'Lamps' (cit. n. 22), p. 495; PAPAConstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte* (cit. n. 1), pp. 20–21.

²⁵ Ugo Monneret de Villard lists twenty-four inscribed lamps that were found chiefly in the area of Faras but are of Egyptian origin. Some of them bear names of the same saints that were mentioned above: no. 6 – Julitta, no. 10 – Theopompus, no. 12 – Pantoleon, no. 22 – Polyuctus (U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La Nubia medioevale* I, Cairo 1935, pp. 281–284).

lamps are genuine Egyptian products.²⁶ Unfortunately, the objects lack any markings that would indicate whether they were made in large workshops or by local craftsmen.

Another ‘mystery’ is the actual use of these lamps. Loverdou-Tsigarida hypothesises that they played a certain role in the liturgy in Coptic milieus: those bearing the names of widely recognised saints could be in use on various occasions and those with the names of less popular figures only on the days of their feasts.²⁷ Stephen Davis supposes that such lamps could be votive offerings for miraculous healing.²⁸ This hypothesis is, however, unsustainable because so cheap and poorly crafted objects are

²⁶ A number of lamps of different materials (clay, bronze, etc.) and shape, inscribed with formulae referring to the blessing (*eulogia*) of the Virgin Mary, to a certain St. Elijah, and to St. Sabbas, were found also in north Syria and in Palestine. For the finds from Syria, see: *IGLSyr* I, nos. 218–219; W. J. FULCO, ‘A seven-holed oetokoc lamp’, *Berytus: Archaeological Studies* 27 (1979), pp. 27–28; J. JARRY, ‘Inscriptions arabes, syriaques et grecques du massif du Bélus en Syrie du nord (suite)’, *Annales islamologiques* 9 (1970), p. 212, no. 61. For those from Palestine, see Dina AVSHALOM-GORNI, Ayyelet TATCHER, & V. TZAFERIS, ‘The veneration of St. Sabas in southern Phoenicia: The evidence of a bronze oil lamp from Khirbet esh-Shubeika’, [in:] J. PATRICH (ed.), *The Sabaitic Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 98], Leuven 2001, pp. 347–352; S. LOFFREDA, *Lucerne bizantine in Terra Santa con iscrizioni in greco* [= *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior* 35], Jerusalem 1989; S. LOFFREDA, ‘Nuovi acquisti di lucerne bizantine’, *Liber Annuus* 60 (2010), pp. 363–376. The formulas, put on these lamps, are studied by Stanislao Loffreda in his paper ‘The Greek inscriptions on the Byzantine lamps from the Holy Land’, [in:] G. C. BOTTINI *et alii* (eds.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries. Archaeological Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo OFM* [= *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior* 36], Jerusalem 1990, pp. 475–500. The evidence of these lamps is, however, in many cases much different from that of the Egyptian ones. Some of them were precious objects, offered to sanctuaries as ex-votos (especially the one donated to the church or monastery of Sabbas in Khirbet esh-Shubeika in northwest Galilee). Furthermore, except for the exemplar dedicated to Sabbas, and the one marked with the name of Elijah, they were all distributed by a sanctuary or sanctuaries of Mary, whose cult differed from that of martyrs. The latter were produced apparently by a single workshop, run by a certain artisan Ioannes.

²⁷ LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, ‘Ἐνεπίγραφοι κοπτικοὶ λύχνοι’ (cit. n. 16), p. 142.

²⁸ DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), p. 65: ‘For pilgrims seeking healing at early Byzantine shrines, the ritualization of their experience could take various forms: the preparation of the votive lamp etc.’

Table 3. Geographical distribution of written non-literary sources attesting to the cult of selected Anatolian saints in Egypt (numbers in parentheses refer to sources other than papyri)

<i>Saint</i> <i>Place</i>	Dorotheus	Polyeuctus	Mercurius	Phocas	Theopompus	The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia	Calliopius	Julitta	Tarasius	Elpidius	Total
Saqqara					1 (t)						1 (t)
Arsinoites	6 (o)										6 (o)
Oxyrynchites				1 (o)							1 (o)
Hermopolites			1 (o)						1 (o)		2 (o)
Qena					1 (t)						1 (t)
Koptos		1 (t)									1 (t)
Karnak		1 (t)									1 (t)
Thebes		1 (t)		1 (t)							2 (2)
Luxor				1 (t)							1 (t)
Hermonthis							1 (o)				1 (o)
Apollonos Ano		1 (t)									1 (t)
Dabod		1 (t)									1 (t)
unidentified	1 (o)		2 (t)	2 (o)	1 (t)		1 (t)	1 (t)	1 (t)		9 (5)
Total	7 (o)	5 (5)	5 (3)	3 (o)	2 (2)	2 (t)	1 (t)	1 (t)	1 (t)	1 (o)	28 (14)

by no means suitable to express one's gratitude towards a saint. It is much more probable that they were ordered from the Aswan workshop(s) by the authorities of Upper Egyptian shrines and then given to pilgrims as a kind of a souvenir, a reminder of the pilgrimage or of the offering made to a given saint. The practice of distributing ἀντίδωρα ('return-gifts') is well attested for Christian pilgrimage centres. A good parallel are spoons inscribed with the command φάγε μάνα. Although found in Egypt they are thought to have been manufactured in Ephesus – a major place of the cult of St. John the Apostle²⁹ – and then taken away by a pilgrim as a kind of a souvenir.³⁰ Once taken from a sanctuary our lamps could be used for various aims. For example, they could be placed in tombs to protect the soul of the deceased³¹ or in houses for apotropaic reasons.

Another explanation is that these lamps were used simply to illuminate the interior of churches (a source of light was required to be constantly present). Nard oil and balsamic oil were also poured into oil lamps to produce smell sensations, very important for the faithful. In the treatise on vainglory John Chrysostom complains that fragrances and lamps catch the attention of the faithful more than sermons they should listen to.³² In addition, the oil from lamps hung over saints' tombs and reliquaries was perceived as a remedy for various physical afflictions and was used to exorcise demons.³³ Pilgrims could take this oil as *eulogia* and small

²⁹ Ephesus was renowned for the tomb of St. John the Apostle, which produced a kind of white powder, called *manna*, during the annual feast of the saint; see Arietta PAPAConstantinou, 'La manne de saint Jean. À propos d'un ensemble de cuillers inscrites', *Revue des études byzantines* 59 (2001), pp. 239–246, and A. PÜLZ, 'Ephesos als christliches Pilgerzentrum', *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 16 (2010), pp. 71–102.

³⁰ PAPAConstantinou, 'La manne de saint Jean' (cit. n. 29), p. 241.

³¹ See Arietta PAPAConstantinou, 'Au-delà de l'hagiographie: réflexions sur les sources de l'histoire du culte des saints à Byzance', [in:] Béatrice CASEAU *et alii* (eds.), *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'antiquité et le moyen âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, Paris 2006, p. 333; PAPAConstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte* (cit. n. 1), pp. 20–21, 349–350.

³² See: Béatrice CASEAU, 'Christian bodies: The senses and early Byzantine Christianity', [in:] L. JAMES (ed.), *Desire and Denial in Byzantium* [= *Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies* 6], Adlershot 1999, p. 107.

³³ This practice is attested, for example, by miraculous stories from the sanctuary of St. Menas in Abu Mina; see Béatrice CASEAU, 'The senses in religion: Liturgy, devotion and

clay lamps were natural vessels to store it.³⁴ Finally, Stephen Davis³⁵ supposes that the lamps could be used during night vigils, but he does not develop this idea elsewhere in his book.³⁶

A very disturbing issue is that most of the saints attested by oil lamp inscriptions are not mentioned in other texts. Documentary sources say nothing about institutionalised places of cult dedicated to these figures. Their names (e.g. Calliopius, Polyeuctus, Tarasius) are, likewise, extremely exotic – they are virtually absent from the list of Greek personal names used in Anatolia³⁷ and from lists of the so-called ‘Christian’ names used by the Egyptians.³⁸ This tempts us to conjecture that there was no institutionalised cult of these saints and their names were put onto oil lamps

deprivation’, [in:] R. NEWHAUSER (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2014, p. 105.

³⁴ The mid-6th c. *Life* of St. Nicholas, abbot of the monastery of Holy Sion in Lycia (south Asia Minor) contains an interesting passage on the use of oil, stored in oil lamps in the church of St. Theodore in Diolkos in the Egyptian Delta. When Nicholas came to this village during his visit to Egypt, he met there ‘a blind man, named Anthony, who dwelt in the holy church, unable to see anything at all’. It is then said that the man spent all his wealth on physicians, who were nevertheless unable to find a remedy for his affliction. Having heard this ‘the servant of God Nicholas said to him: «And why did you not put your faith in the saints? You would have been cured free of charge» (...) (and he) stood praying over him. And he took oil from the lamp of Saint Theodore (ἐπήρην ἔλαιον ἐκ τῆς κανδήλας τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου), and made the sign of the cross upon his eyes, and said to him: «I have faith in God that tomorrow you will see the glory of God with your own eyes». See I. ŠEVČENKO & Nancy PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO (eds.), *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* [= *Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources* 10], Brookline, MA 1984, chapter 33. Again, in chapter 40 of this work, we find a similar description of a miracle worked by Nicholas in his own monastery. One day Nicholas was visited by a couple, asking him to cure their infertility. The *Life* says that the saint ‘stood and prayed for a long time, and taking oil from the lamp (λαβὼν ἔλαιον ἐκ τῆς κανδήλας), he marked them with the sign of the cross, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’.

³⁵ DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), p. 65.

³⁶ DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), pp. 172–173: the lamps are mentioned only as a kind of object bearing the name of St. Thecla. On p. 176 the author claims that the lamps were carried by pilgrims (just like ampullae).

³⁷ See LGPN 5a: *Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia*.

³⁸ See M. DEPAUW & W. CLARYSSE, ‘How Christian was fourth century Egypt?’ (cit. n. 2).

as a result of an hagiographical programme composed by a learned craftsman or his principal.

In the case of saints attested in both Asia Minor and Egypt, defining the context of their occurrence is harder because the character of the evidence differs greatly: from papyri to various small objects. The non-papyrological evidence consists mostly of small items of unknown origin, although this time not only oil lamps. Nevertheless, the main difference is papyri which occur in large numbers. They form up to two-thirds of all attestations of the cults of these saints. The papyrological evidence is usually produced by administration and so almost none of the surviving papyri were used as a medium bearing a prayer or a request for help addressed to an Anatolian saint.³⁹ In the papyrological evidence names of saints were applied in receipts, agreements and administrative texts to identify certain places of cult and persons affiliated with them, sometimes to name feasts of saints (but again only for administrative purposes).⁴⁰ On the other hand, the 'written communication' with a saint was flourishing in the form of graffiti and (to a lesser extent) monumental inscriptions.⁴¹

To sum up, the above analysis allows us to divide the discussed saints into two groups. Those appearing in both Anatolian inscriptions and

³⁹ Only a few papyri contain names of saints embedded in prayers or magical formulas: *P. Dem. Saq.* I 203 contains a litany that mentions the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia; *P. Amb.* I 9b contains a prayer to St. Phocas; *PGM* II 5c includes a request for help addressed to St. Mercurius and St. Phocas; *P. Oxy.* VII 1060 preserves a request for protection from venomous snakes, likewise addressed to St. Phocas.

⁴⁰ E.g. *P. Oxy.* XVI 1993 is a receipt for bringing 4 artabas of barley by John, a deacon and *oeconomus* of a shrine of St. Thecla.

⁴¹ This refers mostly to Asia Minor where the evidence for inscribed or scratched prayers and requests is abundant. Good examples are numerous graffiti from Ephesus, for which see R. PILLINGER, 'Neue Entdeckungen in der sogenannten Paulusgrotte von Ephesos', *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 6 (2000), pp. 16–19, and IDEM, 'Vielschichtige Neuigkeiten in der sog. Paulusgrotte von Ephesos (dritter vorläufiger Bericht, zu den Jahren 2003 und 2004)', *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 11 (2005), pp. 56–62. The amount of similar epigraphic evidence from Egypt is much smaller; see, e.g., *SB* I 1563, an epitaph with a request for salvation addressed to the God of St. Collouthus, or *SB* I 1564, an epitaph with a request for salvation addressed to Jesus, St. Colluthus, and St. Thecla.

Egyptian papyri (tables 2a and 2b) play the role of patrons of sanctuaries. Let us call them ‘primary saints’. As eponyms of landmarks and annual feasts they played an important role in the public space. For this reason they were often mentioned in documents. On the other hand, those whose names appear only on Egyptian small objects (especially on oil lamps) could be deprived of autonomous cult places (table 3). Let us call them ‘secondary saints’. They could be depicted in paintings or their relics could be venerated only in chapels or in side apses. Marie Christine Comte in her study of reliquaries from the Near East⁴² notices that names of minor saints receiving cult in a sanctuary were apparently not inscribed anywhere, even if their relics were present. In this light the fact that more saints of Anatolian origin occur in Egypt than in Asia Minor may be due to the fact that in the latter region the non-literary sources attesting to the cult of secondary saints were either unknown (inscribed oil lamps) or destroyed in later centuries (like pre-iconoclastic paintings). Thus it may be that we do not see the lack of certain cults in Anatolia but rather the lack of sources that can reveal them.

3. CREATIVE ADAPTATION OR PASSIVE ADOPTION?

The fact that names of the so-called primary saints were used in the public space surely led to their firm embedment in social consciousness. However, it indicates only that the knowledge of the existence of foreign saints was rather profound. It says nothing about the way their cults were adopted. Such a problem leads to the question: Were the cults of Anatolian saints simply copied or developed? Did passive adoption take place or creative adaptation?

The non-literary sources I discuss provide limited possibilities for investigating the character of rituals. Nevertheless some clues are available. First of all the creativity of the locals is revealed when the feast of a generally recognised saint is moved to another, unusual day. The exclu-

⁴² Marie-Christine COMTE, *Les reliquaries du Proche-Orient et de Chypre à la période protobyzantine (IV^e–VIII^e siècles)* [= *Bibliothèque de l'antiquité tardive* 20], Turnhout 2012, pp. 106–107.

sively Egyptian titles *αββα* / *απα* / *αμα* / *αμμα* are also a sign of creative approach towards the way saints were invoked. So is the fact that in Egypt some saints were called *lords* or *masters*. The titles *κύριος* and *κυρία* were used there interchangeably with the epithet *ἄγιος*.⁴³ Saints called so were, for example, Anna, mother of the Virgin Mary, a certain Ammonia, called *ἡ κυρία μου* (SB XII ΠΙΟΙ4), and the Anatolian martyr Theodore, addressed *παχθωε* (CPR IV 117). It seems that the habit of calling saints in this manner developed under the influence of non-Greek languages: while the Anatolian Greeks did not know it, some comparative material is available from the Near East. A good example is a bilingual inscription from the Judaeen Hills⁴⁴ in which St. John the Baptist is called *κύριος*. In this case the Greek version follows its Aramaic counterpart: MARA YOHANA.

An important aspect of the Egyptians' creativity is the introduction of an unusual medium – the aforementioned oil lamps. These lamps are unknown in Asia Minor and thus one can conclude that the Egyptians were not reluctant to place foreign saints in a completely new ritual context. But the situation is even more paradoxical: in several cases the Egyptians adopted the cults of Anatolian saints that were rarely mentioned in Anatolia itself and put their names on a completely new kind of ritual object.

Bearing in mind the Egyptians' creativity one cannot, however, forget about highlighting the opposite matter. Despite certain innovations in the cults of individual figures, the evaluation of Anatolian saints seems to be copied exactly from Asia Minor. In both regions the same, limited range of Anatolian saints was considered to be suitable as patrons of churches. Others played less important roles.

⁴³ PAPACONSTANTINOU, *Le culte des saints en Égypte* (cit. n. 1), pp. 245, 247–248: 'L'emploi de *κύριος* / *κυρία* (seigneur / dame) et de son équivalent copte *ϫθωε* est un peu plus courant. En grec, comme d'ailleurs en latin, il remplace le terme *ἄγιος* / *ἁγία*.'

⁴⁴ R. HORNING, 'Verzeichnis von Mosaiken aus Mezopotamien, Syrien, Palästina und dem Sinai', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1909), pp. 133–134; cf. Y. E. MEIMARIS, *Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine*, Athens 1986, p. 101.

4. POSSIBLE CHANNELS OF TRANSMISSION

The spreading of the cults of foreign saints requires some channels of transmission of beliefs. Their nature is an extremely interesting issue, yet modern historians still do not know much about how these channels developed and functioned.

Stephen J. Davis argues that in Egypt Alexandria was a seedbed of new cults.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the model he proposes to explain the diffusion of Thecla's cult is rather implausible.⁴⁶ He believes that the *Acts of Thecla* were once a part of the *Acts of Paul*, mentioned by Origen already in the third century.⁴⁷ Then he assumes that since Origen put these passages in his writings, he also spread knowledge of the *Acts* in the Alexandrian milieu – and because of his esteem and influence his views on the value of the *Acts* could be easily accepted. At first they were adopted by the Christian elites of the city and then diffused across the *chora*. This theory is, however, only an inconclusive conjecture based on citations of the *Acts of Paul* (not of Thecla!) in two works by Origen. Another objection is that Davis does not distinguish the early third-century esteem of saints from the cult activities characteristic of the fifth and the sixth century. I doubt that there was a direct continuity between the attention Origen paid to St. Thecla (if any) and the much later forms of her cult. They were certainly adopted independently in the latter period.

In the second part of his theory Davis explains how the cult spread among Egyptian villages. He points out that the cult of Thecla was flourishing in the Mareotis, close to the sanctuary of St. Menas.⁴⁸ Egyptian

⁴⁵ Cf. T. ORLANDI, 'Hagiography', [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia* IV, New York – Toronto 1991, p. 1191.

⁴⁶ DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), pp. 85–86, 172–177.

⁴⁷ Orig., *De principiis* I 2 (PG 11, col. 132: these *Acts of Paul* were different from the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*); Orig., *Comm. in Jo.* XX 12 (PG 14, col. 599). A Coptic translation of some *Acts of Paul* was edited by K. SCHMIDT, *Acta Pauli. Übersetzung, Untersuchungen und koptischer Text*, Leipzig 1905.

⁴⁸ The existence of this sanctuary is just a conjecture based on the association of St. Menas with a female character in depictions from ampullae found in the Mareotis and on a passage in the Coptic *Miracles of St. Menas*, see: DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), pp. 120–133.

pilgrims visiting the shrine contributed to the fame of her cult. Soon the means of spreading the cult became numerous: they were no longer just pilgrims' tales and souvenirs brought by them from the sanctuary but also books, daily usage products, funerary decorations, institutions called after the saint, and even children bearing her name.⁴⁹

However, other scholars studying Egyptian hagiography argue that the role played by Alexandria may be much overestimated. We know that in the *chora* itself there were numerous religious centres that produced influential hagiographic writings and independently introduced cults of foreign saints. One of them is the White Monastery which Johannes Leipoldt and Tito Orlandi see as the place where 'most of the translations from Greek into Coptic were produced'.⁵⁰ We must remember that common Christians usually had access to knowledge about foreign saints via such pieces of hagiographic writings read in their churches. Thus the role of these texts and of the clergy producing or selecting them becomes especially important for the spreading of cults.

The identification of foreign milieus influencing these centres is even more conjectural. It may be, however, instructive that the Anatolian saints mentioned in this paper are mostly martyrs, whom the ancient Christian tradition ascribes to eastern and southern Asia Minor,⁵¹ especially Isauria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. The links between Christians from Egypt and southeast Asia Minor are claimed to be strong by Eusebius, who tells a story of Egyptian followers visiting their spiritual brothers condemned to work in Cilician mines at the beginning of the fourth century.⁵² Though these links could be sustained, it seems, however, that the cults of several Anatolian saints may have been adopted not

⁴⁹ DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), pp. 172–177.

⁵⁰ T. ORLANDI, 'Coptic literature', [in:] A. PEARSON & J. E. GOEHRING (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia 1986, p. 70; cf. Ewa WIPSZYCKA, 'Saint Claude à Pohe: un exemple du fonctionnement d'un sanctuaire de pèlerinage dans l'Égypte de l'Antiquité tardive', [in:] A. ŁAJTAR, A. OBLUSKI, & Iwona ZYCH (eds.), *Aegyptus and Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Warsaw 2016, p. 283.

⁵¹ Among the saints discussed, Theodore, Conon, Quiricus, Julitta, Tarasius, Polyuctus, and Calliopius are said to have lived or died in this region.

⁵² Eus., *MP X I*; XI 6.

directly from Asia Minor but via Antioch on the Orontes. According to Jerome's Martyrology⁵³ Phocas, Quiricus, and Julitta enjoyed special veneration there. The city of Antioch is also an important place for Coptic hagiography: it is the main theatre of the Basilides Cycle⁵⁴ and Severus, bishop of Antioch, is likewise a prominent figure in Coptic hagiographic writings. He is even credited with the initiation of the cult of St. Claudius in such a small place as Pohe.⁵⁵

The Egyptians could also draw from the abundant hagiographic traditions of Palestine. Palestinian Christians were deeply interested in the monastic culture of Egypt (one can, for example, recall the story of PALLADIUS who was sent there by Melania to investigate the local ways of monastic life) but at the same time they also passed their own beliefs to Egypt and influenced Egyptian literary culture. One should not forget that it was Palestine where the *Apophthegmata Patrum* were for the first time integrated into great collections.⁵⁶

The Eastern Delta, Pelusium, and Sinai could be places of intellectual exchange. The routes of long-distance pilgrimages led through this area and the story⁵⁷ of the Holy Fathers of Sinai shows an interesting model of the diffusion of cults that resulted from such an undertaking. The story deals with forty martyred monks from the monastery of Sinai and another forty from Rhaithou. All of them were allegedly murdered at the same

⁵³ DELEHAYE, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (cit. n. 8), p. 198: *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, 5 III (Phocas); *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, 16 VI: *Antiochiae Cirici et Iulittae matris eius et aliorum CCCCIII* (Quiricus and Julitta).

⁵⁴ ORLANDI, 'Hagiography' (cit. n. 45), p. 1193.

⁵⁵ WIPSYCKA, 'Saint Claude à Pohe' (cit. n. 50), p. 286.

⁵⁶ L. REGNAULT, 'Apophthegmata Patrum', [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia* I, New York – Toronto 1991, p. 177.

⁵⁷ The story is known thanks to two works: *The Report Concerning the Slaughter of the Monks of Sinai and Rhaithou* by Ammonius and *Narrations Concerning the Slaughter of the Monks of Sinai and the Captivity of Theodulus* by Ps.-Nilus. For a new translation with detailed commentary, see D. F. CANER *et alii*, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai* [= *Translated Texts for Historians* 53], Liverpool 2010. The first work is much more interesting. It survived in five translations: Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian and in two different recensions, see *ibidem*, p. 58.

time during a ‘Saracen’ raid. The slaughter in Sinai was seen by accident by Ammonius, a monk from Canopus, who was on his journey to the Holy Land. He survived, returned to Egypt (but not to Alexandria!), and then wrote down a report of this event. The work was eagerly read and soon the cult of these new Forty Martyrs emerged in Egypt and in the Near East. The whole story is obviously fictional, though Bernard Flusin argues that it may have been actually based on three different real events, later mixed with each other and fictionalised.⁵⁸ What is important here, nevertheless, are the plot of the travelling monk and the introduction of a new cult due to his writings. The mechanism the story illustrates must have been familiar to the author of the *Report*, whoever he actually was, and an event from the life of Athanasius can be a very good example of this model really working.⁵⁹ In one of the works of Gregory of Nazianzus⁶⁰ the famous Alexandrian bishop is said to have made a pilgrimage to Thecla’s sanctuary in Seleucia. Gregory narrates that after returning to Egypt Athanasius wrote a *Life of Thecla*⁶¹ in order to popularise her cult. Perhaps Athanasius was driven by a practical need: he wanted to produce guidelines for the so-called Alexandrian virgins.⁶² Cults of several other Anatolian saints (e.g. Theodore, Plato, Conon) are likely to have been introduced to the Egyptians in a similar manner.

⁵⁸ CANER *et alii*, *History and Hagiography* (cit. n. 57), pp. 59–61, and R. SOLZBACHER, *Mönche, Pilger und Sarazen. Studien zum Frühchristentum auf der südlichen Sinaihalbinsel. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn islamischer Herrschaft*, Altenberge 1989, pp. 22–242. The stories written by Ammonius and Ps.-Nilus may be based on three raids of nomadic tribes. The first was reflected in Ps.-Nilus’s *Narration*, the second and third in Ammonius’s *Report*.

⁵⁹ See DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), p. 86.

⁶⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio XXI in laudem Athanasii* 22 (PG 35, col. 1105); cf. the introduction in PG 25, p. xxvii, no. 17: ‘In schedis quibusdam Emerici Bigotii τοῦ μακαρίτου, quae penes me sunt, fertur esse quaedam beatae Theclae Vita in bibliotheca Scorialensi, quae Athanasii nomen praeferat’.

⁶¹ For a brief discussion concerning the attestations of this lost work, see DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), p. 86 n. 17.

⁶² DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla* (cit. n. 10), pp. 174–175. For a general introduction to the question of Athanasius’s writings concerning virginity, see Ewa WIPSYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e–VIII^e siècles)* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement Series* 11], Warsaw 2009, pp. 591–596.

The lexical evidence points to yet another possible channel of transmission, the Aegean milieu, because of the remarkable spelling of the name of St. Polyeuctus: *τοῦ ἁγίου Πολύοκτος*. The name of the saint was spelt so only in Egypt; however, such spelling, when used for the names of common people, is attested also in the Balkan Peninsula, in the Aegean Islands and on the Ionian coast. The Aegean background is also characteristic of the cult of St. Phocas. Several significant epigraphic attestations of his cult come from the island of Syros.⁶³ Moreover, the saint was known as a patron of islanders and sailors, perhaps due to the fact that he appears as a saviour of ships in his *Life* and that the translation of his relics to Constantinople took place over the course of a maritime procession.⁶⁴

Another influential channel of transmission, close to the Aegean Islands, could be Constantinople. Even some cults of Anatolian saints were spread in Anatolia herself only because they had been introduced earlier in the capital. Such was the scheme of the diffusion of the cult of St. Artemius, who at first enjoyed only a local cult but subsequently, when his relics were brought to Constantinople, became a generally recognised saint. Constantinople was a crucial communication hub and a place where various people, sometimes of great local influence, could see new cults and then introduce them in their homelands. As the site of councils, both regular and ecumenical, the city attracted bishops and as the capital it attracted regular people, clergymen, and monks, including some from Egypt. A papyrus from the Apion archive (*P. Oxy.* LXIII 4397) contains an account of litigation between the Apion family and the monastery of Apa Hierax. Its object was a plot of land illegally twice mortgaged by a certain Diogenes – first to the monastery and later to the Apions. The lawsuit and its outcome⁶⁵ should not concern us. What matters is the fact

⁶³ (1) G. KIOURTZIAN, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades, de la fin du III^e au VIII^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris 2000, no. 71 = *IG XII* 5, no. 712/56; (2) *IG XII* 5, no. 712/58.

⁶⁴ DELEHAYE, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (cit. n. 8), p. 67 (cf. Ioannes Chrisostomus, *De sancto hieromartyre Phoca*, PG 50, coll. 699–706).

⁶⁵ For a good overview of the case and further literature, see J. URBANIK, 'P. Oxy. LXIII 4397: The monastery comes first or pious reasons before earthly securities', [in:] Anne BOUD'HORS *et aliae* (eds.), *Monastic Estates in late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt / Ostraca*,

that the owner of the plot and Theophilus, the representative of the monks, both came from Egypt but met in Constantinople. The agreement was signed there too. Although this case has nothing to do with religious issues, it illustrates the presence of this city in the life of the Egyptians.

The Constantinopolitan network of churches mirrors the gradual development of various cults in the city. It is discussed by Raymond Janin.⁶⁶ His list provides attestations to the cults of almost all Anatolian saints that occur in tables 2a and 2b (that is the 'primary saints' with cults attested by papyri),⁶⁷ but severe discrepancies occur when one compares the list with Table 3 (saints whose names were put on oil lamps). Virtually none of them enjoyed his or her own place of cult in the capital.⁶⁸

Papyri, and Essays in Memory of Sarah Clackson, Cincinatti 2009, pp. 225–235, and WIPSY-CKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques* (cit. n. 62), pp. 329–330, 332.

⁶⁶ R. JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin. Première partie. Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat oecuménique*, III: *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1953.

⁶⁷ Only Sissinius is missing. Euphemia (JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique* III [cit. n. 66], pp. 126–136) is known thanks to several foundations. The oldest was said to have been built ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ during the reign of Constantine or, according to another tradition, in Chalcedon during the council of 451. Thecla (*ibidem*, pp. 148–150) had three sanctuaries in the capital from the mid-fifth century. Theodore (*ibidem*, p. 159) was venerated in more than a dozen of sanctuaries; his oratory may have existed there already in the first half of the fifth century. Conon (*ibidem*, pp. 293–294) was the patron of a church and a renowned monastery which was attested in 532, though it did not appear on lists of monasteries dated to 518 and 536. Quiricus (*ibidem*, pp. 157, 302–303) was the patron of at least one monastery attested in 462/3 by Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, and in 536 in the acts of the contemporary council. Relics of Pantaleon / Panteleemon were brought to the capital by Theodora, wife of Justinian, or by the wife of emperor Theophilus (9th c.: *ibidem*, p. 401). A single martyr shrine of St. Plato (*ibidem*, p. 418) was built by Anastasius and extended by Justinian. Generally speaking, the role of Justinian was very important in the development of this network. This may be a natural consequence of the fact that his reign is so well mirrored in sources and his buildings replaced some older ones.

⁶⁸ Among the five attested figures only two (the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia and Phocas) enjoyed a greater number of cult places in the capital. The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique* III [cit. n. 66], pp. 498–502) were patrons of seven sanctuaries; some of them existed already in 434–446, but according to *Chronicon paschale* the martyrs' relics were found by Pulcheria not earlier than in 451. St. Phocas (*ibidem*, pp.

Some pieces of evidence seem to suggest that Nicomedia, another powerful seat of imperial authority, could also play a certain role in the process of transmission. Nicomedia was likewise a major crossroads, close to Constantinople and eagerly visited by emperors. The city maintained a rich hagiographic tradition⁶⁹ and appears in a considerable number of *Lives* of the discussed Anatolian martyrs.⁷⁰ There are also two more Anatolian towns that appear frequently in the *Lives* of these saints: Melitene⁷¹ and Pompeiopolis.⁷² I guess that the adoption of the cults (possibly) deriving from these places may be due to the import of relics from local *martyria*.⁷³ This would explain the presence of the cults of the 'secondary saints'. Their relics were surely circulated but as they were not patrons of churches their names had limited possibilities of occurrence in documentary papyri. Another aspect of the import of relics was also overcoming distrust of certain characters. Arietta Papaconstantinou wonders why St. Euphemia, a genuine 'Chalcedonian' saint, was accepted in Egypt.⁷⁴ However, some relics of this or another Euphemia were brought

513–515) was the patron of two churches and two monasteries since at least 448–518; his cult was strongly supported by emperor Phocas. A monastery of St. Elpidius (*ibidem*, p. 117) existed already in 448. Two churches of St. Polyeuctus (*ibidem*, pp. 419–429) were founded by Anicia Juliana. St. Tarasius (*ibidem*, pp. 497–498) was a patriarch of Constantinople between 784 and 806, so the church consecrated to him must be of a later date. The following saints are missing: Theopompus, Julitta, Calliopius, Mercurius, and Dorotheus.

⁶⁹ The so-called *Martyrologium Syriacum* was actually based on the *Nicomedian Calendar*, see B. MARIANI, *Breviarium Syriacum, seu Martyrologium Syriacum saec. IV iuxta Cod. SM. Musaei Britannici Add. 12150*, Rome 1956.

⁷⁰ In the *Lives* of Theopompus, Pantaleon, Sisinnius, Dorotheus.

⁷¹ In the *Lives* of Polyeuctus and Dorotheus.

⁷² In the *Lives* of Calliopius and Tarasius.

⁷³ Cf. R. WIŚNIEWSKI, 'Local and overseas saints in the religious identity of late antique Roman Africa', *Sacris Erudiri* 52 (2013), pp. 107–108: after the relics of St. Stephen had been brought to Hippo and miracles started to happen, the popularity of the saint significantly raised.

⁷⁴ PAPACONSTANTINO, *Le culte des saints en Égypte* (cit. n. 1), p. 86. Cf. JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique III* (cit. n. 66), pp. 126–136.

to Alexandria apparently before the famous council,⁷⁵ and therefore they could have later helped the locals to ‘forget’ about her ‘Chalcedonian’ connotations.

The above explanations are still hypothetical, although the general conclusion seems undisputable: the transmission of cults was a complex issue and we cannot narrow it down to a single method.

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⁷⁵Theophanes says that the relics were deposited on 26 September 439/40; for further comments, see *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, trans. & ed. C. MANGO & R. SCOTT, with the assistance of G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997. The existence of Euphemia’s martyr church is corroborated by Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor. He says that a group of anti-Chalcedonian (!) monks had assembled there before their representatives had an interview with Peter, bishop of Alexandria under the emperor Zeno (see Ps.-Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* VI 2). The church was located in the western outskirts of the city.