

Saint Julian of Cilicia

A study of his cult and hagiography, including the edition and English translation of the Greek *Passio S. Iuliani Anazarbeni* (BHG 966) and its *Epitome* (BHG 967d)

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Summary

This paper offers a comprehensive study of the hagiography and cult of Julian of Cilicia and the first full edition of the Greek *Passio* (BHG 966) and its epitome (BHG 967d). These texts provide new information which allow a solution of the old problem of the connection between the stories of Julian of Cilicia and the Egyptian martyrs Julian and Basilissa of Antinoopolis.

The story of the Cilician martyr Ioulianos/Julian has a special position in the study of Greek hagiography in Late Antiquity. It is attested very early through a homily of John Chrysostom written in the 380s or 390s (CPG 4360, BHG 967), which recently received its first critical edition by Nathalie Rambault and Pauline Allen.¹ The saint was also the subject of Severus of Antioch's *Cathedral Homily 75* (CPG 7035), which is preserved in Syriac translation.² Finally, Saint Julian is one of the very few martyrs whose hagiography is preserved in a late antique manuscript, since a fragment of a version of his *Passio* is known from a probably fifth or sixth-century parchment folio from Akhmin in Egypt (BHG 965).³ This fragment was associated by Joseph Van den

¹ N. RAMBAULT – P. ALLEN, *Jean Chrysostome. Panégyriques de martyrs I* (=SC, 595), Paris, 2018; PG 50, col. 665-676; English translation by W. MAYER in J. LEEMANS et al., *Let Us Die that We May Live: Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. 350-c. 450 AD)*, London - New York, 2003, p. 126-140; Summary: E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E02544 (online database: <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E02544>).

² M. BRIÈRE, *Les Homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche: Homélie LXX à LXXVI*, in *PO 57* (Paris, 1915), p. 112-132.

³ J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Un fragment des Actes de Saint Julien d'Anazarbe*, in *AB*, 15 (1896), p. 73-76 ; A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen*

Gheyn with the Greek *Passio* BHG 966, of which only an excerpt has been published so far. Albert Ehrhard pointed out the existence of the Egyptian martyr Julian of Antinoopolis, whose feast was celebrated on the same day as Julian of Cilicia, and raised the question of the relationship between their hagiographies. This idea was reiterated by Wolfgang Lackner who, in a brief note, suggested that the story of the martyr of Cilicia preceded that of Antinoopolis.⁴ The Greek hagiography of Julian of Antinoopolis and his consort Basilissa received a critical edition without commentary by François Halkin, and more recently it was discussed in depth by Anne Alwis.⁵ The question of the relationship between the two Julians, however, has remained unanswered. This paper will attempt to elucidate this problem through a comprehensive study of the hagiography and cult of Julian of Cilicia in the light of new evidence provided by the first full edition of his Greek *Passio* (BHG 966) and its epitome (BHG 967d).

The martyr of Cilicia and his feasts in and outside the province

Although our earliest dated sources for Julian of Cilicia are Antiochene (John Chrysostom and Severus of Antioch), they unanimously affirm that the martyr's cult was introduced to Antioch from neighbouring Cilicia. The saint's association with that province, however, becomes most evident from Julian's martyrdom account itself, since it presents its hero as the common patron of the cities of Cilicia. In the *Passio* (BHG 966), the persecutor threatens to parade Julian through every city, and the martyr welcomes the prospect of an itinerant martyrdom which will establish his cult at multiple locations, *so that the people may invoke me as their first helper in the cities to intercede on their behalf*.⁶ In the homily of Severus of Antioch, the saint prophesies that *every city is going to raise a monument to my valiant triumph, and will proclaim that Christ has granted my contest*.⁷ Did this prophecy come true, and did the three cities

Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, Band I (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 50), Leipzig, 1937, p. 70-72.

⁴ W. LACKNER, *Ein epigraphisches Zeugnis für den Praeses Ciliciae Marcianus in der Passion des Iulianus von Anazarbos*, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 27.1 (1973), p. 53-55, esp. 55.

⁵ F. HALKIN, *La Passion ancienne des saints Julien et Basilisse* (BHG 970-971), in *AB*, 98 (1980), p. 241-296. Reproduced with English translation in: A. P. ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages in Late Antique and Byzantine Hagiography: the Lives of Saints Julian and Basilissa, Andronikos and Athanasia, and Galaktion and Episteme*, London, 2011, p. 157-248.

⁶ BHG 966, § 6.

⁷ PO 57, p. 123.

associated with his martyrdom (Flavias, Anazarbus, Aegae) celebrate his memory? Julian's cult is currently not attested through inscriptions or other finds in his homeland, which, of course, could change in the future. The links of his story with Cilicia, however, may be reflected in an inscription from the area of Tarsus, which commemorates the *vir perfectissimus Aemilius Marcianus, praeses Ciliciae* under the first Tetrarchy. The name of Julian of Cilicia's persecutor, Markianos, may indeed echo the memory of the historical Marcianus.⁸

The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* records on 14 February a festival of Iulianus and Germanus in *Licia* (Bern Codex) or *Cilicia* (Echternach Codex). On the same date, the same martyrology also records a feast of a certain Iulianus in *Sicilia Egeas* (Bern Codex) or in *Egea civitate* (Echternach Codex). In all probability, *Sicilia* is the miscopied name of *Cilicia*, and *Egea* is very clearly *Aegae*.⁹ Hippolyte Delehaye surmised that this entry was the result of an error, misplacing a feast of XVII Kal. Apr. to XVI Kal. Mart.¹⁰ Yet this hypothesis is probably unnecessary. Like many other martyrs in Late Antiquity, the saint will have had several local feast dates, and there is no reason to dismiss the only attestation of his feast in his native land as an error. 14 February was very probably the day when our martyr was celebrated in *Cilicia* and *Aegae*.

The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* also records a feast *Iuliani et Asclepioditi (sic)*, observed in Nicomedia on 16 March. This very probably refers to Julian of Cilicia and his mother, Asklepiodora, and is the only attestation of the cult's presence in Nicomedia. This entry is an important testimony for the appearance of the figure of Asklepiodora (or Asklepiodote, according to the Martyrology) in the saint's story.¹¹ This Nicomedian feast was very probably adopted in neighbouring Constantinople as well, since the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople records the saint on 16 March, providing a brief epitome of his story.¹² Finally, this is also the date when the saint is recorded in the *Martyrologium Romanum*.¹³

⁸ LACKNER, *Ein epigraphisches Zeugnis* (cit. n. 4). The inscription's location near Tarsus suggests that the historical Aemilius Marcianus was either *praeses* of a still united Cilicia or of Diocletianic Cilicia Prima. BHG 966, however, defines the persecutor Markianos as a *legatus* of Cilicia Secunda, resident at Anazarbus. This probably preserves the memory of the proconsuls and *legati* of Syria, who are known to have administered Cilicia Pedias under the Roman Republic and Early Empire. T. B. MITFORD, *Roman Rough Cilicia*, in ANRW, II 7.2 (1980), p. 1230-1261, esp. 1241.

⁹ MH, XVI Kal. Mart., f. 65, p. 19.

¹⁰ Comm. Mart. Hieron., p. 94.

¹¹ MH, XVII Kal. April. f. 73c, p. 33.

¹² Synax. CP, Mart. 16, col. 541-542; Comm. Mart. Hieron., p. 148.

¹³ Comm. Mart. Rom. XVII. Kal. Apr., p. 99-100.

It appears that both of these feasts were finally overshadowed by one celebrated in late June. The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* places it on 22 June, associating it with Antioch, whereas the menologia and the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarium* date it to 21 June.¹⁴

The story and its transformations

Julian's hagiographical dossier demonstrates that the development of his cult and hagiography was defined by high mobility, identifying the existence of at least five versions of his *Passio*, associated with Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. If there was a common urtext, it must have lost its importance at a very early stage. The legend appears to have circulated in the form of a narrative skeleton, containing the main scenes and figures, but its length, dialogues, and secondary episodes were liberally altered, like a popular epic.

The earliest dated text of Julian's hagiography is Chrysostom's homily which he preached at the saint's festival at Antioch during his presbyterate between 386 and 397. The martyr's story occupies a relatively small part in the homily, as most of the text focuses on paraenetic remarks and on a pagan celebration which coincided with the saint's feast. Chrysostom calls Julian a συμπολίτης of Paul the Apostle, which may literally mean 'fellow townsman' from Tarsus, or more broadly 'fellow Cilician'. Tarsus, however, is not explicitly mentioned in Chrysostom's homily or any other text of the saint's Greek hagiographical dossier. The main feature of the story, which impressed Chrysostom, was the duration and itinerant character of Julian's sufferings. The martyr, says the Antiochene Father, confronted an insidious judge (his name is not mentioned) who, instead of having him quickly executed, kept postponing his condemnation, incarcerating, trying, threatening, and flattering the martyr for an entire year. Julian was paraded through every place in Cilicia, in order to be ridiculed, but this only made him more famous and attracted many people to his Christian faith. At the end, the judge had him closed into a sack full of sand and serpents, and had him thrown into the sea.¹⁵

¹⁴ *MH*, X Kalend. Iul., f. 100c, p. 81; *Comm. Martyr. Hieron.*, p. 330; *Synax. CP*, Iun. 21, col. 762.

¹⁵ MAYER, *Let Us Die* (cit. n. 1), p. 126-140; E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E02544 (online corpus: <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E02544>).

Severus of Antioch's homily, which was preached during his episcopate (512-518), offers the first extensive summary/paraphrase of the saint's legend, including what appear to be quotations from the dialogues of a lost Greek *Passio*.¹⁶ Julian is tried by a judge called Markianos (the first attestation of his name) in three scenes of interrogation at the cities of Flavias/Flaviopolis,¹⁷ Anazarbus, and Aegae. This itinerary appears to be rather reduced compared to Chrysostom's claim that the martyr was paraded for one year through every city of the province – though this statement may just be hyperbolic. In the first scene, the judge asks the martyr whether he is a presbyter or deacon, and ascertains that Julian comes from a noble family of councillors. Julian is heavily beaten, while assistants of the governor confirm the nobility of his family, and express pity for his youth. The martyr defends his own Christian understanding of nobility, and is beaten again. This scene finishes with the public humiliation of the saint – the soldiers parade him, carrying him on their backs 'like a child being taken to school', after which the martyr is sent to the prison of Flavias.¹⁸ Then, Julian is taken to Anazarbus, where Markianos attempts to force him to consume sacrificial meat and libation wine, while the martyr denounces Apollo as a demon whose name is synonymous of doom. The third scene takes place at the city of Aegae, where Markianos summons Julian's mother (her name is not given), hoping that she will change her son's mind. Initially she appears – or rather pretends to be – willing to collaborate, and requests three days to consult with her son, but their final decision is to persist in their Christian confession. Both of them are tormented, but finally the mother is released and Julian is condemned to die in a sack full of sand, serpents, and scorpions, thrown into the sea which washes up his body in Cilicia.

In Severus' model text, the saint's legend apparently had the form which we find also in the Greek *Passiones*. The pre-Metaphrastic *Passio* BHG 966, which we are publishing here, follows the same narrative, but is certainly different from Severus' model text. Julian is described as a handsome eighteen-year-old youth of great learning and notable lineage. He is defined as a *patroboulos*, i.e. offspring of a family of councillors. Markianos is defined as a *legatus*.¹⁹ The story unfolds in the three scenes of trial at Flavias, Anazarbus, and Aegae, and all the main episodes

¹⁶ PO 57, p. 112-132.

¹⁷ This city is only named in an advanced part of the narrative (PO 57, p. 123), and it is not entirely clear whether it is the setting of the first scene. In this detail, Severus' model text resembles the Greek BHG 966, where Flavias is also mentioned only in § 9. Flavias is explicitly named as the location of the first scene only in the *Passio* of the Imperial Menologium (BHG 967e).

¹⁸ PO 57, p. 122-123.

¹⁹ See n. 8.

summarised by Severus are there. Yet this text curiously contains no scenes of torments or other descriptive parts. In several instances, Markianos orders that Julian be subjected to various forms of torture, but we are not told whether his threats are realised. The whole text consists almost exclusively of dialogue, reading like a script for performance. One remarkable omission is the scene of Julian's humiliation and incarceration at the end of the first scene.²⁰ *BHG* 966 gives us also the name of Julian's mother, Asklepiodora, who follows her son during his journey, and is summoned to the trial at the suggestion of the persecutor's council (*taxis*). Asklepiodora is condemned by Markianos to become a prostitute, but her son protests that she holds titles of nobility, and she is released after a round of flogging. At the end, Julian is condemned to be placed in a sack full of sand, serpents, and scorpions and is thrown into the sea – precisely as described by Chrysostom and Severus.

The most important departure of *BHG* 966 from the versions of the story known to Chrysostom and Severus is found in its epilogue which recounts the invention of the saint's relic in Egypt (§ 13-15). Severus' source text ended by stating that the sea transferred the body of the martyr to Cilicia, a phrase which provided the starting point for the invention narrative which the compiler of *BHG* 966 appended to the original text as an epilogue. There, we read that the relic was transferred by the sea to Alexandria, and was washed up at a suburb called Bapheion. It was found by a pious widow who buried it at a modest house and did it service. Later she also buried her young son beside the martyr. Soon the place became famous for healing demoniacs, and thus attracted the attention of a group of Tabennisiot monks who removed the relic, despite resistance by the saint and the locals, and had it properly buried at a shrine where it received constant service and performed cures.

This invention narrative demonstrates that the text *BHG* 966 as it stands is of Egyptian origins. The Egyptian editor – very probably one of the Tabennisiot monks who ran the shrine of Alexandria – can be easily recognised as the author of both the prologue and epilogue of the text (§ 1, 13, 14, 15), which stand out by their long sentences and convoluted chains of absolute genitives. The stark contrast of these sections with the neat and simple syntax of the main body of the text indicates that the Egyptian editor made very few interventions in the main body of the *Passio*.

The transmission of Julian's cult to Egypt is also documented through the fragmentary *Passio* preserved in a single parchment folio attached onto the inner side

²⁰ This episode may be echoed in the dialogue of § 6.

of the back cover of the *Codex Berolinensis* 8502 – a famous fifth-century Coptic manuscript of New Testament apocrypha from Akhmin (Panopolis). Ehrhard tentatively dated the folio to the fifth or sixth century, but, to my knowledge, there has been no systematic paleographic study of it so far.²¹ The fragment belongs to yet another version of Julian's *Passio* (BHG 965), evidently conforming to the narrative outlined here, but much shorter than BHG 966. It appears that multiple versions of the martyr's account were in circulation in the provinces of the Nile.²² We shall see later on that the story was also known at the capital of the Thebaid, Antinoopolis, where it underwent a radical transformation, very probably around AD 500.

The Athos manuscript of BHG 966 is an almost certainly Constantinopolitan menologium, which by itself suggests that the Egyptian version of Julian's hagiography reached Constantinople.²³ This is also indicated by the fact that the eleventh-century *Passio* of the Imperial Menologium (BHG 967e) includes the invention narrative about the shrine of Bapheion. Edited and published by Vasily Latyšev in 1911, BHG 967e is an abridged metaphrasis of a lost version of the saint's *Passio*, probably close to, but certainly different from BHG 966.²⁴ The episodes of the three trials are roughly the same, but the model text of the author of the Imperial Menologium included scenes of torturing and dialogues which differed from those of BHG 966. It is the only version which dates the story under Diocletian, names Anazarbus as the birthplace of Julian, and Flavias as the setting of the first trial. It also defines the martyr as the son of a pagan father and a Christian mother. The text ends with the invention story of Bapheion, but, as if trying to reconcile the conflicting geographical information between Chrysostom's homily and the Egyptian martyrdom account, it states that the sea transferred the martyr's body to 'Antioch of Cilicia', where it was found and buried by the widow of Bapheion.

To sum up, Julian's cult and story emerged in Cilicia during the fourth century, and reached Antioch by the 380s or 390s, when it was first recorded by John Chrysostom. The narrative had taken its final form by the 510s, when it was read by Severus of Antioch. In the fifth century, if not earlier, it also reached in Egypt (BHG 965) and was associated with a monastic shrine based at the Alexandrian suburb of Bapheion.

²¹ EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand* (cit. n. 3), p. 70-72.

²² VAN DEN GHEYN, *Un fragment des Actes* (cit. n. 3).

²³ EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand* (cit. n. 3), p. 648, 650.

²⁴ V. LATYŠEV, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, II, Sankt Petersburg, 1912, p. 83-87. On the Imperial Menologium and the metaphrases it contains, see: F. D'AIUTO, *Il «Menologio imperiale». Un secolo dopo l'editio princeps (1911-1912) di Vasilij V. Latyšev*, in *Byzantine Hagiography: Texts, Themes, and Projects*, ed. A. RIGO, in collaboration with M. TRIZIO and E. DESPOTAKIS (= *Βυζάντιος: Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization*, 13), Turnhout, 2018, p. 55-114.

Here, the saint's story was expanded through the addition of the foundation narrative of the Egyptian shrine (BHG 966), and in this expanded form it was transmitted to Constantinople. In the eleventh century, two versions including the narrative of Bapheion were available in the Byzantine capital. One of them was copied unaltered in the earliest menologia (BHG 966), while another was included in a metaphrastic form in the Imperial Menologium (BHG 967e).

Literary features of the martyrdom account

Julian's story has many features of the texts classified by Hippolyte Delehaye as *Passions épiques*, including multiple scenes of trials before a the tribunal (*bema*) of a judge and his accompanying council (*taxis*), scenes of torments, the structuring of the story in the form of a journey, and lively dialogues on more or less standard subjects (a debate on the Christian faith, attempts to make the martyr sacrifice by force or flattering, the pun about the name of Apollo, etc.). We can more narrowly list the text among a group of *Passions épiques* which multiply the martyrs' trial scenes in the form of a journey through different places.²⁵ It was this itinerant structure of Julian's story that made a particular impression on Chrysostom; his testimony makes Julian of Cilicia one of the earliest attested martyrdom legends of this particular format.

At the same time, however, the BHG 966 text differs from the majority of *Passions épiques* by lacking lengthy Scriptural quotations and extravagant miraculous episodes, visions, exorcisms of demons, and destructions of idols or temples. The miraculous and demonic element only appears in the introduction and epilogue (§ 1, 13, 14) which, as we have seen above, are a later addition by the Egyptian editor. Far from the plethora of Psalmic and other Scriptural quotations, so dear to epic hagiography, BHG 966 only contains one such quote from Galatians 5. 6 (§ 3) which must have been part of the text from an early stage, because even Severus of Antioch noticed and commented on it. Julian offers up only one very brief prayer (§ 5), and there is no final prayer of 'covenant' between the saint and Christ. These features suggest that the text was an early and perhaps archaic *Passion épique* lacking the full range of features of the genre, but certainly not being a historic *Passio* either.

²⁵ H. DELEHAYE, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (= SH, 13b), 2e éd., rev. et corrigée, Bruxelles, 1966, p. 177-207.

The itinerary of Julian's martyrdom follows the geography of the province of *Cilicia Secunda* in a realistic manner, from the inland city of Flavias to the coastal town of Aegae via Anazarbus – though curiously omitting Mopsuestia. Placing the story at various sites is a recurrent motif in epic hagiography, but the strict organisation of the martyrdom according to a realistic local itinerary is characteristic of a distinct group of *Passiones*, the most extensive and impressive of which is that of the Thracian martyr Alexander (*BHG* 48-49), which recounts the martyrdom of its hero as a journey along the Balkan imperial highway from Serdica to Byzantium.²⁶ Other notable examples include the accounts of Sergius and Bacchus (*BHG* 1624), Codratus (*BHG* 359), Thyrsus (*BHG* 1844z), and others. None of these *Passiones* can be dated with confidence, but the cult of all these martyrs is firmly attested by the early fifth century. It is tempting to imagine that the itineraries outlined by the texts had a role in the cults of these martyrs, perhaps reflecting the routes of local pilgrimage, followed on a regular basis by the devotees of the martyrs.

It is worth pointing out some striking similarities between the legends of Julian of Cilicia and Alexander of Thrace. Both are described as handsome eighteen-year-old youths and share similar modes of martyrdom, involving the retrieving of their relics from water – Alexander's body is thrown into the river after beheading. Both *Passiones* have an expressed intention of presenting their heroes as the common patrons of entire provinces and multiple cities. As we said above, in the version quoted by Severus of Antioch, Julian of Cilicia predicts that *every city will raise a monument for my valiant triumph*.²⁷ In a similar spirit, Alexander of Thrace addresses the crowd which has been following him along his journey, saying: *Remember my labours which I have not rested from suffering, for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he might show mercy upon my sins and upon our people/province* (ἔθνος) (...).²⁸

Perhaps the most notable similarity between the accounts of Julian and Alexander is the motif of the martyr's mother who follows her son on his way to martyrdom, but departs without being martyred herself. Like Julian and Asklepiodora, Alexander is followed by his mother, Poimenia, who finds the martyr's dead body, buries it, and departs. The martyr's mother who encourages her son to pursue his martyrdom, but does not become a martyr herself, is a motif which goes back to the figure of the mother of the Macabees and could, of course, also be associated with the Virgin

²⁶ Summary: E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E00321 (<http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E00321>)

²⁷ *PO* 57 (*cit. n.* 2), p. 123.

²⁸ *Passio S. Alexandri Romani* (*BHG* 48), § 29 (ed. D. DIMITROV, *Пътуването на св. Александра Римски през Тракия*, in *Известия на Българския Археологически Институт*, 8 [1935], p. 116-161). My translation.

Mary in the Passion of Christ. It certainly enjoyed some prominence in fourth-century hagiography, as it is found in the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (BHG 1201) and Romanus of Antioch (BHG 1600y). A female deuteragonist who is not martyred features in the legend of Basileus of Amasea (BHG 239) (Glaphyra), and of Julian and Basilissa (BHG 970-971) – the latter, as we shall see, is a derivative of the hagiography of Julian of Cilicia.

In the story of Alexander, Poimения also performs the role of the matron who establishes the martyr's shrine – the classic hagiographic topos – which in the extant *Passio* of Julian is reserved to the anonymous widow of Bapheion. The narratives of both martyrs echo the broad dissemination of their relics, and the role of women in it. In Julian's story, Markianos warns the martyr: *'I shall put you into a sack of sand with beasts, and you will be thrown into the middle of the sea. For you should not think that poor women will collect your bones and keep them in their bosom as of a righteous man.'*²⁹ Alexander is warned by his persecutor, Tiberianos, in similar terms: *'And you should know this: I shall disperse your flesh and your bones in every land through which I shall pass, so that no women will find pieces of your flesh or your bones, nor will they perfume them and venerate you as one of the saints. And now I shall order that even the remaining dust of yours be thrown into the river, so that your memory may never be found.'*³⁰

Like many martyrdom accounts from Late Antiquity, especially from Anatolia, the *Passio* of Julian of Cilicia displays a keen interest in civic life. Markianos consults the *logistes/curator civitatis* Kronides about Julian's titles, and the magistrate confirms that the young man is a *patroboulos*. This is a rarely attested title, given to the sons of curial families since the second century AD, which indicated that they were destined to succeed their fathers in the city council.³¹ It is so far known from early Roman inscriptions, from a letter of Julian the Apostate, and from the *Martyrdom of Romanus* (BHG 1600y).³² Julian contrasts the way the curial class understands *προκοπή* as success and career progression to his own understanding of it as confession of Christ. The reaction of decurions to the arrest of Christians from their class features in several martyrdom accounts: for example, the martyr's good lineage and his family's place in the *boule* of Nicomedia are an important part of the trial of

²⁹ BHG 966, § 10.

³⁰ *Passio S. Alexandri Romani*, § 15.

³¹ C. LAES – J. STRUBBE, *Youth in the Roman Empire: The Young and the Restless Years?*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 175, 254.

³² IG 12 (5) 141.7; Jul., Ep. 54 (ed. J. BIDEZ – F. CUMONT, *Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani Augusti epistulae, leges, poematia, fragmenta uaria*, Paris, 1922, p. 60); PLond 3.971.7 (4th c. AD).

Agathonicus of Bithynia (*BHG* 39, 40).³³ The dialogue between Julian and the *ducenarius* Euilasio (§ 5) indicates an interest in the procedures of legal courts, as the martyr instructs the official to keep silent, unless he can produce documents authorising him to preside over the trial as a *proconsul*. In the presence of a *consularis*, men of lower ranks were not allowed to intervene. Finally, Julian invokes documents (*codicelli*) which prove the nobility of his mother, in order to prevent her exposure to the brothel.

The shrine of Antioch

Julian of Cilicia was the only non-local martyr on whose festival John Chrysostom preached a homily in Antioch. All the other saints who were eulogized by him were local martyrs and bishops of Antioch, most of whom rested at the ancient funerary church of the city, the *Koimeterion*. Julian's seems to have been the first cult of a non-local martyr, which gained popularity at Antioch. In his homily, Chrysostom suggests to his audience that they can 'take the martyr with them' when they go out to the streets, in order to prevent other Christians from joining pagan celebrations. The phrasing indicates that the martyr was present in some portable form, possibly in a reliquary. In the early sixth century, Severus of Antioch confirms that the shrine possessed a limb of the saint.

Chrysostom was anxious to prevent the Christians of Antioch from attending pagan festivities at Daphne, which clashed with Julian's day. Wendy Mayer suggested that this was the Antiochene *Maiuma* which was celebrated in May.³⁴ Yet a simpler solution is provided by the 21/22 June feast of the saint, which is recorded by the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*,³⁵ the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarium*,³⁶ and the saint's two *Passiones*. The *Martyrologium*, in particular, records this as a specifically Antiochene feast. Furthermore, judging from a metaphor which Chrysostom uses extensively in his homily, the martyr's festival was marked by the exceptionally bright shining of the stars and the sun, which fits well with a feast in late June. The pagan celebrations with which the feast clashed will have been midsummer customs celebrated at the summer solstice.

³³ Summary and bibliography: E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E07146.

³⁴ MAYER, *Let Us Die* (*cit.* n. 1), p. 127.

³⁵ *MH*, X Kalend. Iul., f. 100c, p. 81; *Comm. Mart. Hieron.*, p. 330.

³⁶ *Synax. CP*, Iun. 21. 2, col. 762.

In their study of the churches of Antioch, Mayer and Allen assume that Julian's relics were initially kept in the *Koimeterion* and were transferred to a special shrine at some later point.³⁷ Yet no source mentions such a transfer and it is known that, besides the *Koimeterion*, Antioch had several other *martyria* already in Chrysostom's times.³⁸ From its later attestations, Julian's shrine appears to have been a cemeterial church which had a special connection with monasticism. In the fifth century, the ascetics Theodosius and Aphraates were buried in a common tomb there. Theodoret of Cyrillus says that by his burial Theodosius *came to share the same dwelling and shelter with the victorious champion of piety Julian*, indicating that the martyr was the main figure honoured at the shrine.³⁹ In the early sixth century, the *martyrium* received the miraculously discovered relics of the martyred ascetic Marinos.⁴⁰

Severus of Antioch tells us that the shrine stood outside a city gate, apparently the one mentioned by Malalas as the Gate of Saint Julian.⁴¹ Severus also reports that the church possessed a limb of the saint and that the martyr (and his shrine) healed the sick, supported the poor, and offered sanctuary to those in danger of condemnation at courts of justice.⁴² The shrine also features in sixth/seventh-century monastic hagiography. In the *Penance of Saint Pelagia* (BHG 1478), Saint Julian's features as the seat of a hostel where a group of clerics and monks from Egypt stayed, while visiting the bishop of Antioch.⁴³ The existence of this hostel is independently attested through a reference in Procopius' *Wars* where one reads that a Persian embassy was lodging at Saint Julian's during the Persian attack of 540, hence the shrine was spared from destruction alongside the houses around it.⁴⁴ In the sixth- or seventh-century *Life of Saints Andronicus and Athanasia* (BHG 123a), Saint Julian's appears as a cemeterial shrine housing tombs of important families, and as the parish church of

³⁷ W. MAYER – P. ALLEN, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch (300-638 CE)* (= *Late Antique History and Religion*, 5), Leuven, 2012, p. 83-85.

³⁸ Jh. Chrys., *De coemeterio et de cruce* (CPG 4337, BHG 434e), in PG 49, col. 393. 28-31; E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E02298.

³⁹ Οὕτω φερόμενος εἰς τὸν τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων σηκὸν κατατίθεται, Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ νικηφόρου τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνιστοῦ ὁμόσηκός τε καὶ ὁμωρόφιός γεγονώς. Θήκη δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο ἢ καὶ τὸν θεσπέσιον ἐκείνιον καὶ μακάριον Ἀφραάτην. Theod. Cyrh., *Hist. Relig.* 10.8 (Theodosius) (ed. P. CANIVET – A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Théodoret de Cyr. L'Histoire des moines de Syrie* [= *Sources chrétiennes*, 234], Paris, 1977); cf. MAYER – ALLEN, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch* (cit. n. 37), p. 84.

⁴⁰ Malalas, *Chron.* 18. 49 (ed. I. THURN, *Ioannis Malalae chronographia* [= *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berlinensis*, 35], Berlin - New York, 2000).

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 17. 16.

⁴² PO 57, p. 131.

⁴³ *Vita Pelagiae*, 3 (ed. B. FLUSIN, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς ὁσίας μητρὸς ἡμῶν Πελαγίας*, in *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende*, ed. P. PETITMENGIN, Paris, 1981, tome 1).

⁴⁴ Procop., *Bell.* 2. 10. 8-9 (ed. G. WIRTH [post J. HAURY], *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1962).

an extramural suburb.⁴⁵ It stood near the house of the banker Andronicus and housed a tomb where his two children were buried. This text also reports that the shrine was served by monks, and that the martyr himself appeared in a dream vision in the guise of a monk. Could this suggest a transformation of the originally youthful layman Julian into a monastic figure? Gregory of Tours reports that the shrine was burned down by the Persians in 572/3.⁴⁶

The shrines of Egypt and the emergence of Julian and Basilissa

BHG 966 reports that Saint Julian's relic was venerated at a shrine run by a community of Tabennisiot (Pachomian) monks in a suburb of Alexandria called Bapheion. Otherwise unattested, the toponym ('fullery') indicates a site of artisanal activity. Could this be one of Alexandria's suburbs on the Taenia, which hosted several prominent monastic communities? John Moschus reports that the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria Eulogius I (580-608) renovated the shrine of a certain martyr Julian in Alexandria, after having a vision of the martyr in the guise of his own archdeacon, also called Julian.⁴⁷ Apparently, it was an old shrine, since it is said to have been derelict and requiring restoration. Yet Moschus gives no information as to the saint's precise identity.

The Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium* records a *Martyrdom of Julian and his mother at Alexandria* on 23 Bashans (= 18 May) (13 Bashans in the modern Coptic Calendar).⁴⁸ This could be Julian of Cilicia, given the reference to his mother. Yet both this feast and the shrine mentioned by Moschus could also refer to the Decian martyr Julian of Alexandria, whose name is recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea.⁴⁹ Of course, it is possible that the transmission of the cult of Julian from Cilicia to Alexandria was a result of merging with the homonymous local martyr. The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* also records the feast of a certain Julian on 3 July, which was held at

⁴⁵ *Life of Andronikos and Athanasia*, par. 5, 6 (lines 84-86, 119-121, 129-145) (ed. ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages* [cit. n. 5], p. 260).

⁴⁶ Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 4.40 (ed. B. KRUSCH – W. LEVISON, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Libri Historiarum X* [= MGH SRM, I 1], Hannover, 1951).

⁴⁷ Moschus, *Pratum* 146 (ed. PG 87.3, col. 3009); J. Doroszewska, E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E05304.

⁴⁸ A. S. ATIYA, *Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic*, in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, col. 2171b-2190a.

⁴⁹ Eus., *HE* 6.41 (ed. G. BARDY, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique* [= SC, 41], Paris, 1955).

both Alexandria and Constantinople.⁵⁰ This could be related to the shrine of Bapheum, as we shall see in our discussion of the saint's shrine at Constantinople.

The presence of the hagiography of Julian of Cilicia in Egypt was first documented through the discovery of the fragment of Akhmin which was tentatively dated by Ehrhard to the fifth or sixth centuries, suggesting that the saint's story reached the Thebaid by that time.⁵¹ This led Ehrhard to raise a question about the possible connection between Julian of Cilicia and a homonymous martyr whose cult emerged at the capital of that province, Julian of Antinoopolis.

Various elements in the *Martyrdom of Julian of Antinoopolis* (BHG 971) indicate that it was composed under the influence of the story of Julian of Cilicia. The text states that the saint was celebrated on Epiphany Day and on 21 June (i.e. one of the feasts of Julian of Cilicia). Julian of Antinoopolis is the only martyr of Egypt who is persecuted by a Markianos, unlike the other martyrs of Antinoopolis who confronted the famous governor of the Thebaid, Areianos. The profiles of the two Julians are very similar: both are described as youths of noble descent and extraordinary learning; Julian of Cilicia is a *patroboulos*, while Julian of Antinoopolis is the son of a leading councillor (πρωτεύοντος τῆς πόλεως υἱός).⁵² Both of them have female companions who are spared from violent death – Asklepiodora and Basilissa. Julian of Antinoopolis also has a young companion in his martyrdom, the boy Kelsios. Kelsios and his mother, Markianilla, could echo the anonymous woman who founded the shrine of Julian of Cilicia, and buried her little son with the martyr in the same tomb. One may easily recognise another loan at the point where Kelsios requests three days to consult with his mother before both of them decide to be martyred, evidently reproducing the same episode between Julian of Cilicia and his mother, Asklepiodora.⁵³

These motifs indicate that the author of the *Passio* of Julian of Antinoopolis was aware of the story of the homonymous Cilician martyr. The new story preserved several motifs of the source narrative, including the five main roles in the plot: Julian, Markianos, the female deuteragonist who is not martyred (Asklepiodora, Basilissa), a second woman (the anonymous widow of Bapheion, Markianilla), and a young boy (the anonymous boy of Bapheion, Kelsios). The main feature of the source-text, however, was removed. The travelling patron martyr of *Cilicia Secunda*

⁵⁰ *MH*, V Non. Iul., p. 86, fol. 103a; *Comm. Mart. Hieron.* p. 350.

⁵¹ EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand* (cit. n. 3), p. 70-72.

⁵² BHG 970-971, § 17. 460-461 (text and translation: ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages* [cit. n. 5], p. 165, 195).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, § 44, 47 (text and translation: ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages* [cit. n. 5], p. 176, 178, 205, 206).

became a civic martyr of Antinoopolis, who was born, lived, and died in the city; during his martyrdom, he was paraded through the city, was tried and tormented in its agora, and was buried at its cathedral. Besides, he is portrayed as a monastic martyr, having been the founder and superior of a monastery.

The dependence of the Antinoopolitan *Passio* on the Cilician account has implications for the chronology of the former. Anne Alwis demonstrated that there is a *terminus ante quem* for BHG 971 in the 520s, by when it was translated into Latin (BHL 4529).⁵⁴ Yet the early fourth-century *terminus post quem* which she suggests for the Greek text is probably too early, since the appearance of the story of Julian of Antinoopolis cannot predate the spread of the Cilician Julian to Upper Egypt, and this leads us to some point in the fifth century.

According to the *Martyrdom of Julian of Antinoopolis* (BHG 970, 971), the cult of the martyr and his numerous companions was based at the cathedral (μεγάλη ἐκκλησία) of the capital of the Thebaid. Their relics rested under the altar of the church, where there was a spring of water feeding a baptistery.⁵⁵ The text tells us that a group of lepers was cleansed while being baptised in the water of the spring of Saint Julian on Epiphany Day (6 January). This feast, which was otherwise a standard occasion for group baptisms, is defined as the date of the saint's martyrdom. This foundation narrative suggests that the cult of Julian of Antinoopolis had its roots in the veneration of a collection of relics and a sacred spring at the local cathedral. Epiphany will have been the main feast of the church, and the veneration of the martyrs will have become a part of its celebration.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Julian of Antinoopolis was the almost immediate transmission and success of his cult and hagiography in the West. Alwis has shown that, by the early sixth century, the Greek *Passio* was translated into Latin and augmented through the original composition of the prequel *Vita* which was united with the *Passio*, forming the extant hagiographical novel (BHL 4529). The *Vita* provides Julian with a consort, Basilissa, with whom the martyr is married in his youth, but they decide to keep their marriage chaste and dedicate their lives to asceticism, becoming founders and superiors of a double monastery. During a persecution, Basilissa with her companion virgins die a natural death, whereas Julian and his monks live to suffer the martyrdom described by the *Passio*. At some point, the Latin *Vita* was translated into Greek (BHG 970) and thus the legend of

⁵⁴ ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages* (cit. n. 5), p. 27-32.

⁵⁵ BHG 970-971, § 63 (ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages* [cit. n. 5], p. 184, 212).

Julian and Basilissa (BHG 970 + 971) circulated in the Byzantine world, though the two texts do not always appear united in the Greek manuscripts.⁵⁶

Given the fact that the prequel *Vita* is an original Latin composition, the provenance of the figure of Basilissa and of the story of the chaste marriage are problematic. Alwis convincingly argued that it was influenced by the earlier Latin *Vita of Caecilia*, but the possibility that Basilissa originates from the Greek tradition cannot be excluded.⁵⁷ This is indicated by the fact that a different version of the story, featuring Basilissa as Julian's companion in martyrdom without the chaste marriage account, was independently known. It appears that the Byzantine Church knew two versions of the legend, which are summarised in separate entries in the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople: on 8 January, the *Synaxarium* records the story known from the *Vita* and *Passio*, including the chaste marriage; on 21 June, however, the same calendar summarises a version where the chaste marriage is unknown, and Basilissa appears as one of Julian's numerous companions in martyrdom (replacing in this role the figure of Markianilla, mother of Kelsios).⁵⁸

The account of Julian and Basilissa fits well with the hagiographical and cultural environment of the Thebaid. The florid and lengthy martyrdom account of Julian of Antinoopolis can be described as a monumental *Passion épique*, similar to the *Passio* of the also Antinoopolitan martyr Philemon (BHG 1515) and that of Paphnutius and his companions from neighbouring Dendera (BHG 1419).⁵⁹ The motif of the marriage prior to martyrdom is also found in the epic hagiography of the most famous Antinoopolitan martyr, Kollouthos, as recounted in his Coptic *Encomion* by Isaac of Antioe (BHO 206).⁶⁰ In this text it is also possible to recognize signs of cross-

⁵⁶ ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages* (cit. n. 5), p. 27-34. On the manuscript tradition of BHG 970 and 971, see: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/16566/> (accessed 26/03/2020)

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32-34.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33-34; *Synax. CP.*, Ian. 8, col. 375-377; Iun. 21 col. 759-762.

⁵⁹ Philemon: AASS Mart. I, p. 895-899; T. BAUMEISTER, *Martyr invictus. Der Märtyrer als Sinnbild der Erlösung in der Legende und im Kult der frühen koptischen Kirche* (= *Forschungen zur Volkskunde*, 46), Münster, 1972, p. 106-108; ID., *Der Märtyrer Philemon*, in *Pietas. Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting*, ed. E. DASSMANN – K. SUSO FRANK (= *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband, 8), Münster, 1980, p. 267-79; summary: E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E03564. Paphnutius: H. DELEHAYE, *Les martyrs d'Égypte*, in *AB*, 40 (1922), p. 328-343; E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E01400.

⁶⁰ Text: S. E. THOMPSON, *Encomion on St. Coluthus attributed to Isaac of Antioe*, in *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Library*, ed. L. DEPUYDT (= *CSCO*, 544, 545), Louvain, 1993, vol. 1, p. 46-83 (text), vol. 2, p. 37-64 (translation); G. SCHENKE, *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier des heiligen Kolluthos, Arzt, Märtyrer und Wunderheiler* (= *CSCO* 650, Subs. 132), Louvain, 2013, p. 10-11, 129-130.

fertilisation with the Greek *Passio* of Julian of Cilicia, the source of the story of Julian of Antinoopolis.⁶¹

A striking aspect of the three Antinoopolitan martyrs mentioned here (Kollouthos, Philemon, and Julian) is their uneven representation in the written record. Both the shrines of Philemon (with his companion, Apollonios) and Kollouthos are attested very early in Antinoopolis, and their cults appear to have been particularly dear to the monks. Their earliest attestations are in the *History of the Monks in Egypt* and Palladius' *Lausiaca History* respectively.⁶² Neither of these sources, however, mentions Julian and Basilissa. The hagiography of Kollouthos, whose cult was demonstrably the most popular in Egypt itself, survives only in Coptic and is almost unknown in the Greek tradition, except for a short notice in the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarium*.⁶³ Philemon's legend is known in Greek, Latin, and Coptic, and is recorded in the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium*. Julian and Basilissa, however, are completely unknown in the Coptic tradition.⁶⁴ This may indicate that the shrines of the three cults were associated with different parts of the population of Antinoopolis. Philemon and Julian were perhaps more closely associated with the Greek-speaking elite and the Chalcedonian imperial Church of the provincial capital than Kollouthos whose shrine and cult will have been more closely associated with the Coptic speakers and the anti-Chalcedonian community. This might also explain the continuous success of Kollouthos' cult after the Islamic conquest. This hypothesis provides a possible clue for dating the emergence and early development of the cult of Julian and Basilissa in Egypt. Its limited success within the Coptic non-Chalcedonian tradition indicates that this cult grew in the period around and after the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451).

⁶¹ Referring to Kollouthos's childhood, Isaac's *Encomion* mentions that *the little boy thoroughly mastered all fields of knowledge. He simply laded himself with all wisdom, so that everyone marveled at him* (ἀγῶ πῶν ἡρῶν ὡν ἡμ ἀφῶρπ νὰφ ἐμμάθημα τῆροϋ ζαπαζαπλῶς ἀφῶτπ ἐβολ ζῆ σοφία νιμ ζῶστε ντε οἶον νιμ ρῶπῆρε μμοϋ). THOMPSON, *Encomion* (cit. n. 60), p. 60. This recalls the Egyptian prologue of the *Passio* of Julian of Cilicia (BHG 966, § 1), which talks about the young martyr in similar terms: *He demonstrated such an educated demeanour in discussions that he was believed to have passed the age of mature men due to the broadness of his learning (...) He was simply so much adorned with all good things by Christ's gift (...)* (Καὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν ἐκ παιδείας ἤσκει ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς διαγωγὴν, ὡς νομίζεσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ πολυμαθίᾳ τὴν τῶν ἐντελῶν ὑπερβεβηκέναι ἡλικίαν. [...] καὶ ἀπαξᾶπλῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν καλοῖς, οὕτως κατὰ χάρισμα Χριστοῦ ἐκεκόσμητο).

⁶² *Hist. mon. Aeg.* 19 (ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* [= SH, 34], Bruxelles, 1961); Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 60 (ed. C. BUTLER, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius, II: The Greek Text Edited with Introduction and Notes* [= *Texts and Studies*, 6], Cambridge, 1904, p. 154).

⁶³ *Synax. CP*, Maii 19. 2, col. 695; BAUMEISTER, *Martyr invictus* (cit. n. 59), p. 109.

⁶⁴ A. PAPAConstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte. Des Byzantins aux Abbassides* (= *Le monde byzantin*), Paris, 2001, p. 105-106, 122-128, 201-202.

Julian and Basilissa of Antioch?

The Latin *Vita* and *Passio* of Julian and Basilissa, although repeatedly placing the story of the saints in Egypt, states that *haec agebantur in ciuitate Antiochia, quae est metropolis Aegypti*.⁶⁵ Evidently an erroneous rendering of the name of Antioe/Antinoopolis, this phrase was probably present in the Latin text from a very early stage and it caused the saints to be remembered as martyrs of Antioch in the Latin tradition.⁶⁶ This affected even the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* which associates them with Antioch in an isolated note which does not belong to any of the ancient local calendars constituting the earliest stratum of sources of the *Martyrologium*.⁶⁷ We can confidently recognise this entry as an addition of the sixth or seventh century, influenced by the spread of the cult of Julian and Basilissa in the West.⁶⁸

Could the association of Julian with Antioch have derived from the Greek tradition? Two of the three Byzantine manuscripts of the Greek text of BHG 970-971 (Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Panagiu Taphou 6; Athos, Vatopediou Monastery 84) refer to the city as Antioe/Antinoopolis (πόλις Ἀντινῶ/ πόλις Ἀντινούου), and only one (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1667) calls it Antioch, reproducing word by word the error of the Latin text (ἐν πόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἣτις ἐστὶν μητρόπολις Αἰγύπτου). All three manuscripts are Constantinopolitan.⁶⁹ As Halkin pointed out, the Vatican manuscript is the closest of the three to the Latin version, whereas the Jerusalem manuscript represents a revised recension.⁷⁰ Since, as Alwis has shown, BHG 970 is a translation from the Latin, it follows that the Vatican manuscript reflects a text close to the original translation, which will have been revised and corrected by subsequent copyists. The inclusion of the Antioch error in the Vatican

⁶⁵ BHL 4529, cap. IV, § 17 (ed. AASS Ian. I, p. 579).

⁶⁶ *Hymnodia Hispanica*, hymns 140-142 (ed. J. CASTRO SÁNCHEZ, *Hymnodia hispanica* [= CCSL, 167], Turnhout, 2010, p. 512-529); M. SZADA, *Cult of Saints*, E06571, E06680); Aldhelm, *prose On Virginity*, 36 (ed. R. EHWALD, *Aldhelmi opera omnia* [= MGH, 15], Berlin, 1919, p. 280-284); B. SAVILLE, *Cult of Saints*, E06570.

⁶⁷ MH VIII Id. Ian. (p. 6, fol. 57d): *in Antiochia passio sanctorum Iuliani et Basilissae. in India Celsi Iuliani; Comm. Martyr. Hieron.*, p. 27-29; *Comm. Martyr. Rom.*, V Id. Ian. (9 January), p. 13. The entry was recognised as an isolated note by DELEHAYE, *Les martyrs d'Égypte* (cit. n. 59), p. 66.

⁶⁸ HALKIN, *Julien et Basillise* (cit. n. 5), p. 241.

⁶⁹ EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand* (cit. n. 3), p. 362, 366, 642.

⁷⁰ HALKIN, *Julien et Basillise* (cit. n. 5), p. 242.

copy was evidently the result of influence from the Latin model text, which was later recognised and corrected. Besides this, there is no other testimony to show that the association of Julian and Basilissa with Antioch was independently known in the Greek tradition.

Alwis suggested that the association of the cult of Julian and Basilissa with Antioch may have had a historical basis, due to epigraphic and documentary references to the importation of their relics from Antioch to Merovingian Gaul under Queen Brunhilda of Austrasia (543-613) who donated pieces of these saints' relics to a church of Saint Julian in Morigny and a nunnery of Saint Basilissa in Paris. In the seventeenth century, a medieval reliquary was found in the church of Morigny, bearing a Latin inscription which claimed that relics of Saints Julian and Basilissa had been brought from Antioch (*de Antiochia civitate*). Alwis suggested that this testimony can be trusted and that Gaul may indeed have received the cult from Antioch.⁷¹ Yet, if these testimonies indeed show that people in Gaul believed these relics to have come from Antioch, it is unknown whether there was any substance in this belief. In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours, recording the Persian invasion of AD 572/3, found it important to point out that the basilica of Saint Julian, the martyr of Antioch, was burned down.⁷² The Gallic author apparently thought that this was the original shrine of the saint whose relics had been recently brought to Gaul by Queen Brunhilda. Yet it is clear that the actual event concerned the old shrine of Julian of Cilicia in the Syrian capital, and there is no evidence to suggest that the cult of the other Julian was observed or known in Syria. It would be an attractive hypothesis to make that the remarkably popular story of Julian and Basilissa also reached Antioch and 'conquered' the old shrine of the Cilician Julian there. This, however, cannot be positively documented, since there is no independent attestation from the East to confirm it. At the moment, the association of Julian and Basilissa with Antioch is safely attested only in the Latin tradition, and can be ascribed to the erroneous reproduction of the name of Antinoopolis.

The shrine of Constantinople and the encounter of the two Julians

⁷¹ ALWIS, *Celibate Marriages* (cit. n. 5), p. 309-315.

⁷² *Basilica tunc sancti Iuliam Anthiocensis martyris gravi incendio concremata est* (Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 4. 40).

One of the notable shrines of central Constantinople was the church of Saint Julian which stood on a stepped street (*gradus*) descending from the Forum of Constantine to the Port of Sophia.⁷³ The author of the *Patria* of Constantinople records it among the buildings of the Constantinian era, and states that it was built by the patrician Urbicius, one of the legendary companions of Constantine the Great.⁷⁴ This indicates that the building was ancient, but it does not necessarily mean that it served as the saint's shrine from the beginning. Unlike other intramural *martyria* of fourth-century Constantinople, Saint Julian's is not recorded by the early fifth-century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. Its location was very probably within the Eighth or Ninth Region, where the *Notitia* records two churches under the non-hagiophoric titles Caenopolis and Homonoea.⁷⁵ In the late fifth or early sixth century, the Caenopolis probably received relics of Saint Agathonicus from Selymbria, and henceforth became known as the church of Saint Agathonicus.⁷⁶ Due to the fact that the martyr's cult was housed at the ancient building, Saint Agathonicus is also mentioned among the Constantinian churches in the *Patria*.⁷⁷ It is possible that the same happened in the case of Saint Julian's. The martyr's cult will have been introduced to a pre-existing building of the fourth century, which, according to the *Patria*, originally was ἄπληκτα τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Albrecht Berger translates this phrase as 'a Roman military camp', but it can also be understood as a 'lodging/hostel for Westerners (i.e. Latin speakers)'.⁷⁸ This interpretation would fit with the information that a young man from Dyrrachium, the later emperor Anastasius (491-518), took up residence there during his studies in Constantinople. After his accession to the throne, Anastasius added a chapel of Saint Michael to the old church of Saint Julian.⁷⁹ By the time of Iconoclasm, the shrine was a monastery whose iconophile monks faced the wrath of

⁷³ *Patria* 3.69 (text and translation: A. BERGER, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: the Patria* [= *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, 24], Cambridge MA, 2013). The location is described in the story of Saint Zacharias the Tanner: *Synax. CP*, Nov. 17, col. 232. 54.

⁷⁴ R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 1^{ère} partie: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarchat Œcuménique*, III: *Les églises et les monastères* (= *Publications de l'Institut français d'études byzantines*), Paris, 1969, p. 260-261. Janin assumes that Urbicius' church was located in Psamathia, and distinguishes it from Julian's at the Forum. If that had been the case, however, one would have expected the patriograph to use an alternative title for the second church. The text rather indicates a location east of Psamathia. In the first paragraphs of the third book of the *Patria* (3. 3-9), the author enumerates churches of the Constantinian era starting from Saint Mokios and moving east towards central Constantinople.

⁷⁵ *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* 9 (ed. O. SEECK, *Notitia dignitatum, accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi prouinciarum*, Berlin, 1876, p. 236-237).

⁷⁶ See the discussion in J. DOROSZEWSKA – E. RIZOS, *Cult of Saints*, E04346.

⁷⁷ *Patria* 1.50-51; 3.1; 4.1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 3.6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 3.52.

Constantine V.⁸⁰ In 1200, Anthony of Novgorod reports having venerated the relics of Saint Julian during his stay in Constantinople. The topographic context of this reference suggests that he visited Saint Julian's of the Forum, even though he does not refer to the church explicitly: *Behind the patrician Peter, there are the relics of Saints Julian, Cyricus and Julitta, and Saint Thecla.*⁸¹ It is uncertain if these saints were venerated in the same church, but it is interesting that they were all from broader Cilicia and Isauria – Cyricus and Julitta from Tarsus and Thekla from Seleucia. Anthony is the last source mentioning the shrine, and the only one recording the presence of relics at it.

Which of the two Julians was the patron of Saint Julian's near the Forum? According to the *Synaxarium* of the Church of Constantinople, it was Julian of Antinoopolis, in whose memory two *synaxeis* were held on 8 January and 21 June. As we saw earlier, two different versions of the saint's hagiography were used on each of these feasts.⁸² Besides Julian of Antinoopolis, the *Synaxarium* also records Julian of Cilicia on 21 June and 16 March, including an identical epitome of his story in both entries. **The testimony of the *Synaxarium* indicates ambiguity with regard to the story of Julian of Antinoopolis (two versions of the same narrative on two different dates) and to the feast of 21 June (two homonymous saints celebrated on the same day). This hagiographic conundrum was soon identified by the scholars of the Church of Constantinople.**

The manuscript tradition of the Greek hagiography of the two Julians does not differ significantly in numbers. For Julian and Basilissa, there are three ninth/tenth-century copies, all Constantinopolitan, while for Julian of Cilicia there are two eleventh-century ones, at least one of which was produced in the capital.⁸³ When examined together, these five manuscripts reveal an interesting picture. Julian and Basilissa are the reading of 21 June in ninth/tenth-century menologia (Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Panagiou Taphou 6; Athos, Vatopediou Monastery 84; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1667). By the end of the tenth century, however, it appears that the hagiographers of Constantinople noticed the existence of the homonymous Cilician martyr and recognised the possibility of a link. Around AD 1000, the compilers of the *Synaxarium* recorded both Julians, but pointed out that the Cilician one was eulogized by Chrysostom. The latter's authority seems to have affected the

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 3.69.

⁸¹ B. DE KHITROWO, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Genève, 1889, p. 106.

⁸² *Synax.* CP Ian. 8, col. 375-377; Iun. 21, col. 759-762.

⁸³ EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand* (cit. n. 3), p. 362, 366, 642, 645-650.

choices made by the compilers of hagiographic collections in the following decades. Thus, the eleventh-century menologia of June and the Imperial Menologium omitted Julian and Basilissa and replaced them with Julian of Cilicia. The replacement was evidently a conscious philological choice which gave priority to the saint whose legend was supported by the patristic tradition. One eleventh-century menologium (Paris, BNF, gr. 1453) contains only Chrysostom's homily on Saint Julian,⁸⁴ whereas another two (Paris, BNF, gr. 1488; Athos, Philotheou Monastery 8) reproduce it together with the *Passio* of the saint (BHG 966).

The manuscript tradition suggests that Julian of Cilicia was 'rediscovered' by the hagiographers of Constantinople around AD 1000, and that he replaced Julian and Basilissa who had been the standard hagiographic reading of 21 June up to the tenth century. But, if the *Passio* of Julian of Cilicia (BHG 966) was known in Constantinople, how and when was the saint's cult and hagiography introduced there, and where was it practised? The *Synaxarium* of Constantinople does not tell us whether the Cilician Julian had his own *synaxis* or shrine, but it reports that the dedication (*encaenia*) of the church of Saint Julian near the Forum was commemorated on 5 July.⁸⁵ This date is very close to 3 July, the date on which the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* records the feast of a certain Julian at both Alexandria and Constantinople.⁸⁶ Now, we should remember that the version of the *Passio* of Julian of Cilicia preserved in the Constantinopolitan manuscripts recounts the foundation of the saint's shrine in Alexandria. It therefore follows that Constantinople received the hagiography of the Cilician martyr from Alexandria, and chances are that he was the martyr Julian commonly celebrated by the two cities on 3 July. Julian of Cilicia, then, is likely to have been the original patron of the shrine of the Forum of Constantine where he will have been replaced by Julian and Basilissa at some point later. Both cults used hagiographic texts from Egypt, which suggests that the Constantinopolitan shrine was under strong Egyptian influence, perhaps being a religious centre of the Egyptian community of the capital in Late Antiquity.

Concluding remarks

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁸⁵ *Synax. CP Iul.* 5, 5, col. 800. 21-22.

⁸⁶ *MH*, V Non. Iul., p. 86, fol. 103a; *Comm. martyr. hieron.* p. 350-351. The Constantinopolitan *Synaxarium* often moves festivals by a few days, so that the two days' shift observed here would be normal.

Appearing in Cilicia during the fourth century, the cult of Saint Julian was transmitted to Antioch by the 380s, and by the fifth century to Alexandria where it may have merged with the veneration of a homonymous local Decian martyr. In roughly the same period (fifth century), the saint's story travelled up the Nile, influencing the hagiography of Julian of Antinoopolis, which can be described as a derivative of the account of the Cilician martyr. Thus, Julian of Cilicia should be added to the Anatolian martyrs whose cult was adopted and flourished in Egypt, like Menas, Thekla, and Merkourios. Emerging in the fifth century, the story and cult of Julian of Antinoopolis and his consort, Basilissa, was rapidly transmitted to the West in the early sixth century and gained remarkable popularity in Merovingian Gaul and Visigothic Spain. Egypt also exported both Julian of Cilicia and Julian of Antinoopolis to Constantinople where the two cults were associated with a shrine near the Forum of Constantine. This church was probably initially dedicated to the Cilician Julian, but his cult was superseded by the Antinoopolitan one by the ninth or tenth century. Around AD 1000, however, the hagiographers of the Church of Constantinople realised that the Cilician account was more ancient and started using it in the menologia, replacing the Antinoopolitan one.

Mobility characterised this cult from its earliest steps and defined its development. Travelling is the main theme of the martyrdom account of Julian of Cilicia, and it may have also been an aspect of his cult. Like an enterprising Cilician sailor, Julian reached several parts of the late antique world, probably following the interregional networks of seaborne commerce, pilgrimage, and monasticism. The spread and popularity of his veneration, however, do not seem to have extended beyond the early medieval period. In the East, the shrine of Constantinople remained active at least until c. AD 1200, but no other churches are known to have been dedicated to the saint in the rest of the Byzantine world. In the West, the splendid early ninth-century church of San Julián de los Prados in Oviedo is the latest known shrine of Saints Julian and Basilissa, and a witness to their still flourishing cult in the Asturian kingdom which succeeded the Visigothic state in the Iberian Peninsula.

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