



Miscellanea

Смесь

СВЯТЫЕ И ЦЕРКОВЬ БАЛКАН И РУСИ / РОССИИ: ТРАНСФЕР ОБРАЗОВ И ИДЕЙ

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«AFTER-LIFE» OF MARTYRS FROM SIRMIUM — PATHS OF LITERARY TRANSMISSION

MARTYR LITERATURE AND CULTURAL MEMORY

Creation of Christian mythology shares resemblance to any other mythology in terms that it is linked to the story utilised within the cult and used as a form of history¹. However, as Lars Boje Mortensen made a knowledgeable remark that in contrast to pre-Christian myths that were bound to oral transmission, the Christian myths «were intimately tied to the new

¹ For comparative studies in Greek and Christian mythology, see: *Edmunds, L.* General introduction // *Approaches to Greek Myth*. 2nd edition / Ed. by Lowell Edmunds. Baltimore, 2014; *Walter Ph.* Christian mythology: Revelations of pagan origin / Trans. by Jon E. Graham. Toronto, 2014. 230 p.

medium of the book»². This mode of communication had a profound influence on transmission as well as adaptations of the text that was considered almost *sacrosanctum*. A remarkable and powerful tool in Christian mythography was a form of text that records the story of martyrdom closely connected with the cult of martyrs³. But, this identity tool has not been consistently labelled nor categorised within the genres of early Christian literature. «Martyr narratives», «martyr literature», «martyr texts», «martyrology», «martyria»⁴, are all applied to the narratives on the early Christian martyrdoms, which served as the foundation for the most proverbial genre of Christian literature that was to develop soon after — the hagiography⁵.

Martyr narratives had a much wider role than it was traditionally assumed by scholars⁶. They were not only in the service of the cult of saints, but also a medium of expression of Christian identity and a method of recording history, which enabled these narratives to live an independent life of their own. Even though «martyr literature» was evidently an extraordinary reservoir of cultural memory, the quality of the historical evidence integrated in its narrative is often very low due to various forms of contamination, from *lapsus calami* to *lapsus memoriae*. However, scholars have passed a long and turbulent path in evaluating these sources. There is an ongoing tendency of limiting those accounts that should be accepted as authentic⁷. The modern-day science is seemingly abandoning traditional Delehaye's criteria on determining historicity⁸ and is taking deeply skeptical turn to the point that there are only a few martyr accounts left in the modern editions of the *acta martyrum* compared to the still consulted and valuable first modern edition by Thierry Ruinart⁹.

The previous scholarship insisted on the philological approach to hagiography and the questions of authenticity and historicity of textual evidence. The 3rd millennium scholars brought new insights in studying textual varieties in hagiographical tradition and the need to

² Mortensen L. B. *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000–1300)*. Copenhagen, 2006. P. 9.

³ Cameron A. *Remaking the Past // Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* / Ed. by G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, O. Grabar. Cambridge, MA; London, 1999. P. 1–20.

⁴ The last two should not be confused with Latin *martyrologium* in the sense of «calendar of martyrs» and Latin *martyrium* as a cult place where veneration of a martyr took place.

⁵ Some scholars do not consider *martyrology* a sub-genre of hagiography. For a detailed survey on the position of the «martyr narratives» in early Christian literature, see discussion on terminology in Høgel Ch. *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization*. Copenhagen, 2002. P. 23–26. — Cf. Louth A. *Hagiography // The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* / Ed. by Young F., Ayres L., Louth A. Cambridge, 2006. P. 358–361; Eftthymiadis S. *Introduction // Ashgate research companion to Byzantine hagiography* / Ed. by S. Eftthymiadis. Vol. 1: *Periods and Places*. Dorchester, 2014. P. 61–102; Detoraki M. *Greek Passions of the Martyrs in Byzantium // Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography* / Ed. by S. Eftthymiadis. Vol. 2: *Genres and Contexts*. Dorchester, 2014. P. 61–102. — Cf. Šagi-Bunić T. J. *Povijest kršćanske literature*. T. 1: *Od početka do Sv. Ireneja*. Zagreb, 1976. P. 203–224.

⁶ The traditional stand that hagiographical narrative is tied to the cult was introduced in Delehaye H. *Les légendes hagiographiques // Revue des questions historiques*. 1903. Vol. 30. P. 56–122.

⁷ See discussion in: Rebillard É. *The early martyr narratives: neither authentic accounts nor forgeries*. Philadelphia, 2020. P. 1–6.

⁸ On the various genres of hagiographic literature and traditional historical typology of martyr literature, see the fundamental work: Delehaye H. *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*. 2nd ed. Brussels, 1966; cf. note 8 in this paper.

⁹ Ruinart Th. *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta*. Paris, 1689.

understand the context in which cultural memory was formed¹⁰. In particular, New Philology introduced many new methods and approaches by incorporating hagiographical literature in oriental languages; methods of intertextuality and narratology; using quantitative tools and acknowledging specific context in which liturgical texts existed as «living literature»¹¹. The peerless Albert Ehrhard, who devoted his career to exploring Greek hagiography once sadly admitted that it is *a thick forest stretching endlessly and lightlessly without a path leading inside*¹². This thought is known to anyone who tried to embark on this journey and it is especially pertinent to the hagiographical traditions deriving from the borders of the Roman world, as it is the case with ancient Roman Pannonia.

«Pannonian hagiography», as recently advanced by Tamas¹³, infers a specific historical and cultural phenomenon characterized by local mannerism in creation of Christian identity as well as the cultural memory. These local characteristics can be traced even wider around Roman Illyricum, but recently published case-studies showed that some places and cases had more influence than others in these processes¹⁴. In communities that were within the same political and social structures, it was usually the most prominent settlement in the region that possessed political, social, economic and cultural potential to shape the cultural memory and make an echo in subsequent historical periods. In case of Illyricum or Pannonia, this potential was tied to the politically and culturally the most prominent city — Sirmium¹⁵.

¹⁰ Dolbeau critically challenged the Bollandist editions of martyr narratives in their famous collection *Acta sanctorum*, see: *Dolbeau F.* Les sources manuscrites des Acta Sanctorum et leur collecte (XVII^e – XVIII^e siècles) // De Rosweyde aux Acta Sanctorum. La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles. Actes du Colloque international. Bruxelles, 5 octobre 2007 / Ed. by R. B. Joassart, X. Lequeux, F. de Vriendt. Bruxelles, 2009. P. 105–147.

¹¹ For the survey on new methods and approaches to hagiography, see: *Vuković M.* Martyr Memories: The Afterlife of the Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium between East and West in Medieval Hagiographical Collections (Eight to Eleventh Centuries). Budapest, 2015. P. 27–30.

¹² *Ehrhard A.* Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. T. 1: Die Überlieferung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1936. P. vi. — Even though in terms of accessibility and classification of hagiographical tradition we have today electronic databases, most scholars agree what is missing is exploration of historical context of hagiographical reception. Of these databases I used: Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes' remarkable database recording about 40,000 Greek medieval manuscripts, including the hagiographical collections (Pinakes | Πίνακες; Textes et manuscrits grecs. URL: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/> (last visited — 19 August 2023); the Bollandist society's revised and updated Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta database at the address: <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be> (last visited — 14 August 2023); and the University of Oxford's The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity: from its origins to circa AD 700 across the entire Christian world database at the address: <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/> (last visited — 14 August 2023).

¹³ *Tamas H.* Hagiography, the Cult of Martyrs, and the Formation of Christian Identity in Late Antique Pannonia. Cluj-Napoca, 2022.

¹⁴ Marijana Vuković first presented the importance of case studies on the example of the martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium (*Vuković M.* Martyr Memories...).

¹⁵ First such attempt was done by Daniele Farlati in the volumes of *Illyricum sacrum* (*Farlati D., Colleti J.* Illyricum sacrum. Vol. VII: Ecclesia Diocletana, Antibarensis, Dyrrhachiensis et Sirmiensis. Venetia, 1847. (1st edition in 1817), where he applied the contemporary ecclesiastical organization to historical region of *Illyricum*, presupposing that this organization had far-reaching influence on

The court proceedings to Pannonian Christians for crimes of *sacrilegium maiestatis* were never found, but they became the historical *nucleus* of local lists of martyrs that were linked to the church calendar. Furthermore, their suffering had a material expression in the cults of martyrs developed by the Christian community who witnessed their deaths and tried to preserve them from oblivion. This rather selective memory was passed on to all the subsequent followers of the same cult regardless of ethnic or cultural background through various forms of memorialisation which ensured their an «after-life», as Peter Tóth conveniently coined the term for the cultural memory of Pannonian martyrs after the destruction or abandonment of their original cult places¹⁶. As historians we try to reconstruct these paths of cultural memory and reach that historical nucleus. The new place of veneration of the Sirmian martyrs meant a «new life» of their cults as well as their narratives¹⁷, which were exposed to modifications. In case of the cult it could mean the change in the feast day¹⁸, new features, identification or assimilation with another cult. The text, on the other hand, was open to (mis)interpretations, clarifications, errors, often leading to serious redactions. Thus martyrs, their relics and their texts came to places with which they did not have any previous contact with, but historical circumstances brought them there the scholarly attention has to be directed at these very circumstances in order to discover these paths of *translatio*, as each stage of the transmission could have caused distancing from the original version. French scholars call it the *hypotexte*, and as Høgel concluded the best way to reach the hypotext and to understand its adaptation is to compare, if possible, all available traditions¹⁹.

Unfortunately, due to its grim faith Roman Pannonia left us very little evidence of Roman heritage, which fell under the incoming cultures that populated the area from the end of the 4th century onward. The splendour of Roman imperial city and the Christian metropolis was completely destroyed by Avar invasions of the 6th century. It took three centuries to return to the ruins of ancient Sirmium amidst the clashing interests of Carolingian, Bavarian, Byzantine and Bulgarian missionaries to restore ancient episcopacy of Sirmium.

This paper investigates the context of formation and modes of transmission of cultural memory on the martyr cults from the rim of the Roman and at the same time the Christian world, with a special focus on the «dark age» of Sirmium from 6th to 8th centuries. Furthermore, the paper discusses the modern criteria for evaluation and deconstruction of hagiographical texts and re-examines the methodology used in latest works on the subject.

the creation of the cultural memory. Later Zeiller recognized common cultural identity in Danubian provinces (*Zeiller J.* Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain. Paris, 1918), the first comprehensive research into the early Christianity in Western Balkans. — Cf. *Smirnov-Brkić A.* Poznoantички мученици западног Илирика у хагиографској књижевности (Зборник Матице српске за књижевност и језик. 2019. Vol. 67/2. P. 593–614), where Smirnov-Brkić argues that the area that produced the fundamental stratum for development of local Christian identity based on the political, social and cultural ties, is the late Roman Illyricum as a whole.

¹⁶ Tóth P. Sirmian Martyrs in Exile. Pannonian case-studies and a Re-evaluation of the St. Demetrius Problem // *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. 2010. Vol.103/1. P. 145.

¹⁷ On the life of the hagiographical text in general, see: *Delehaye H.* Les passions...

¹⁸ On reasons for different feast days in different sources and different churches, see: *Høgel Ch.* Symeon Metaphrastes... P. 34–35.

¹⁹ *Høgel Ch.* Symeon Metaphrastes... P. 34.

LATE ANTIQUE SIRMIAN MARTYRS AND THEIR «HYPOTEXTS»

Sirmium played a major role both in secular and ecclesiastical history of the 4th and early 5th centuries²⁰. Thus it is not surprising that most prolific hagiographical tradition is recorded on martyrs from Sirmium. The late antique list of martyrs, the martyr literature and the uncovered *loca sanctorum* are dominated by Sirmian martyrs. Sirmium witnessed higher number of martyrdoms in comparison to the rest of Illyricum due to the fact that it housed the imperial residence as well as the seat of the praetorian prefecture. Furthermore, the itinerary of the emperor Galerius, the main provocateur of the Great persecution (303–310) and the emperor controlling Illyricum, implies that the most severe measures of the persecution were probably issued in Sirmium²¹.

Today we possess only few primary sources that testify on Sirmian martyrs, the oldest being the *Breviarium Syriacum* (further — the *BS*), an abbreviated martyrology²² based on the lost Greek calendar of martyrs from Nicomedia composed around 360²³. It mentions only four cases from Sirmium — Irenaeus, Demetrius, Secundus, Basilius (see Table 1²⁴). Among these short notes the most elaborate one is the one that says «In Sirmium city Irenaeus episcopus», the first historically attested bishop of this city.

²⁰ There are no monographs on the history of late antique Sirmium, but the following works make generous reference: Милошевић П. Археологија и историја Сирмијума, Нови Сад, 2001; Поповић В. Sirmium — град царева и мученика (сабрани радови о археологији и историји Сирмијума). Сремска Митровица, 2003; Мirković М. Sirmium: Istorija rimskog grada od I do kraja VI veka. Sremska Mitrovica; Belgrade, 2006; Kovács P. A History of Pannonia in the late Roman period I (284–363 AD). Bonn, 2016.

²¹ Barnes T. D. The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine. Cambridge, 1982. P. 56.

²² *Martyrologium* or its shorter form *breviarium* in the sense of a calendar of martyrs is a term that exists in Latin and Syriac tradition, but had no terminological equivalent in Greek. Similar-purpose texts existed in the East, such as *synaxaria* (but with more information on saints), or hagiographical collections containing narratives on martyrs and saints arranged within the church calendar, i. e. *menologia* or their shorter equivalents *menaia*. The western hagiographic collections (*passionaria*, *legendaria*, *vitae sanctorum*) also incorporated martyr narratives. See: Ehrhard A. Überlieferung und Bestand... Vol. I. P. 28ff, 154, 326.

²³ The Syriac list of martyrs is dated to 411, see: Lietzmann H. Die Drei Ältesten Martyrologien. Bonn, 1911.

²⁴ The table presented offers an overview of both Latin and Greek tradition on Sirmian martyrs. I identified a martyr or a group of martyrs related to a certain tradition. As the first criterion in terms of historicity and determining the paths of dissemination of the tradition I used the mentioning of Sirmian martyrs in the earliest known general calendars of martyrs, such as the aforementioned early calendars of martyrs, dating to the middle of the 4th or early 5th century, on the presumption that they collected their information from either popularity of the case in oral tradition and/or from incorporating the local martyr calendars. Secondly, I examined the hagiographical narratives on their martyrdoms in the forms of passions. Thirdly, I evaluated the archaeological or epigraphic evidence of the establishment of certain *loca sanctorum* in Sirmium. Analysis of these various sources on Sirmian martyrs gives us an insight in the development of the tradition that followed their martyrdom. Furthermore, I added the earliest surviving tradition in Greek or Latin redaction, presented in bold BHG or BHL numbers that lists the only variant that is connected to the lost late antique narrative, the hypotexte, which excludes other variations as independent from cultural memory on Sirmian martyrs.

The information is attested in a younger but geographically closer list, the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (further — the *MH*), which was compiled in northern Italy in the 5th century, and which became the model for most of the western *martyrologia*²⁵. The Hieronymianum introduces a myriad of new cases not only in Sirmium, but in entire Illyricum²⁶.

Figure 1 presents the chart for the month of April to show approximate differences in the number of martyrdoms according to these earliest calendars. The data also show wider regions of eastern and western parts of the Empire (Africa, Italy, Illyricum) and their most prominent cities (Alexandria, Rome, Sirmium), as denoted in the calendars. The last column contains the number of martyrdoms mentioned in the entire *BS*. The graph shows great disproportion between the two sources, which could be explained by incorporation of the new data from local calendars in the *MH*. Moreover, Africa had two times more cases than Italy, twenty times more than Illyricum. The regional centres carry more than a third of the entire regions toll, while Rome witnessed five times more than the entire Italy. Sirmium is the place of

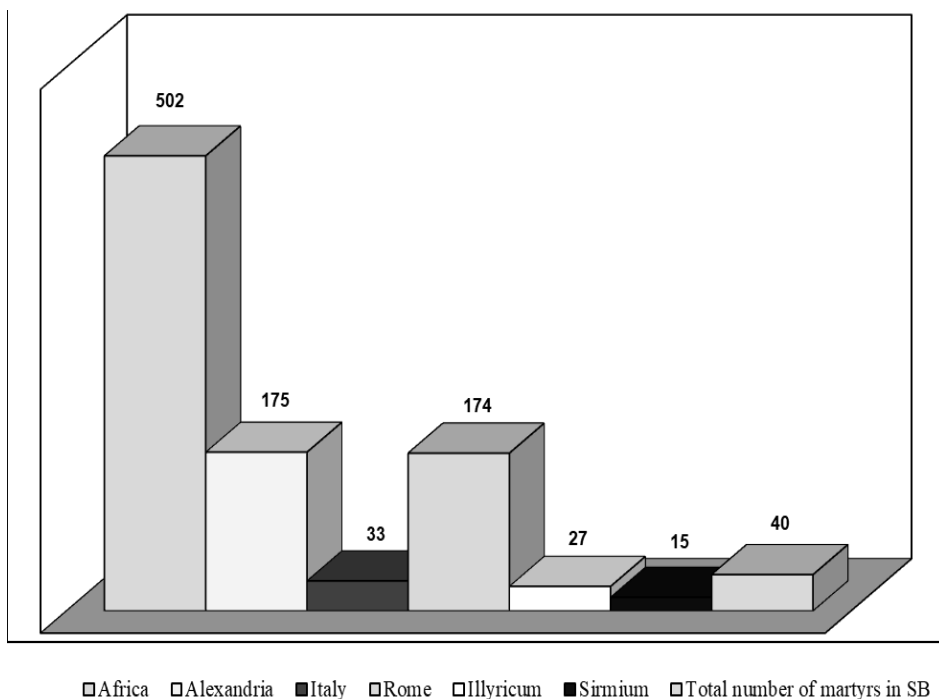


Fig. 1. The number of martyrs recorded in the *MH* and the *BS* for April by region

²⁵ This is the traditional dating, advanced by de Rossi and Duchesne, but recently Lifshitz (*Lifshitz F. The name of the saint: the martyrology of Jerome and access to the sacred in Francia, 627–827. Notre Dame, 2006*) strongly argued a later date based on the old theory proposed by Krusch (*Krusch B. Nochmals die Afrallegende und das Martyrologium Hieronymianum // Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. 1900. Vol. 21, no. 1. P. 1–27*), who preferred a later date of 627.

²⁶ For martyrdoms in the entire Roman Illyricum, see table: *Смирнов-Бркић А. Позноантички мученици...* P. 613–614.

Table 1

Martyr or group	Date of martyrdom	BS ^a	MH	Martyr literature	Material evidence of cult	
					Buildings / Relics	Epigraphic confirmation
MONTANUS, priest and MAXIMA, his wife	26 March 304 VD ^b : 26 March, 11 May		26 March or 11 May <i>In Sirmia Munati presbiter delingi donis cum Sirmium et missus e in fluvio nono lapide. Invenit est corpus eius et Maximae uxoris es. (et altorum XL)</i>	<i>Acta Pollionis Acta Montani?</i> (Cod. Bern.)		
IRENAEUS, episcopo	6 April 304 VD: 6 April, 25 March, 21–23 August	6 April <i>Ἐν Σιρμιό τῇ πόλει Ἐιρηνάϊος ἐπίσκοπος</i>	6 April <i>Firmi/Sirmi Berenei/Herenei gpi</i>	<i>Passio (BHL 4466, BHG 948–951)</i>	4 th century basilica in Sirmium necropolis; no relics	<i>In basilica domini nostri Ereni...</i>
DEMETRIUS, deacon	9 April 304 VD: 9 April, 26 October	9 April <i>Ἐν Σιρμιό Δημητριος</i>	9 April <i>In Sirmia natal. VII virginum quar. nomina ds novit et alibi Demetri diacon, Heracli concessi. Mari, Sirmium. Donati</i>	<i>Passio Demetrii (BHG 496–498, BHL 2122)</i>	5 th century basilica urbana in Sirmium; medieval monastery (9–11 th centuries); relics mentioned in the PD	
ANASTASIA	25 December 304 VD: 25/28 December, 12/28/29 October		25 December <i>Sirmi et Anastasiae (quae de Roma sanctae secuta quae ad martyrium ducebantur haec gloriosam pertulit passionem)</i>	<i>Passio Chrysogoni et sociorum (BHG 81–82, BHL 400–401) Epistulae Anastasiae et Chrysogoni (BHG 83)</i>	4 th century basilica in Sirmium necropolis; relics mentioned in Theod. Lect. 2.65 (ap. Thphn. Chron. A.M. 5950); Const. Porph. <i>De Admin. Imp.</i> 29. and 10 th century inscription in Zadar	<i>...in domo beatissimae dominae nostrae Anastasiae</i>
BASILIIUS or BASILLA	29 August 304 VD: 29 August	29 August <i>Ἐν Σιρμιό Βασίλιος</i>	29 August <i>In Sirmia Basiliae virginis</i>			
AGRIPPINIUS and SECUNDUS	15 June 304 VD: 15 June	15 June <i>Ἐν Σιρμιό Σεκοδόδος</i>	15 June <i>In Sirmia Agrippini Secundi</i>			

SYNEROS / SERENUS, gardeners ^c	22 February 306 VD: 22 February		22 February Sirmi sci. Sereni et alioru XXVI/XLII	<i>Passio</i> (BHL 7595–7596)	4 th century basilica in Sirmium necropolis	1) in <i>basilica domini nostri Syne/Iotis</i> 2) <i>ad beattu(m) Synerot</i> ^c =I>(m)
DONATUS, deacon, VENUSTUS and HERMOGENES	9 April 304 VD: 21 August		9 April <i>Syrmium Fortunati, Donati et VII virginum canonicarum</i>	<i>Passio Donati, Venusti et Hermogenis</i> ^d (previously <i>Passio Donati, Romuli et socii</i> (BHL 2309))		
TIMOTHEUS	15 May VD: 15 May		15 May <i>In Sirmia Timothei et alibi VII virginum</i>			
SABACIA	4 July 304 VD: 4 July		4 July <i>In Sirmia Sabacie innocentium cum aliis XXX</i>			
PERENTUM and CAECIRIA ^e	8 July 304		8 July <i>In Sirmia sgoru perenti Caecitiae</i>			
QUATTUOR CORONATI (SIMPRONIANUS, CLAUDIUS, NICOSTRATUS, CASTORIUS ET SIMPLICIUS)	8 November 303? 306?	* not in <i>BS</i> , but in <i>DM</i> on 8 th November in Rome	8 th August <i>Romae, nat. Secundus, Severianus, Carporforus</i>	<i>Passio sanctorum Simproniani, Claudii, Nicostrati, Castorii et Simplicii</i> (BHL 1836–1839, BHG 1600) <i>Passio quattuor coronatorum</i> (BHL 1966)		

Legend: ■ — No evidence VD — Veneration dates as confirmed in narrative sources

^a All the citations of the *BS* and the *MH* are from *De Rossi, Iohannes Baptistia: Duchesne, Ludovicus* (eds.). 1) *Breviarium Syriaeum* // *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*. Vol. II.1. Bruxellis, 1894. P. LIJ–LXX; 2) *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* // *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*. Vol. II.1. Bruxellis, 1894. P. [I]–[I56].

^b Variations in dates when martyrdoms appear in calendars of saints and the different feast days in Greek and Latin churches (as in case of Irenaeus, Demetrius, Anastasia — see table) could be explained by either confusion between the *Ildus, Nonae* and *Katendae* in Roman calendar or identification with a saint of the same name (as in case of Irenaeus of Lyon, Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Anastasia of Rome).

^c Previously inaccurately designated as «monachus», but Tamas has proven that the term was a later interpolation, inserted in the text under the influence of medieval martyrological traditions. See: *Tamas H. The Hagiographic Dossier...* P. 87–91.

^d Previously misinterpreted as a much larger group, but the latest edition renamed the passion, see: *Cerno M. Passio Donati...*
^e Here we have a difficult part to read which is not necessarily linked to Sirmium. BnF 10837 reads: «On the eighth day before the Ides of July, in Sirmium, the feast of Ostratus, Spirus, Eracelus, and Eperentus, Cerilia»; Bern 289: In Sirmium, [the feast of] Perentus, Ceccira; Weissenburg 81: In Symria, [the feast of] Perentus, Caecira (from Marijana Vukovic, Cult of Saints, E04875 // <http://ebla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E04875> (last visited — 18 August 2023)).

martyrdom of more than a half from the entire Illyricum and eleven more named cases appear compared to the *BS*. Although the number of martyred persons is even greater, their names are not recorded and presented only by number, as those seven girls next to Demetrius of Sirmium *quarum nomina deus novit*.

The problematic *MH* with its variations, untypical abbreviations and spelling shows variations in the number as well as the names of martyrs from Sirmium compared to the *BS*. The series here starts in February, with Serenus/Syneros, than in March a married couple, the priest Montanus and his wife Maxima are introduced. A greater number of martyrs in April follow — Ireaneus, Demetrius, Donatus and seven girls. From May into the summer we have new attested cases — Basilia (in the *BS* Basilius), Agripinus, Sabacia and 30 others, Timotheus, Caeciria and Perentus. Finally in December girl Anastasia is recorded.

Although the chronology cannot be certain it is a logical assumption that this was the scenario in 304, except for Serenus' and Quattuor coronati case that belongs to a later date, probably 306²⁷. Despite being mentioned in both the *BS* and the *MH* (as Basil/Basilia, Agrippinus) some Sirmian martyrs disappeared from memory and did not leave any trace neither in Latin nor Greek tradition. For instance, even though the first-crowned Sirmian martyrs, Montanus and Maxima, are mentioned in a shorter eulogy (see Table), unusually extensive for the *MH*, disappeared outside the local memory soon after. The eulogy is probably an epitome of the lost *Passio Montani*²⁸. This information, as well as the explicit mentioning of their martyrdom in another *Pannonian passion (Passio Polionis)*, may indicate the existence of a local literary tradition²⁹.

Zeiller first proposed to dismiss all the martyrs that do not appear in both *BS* and *MH* as unauthentic³⁰, but in case of the famous martyrdom of the Four Crowned Martyrs (*Quattuor coronati*³¹), whose martyrdom is tied to Rome both in the *MH* and in even older *Depositio Martyrum* (further the *DM*)³², and their narrative, preserved only in Latin literary transmission

²⁷ For chronology of the Pannonian martyrdoms, see: *Jarak M.* 1) *Martyres Pannoniae — the Chronological Position of the Pannonian Martyrs in the Course of Diocletian's Persecution // Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit / Hrsg. Rajko Bratož. Ljubljana, 1996. P. 263–290;* 2) *Ranokršćanski mučenici Panonije // 1700 godina Svetih sirmijskih mučenika. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog simpozija o 1700. obljetnici sirmijsko-panonskih mučenika (304–2004). 22–23. listopada 2004. Đakovo, Hrvatska / Ur. Darija Damjanović. Đakovo, 2011. P. 51–71.*

²⁸ *Kovács P.* *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae in aetate Tetrarcharum I (A. D. 285–305) // Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae VI / Ed. by Péter Kovács. Budapest, 2011. Pp. 82–88; Tamas H.* *Hagiography... P. 123–124.*

²⁹ Although another case of martyrdom in Pannonia presents a similar scenario, the *Passio Qurini*, critical analysis of the narrative, Prudence's reference to Quirinus' death and cult (*Prud. Perist. 7,1*) and the *MH* that the passion is a later creation possibly inspired by the *Passio Montani*. For Quirinus' hagiographic dossier, see *Tamas H.* *Hagiography... P. 26–67.*

³⁰ *Зелер Жак.* *Почеци хришћанства на Балкану. Подгорица, 2005. P. 83.*

³¹ The phrase was coined later as attested in the Verona Sacramentary, whose material ranges from the mid 3rd to the mid-6th century v. *Lett Feltoe C.* (ed.). *Sacramentarium Leonianum.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896. P. 148; for dating the source v. *Hope D. M.* *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose.* Oxford Theological Monographs. London, 1971.

³² *The Depositio Martirum* is a list of burials of martyrs in Rome that gives both the day of the year and the place of their burial. It was saved within the so-called *Chronography of 354*, compiled

as the *Passio Claudii, Nicostrati, Symphoriani, Castorii et Simplicii*³³, actually two groups of martyrs, five in Pannonia and four in Rome are combined. This extant and vivid text written in Vulgar Latin with the hallmarks of the 4th century lexicæ incited centuries-long scholarly debate on the provenance, the paths of transmission and especially the possible ubication of the story behind the legend of the *Quattuor coronati*³⁴. The *DM* and the passion agree that the *Quattuor coronati* were venerated on the 8th November, but the *MH* mentions them on 8th August. The core of the Roman cult is explained in the last passage of the passion, where their bodies were allegedly buried by St. Sebastian at the third milestone of the via Labicana and Roman episcopo Miltiades (311–313) ordered to commemorate them under the names of the Pannonian martyrs Claudius, Nicostratus, Simpronianus and Castorius. Thus, *DM* and *MH* refer most probably to their Roman not Sirmian cult, which may have also been authentic, but whose tradition became obscure after their assimilation with a Roman group of martyrs.

Nevertheless, according to the archaeological evidence unearthed so far in Sirmium, four Christian cemeteries were identified with several cult buildings of which only two could have been identified as memorials³⁵ — the cemeterial basilica dedicated to Irenaeus of Sirmium and cemeterial basilica dedicated to Syneros / Serenus of Sirmium (see Table). The sites were in use from the 4th to the 6th centuries, with a higher frequency of burials in the second half of

in Rome c. 354. — See: *Chronographus Anni CCCLIII* // MGH AA. Vol. 9: *Chronica Minora Saec. IV–VII* / Ed. by Theodor Mommsen. Vol. 1. Berlin, 1892 (repr. München 1981). P. 13–148; cf. *Salzman, Michele Renee*. On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity. Berkeley, 1991.

³³ Their narrative is preserved in Latin literary tradition within 111 manuscripts, the oldest dating from the first quarter of the 9th century. That is Lat. 10861 in the National Library of France. For the dating. URL: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc72533b> (last visited — 14 August 2023). The the most prolific line of tradition derives from a pen of Porphyrius (*censualis a gleba actuarius nomine Porphyrius*), found in 109 codices (*BHL* 1836, 1837–1837b). There is another line of tradition deriving from the Neapolitan subdeacon Peter (*BHL* 1838) and another anonymous one (*BHL* 1839). There is also one Greek translation (*BHG* 1600) from the 12–13th centuries preserved in only one codex.

³⁴ One of the most distinguishing features of the *Passio* that dates it to the 4th century is the use of *Itala* in reference to the *Bible*. For dating of the text, v. *Cavalieri, P. F. de'*. Note Agiografiche: I Santi Quattro Coronati // *Studi e Testi* 1912. Vol. 24; cf. *Delehaye H.* Le culte des Quatre Couronnés a Rome // *Analecta Bollandiniana*. 1913. Vol. 32. P. 63–71, who classified it as a hagiographical legend remotely based on historical documents.

³⁵ On Christian buildings of Sirmium, see: *Hytrek A.* Starokršćansko groblje Sv. Sinerota u Srijemu // *Ephemeris Salonitana*. 1894. Vol. 1. P. 1–10; *Popović V.* 1) Култни континуитет и литерарна традиција у цркви средњовековног Сирмијума // *Sirmium*. 1980. Vol. XII. P. I–VII; 2) *Sirmium, grad careva i mučenika* (Sabrani radovi o arheologiji i istoriji Sirmijuma), Sremska Mitrovica, 2003; *Ercegović-Pavlović S.* Les nécropoles romaines et médiévales de Mačvanska Mitrovica // *Sirmium*. 1980. Vol. XII. P. 1–60; *Jeremić M.* 1) Градитељство Сирмијума у V и VI веку // *Саопштења*. 2002. Бр. 34. P. 43–58; 2) Култне грађевине хришћанског Сирмијума // *Sirmium* и на небу и на земљи. 1700 година од страдања хришћанских мученика (зборник радова) / Ed. by Душан Познановић. Сремска Митровица, 2004. P. 43–78; 3) *Les temples payens de Sirmium* // *Starinar*. 2006. Vol. 56. P. 167–200; *Popović I.* Pagan Cults and Christianity in Sirmium from the 3rd to the Middle of the 5th Century // *Religion in Public and Private Sphere. Acta of the 4th International Colloquium «The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia»* / Ed. by Irena Lazar. Koper, 2011. P. 235–249.

the 4th century³⁶. Another cult place possibly dedicated to Irenaeus developed in Mačvanska Mitrovica, on the right bank of the river Sava, where three subsequently built medieval churches were uncovered, dating from the 10th to the 14th centuries³⁷. They were built over a 4th century martyrrium, but without any indication of dedication. However, several medieval charters from the 13th and 14th century mention *ecclesia sancti Irienei* thus confirming that the last of the three, the Benedictine church, was dedicated to Irenaeus³⁸. The oldest medieval church was dated to the 10th century and was established by the Frankish mission, while the second was of Greek rite from the 11th century until the third Benedictine replaced it, thus seemingly showing the cult continuity from late antiquity. But as Vuković argued, it is more likely that the presence of Irenaeus in Byzantine calendars prompted the establishment of the medieval cult in Mačvanska Mitrovica and not the other way round³⁹.

Furthermore, recently published inscription confirmed another martyrrium dedicated to Sirmian martyr Anastasia, whose basilica was mentioned in the *Passio Altera*⁴⁰ of Demetrius of Thessaloniki. Based on the information from the passion, prefect Leontius built Demetrius' church in Sirmium in the vicinity of the existing church of St. Anastasia thus making the year 426 the *terminus ante quem* for its construction. Popović and Ferjančić suggested an interesting hypothesis based on the finds of Ostrogothic coins next to the northern city wall — the martyrrium leaning against the northern city wall that had been unearthed and then destroyed at the end of the 19th century (Hitrek's excavations) could have belonged to Anastasia as Ostrogoths favoured the saint⁴¹. The formula *in domo (?) beatissimae dominae nostrae Anastasiae* corresponds well to local formulas found on the inscriptions that mention basilica of St. Irenaeus (*in basilica domini nostri Erenei*⁴²) and St. Syneros (*ad beatu Syneroti*⁴³).

The *basilica urbana* was also discovered in Sirmium but there is no conclusive evidence of its patron, due to a perplex relationship between the Sirmian martyr Demetrius and his

³⁶ On Sirmian necropolis, see *Miladinović-Radmilović, Nataša*. Sirmium — Necropolis. Beograd; Sremska Mitrovica, 2011.

³⁷ See: *Popović V*. Sirmijska episkopija i srednjovekovna crkva na Balkanu // Sirmium. 1980. Vol. XI. P. 291–296; *Поповић В*. Блажени Иринеј, први епископ Сирмијума // Sirmium и на небу и на земљи (1700 година од страдања хришћанских мученика) / Ed. by Душан Познановић. Сремска Митровица, 2004. P. 81–86.

³⁸ *Györffy G*. Das Güterverzeichnis des griechischen Klosters zu Száva-szentdemeter (Sremska Mitrovica) aus dem 12. Jahrhundert // *Studia slavica Academiae scientiarum Hungariae*. 1959. Vol. 5. P. 9–74.

³⁹ *Vuković M*. Martyr Memories... P. 139–140. — Cf. *Popović V*. Kulturni kontinuitet i literarna tradicija u crkvi srednjovekovnog Sirmijuma // Sirmium. 1980. Vol. 12. P. 303–306.

⁴⁰ *Passio altera* refers to the version of the *Passio Demetrii* that contains the link to Sirmium (BHG 497; BHL 2122).

⁴¹ *Popović I, Ferjančić S*. A New Inscription from Sirmium and the Basilica of St. Anastasia // *Starinar*. 2013. Vol. 63. P. 101–113.

⁴² Published first by *Duval N*. Sirmium « Ville impériale » ou « Capitale »? // XXVI Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna, 1979. P. 53–90.

⁴³ Published in CIL 03.10232; ILS 9205; ILCV 2182; *Smirnov-Brkić A*. Funerary inscription of Aurelia Aminia; Funerary inscription of Artemidora // *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity Database*. Reference E06682, Faculty of History, University of Oxford, Oxford, 2018. URL: <http://csa.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E06682> (last visited — 10 August 2023).

Thessalonican namesake. Although most scholars consider highly probable that it was dedicated to martyr Demetrius of Sirmium, mentioned in the *Passio Altera*, there is no concrete evidence to support this claim, only tentative⁴⁴. Later Methodius (815–885), the nominal bishop of Pannonia, celebrated the memory of St. Demetrius⁴⁵, as evidenced in his biography, but most probably of Thessalonica's not the Sirmian patron. There was also a Benedictine monastery dedicated to Thessalonican martyr, thus leading us again to a conclusion that cultural memory of the deacon of Sirmium has probably vanished from cultural memory by the 7th century. The East may have recently been the first to forget about him, in favor of the more famous Thessalonican martyr, and the West had no knowledge of either Demetrius before Latin translation of the *Passio Altera* by Anastasius the Librarian (died before 877⁴⁶).

The modern scholars held a traditional view of narrative's dependency on the *loca sanctorum*⁴⁷, but recently this established notion has been rejected and it was proposed that martyr narratives need to be deconstructed independently from the cult⁴⁸. Furthermore, early medieval manuscripts in Greek and Latin traditions preserve detailed narratives of some of the Sirmian martyrs whose cults were never confirmed.

All martyr narratives bound to Sirmium are in the *passio* form: *Passio Irenaei Sirmiensis*, *Passio Demetrii*, *Passio Donati*, *Venusti et Hermogenis*⁴⁹, *Passio Sereni*, *Passio Anastasiae*, *Passio Quattuor Coronatorum*. None of the manuscripts that holds these passions is older than the 7th–8th centuries thus imposing a rather unfavourable research position that we can only turn to the text analysis for determining the date and provenance of the narrative⁵⁰. Passions as the most typical form of the martyr literature in the 4th–5th centuries, present relatively short

⁴⁴ According to Popović, the basilica of Leontius in Sirmium was built around 426, while Jeremić proposes a longer time frame from 427 to 441. *Јеремич М. Култне грађевине...* P. 65. — James Skedros (after Sotiriou) dates the basilica of Demetrius in Thessaloniki to 412–413, prior to the one in Sirmium. *Skedros J. C. Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector 4th–7th centuries CE*. Harrisburg 1999.

⁴⁵ According to Stojkovski, Methodius wrote a *stichira* to St. Demetrius in 882, which further supports the thesis that the East still preserved the cult of the Thessalonican martyr in Sirmium (*Стојковски Б. Историјски контекст Методијевој Стихире Светом Димитрију // Филологија и универзитет / Ed. by Бојана Димитријевић. Ниш, 2012. P. 847–863*).

⁴⁶ *Forrai R. Anastasius Bibliothecarius and his textual dossiers: Greek collections and their Latin transmission in 9th century Rome // L'Antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales. Textes et représentations / Ed. by S. Gioanni and B. Grévin. Rome: École française de Rome, 2008. P. 319.*

⁴⁷ First proposed by *Delehaye H. Les légendes hagiographiques...* Cf. *Thacker A. Loca sanctorum: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints // Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West / Ed. by A. Thacker and R. Sharpe. Oxford; New York, 2002. P. 1–44. Høgel C. Symeon Metaphrastes... P. 31.*

⁴⁸ *Lifshitz F. The name of the saint... 96–97; Vuković M. Martyr Memories... P. 125; 143–144.*

⁴⁹ This title is the result of the latest scholarly research into the dossier of Donatus, Venustus and Hermogenes from Sirmium, according to *Tamas H. Hagiography... P. 173ff.* — Previous scholars believed that the group included Romulus and Silvanus and it was named in *BHL Passio Donati, Romuli et socii*.

⁵⁰ Høgel considers the collections of martyria in Eusebius' lost collection of old martyria (*Eus. HE 4.15–47; 5.1.2; 21.5*) and Martyrs of Palestine (*HE 8*), Theodoretus of Kyrrhus «Church history» and Kyrillos of Skythopolis «The Lives of the Monks of Palestine, *Historia Monachorum*

narrations on the events surrounding the martyrdom of their protagonists⁵¹. By around the 7th century the epic passions were formed in Latin hagiography. In the Western Balkans Philippart and Trigalet identified eight passions in Latin manuscripts dating before the 9th century⁵². The latest scholarly efforts proved that five passions were composed in Pannonia itself (*Passio Quirini*, *Passio Irenaei*, *Passio Pollionis*, *Passio Sereni*), because at textual level they show similarities and point to Pannonian hagiographic production, as argued by Tamas⁵³, or Sirmian hagiographic workshop as proposed by Smirnov-Brkić⁵⁴. From the new evidence in the latest edition of the *Passio Polionis* by Tamas, new fragment in the preamble of the passion showed that the author of the text knew of martyrdom of Montanus of Singidunum, Irenaeus of Sirmium and Demetrius, the deacon of Sirmium⁵⁵. If this reading is correct, it ascertains that Christian communities in Pannonia were well connected and exchanged their records of martyrdoms and presented them to local community probably on the commemoration days⁵⁶. Being the most prominent figure in Christian community, the trial of Irenaeus was first recorded *in extenso* thus providing the literary model for other narratives in Pannonia, as proven in cases *Passio Pollionis*, *Passio Quirini* and *Passio Floriani*, where we have similar literary forms or direct borrowings from the *Passio Irenaei*⁵⁷.

As Høgel recommended, we should start with the personage involved in production of hagiography in question⁵⁸. The first brick or the foundation of the narrative revolves around a person or a group that had suffered martyrdom and who makes the central figure of the narrative and reflects the social context of the time. The second layer is built around the author of the narrative and the third around the targeted audience. For instance, the Latin redaction of the *Passio Irenaei* uses the 1st person singular in the introduction (*pandam/ostendam*) as well as *vobis* which implies the presence of an audience⁵⁹, in this case probably a group of believers gathered around martyrial basilica, which colours this text as liturgical one. On the contrary, Greek redaction uses the neutral tone of the 3rd person to exemplify Irenaeus' martyrdom⁶⁰.

in Aegypto, Historia Lausiaca» as late antique hagiographical collections, see: Høgel C. Symeon Metaphrastes... P. 36–37.

⁵¹ On the methodological approaches and problem within the research in Latin hagiographical tradition, see: Philippart G., Trigalet M. Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century: A Synoptic View // The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies / Ed. by Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick. London; New York, 2016. P. 111–130.

⁵² Philippart G., Trigalet M. Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century. P. 118.

⁵³ Tamas H. Hagiography... P. 18.

⁵⁴ Смирнов-Бркић А. Позноантички мученици... P. 602.

⁵⁵ Tamas H. Hagiography... P. 27.

⁵⁶ Rizos E. Martyrs from the north-western Balkans in the Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition // Frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien der historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau. Akten des 27: Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donaunraum. Ruma. 4.–7.11.2015. Remshalden, 2016. P. 195–214.

⁵⁷ Смирнов-Бркић А. Позноантички мученици...

⁵⁸ Høgel C. Symeon Metaphrastes... P. 29ff.

⁵⁹ Benveniste A. Muka Sv. Ireneja srijemskoga. Ranokršćanski portret biskupa mučenika // Diacovensia. 1994. Vol. 1/2. P. 82–109.

⁶⁰ Смирнов-Бркић А., Дрганић И. Латинска и грчка редакција Пасије св. Иринеја Сирмијског // Истраживања. 2013. Vol. 24. P. 60.

However, the style and the purpose must have changed after the adoption of Christianity by imperial court in the 4th century and the genre entered into the sphere of high-style encomia influenced by classical ancient rhetoric and biography⁶¹. The question of identity or social background of the authors of martyrdom narratives in late antique period is also a considerable task, as the majority of these texts are anonymous, which points to a *maniéré* of copying a narrative in use. In case of Sirmian martyrs we have only one authorized narrative, in the *Quattuor coronati*, where a certain stenographer named Porphyrius signed the text.

Another group of people directly involved in the production of hagiography were the commissioners. In case of Sirmian martyrs we can assume that they could be the leaders of religious institutions or local communities to which the martyr belonged or where his relics were kept — as Irenaeus was an episcopo of Sirmium, his successor, perhaps Domnius who signed the *Nicene creed* or some unknown predecessor⁶², ordered his narrative to be written down for the liturgical purposes to commemorate Irenaeus on the day of his martyrdom in a cemeterial basilica. However, another possible commissioner from the late 4th century could be some imperial officer who was in charge of commemorative building works or translation of relics in cooperation with the local clergy. In Sirmian case, we have confirmation of these activities in case of St. Demetrius of Sirmium, where both the narrative and material evidence in both Sirmium and Thessaloniki confirm possible commissioning activities by prefect of Illyricum Leontius, in the first half of the 5th century. Nevertheless, in Irenaeus' and Syneros' case, the inscriptions on graves closest to the basilica record that wealthy Christian families helped build these memorials.⁶³ Unfortunately, the inscription that mentions basilica of Anastasia is fragmentary and the names of the deceased and the commissioner of the monument are not preserved.

From the end of the 4th century, the Sirmian martyrs and their established cults, as well as their possible concise martyr narratives based on the court records of their trials, encountered a new genre that was flourishing in forms of saints' lives, miracle stories, encomia and panegyrica as independent forms of narration, but where their stories could easily be adapted. Thus we have two paths the martyr narratives could have taken from the 5th century onward. One that was leading to preservation of the cultural memory of the established local cults of martyrs, the other recycling the martyr narratives from the cultural memory, through copies, rewritings, translations and recensions⁶⁴. This *metaphrasis* of the early martyrdom narratives

⁶¹ Høgel C. Symeon Metaphrastes... P. 27–28.

⁶² See: Смрнов-Бркић А. Религијска слика римске провинције Pannonia Secunda у 4. веку нове ере: Докторска дисертација. Нови Сад, 2016. P. 159–160; Зелер Ж. Почети хришћанства... P. 152.

⁶³ Published in CIL 3.10233; Here after: Smirnov-Brkić A. Funerary inscription of Aurelia Aminia; Funerary inscription of Artemidora. The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity Database, reference E06682, Faculty of History, University of Oxford, Oxford 2018. URL: <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E06682> (last visited — 10 August 2023). The inscription that mentions basilica of St. Irenaeus records that a certain Macedonius erected the plate together with his wife Ammes, daughter of a certain Evenatus. The two latter names suggest an eastern origin of the family. The two inscriptions that mention St. Syneros testify that a woman named Artemidora was of Greek origin and Aurelia Aminia of Latin.

⁶⁴ For a detailed survey on the methodological issues that modern-day science is coping with, see: Vuković M. Martyr Memories... P. 17–21.

was so prolific that only the tip of that huge iceberg has been uncovered⁶⁵. One of the biggest problems in approaching this literary giant is that only in few cases we can conduct thorough analysis of all available manuscripts and determine the provenance of the narrative, along with chronological taxonomy. This is why recent scholarly attention has been turned to creation of the so-called *dossiers* of each martyr, where all the evidence will be gathered and a modern critical edition of the martyr narratives provided.

The first complete hagiographic dossiers of martyrs from Roman Pannonia appeared only at the very end of the 20th century, when François Dolbeau published the edition of the Latin *Passio Irenaei*⁶⁶, but the critical edition of Greek tradition on Irenaeus', and all other Pannonian martyr narratives, are still missing⁶⁷.

All the mentioned written and material sources from the 4th to the end of the 6th centuries served either to honor the cult of Sirmian martyrs and their promotion, or as historical records. However, the faith of the local cults of saints was closely connected to the faith of the city where it was established. After the first fall of Sirmium in 441 under the invasion of the Huns, then in 582 under the Avars, several waves of refugees are attested⁶⁸. Some fled to Rome, which possibly explains the origin of the cults of Anastasia of Rome and the Four Crowned Martyrs. Some fled to Ravenna which explains the group of martyrs around Donatus, but also the hagiographical cycle of Anastasia and Chrysogones. Some migrated to Thessaloniki, where the cult of Demetrius emerged. And some found refuge in the Adriatic coast, where the presence of Sirmian refugees was confirmed on burial inscriptions⁶⁹. Even before the Hun invasion, the prefect of Illyricum and the episcopo of Sirmium moved to Thessaloniki around 441. Seventeen years after the Hun invasion the relics of St. Anastasia were brought from ruins of Sirmium to Constantinople and placed into the existing Church of Resurrection, according to the testimony of Theodor Lector⁷⁰. Some Sirmian martyrs were not secured an after-life and became outdated. Others, owing to their translation and development of the cult

⁶⁵ A good example is the monumental work: *Constantinou S., Høgel C. (eds.). Metaphrasis: A Byzantine concept of rewriting and its hagiographical products.* Leiden; Boston, 2021.

⁶⁶ *Dolbeau F. Le dossier hagiographique d'Irénée, évêque de Sirmium // Antiquité Tardive.* 1999. Vol. 7. P. 205–214. — Dolbeau critically challenged the Bollandist editions of martyr narratives in their famous collection *Acta sanctorum* and based his edition, similarly to Ruinart (*Ruinart Th. Acta primorum...*), on comparison of six most credible representatives of groups of manuscripts. However, Dolbeau used the Greek redaction of the Passion as a reference work, but he used the bollandist edition from *AASS*, which Smirnov-Brkić and Draganić have proven to be unreliable (see: *Смирнов-Бркић А., Драганић И. Латинска и грчка...* P. 51–70). But a remarkable work has been done by Marijana Vuković, who gave a synoptic critical edition of all redactions — Greek, Latin, Old Church Slavonic, Armenian, Georgian, and her work must be consulted (see: *Appendix in Vuković M. Martyr Memories...* P. 252–331).

⁶⁷ On the importance of studying the Greek tradition on Pannonian martyrs, see: *Смирнов-Бркић А., Драганић И. Латинска и грчка...* P. 51–70.

⁶⁸ For religious history of Sirmia region in the late antiquity and early middle ages, see: *Смирнов-Бркић А. Религијска слика...* P. 18–19, 398–400; *Стојковски Борис. Црквена историја Срема и средњем веку (докторска дисертација).* Нови Сад, 2012; *Граџанин Н. Јужна Панонија у касној антици и раном средњовјековљу (од конца 4. до конца 11. stoljeća).* Zagreb, 2011.

⁶⁹ For more detail, see: *Смирнов-Бркић А. Религијска слика...* P. 399–400.

⁷⁰ Scholarly opinion differs on the question of time when this church became dedicated to St. Anastasia, but more convincing is the theory that it was not connected with memory of St. Anastasia before

of relics, were relocated to the eastern and western parts of the deteriorating Roman Empire. Meanwhile, in Sirmium there is no evidence of the cultic continuity until the 10th century, when cult structures dedicated to martyrs from ancient Sirmium started to reappear⁷¹.

THE LONG GAP BETWEEN THE HYPOTEXT AND ITS HYPERTEXT

The long gap between the tangible evidence from the 4th and 5th centuries and tangible hagiographical tradition from the 7th and 8th centuries, presents the most problematic issue in determining through which channels the memory of a certain case of martyrdom travelled. The majority of evidence we possess are indirect and concerned mostly with the tradition of the cult of martyrs (i. e. buildings, relics, miracles related to the cult). We can only make a knowledgeable guess that the narrative in certain cases existed within liturgical books or memorial books, and with them it spread through copying and then at some point the primary purpose changed with the development of hagiographic genre. From this moment on, and we cannot be certain when this momentum occurred, the creative path started.

In order to determine why some Sirmian martyrs were secured an after-life following the destruction of the local places of worship, Marijana Vuković gave a valuable remark on the mechanism of promotion of local martyrs to universal ones and marked the Canon 83 from the Council of Carthage in 419 as an important turning point in the process of formation of cultural memory. The canon forbade commemoration of martyrs in cases where there was no body or relics or a reliable ancient tradition that these locations were connected to martyrdom⁷². Among the existed only the cases of Montanus, Irenaeus, Serenus, Demetrius, Donatus, Quattuor coronati and Anastasia complied with the new requirements for survival of martyr memory. All others were on the way to be sent to oblivion. Thus the possible collections created in the 5th and 6th centuries about local martyrs were purged within efforts of the Church to uniform the calendar. However, there were discrepancies from the rule as evidenced in the Church of Rome and within the domain of the Benedictine order, where the recital of saints took place in churches on or around the feast day⁷³. The Benedictine influence in medieval Sirmium was highly attested.

Furthermore, as «cults and relics spread and pilgrimage became institutionalized the geography of the saints changed»⁷⁴, as well as the discourse in which cultural memory on Sirmian martyrs had been created. The new circumstances asked for adaptations and this inflicted great changes to the cult and to the text tied to it. The local 'hero' can become universal and all the previous local needs that shaped his narrative became open to universal interpretation, while the motifs, style, language became more flexible and fluent. Thus the text moves from historical account and commemorative liturgical use to universal literary genre, being dictated by the demands of the new audience or commissioners as in case of

the 5th century. See detailed discussion in *Vedriš T. Štovanje Sv. Anastazije u Sirmiju, Carigradu i Rimu u kasnoj antici i ranome srednjem vijeku* // *Diadora*. 2007. Vol. 22. P. 191–216.

⁷¹ *Popović V.* 1) *Kulturni kontinuitet...* P. 303–306; 2) *Sirmijska episkopija i srednjovekovna crkva na Balkanu* // *Sirmium*. 1980. Vol. 11. P. 291–296; *Jeremić M.* *The Relationship Between the Urban Physical Structures of Medieval Mitrovica and Roman Sirmium* // *Hortus Artium Medievalium*. 2006. Vol. 12. P. 137–161.

⁷² *Vuković M.* *Martyr Memories...* P. 8 ff.

⁷³ *Vuković M.* *Martyr Memories...* P. 10.

⁷⁴ *Høgel Ch.* *Symeon Metaphrastes...* P. 33.

Passio Sancti Demetrii. The Latin redaction of the *Passio prima* from the pen of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (the Librarian), was in fact a translation of the Greek redaction, shortened and sent to the Frankish king Charles the Bald (823–878), which gave the West the only literary source of knowledge of the cult of Demetrius of Thessalonica.

Moreover, the patron saint of the modern city of Mitrovica, travelled a long path packed with cultural memory from different historical cultures that occupied the place called *Sirmium* / *villa Sancti Demetrii* / *Száva-Szent-Demeter* / *Dimitrovica* / *Mitrovica*⁷⁵. Slavic toponym preserved memory of a medieval town known to Byzantine tradition as *civitas sancti Demetrii* (= city of St. Demetrius), and in Hungarian *Száva-Szent-Demeter* (= St. Demetrius on the Sava). These medieval names were linked to a monastery dedicated to St. Demetrius not of Sirmium but of Thessaloniki⁷⁶, whose earliest existence is confirmed in the 11th century literary sources⁷⁷, around which a village developed (*villam Sancti Demetrii*)⁷⁸. Before that the only narrative that connected the place with any of the two Demetrius was a *passio* on the martyrdom of Demetrius of Thessaloniki.

Demetrius' narrative has been handed down in a rich hagiographical tradition divided in three different recensions. The oldest and shortest text is found in Photius' Library (9th century) (BHG 496). This version was used for translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius into Latin (BHL 2122). The second recension, the so-called *Passio altera* (BHG 497), is more diversified and endows the reader with new information about Demetrius' military career and the first miracle that happened to the prefect Leontius, and it contains the Sirmium connection. It represents the most common text in the Eastern Church around the turn of the 11th and the 12th centuries. The third and most recent version contains the collection of lives of saints by Simeon Metaphrastes (BHG 498), which mostly follows the text of the *Passio altera*. Peter Tóth added a medieval Latin recension (BHL 2127) from medieval Hungary, which he believes asserts that the martyr was born in Sirmium and went later to Thessalonica where he was martyred⁷⁹. There is no evidence that the hypotext of Demetrius' narrative can be dated to late antiquity due to many reworkings caused by the popularity of the text.

⁷⁵ For etymology of the name Mitrovica, see: *Skok P.* Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika. Vol. I. Zagreb, 1971. P. 72–77; *Смирнов-Бркић А.* Етимолошка анализа топонима Sirmium/Σίρμιον у контексту етнографске слике Срема у предримско и рано римско доба // *Živa antika*. 2013. Vol. 63. P. 55–83.

⁷⁶ According to Hungarian historiography the monastery was under Greek jurisdiction until 1344 when it was taken over by Benedictine monks, while according to Croatian scholars there were two monasteries with the same patron in or around medieval Mitrovica, one of Greek (Basilian) and the other of Catholic rite (Benedictine). For discussion on the issue, see: *Andrić S.* Bazilijanski i benediktinski samostan sv. Dimitrija u Srijemskoj Mitrovici // *Radovi — Zavod za hrvatsku povijest*. 2008. Vol. 40. P. 115–186, esp. 116, notes 9, 10.

⁷⁷ On sources that mention the monastery of St. Demetrius in former Sirmium's vicinity before the formation of Catholic bishopry of Srem in the 13th century, see: *Györffy G.* *Das Güterverzeichnis...*

⁷⁸ *Györffy G.* *Das Güterverzeichnis...* P. 73.

⁷⁹ *Tóth P.* Die sirmische Legende des heiligen Demetrius von Thessalonike. Eine lateinische Passionsfassung aus dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn (BHL 2127) // *Analecta Bollandiana*. 2010. Vol. 128 (2). P. 348–392.

This perplex situation with source on two martyrs named Demetrius sparked a long-lasting scientific debate that is still unsettled⁸⁰. The best supported scenario at the current state of evidence is that the less known Demetrius of Sirmium was shadowed by a patron of the more fortunate city of Thessaloniki, where his relics were probably transported in the first half of the 5th century, before the first destruction of Sirmium under the Huns.

Compared to Demetrius, Irenaeus of Sirmium was not a prominent saint in the Middle Ages, according to the number of manuscripts that kept his narrative. His case of martyrdom (re)appears in manuscripts from the 8th century in Latin tradition and from the 10th century in Greek and Old Church Slavonic, whereby Vuković has proven that the 11th century marks the beginning of his 'afterlife' in the West, while from the 14th century the memory of him in the Byzantine world started to fade⁸¹. Using the method of mapping combined with the methodology of New Philology Vuković explored the discourse in which the manuscripts of Irenaeus martyrdom were produced and what was their connection to the producers and consumers, thus concluding that the earliest Latin manuscript containing Irenaeus' passion presents a translation from Greek⁸². The manuscript was found in the monastery of Kochel and later transferred to Benediktbeuern monastery, the sister monastery of the Benedictine order, and as there were close ties between the churches of Aquileia-Cividale and southern Germany since the 9th century, the cult traveled through Germany along the same paths as the cult of Anastasia. This proves that the Benedictine missionaries spreading from early medieval Bavaria and northern Italy (monasteries Bobbio, Kochel, Benediktbeuern and Reichenau) were important in dissemination and translation of Greek hagiographical texts containing the martyrs from Sirmium among others in the period from the 8th to the 11th centuries.

The analysis of Irenaeus literary tradition shows the *BHL* 4466 and *BHG* 948–949⁸³ present the earliest narratives which could be linked to a *hypotext* dating from the 4th century, which is clear in case of Latin redaction, while in the case of Greek one we do not even have a complete list of all known Greek manuscripts that preserve this narrative⁸⁴. The Latin tradition is quite

⁸⁰ On the various hypotheses on the origin of the cult of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki, see: *Lemerle P.* La composition et la chronologie des deux premiers livres des *Miracula S. Demetrii* // *Byzantiniische Zeitschrift*. 1953. Vol. 46. P. 349–361; *Vickers M.* Sirmium or Thessaloniki? A Critical examination of the St. Demetrius Legend // *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. 1974. Vol. 67. P. 337–350; *Obolensky D.* The Cult of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki in the History of Byzantine-Slav Relations // *Balkan Studies*. 1974. Vol. 15. P. 3–20; *Skedros J. C.* Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki: civic patron and divine protector 4th–7th centuries CE. Harrisburg, 1999; *Woods D.* Thessalonica's Patron: Saint Demetrius or Emetrius? // *The Harvard Theological Review*. 2000. Vol. 93/3. P. 221–234; *Поповић В.* Култ Светог Димитрија Солунског...; *Tóth P.* 2010; *Смирнов-Бркић А.* Религијска слика... P. 74–80.

⁸¹ *Vuković M.* *Martyr Memories...* P. 30.

⁸² See: *Vuković M.* *Martyr Memories...* Chapter 1. P. 27–32, 48. — Smirnov-Brkić and Draganić also favoured this conclusion of the Greek provenance of Irenaeus' hypotext (*Смирнов-Бркић А., Драганић И.* *Латинска и грчка...*).

⁸³ Today these two versions are considered the same and are referred to as *BHG* 948-949 (except for 949e) in reference works. See: *Halkin F.* (ed.). *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*. Bruxelles, 1984. P. 119.

⁸⁴ The most complete inventory of Greek hagiographical tradition can be found in the monumental but unfortunately unfinished work of Alber Ehrhard, see: *Ehrhard A.* *Überlieferung und Bestand...*

homogenous, which is understandable if we look at the manuscripts geographical disposition⁸⁵. On the contrary, the Greek tradition is confirmed only from the 10th and 11th centuries' manuscripts and shows greater variability. There is one more variation that seems independent of the previous two, the *BHG* 949e, streaming from anonymous Byzantine menologion from the 10th century. Another line of clearly hagiographical tradition gave a new narrative with a new purpose that was to preserve the universal memory of two martyrs of the same name, from Sirmium and Lyon (*Passio duorum Irenaeorum*) designated as *BHG* 950⁸⁶. The text known as *Passio Irenaei, Or et Oropsaei* (the last two have not yet been identified) is preserved in two variations (*BHG* 951; *BHG* 951b/now 950z⁸⁷)⁸⁸. Furthermore, liturgical canons on Irenaeus, exist in two versions: *Canon on Irenaeus* and *Canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*, found in only four manuscripts⁸⁹.

According to scholarly opinion there is evidence that Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* in *Codex Suprasliensis* was translated from Greek around 885 in Moravia during the mission of Methodius⁹⁰, which links it directly to the place where the cult originated but was at the time abandoned. The mode through which the narrative survived is obviously shrouded in Greek pre-metaphrastic tradition, before it entered Latin and Slavic one. Unfortunately, no evidence is still evidence and we can deduce two scenarios: first, that after the text appeared in Latin and Greek cultural realms it led separate lives⁹¹; second, due to historical circumstances of imposed Church destruction and ban of martyr narratives, the hypotext from which the later tradition emerged were simply lost or confined to places outside these restrictions and then lost in the course of time, only to re-emerge when the codification of calendars and liturgy finished and the interest in some of these text gained new impulse.

However, although both Latin and Slavic manuscript tradition point to Greek provenance, we have no Greek manuscripts containing the *Passio Irenaei* before the 10th century⁹², but we do have others. The heaviest branch of manuscripts containing Irenaeus' passion stems from different monasteries in Constantinople, where from they were all probably brought to the West in the crusaders' raids. But the Greek tradition on Irenaeus of Sirmium existed not only in Constantinopolitan hagiographical form within imperial connotations⁹³, but also in

Vol. I. P. 685. — There was a valuable investigation in the paths of tradition of the *Passio Irenaei Sirmiensis* in *Vuković M. Martyr Memories...*

⁸⁵ Most known manuscripts of Latin tradition come from the Rhine basin, Flanders and the Seine basin, the regions known for high production of manuscripts, but a few appear in Britain and Italy (*Vuković M. Martyr Memories...* P. 32–33).

⁸⁶ Published in: *Lambecius P., Kollarium A. F. Commentariorum de Bibliotheca...* P. 441–442.

⁸⁷ Halkin again changed numeration in the 1984 edition. See: *Halkin F.* (ed.). *Novum Auctarium...* P. 120.

⁸⁸ *Halkin F.* (ed.). *Novum Auctarium...* Vol. II. P. 310–311.

⁸⁹ For the list see: *Vuković M. Martyr Memories...* P. 38–39.

⁹⁰ *Vuković M. Martyr Memories...* P. 60.

⁹¹ *Vuković* inclines to this conclusion (*Vuković M. Martyr Memories...* P. 74).

⁹² There are six Greek manuscripts containing the *BHG* 948 and *BHG* 949 version of the *Passio Irenaei* together; one with the *BHG* 949e; two with *BHG* 950; four with the *BHG* 950z; three with *BHG* 950 and one with *BHG* 951b. URL: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/recherche-generale/results/page> (last visited – 17 August 2023). Cf. *Vuković M. Martyr Memories...* 61.

⁹³ Especially the rare *BHG* 949e, which was an imperial *menologion* whose contents were not open to the public (*Vuković M. Martyr Memories...* P. 68–69).

monastic liturgy (*canon on Irenaeus; canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*), especially in St. Catherine's in Sinai and monastic environments in South Italy (in the Greek monastery St. Maria di Grottaferrata), Palestine, Mounth Athos and Jerusalem⁹⁴, where Byzantine culture was present. Constantinople played a significant role in the preservation of both the cult of Irenaeus and the narrative tradition, where from the cult spread to Sinai, Palestine, Southern Italy and Mount Athos. Probably under the influence of Byzantium, the cult was transmitted to Slavs, Bulgarians, Georgians, Armenians and even Ethiopians⁹⁵.

The reception of the hagiographical text commonly referred to as the *Passio quattuor coronatorum* seems to be very favourable judging by the number of surviving manuscripts⁹⁶. Abbreviated versions of the passion were also included in medieval martyrologies, of which particularly significant for the passion's reception are the second version of Bede (d. 735)'s martyrology, Florus (c. 825–840)'s martyrology, Ado of Vienne (d. 875)'s martyrology and Usuard (d. 876/7)'s martyrology, the last being the most widely circulating throughout the Middle Ages. Medieval interest in the *Quattuor Coronati* was strongest in Rome in the church dedicated to them on the Caelian Hill, where in the 9th century Pope Leo IV (847–855) had their bodies placed, as recorded in the contemporary *Liber Pontificalis*⁹⁷. The *Quattuor Coronati* were also venerated outside Rome from the later Middle Ages as the patron saints of craftsmen⁹⁸. The reception of their narrative is well illustrated by Thomas the Archdeacon (d. 1268) in his History of Salona (*Historia Salonitana* 4.1.2)⁹⁹, which directly preserves the contemporary cultural memory of Pannonian part of the legend and the material remains of the Diocletian's temple believed to be built in Pannonia. Thomas seems to have had particular ruins in mind, which locals must have explained with reference to the passion.

The existence of their relics prior to their 9th century translation as well as abundant written accounts of their cult from the 4th century gave their story unquestionable authenticity among the readers. Meanwhile, the first doubt in the historicity of the narrative accompanying the cult was expressed by Baronius in the 16th century¹⁰⁰. Maya Maskarinec has generously illustrated the history of scholarship on the *Quattuor coronati* and how variable versions, abridged and unabridged, new material evidence and historical imagination rather than historical reconstruction played a major role in the interpretation of the saints from medieval to modern investigators¹⁰¹.

⁹⁴ Vuković M. Martyr Memories... P. 67–68.

⁹⁵ Стојковски Б. «Житије Светог Иринеја Сирмијског у Етиопском синаксару» // Истраживања. 2014. Vol. 25. P. 421–427.

⁹⁶ Starting from the 19th century the *Passio sanctorum quattuor coronatorum* became the subject of passionate scholarly debate, see summary of this debate in: Smirnov-Brkić A. Mons Porphyreticus in Pannonia? // Lucida intervalla. 2021. Vol. 50. P. 143–163.

⁹⁷ Duchesne L. (ed.). Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire. Vol. II. Paris, 1892.

⁹⁸ Maskarinec, Maya. Hagiography as History and the Enigma of the Quattro Coronati // Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana. 2017. Vol. 93. P. 348.

⁹⁹ After Arhidakon, Toma. Historia Salonitana. Povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika (predgovor, latinski tekst, kritički aparat i prijevod na hrvatski jezik Olga Perić, povijesni komentar Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, studija Toma Arhidakon i njegovo djelo Radoslav Katičić). Split, 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. P. 354–356.

¹⁰¹ Maskarinec M. Hagiography as history... P. 348–360.

The texts that mostly¹⁰² constitute *Passio Anastasiae* are the prologue (*BHL* 1795; partially translated in part 1 of *BHG* 81); *Passio sancti Chrysogoni* (*BHL* 1795 = part 2 of *BHG* 81); the *Passio sanctarum Agapae, Chioniae et Irenae* (*BHL* 118 = *BHG* 81; reduced in *BHG* 34)¹⁰³; the *Passio sanctae Theodotae* (*BHL* 8093 = part 3 of *BHG* 81; *BHG* 1781¹⁰⁴); the *Passio sanctae Anastasiae* (*BHL* 401 = fourth part of *BHG* 81)¹⁰⁵; the final part of the cycle the epilogue, appears both under *BHL* 400 (as a prologue) and under *BHL* 401c (as an epilogue). The latest critical edition by Moretti adds two epitomes (*BHL* 1796 and *BHL* 401f) that conclude the entire hagiographic cycle, but make a separate layer of the text. Moretti's hypothesis of the stemma is based on her full investigation of all available manuscripts, of which only two belong to the 6th–8th¹⁰⁶ centuries. It is not easy to place the Greek translation in the stemma, as it is characterized by a certain discontinuity and great deviations from the Latin, but Moretti believes it was probably compiled before 824 in southern Italy (since the translation was written in Rome)¹⁰⁷. This lack of pre-8th century codices may be explained in the light of the prohibition of the liturgical reading of the martyr literature, which maintained in Rome until the end of the 8th century.

However, the study of the cult of St. Anastasia had always been faced with difficulties of her identification as there were at least two saints with the name Anastasia — St. Anastasia of Rome, a virgin, who suffered in time of Decius or Valerianus (250 or 256) and St. Anastasia of Sirmium, whose veneration can be traced back to the second half of the 4th century in her native town, where she was martyred in 304 among many other Sirmian Christians. Unlike in the case of Anastasia of Rome, where an epic narrative was known before the mid-5th century but with no material evidence of her cult, the Sirmian Anastasia is attested by material evidence of her cult and a shorter pre-metaphrastic narrative. The hagiographical cycle in which Sirmian Anastasia's narrative was incorporated was created by Roman hagiographer, who used a typical «Roman» model for female sanctity¹⁰⁸. The hagiographer of the cycle could be linked to the matronae of the Geronimian «Aventine circle» and the Roman aristocrats from the senatorial families of the last twenty years of the 4th century. Moretti dated Anastasia of Sirmium's hypotext to the middle of the 5th century based on allusion to the passion in the *Liber ad Gregoriam* by Arnobius the Younger¹⁰⁹, as well as epigraphic and the prosopographic

¹⁰² Because of the fluctuant structure of the passion and the structure here is given by *Moretti P. F. La Passio Anastasiae. Introduzione, testo, critico, traduzione. Roma, 2006. P. 39 ff.*

¹⁰³ There are two more variations recorded *BHL* 401f and *BHL* 401g.

¹⁰⁴ The Greek *Passion of Theodota* streams from an older and more extensive text, whose author made *BHL* 8093 by adding the character of Irtaco, the episode of comes Leucadius and the sections concerning Anastasia, see: *Moretti P. F. La Passio Anastasiae... P. 42.*

¹⁰⁵ For the complete list of manuscripts of the *Passio Anastasiae*, see: *Moretti P. F. La Passio Anastasiae... P. 45–66.*

¹⁰⁶ The fragmentary *V12* of unknown provenance, kept in Torino (Biblioteca Nazionale, D. V. 3.89, 8th century, f. 229v–232r), and the *To1* originally from Corbie (Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, R. 32.109 I, f. 16–17, 7–8th centuries). *Moretti P. F. La Passio Anastasiae... P. 109.*

¹⁰⁷ *Moretti P. F. La Passio Anastasiae... P. 90–91.*

¹⁰⁸ See: *Moretti P. F. La Passio Anastasiae... P. 28.*

¹⁰⁹ Attributed by some scholars to Arnobius the Younger (fl. 430–460) has a passage relating to Anastasia and seems to know of the text of her passion (Arnob. Iun. *Ad Greg.* 5), see: *Moretti P. F. La Passio Anastasiae... P. 26–27.*

evidence from the 380s¹¹⁰. Namely, the discourse in which the import of the Anastasia's narrative occurred Moretti linked to an inscription from 389¹¹¹, when in Rome a woman named Lucaeia, the daughter of Viventius from Siscia in Pannonia (city prefect 365–367; *praefectus praetorio Galliarum* 368–371¹¹²) commemorated an inscription to her two female friends from Pannonia. The inscription mentions that they were Christians, one *virgo ancilla dei* and the older one, her mother, *matrona diaconis*¹¹³. This supports a thesis that there was a «Pannonian circle» in Rome in the 380s and that they were well acquainted with local Pannonian liturgy and martyrs. This is further supported by the attested translation of the body of St. Quirinus of Siscia, to the same cemetery where the mentioned inscription was found.

Moretti also pointed to the increase in proper names Anastasia in Rome at that time of which the most famous examples are the sister of Constantine I and the daughter of the emperor Valens and Domnica, whose family was from Sirmium¹¹⁴.

Nevertheless, Vladimir Vasilik has published a remarkable find that can be linked to Sirmian Anastasia, which preserved a prayer to the saint in a Greek manuscript of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, dating to the 8th–9th centuries¹¹⁵. Vasilik noticed that the prayer written in the manuscript has no analogies among the Greek liturgical texts based on the mention of her noble origin, the reflection on the *Passion of Irene, Agape and Chionia*, and the form of the prayer similar to Latin praefatio in mass in honour of St. Anastasia. Lexical and phraseological parallels showed the closeness of the prayer's text to Byzantine monuments of the 5th–6th centuries, which is consistent with her translation to Constantinople in 458. Thus Vasilik dated the text after 458, but not later than the middle of the 7th century¹¹⁶. But what is most pertaining to the subject of this article is Vasilik's commentary on the philological features of this manuscript that «indicate northern regions (Balkans)»¹¹⁷.

However, in case of Anastasia the circulation of the text is intrinsically tied to the cult of the saint, especially the translations of her relics and it is one of the most prominent paradigmatic cases that explain the discourse in which the hagiographical literature was transmitted. The remains of Anastasia are brought from Sirmium to Constantinople in the years of the patriarch Gennadius (458–471). This date is considered *terminus ante quem* of the introduction of her cult in Rome. Then in 804 from Constantinople her cult and some of her relics were moved

¹¹⁰ Moretti P. F. *La Passio Anastasiae...* P. 30–37.

¹¹¹ Moretti P. F. *La Passio Anastasiae...* P. 31.

¹¹² *PLRE* 1.972.

¹¹³ URL: <https://www.edb.uniba.it/epigraph/27045>. — Published in: *Mazzoleni D.* La prima comunità cristiana di Roma nel periodo tardoantico alla luce delle testimonianze epigrafiche // *Frühchristliche Grabinschriften im Westen des Römischen Reiches. Beiträge zur Internationalen Konferenz (Trier 13–15. Juni 2013)* / Ed. by H. Merten and C. Schäfer. Trier, 2015. P. 161–170.

¹¹⁴ This opinion is presented by *Moroni B.* Dopo Giuliano. *Lingua e cultura greca nella famiglia imperiale fino a Teodosio* // *Nuovo e Antico nella cultura greco-latina di IV–VI secolo* / Ed. by I. Gualandri, F. Conca and R. Passarella. Milano, 2005. P. 47–99; particularly p. 61–62.

¹¹⁵ MG Greek 104. — It is a parchment manuscript, 2 folios, its size is 195×174 mm. Published in: *Nikolopoulos P. G.* *The New Finds of Sinai*. Athens: Ministry of Culture — Mount Sinai, 1999. P. 55.

¹¹⁶ *Vasilik V. V.* About a hitherto unknown prayer to St. Anastasia // *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*. 2015. Vol. 2. P. 161–172.

¹¹⁷ *Vasilik V. V.* About a hitherto unknown prayer to St. Anastasia. P. 162.

to Zadar, and with this *translatio* is related the translation of her narrative into Greek, which took place in 824¹¹⁸. Afterwards, her cult began a journey from Aquileia to Verona and from there to Benediktbeuern in the year 1053. Furthermore, in light of the devotion to Anastasia in the Benedictine sphere and the close relations between the churches of Aquileia-Cividale and southern Germany, the circulation of her narrative in Bavaria and Austria is attested by manuscripts since the 9th century.

Finally, another group of martyrs from Sirmium should be mentioned, especially because their story experienced a radically new interpretation after re-examination of the very few sources we possess. Prior to Marianna Cerno's critical edition of the *Passio Donati, Venusti et Hermogenis*¹¹⁹, this group was thought to include Romulus and Silvanus, the two clergymen martyred after Donatus at Sirmium. However this group of martyrs were traditionally discarded by scholars as an invented compilation, based on the close resemblance to *Passio Polionis* (events, topography, lexica) on one hand, and the close resemblance between Hermogenes in the *Passio Donati, Venusti et Hermogenis* and the famous Hermagoras of Aquileia from the *Passio Hermachorae et Fortunati* (BHL 3838–3844)¹²⁰. This hypothesis was disputed by the majority of Italian researchers, who argue that the martyr Hermogenes was 'invented' late in the Middle Ages from the traditions referring to Hermagoras, the former being a reworking of the latter¹²¹.

The cult of this group of martyrs is not attested by late antique archaeological sources. As there are only three sources on which we can rely in order to constitute the hagiographic dossier of Donatus and companions: the *MH*, the *Passio Donati, Venusti et Hermogenis*, and the comparison with the multi-faceted hagiography of Hermagoras, we can conclude that high contamination and reworking of the possible *hypotext* does not allow us to solve the problem until new evidence is found.

CONCLUSION

We may conclude that the after-life of the texts on Sirmian martyrs began even before the life of Roman city ended, as this was the time when a need appeared to transpose the relics of local martyrs to safer places, for which we have clear evidence in cases of Demetrius and Anastasia. Many important changes entered the text during this phase of their transmission.

¹¹⁸ Vedriš made a contribution to the understanding of the place of Zadar between the eastern and Western hagiographic traditions, and the understanding Zadar liturgical receptions and its hagiography of St. Anastasia, see: *Vedriš T.* Štovanje Sv. Anastazije u Sirmiju, Carigradu i Rimu u kasnoj antici i ranome srednjem vijeku // *Diadora*. 2007. Vol. 22. P. 191–216. — If Høgel's theory is correct the development of Greek menologia is tied to the activities in Constantinople around the year 800, when there is evidence of immense interest in hagiography under the patriarch Tarasios. *Høgel C.* Symeon Metaphrastes... P. 43.

¹¹⁹ *Cerno M.* *Passio Donati, Venusti et Hermogenis* // *Le passioni dei martiri Aquileiesi e Istriani* / Ed. by Emanuela Colombi. Vol. 1: *Fonti per la storia della Chiesa in Friuli*. Roma, 2008. P. 362–370.

¹²⁰ *Egger R.* Der heilige Hermagoras, eine kritische Untersuchung // *Carinthia*. 1947. Vol. 1. P. 208–225; *Ritig S.* Martyrologij srijemsko-pannonske metropolije // *Bogoslovska smotra*. 1911. Vol. 2–4. P. 353–371; *Зелер Ж.* Рано хришћанство... P. 98.

¹²¹ Cerno's view that Donatus and companions developed late into the Middle Ages, was challenged by Tamas who argued that it should be situated towards the end of Late Antiquity. For the dossier of Donatus, Venustus and Hermogenes, see: *Tamas H.* *Hagiography*... P. 173–201.

Through gradual evolution of the universal church calendar these texts moved from being single local liturgical commemorative texts to parts of great liturgical hagiographical collections both in the Eastern Church and Western Church, i. e. Greek and Latin tradition. Being shorter than average late antique codices hagiographical texts were often copied together into a single codex as a matter of convenience with no consistent structure from copy to copy. Therefore, hundreds of anonymous old martyr narratives from liturgical use were simply copied into Greek or Latin liturgical hagiographical collection in early Middle Ages. Till the end of the 8th century a new liturgical hagiographical collections appeared which constitute most of the manuscripts containing early Greek hagiography and listed the text in liturgical order. Contextualisation of contents of the manuscripts recording the narratives on Sirmian saints showed that most of them were arranged according to calendars, which varied depending which reference calendar was used. It is most probable that the *hypotext* emerged from oral tradition pertaining to oral liturgical needs. If the local community did write them down, we do not possess any single material evidence of such activity, but only logical assumption based on the analysis of cultural memory, historical circumstances and manuscripts carrying the *hypertext*.

If we assume that before the legalisation of Christianisation the core of martyr narratives (the hypotext) was created as historical record, identity tool and/or promotion of *imitatio Christi*, *Passio Montani*, *Passio Irenaei*, *Passio Sereni*, *Passio quattuor coronatorum* fit that criteria and because of their unpopularity or lack of established written tradition (to conform with the bans on martyr literature) their hypotext was preserved well and was not reworked or adapted extensively. Thus the concise narrative, dialogue forms and the style suitable for oral transmission are quite understandable as these texts emerged out of liturgical needs within the veneration of local martyrs with local Christian community as the targeted audience. In the case of *Passio Anastasiae*, *Passio altera*, *Passio Donati*, *Venusti et Hermogeni* the hypotext was subjected to the needs of the hagiographic collection where it was to be incorporated, and memorial or liturgical purpose was subject to the transportation or transpose of their cult to the new environment or literary needs of general population of that time. As Marijana Vuković concluded «it was in the hands of copyists to turn collective memory into institutional remembering written down in manuscript books»¹²². Their popularity and the cult survival provided them a long lasting hypertext.

The mechanism of promotion of local martyrs to universal ones was influenced by the Canon 83 of the Council of Carthage and in Sirmium it could have influenced the selection of martyr narratives to be sent to oblivion as they were banned from public readings. However, there were discrepancies from the rule as evidenced in the Church of Rome and within the domain of the Benedictine order, both of which were tied to Sirmian cultural tradition and influenced the preservation of memory on Sirmian martyrs.

Early hagiographers preferred to include early Christian martyrs to include in their works, but by the 12th century the trend in Latin hagiographical collections had waned, and replacements or disappearance of martyrs and saints is evident and introduction of new historical or fictional saints became apparent, depending on the political and social climate or often just practical reasons or doublets. Serenus is thus represented by only two Latin versions. Some saints and their cults were supported and promoted by prominent authorities¹²³, and from

¹²² Tamas H. Hagiography... P. 79.

¹²³ Tamas H. Hagiography... P. 101.

Sirmian martyrs only Demetrius had that potential and thus such a prolific hagiographical production.

The reason why Latin hagiographical tradition pertaining to liturgy was more homogenous than Greek should be sought in the fact that Latin breviaries and missals had fixed contents, while Greek liturgy had to be compiled from different sources. Another problem with the Greek hagiographical tradition is that most of the manuscripts at our disposal belong to domineering metaphrastic collections from the 11th century onwards thus causing a decline in pre-metaphrastic collections. Literary transmission on Sirmian martyrs is known exclusively from a much younger manuscript tradition, the oldest dating from the 8th century, thus most of the texts we possess on Sirmian martyrs belong to a time distanced from the events they describe, contaminated with errors and adaptations and based on cultural memory.

Nevertheless, in late antiquity Pannonia was at the crossroads of the Latin-speaking and the Greek-speaking Roman world, thus becoming a true cultural melting pot. The result of this mixed marriage is particularly evident in the martyrological tradition of the region. The commemoration dates of Sirmian martyrs varied depending on the calendar in which they were incorporated, especially in reference to unification of calendars under Roman and Byzantine church authorities. Based mostly on onomastic evidence, the theory arose on seniority of Greek hagiographical tradition because of the Greek origins of the earliest Pannonian Christians¹²⁴. However, the oldest calendars of martyrs list more Christian martyrs with Latin names (Rutinus, Montanus, Maximus, Donatus, Secundus, Candidian, Quirinus, Pollio, Romulus) than Greek, and the language of Sirmian inscriptions was more often Latin than Greek in the period before the beginning of the 5th century. Thus the *hypotext* if it existed was tied to Latin. But it is important to note that there is a considerable difference between the great ethnic diversity of the 5th century Sirmium, ruled by Byzantine administration with Greek as the official language, and the 4th century when it was undisputedly under Latin administration. Therefore, we can conclude based on the manuscript tradition that the after-life of Sirmian martyrs was bound to Greek tradition, except in the case of Serenus, Donatus and socii, Anastasia and the Quattuor coronati, where the relocation of their cults to Latin realm provided them a secure place in Latin hagiographical tradition.

Информация о статье

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Заголовок: «After life» — Paths of Literary Transmission of Martyrs from Sirmium [После жизни: Память о Сирмийских мучениках — пути литературной передачи]

Резюме: В статье рассматриваются традиции передачи памяти о Сирмийских позднеантичных мучениках, а также методологические проблемы, с которыми сталкиваются исследователи, изучающие историографические связи между культурами мучеников, возникшими после Великих гонений христиан 303–310 годов и первых повествовательных описаниях их страданий, сохранившиеся в рукописной традиции греческой и латинской агиографической литературы с VIII в. Тексты о сирмийских мучениках появляются достаточно близко к моменту их смерти, еще в римский период развития города. Многие из текстов были связаны с необходимостью перенесения мощей местных мучеников в более «безопасные» места, о чем есть достоверные свидетельства (например, в случаях со св. Димитрием и св. Анастасией). На этом этапе в тексты внесено много значимых изменений. Еще один важный

¹²⁴ Kovács P. Christian Epigraphy in Pannonia // *Thiasos. Festschrift für Erwin Pochmarski zum 65. Geburtstag* / Ed. by Ch. Franek etc. Wien, 2008. P. 495–501.

этап в трансформации текстов и непосредственно традициях почитания святых связан с изменениями в церковном календаре и с календарной реформой. В раннем Средневековье небольшие агеографические тексты копировались в греческие или латинские литургические сборники и постепенно перешли из отдельных местных литургических памятников в своды агеографических рукописей, созданные как в Восточной, так и в Западной Церкви. Таким образом мученические акты сохранились в латинской и греческой версиях, вопрос об их оригинальном языке исследователями однозначно не решен. Отмечается, что в наиболее старых календарях многие христианские мученики перечисляются с латинскими именами, в меньшей пропорции — с греческими, и до начала V века язык надписей в Сирмии также чаще был латинским, чем греческим. Повествование о страданиях мучеников вошло в культуру памяти через культовую повествовательную традицию, повлияло на построение христианской идентичности этого *locus sanctorum*, вне зависимости от этнической принадлежности его носителей. В статье приведен обзор историографии, представлены результаты сравнительно-критического анализа разных видов источников, содержащих сведения о мучениках, имеющих отношение к античному городу Сирмиум, предложены направления дальнейших исследований.

Ключевые слова: позднеримские мученики, Сирмиум, культура памяти, историческая память, святые, история церкви

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Information about the Article

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Title: «After life» of martyrs from Sirmium — haths of literary transmission

Summary: The article investigates the literary tradition that transmitted the memory of the late antique martyrs from Sirmium, as well as the methodological problems that researchers face when trying to uncover historical links between the cults of martyrs that arose after the Great persecution of Christians (303–310) and the first narrative descriptions of their suffering, preserved in the manuscript tradition of Greek and Latin hagiographic literature (from the 8th century). We may conclude that the after-life of the texts on Sirmian martyrs began even before the life of Roman city ended, as this was the time when a need appeared to transpose the relics of local martyrs to safer places, for which we have clear evidence in cases of Demetrius and Anastasia. Many important changes entered the text during this phase of their transmission. Through gradual evolution of the universal church calendar these texts moved from being single local liturgical commemorative texts to parts of great liturgical hagiographical collections both in the Eastern Church and Western Church, i. e. Greek and Latin tradition. Being shorter than average late antique codices hagiographical texts were often copied together into a single codex as a matter of convenience with no consistent structure from copy to copy. Therefore, hundreds of anonymous old martyr narratives from liturgical use were simply copied into Greek or Latin liturgical hagiographical collection in early Middle Ages. Till the end of the 8th century a new liturgical hagiographical collections appeared which constitute most of the manuscripts containing early Greek hagiography and listed the text in liturgical order. The commemoration dates of Sirmian martyrs varied depending on the calendar in which they were incorporated, especially in reference to unification of calendars under Roman and Byzantine church authorities. Based mostly on onomastic evidence, the theory arouse on seniority of Greek hagiographical tradition because of the Greek origins of the earliest Pannonian Christians. However, the oldest calendars of martyrs list more Christian martyrs with Latin names than Greek, and the language of Sirmian inscriptions was more often Latin than Greek in the period before the beginning of the 5th century. The story of the sufferings of these martyrs entered the cultural memory through the veneration of their cults and narrative tradition, thus influencing the construction of the Christian identity of this *locus sanctorum*, regardless of the ethnicity of its bearers. The article presents an overview of previous studies and hypothetical solutions that provide a methodological basis for further research. The article is methodologically based on a comparative-critical analysis of all available sources on recorded cases of martyrdom associated with the ancient city of Sirmium. The provenance, authenticity and historical value of these historical sources are discussed as well as the discourse in which they were created.

Keywords: late antique martyrs, Sirmium, cultural memory, Greek tradition, Latin tradition

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