APPENDIX 2

CATALOGUE OF BIBLICAL TEXTS RELEVANT FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF EARLY CHRITIAN FISH SYMBOLISM

For New Testament passages I cite the original Greek. For Hebrew Bible passages, I use the Greek Septuagint, except in one case, since Hebrew was not used in virtually any of the relevant early Christian passages. **Bold lettering** refers to direct quotations.

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I. THE CALL OF THE FISHERMEN

1. Matthew 4.18-22

[18]Περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν δύο ἀδελφοὺς, Σίμωνα τὸν λεγόμενον Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς. [19]καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· **δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων.** [20]οἱ δὲ εὐθέως ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. [21]καὶ προβὰς ἐκεῖθεν εἶδεν ἀλλους δύο ἀδελφοὺς. Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ Ζεβεδαίου τοῦ πατροὸς αὐτῶν καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς. [22]οἱ δὲ εὐθέως ἀφέντες τὸ πλοῖον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

2. Mark 1.16-20

[16]Καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς. [17]καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· **δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρωπῶν.** [18]καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. [19]καὶ προβὰς ὀίγον εἶδεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντασ τὰ δίκτυα, [20]καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ζεβεδαῖον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.

3. Luke 5.1-11

[1]ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ὄχλον ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκούειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ αὐτος ἦν ἐστὼς παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Γεννησαρὲτ [2]καὶ εἶδεν δύο πλοῖα ἐστῶτα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην· οἱ δὲ ἁλιεῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποβάντες ἔπλυνον τὰ δίκτυα. [3]ἐμβὰς δὲ εἰς εν τῶν πλοίων, ὁ ἦν Σίμωνος, ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπαναγεῖν ὀλίγον· καθίσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου ἐδίδασκεν τοὺς ὄχλους. [4]Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν, εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα· **ἐπανάγαγε εἰς τὸ βάθος καὶ χαλάσατε τὰ δίκτυα ὑμῶν εἰς ἀγραν.** [5]καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Σίμων εἶπεν· **ἐπιστατα, δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιασάντες οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματι σου χαλάσω τὰ δίκτυα.** [6]καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες συνέκλεισαν πλῆθος ἰχθύων πολύ, διερρήσσετο δὲ τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν. [7]καὶ κατένευσαν τοῖς μετόχοις ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ πλοίῳ τοῦ ἐλθόντας συλλαβέσθαι αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἦλθον καὶ ἔπλησαν ἀμφότερα τὰ πλοῖα ὥστε βυθίζεσθαι αὐτά. [8]ἰδὼν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος προσ-έπεσεν τοῖς γόνασιν Ἰησοῦ λέγων· **ἔξελθε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι, κύ-ριε.** [9]θάμβος γὰρ περιέσχεν αὐτὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγρα τῶν ἰχθύων ὧν συνέλαβον, [10]ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, οἱ ἦσαν κοινωνοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ὁ Ἰησοῦς· μὴ φοβοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν. [11]καὶ καταγαγόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν.

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II. THE POST-RESURRECTION FISHING EXPEDITION

1. <u>John</u> 21.1-8

¹Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφανέρωσεν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβε-
ριάδος· ἐφανέρωσεν δὲ οὕτως. ²ἦσαν ὁμοῦ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος
Δίδυμος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ ὁ ἀπὸ Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ αλλοι ἐκ
τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο. ³λέγει αὐτοῖς Σίμων Πέτρος· **ὑπάγω ἁλιεύειν.** λέγουσιν
αὐτῷ· **ἐρχόμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν σοί.** ἐχῆλθον καὶ ἐνέβησαν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ ἐν
ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπίασαν οὐδέν. ⁴πρωΐας δὲ ηδη γενομένης εστη Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν
αἰγιαλόν, οὐ μέντοι ηδεισαν οἱ μαθητὶ ωτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν. ⁵λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς [ὁ]
Ἰησοῦς· **παιδία, μή τι προσφάγιον εχετε;** ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ· **ου.** ⁶ὁ δὲ εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς· **βάλετε εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ πλοίου τὸ δίκτυον, καὶ εὑρήσετε.** εβαλον
οὖν, καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτὸ ἑλκύσαι ισχυον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἰχθύων. ⁷λέγει οὖν ὁ
μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος ον ἠγάπα Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· **ὁ κύριός ἐστιν.** Σίμων οὖν Πέτρος
ἀκούσας ωτι ὁ κύριος ἐστιν τὸν ἐπενδύτην διεζώσατο, ἦν γὰρ γυμνός, καὶ εβαλεν
ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ⁸οἱ δὲ αλλοι μαθηταὶ τῷ πλοιαρίῳ ἦλθον, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν
μαρκὰν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίων, σύροντες τὸ δίκτυον τῶν
ἰχθύων.

See <u>John</u> 21.9-14 in Section VII below.

III. THE COIN IN THE FISH AS A PAYMENT TO THE TAX COLLEC-
TORS

1. <u>Matthew</u> 17.24-27

²⁴Ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ οἱ δίδραχμα λαμβανόντες τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ
εἶπαν· **ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν οὐ τελεῖ [τὰ] δίδραχμα;** ²⁵λέγει· **ναί.** καὶ ἐλθόντα εἰς
τὴν οἰκίαν προέφθασεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· **τί σοι δοκεῖ, Σίμων; οἱ βασιλεῖς
τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τίνων λαμβάνουσιν τέλη η κῆνσον; ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῶν η ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀλλοτρίων;** ²⁶εἰπόντος δὲ· **ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων,** εφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· **αρα γε
ἐλεύθεροι εἰσιν οἱ υἱοι.** ²⁷ινα δὲ μὴ σκανδαλίσωμεν πορευθεὶς εἰς θάλασσαν βάλε
αγκιστρον καὶ τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἰχθὺν αρον, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ
εὑρήσεις στατῆρα· ἐκεῖνον λαβὼν δὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ.**

IV. THE PARABLE OF THE NET

1. <u>Matthew</u> 13.47-50

⁴⁷**Πάλιν ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν σαγήνῃ βληθείσῃ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους συναγαγούσῃ.** ⁴⁸**ἣν ὅτε ἐπληρώθη ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγαλὸν καὶ καθίσαντες συνέλεξαν τὰ καλὰ εἰς ἀγνη, σαρπὰ ἔξω ἐβαλον.** ⁴⁹**ουτως εσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳτοῦ αἰῶνος· ἐξελεύσονται οἱ αγγελοι καὶ ἀφοριοῦσιν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκ μέσου τῶν δικαίων** ⁵⁰**καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινοντοῦ πυρός· ἐκεῖ εσται κλαυθμος καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς ὀδόντων.**

V. THE MULTIPLICATION OF LOAVES AND FISH

1. <u>Matthew</u> 14.13-21

¹³'Ακούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν πλοίῳ εἰς ερημον τόπον κατ' ἰδίαν· καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ οχλοι ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ πεζῇ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων. ¹⁴καὶ ἐξελθὼν ειδεν πολὺν οχλον καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη επ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν τοὺς ἀρρώστους αὐτῶν. ¹⁵'Οψίας δὲ γενομένης προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ λέγοντες· **ερημὸς ἐχτιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ ωρα ηδη παρῆλθεν· ἀπόλυσον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀγοράσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς βρώματα.** ¹⁶ὁ δὲ ειπεν αὐτοῖς· **οὐ χρείαν εχουσιν ἀπελθεῖν, δότε αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.** ¹⁷οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτῳ· **οὐκ εχομεν ὧδε εἰ μὴ πέντε αρτους καὶ δύο ἰχθύας.** ¹⁸ὁ δὲ ειπεν· **φερετέ μοι ὧδε αὐτούς.** ¹⁹καὶ κελεύσας τοὺς οχλου ἀνακλιθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου, λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε αρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν, καὶ κλάσας εδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς τοὺς αρτους οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ τοῖς οχλους. ²⁰καὶ εφαγον πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, καὶ ἦραν τὸ περισσεύον τῶν κλασμάτων δώδεκα κοφίνους πλήρεις. ²¹ανδρες ὡσεὶ πεντεκισχίλιοι χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων.

2. <u>Mark</u> 6.32-44

³²καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰς ερημον τόπον κατ' ἰδίαν. ³³καὶ ειδον αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν πολλοὶ καὶ πεζῇ ἀπο πασῶν τῶν πόλεων συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ προῆλθον αὐτούς. ³⁴καὶ ἐξελθὼν ειδεν πολὺν οχλον καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη επ' αὐτούς, οτι ησαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ εχοντα ποιμένα, καὶ ηρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς πολλά. ³⁵καὶ ηδη ωρας πολλῆς γενομένης προσελθόντες αὐτῳ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ελεγον οτι **ερημος ἐστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ηδη ωρα πολλη·** ³⁶**ἀπόλυσον αὐτούς, ινα ἀπελθόντες εἰς τοὺς κύκλω ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας ἀγοράσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς τί φάγωσιν.** ³⁷ὁ δὲ ἀπο- κριθεὶς ειπεν αὐτοῖς· **δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἀπελθόντες ἀγοράσωμεν δηναρίων διακοσίων αρτουςκαὶ δώσομεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν;** ³⁸ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· **πόσους αρτους εχετε; ὑπάγετε ιδετε.** καὶ γνόντες λέγουσιν· **πέντε, καὶ δύο ἰχθύας.** ³⁹καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλῖναι πάντας συμπόσια συμπόσια ἐπὶ τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ. ⁴⁰καὶ ἀνέπεσαν πρασιαὶ πρασιαὶ κατὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα. ⁴¹καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε αρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς αρτους καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς [αὐτοῦ] ινα παρα-

τιθῶιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἐμέριζεν πᾶσιν. καὶ ϵφαγον πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, ⁴³καὶ ηραν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων. ⁴⁴καὶ ησαν οἱ φαγόντες [τοὺς αρτους] πεντακισχίλιοι ανδρες.

3. Luke 9.10-17

¹⁰ᵇ . . . Καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὑπεχώρηασεν κατ᾿ ἰδίαν εἰς πόλιν καλουμένη Βηθσα-ϊδά. ¹¹οἱ δὲ ϙχλοι γνόντες ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς χρείαν ϵχοντας θεραπείας ἰᾶτο. ¹²Ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα αρξατο κλίνειν· προσελθόντες δὲ οἱ δώδεκα ϵιπαν αὐτῷ· **ἀπόλυσον τὸν ϙχλον, ἱνα πορευθέντες εἰς τὰς κύκλῳ κώμας καὶ ἀγροὺς καταλύσωσιν καὶ εὕρωσιν ἐπισιτισμόν, ϙτι ὦδε ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ ἐσμέν.** ¹³ϵιπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· **δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν.** οἱ δὲ ϵιπαν· **οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡμῖν πλεῖον ἠ αρτοι πέντε καὶ ἰχθύες δύο, εἰ μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωομεν εἰς πάντα τὸν λαὸν βρὸματα.** ¹⁴ησαν γὰρ ὡσεὶ ανδρες πεντακισχίλιοι. ϵιπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· **κατακλίνατε αὐτοὺς κλισίας** [ὡσεὶ] ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα. ¹⁵καὶ ἐποίησεν οϙτως καὶ κατέκλιναν ϙπαντας. ¹⁶λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς πέντε αρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς παρατιθέναι τῷ ϙχλῳ. ¹⁷καὶ ϵφαγον καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν πάντες. καὶ ηρθη τὸ περισσεῦσαν αὐτοῖς κλασμάτων κόφινοι δώδεκα.

4. John 6.1-15

¹Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς Τιβεριάδος. ²ἠκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ ϙχλος πολύς, ϙτι ἐθεώρουν τὰ σαμϵα ἁ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθεν-ούντων. ³ἀνῆλθεν δὲ εἰς τὸ ϙρος καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. ⁴ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ⁵ἐπάρας οϙν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ θεασάμενος ϙτι πολὺς ϙχλος ϵρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει πρὸς Φίλιππον· **πόθεν ἀγοράσωμεν αρτους ἱνα φάγωιν οϙτοι;** ⁶τοῦτο δὲ ϵλεγεν πειράζων αὐτόν· αὐτὸς φὰρ ηδευ τί ϵμελλεν ποιεῖν. ⁷ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ [δ] Φίλιππος· **διακοσίων δηναρίων αρτοι οὐκ ἀρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἱνα εκαστος βραχυ [τι] λάβη.** ⁸λέγει αὐτῳ εἰς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σίμωνος Πέτρου· ⁹**εστιν παιδάριον ὦδε ϙς εχει πέντε αρτους κριθίνους καὶ δύο ὀψάρια· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τί ἐστιν εἰς τοσ-ούτους;** ¹⁰ϵιπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· **ποιήσατε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναπεσεῖν. ην δὲ χόρτος πολὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.** ἀνέπεσαν οὖν οἱ ανδρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὡς πετακισχίλιοι. ¹¹ϵλα-βεν οὖν τοὺς αρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εὐχαριστήσας διέδωκεν τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀψαρίων ϙσον ηθελον. ¹²ὡς δὲ ἐνεπλήθησαν λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· **συναγάγετε τὰ περισσεύσαντα κλάσματα, ἱνα μή τι ἀπόληται.** ¹³ συνήγαγον οϙν καὶ ἐγέμισαν δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων ἐκ τῶν πέντε αρτων τῶν κριθίνων ἁ ἐπερίσσευσαν τοῖς βεβρωσκόσιν. ¹⁴Οἱ οὖν ανθρωποι ἰδόντες ϙ ἐποίησεν σημεῖον ϵλεγον ϙτι **οὗτος ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον.** ¹⁵Ἰησοῦς οὖν γνοὺς ϙτι μέλλουσιν ϵρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρπάζειν αὐτὸν ἱνα ποιήσωσιν βασιλέα, ανεχώρησεν πάλιν εἰς τὸ ϙρος αὐτὸς μόνος.

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VI. THE OTHER MULTIPLICATION OF LOAVES AND FISH

1. <u>Matthew</u> 15.32-38

³²Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· **σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ⊕χλον, ⊕τι ηδη ἡμέραι ρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι καὶ οὐκ εχουσιν τί φάγωσιν· καὶ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτοὺς νήστεις οὐ θέλω, μήποτε ἐκλυθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ.** ³³καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταί· **πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ αρτοι τοφοῦτοι ωστε χορτάσαι ⊕χλον τοσοῦτον;** ³⁴καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· **πόσους αρτους εχετε;** οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· **ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀλίγα ἰχθύδια.** ³⁵καὶ παραγείλας τῷ ⊕χλῳ ἀναπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γήν ³⁶ελαβεν τοὺς ἑπτὰ αρτους καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας εκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ τοῖς ⊕χλοις. ³⁷καὶ εφαγον πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν. καὶ τὸ περισσεῦον τῶν κλασμάτων ἤραν ἑπτὰ σπυρίδας πλήρεις. ³⁸οἱ δὲ ἐσθίοντε ησαν τετρακισχίλιοι ανδρες χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων.

2. <u>Mark</u> 8.1-9

Ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις πάλιν πολλοῦ ⊕χλου ⊕ντος καὶ μὴ εχόντων τί φάγωσιν, προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺ μαθητὰς λέγει αὐτοῖς· ²**σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ⊕χλον, ⊕τι ηδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι καὶ οὐκ εχουσιν τί φάγωσιν·** ³**καὶ ἐὰν ἀπολῦσω αὐτοὺς νήστεις εἰς οἶκον αὐτῶν, ἐκλυθήσονται ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ· καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ηκασιν.** ⁴καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ⊕τι **πόθεν τούτους δυνήσεταί τις ωε χορτάσαι αρτων ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας;** ⁵καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτούς· **πόσους εχετε αρτους;** οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· **ἑπτά.** ⁶καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ ⊕χλῳ ἀναπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἑπτὰ αρτους εὐχαριστήσας εκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ινα παρατιθῶσιν, καὶ παρέθηκαν τῷ ⊕χλῳ. ⁷καὶ εἶχον ἰχθύδια ὀλίγα· καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτὰ εἶπεν καὶ ταῦτα παρατιθέναι. ⁸καὶ εφαγον καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, καὶ ηραν περισσεύματα κλασμάτων ἑπτὰ σπυρίδας. ⁹ησαν δὲ ὡς τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.

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VII. THE POST-RESURRECTION FISH MEAL

1. <u>Luke</u> 24.41-43

⁴¹ετι δὲ ἀπιστούντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ θαυμαζόντων ειπεν αὐτοῖς· **εχετε τι βρώσιμον ἐνθάδε;** ⁴²οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος (with this addendum in some texts: καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίος κηρόν)· ⁴³καὶ λαβὼν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εφαγεν.

2. <u>John</u> 21.9-14

⁹ὡς οὖν ἀπέβησαν εἰς τὴν γῆν βλέπουσιν ἀνθρακιὰν κειμένην καὶ ὀψάριον ἐπικείμενον καὶ ἀρτον. ¹⁰λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· **ἐνέγκατε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀψαρίων ὦν ἐπιάσατε νῦν.** ¹¹ἀνέβη οὖν Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ εἴλων τὸ δίκτυον εἰς τὴν γῆν μεστὸν ἰχθύων μεγάλων ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα τριῶν· καὶ τοσούτων ὦντων οὐκ ἐσχίσθη τὸ κίκτυον.¹² λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· **δεῦτε ἀριστήσατε.** οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐτόλμα τῶν μαθητῶν ἐξετάσαι αὐτόν· **σὺ τίς εἶ;** εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἐστιν. ¹³ ἔρχεται Ἰησοῦς καὶ λαμβάνει τὸν ἀρτον καὶ δίδων αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ ὀψάριον ὁμοίως. ¹⁴τοῦτο ἠδη τρʹτον εφανερώθη Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν.

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VIII. FISH, EGG, AND SERPENT

1. <u>Luke</u> 11.11-12

¹¹**Τίνα δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα αἰτήσει ὁ υἱὸς ἰχθὺν, καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθὺος ὄφιν αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσει;** ¹²**ἡ καὶ αἰτήσει ᾠον, ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ σκορπίον.**

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IX. DIFFERENT KINDS OF FLESH

1. <u>1 Corinthians</u> 15.39

Οὐ πᾶσα σάρξ ἡ αὐτὴ σὰρξ ἀλλὰ ἀλλη μὲν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν, ἀλλη δὲ σὰρξ πτηνῶν, ἀλλη δὲ ἰχθύων.

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X. THE CREATION OF WATER CREATURES

1. <u>Genesis</u> 1.20-21
²⁰Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεος Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὑδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν . . . ²¹καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος καὶ τὰ κτήνη κατὰ γενος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι καλὰ.

XI. THE CREATION OF WATER

1. Genesis 1.9-10

⁹Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός Συναχθήτω τὸ ὠδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά. καὶ ἐγένετο οὠτως, καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὠδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὠφθη ἡ ξηρά. ¹⁰καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν καὶ τὰ συστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσεν θαλάσσας, καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὠτι καλόν.

XII. THE CREATURES OF THE SEA

1. Psalm 103.25

αὠτη ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος, ἐκεῖ ἑρπετά, ὦν οὐκ ὠστιν ἀριθμός, ζῷα μικρὰ μετὰ μεγάλων.

XIII. THE PROHIBITION OF FISH WITHOUT SCALES AND FINS

1. Leviticus 11.9-11

⁹καὶ ταῦτα, ᾳ φάγεσθε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὠδασιν· πάντα, ὠσα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πτερύγια καὶ λεπίδες ἐν τοῖς ὠδασιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς χειμάρροις, ταῦτα φάγεσθε. ¹⁰καὶ πάντα, ὠσα οὐκ ὠστιν αὐτοῖς πτερύγια οὐδὲ λεπίδες ἐν τῷ ὠδατι ᾳ ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς χειμάρροις, ἀπὸ πάντων, ὦν ἐρεύγεται τὰ ὠδατα, καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ψυχῆς ζώσης τῆς ἐν τῷ ὠδατι βδέλυγμά ἐστιν: ¹¹καὶ βδελύγ-ματα ὠσσονται ὑμῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὠδεσθε καὶ τὰ θνησιμαῖα αὐτῶν βδελύξεσθε· ¹²καὶ πάντα, ὠσα οὐκ ὠστιν αὐτοῖς πτερύγια καὶ λεπίδες, τῶν ἐν τῷ ὠδατι, δέλυγμα τοῦτο ἐστιν ὑμῖν.

XIV. FISH COMPARED TO HUMAN BEINGS

1. Habakuk 1.14:

. . . καὶ ποιήσεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης

תַּעֲשֶׂה אָדָם כִּדְגֵי הַיָּם . . .

XV. FISH FOR HEALING

1a. <u>Tobit</u> 6.1-9

¹Οἱ δὲ πορευόμενοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἦλθον ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸν τίγριν ποταμὸν καὶ ηὐλίζοντο ἐκεῖ. ²τὸ δὲ παιδάριον κατέβη περικλύσασθαι, καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν ἰχθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτα-μοῦ καὶ καταπιεῖν τὸ παιδάριον. ³ὁ δὲ αγγελος εἶπεν αὐτῷ **Ἐπιλαβοῦ τοῦ ἰχθύος.** καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸν ἰχθὺν τὸ παιδάριον καὶ ἀνέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ⁴καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ αγγελος **Ἀνάτεμε τὸν ἰχὺν καὶ λαβὼν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ ἧπαρ καὶ τὴν χολὴν θὲς ἀσφαλῶς.** ⁵καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ παιδάριον ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ αγγελος, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν ὀπτήσαντες εφαγον. —— ⁶καὶ ωδευον ἀμφότεροι, εως ηγγισαν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις. ⁷καὶ ειπεν τὸ παιδάριον τῷ ἀγγέλῳ **Αζαρια αδελφε, τί ἐστιν τὸ ηπαρ καὶ ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ χολὴ τοῦ ιχθύος;** ⁸καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ **Ἡ καρδία καὶ τὸ ηπαρ, ἐάν τινα ὀχληθῇ** ⁹**ἡ δὲ χολή, ἐγχρῖσαι ανθρωπον, ος εχει λευκώματα ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ιαθήσεται.**

1b. <u>Tobit</u> 7.17

¹⁷**καὶ ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃς εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα, λήμψη τέφραν θυμιαμάτων καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοῦ ηπατος τοῦ ἰχθύος καὶ καπνίσεις, καὶ ὀσφρανθήσεται τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ φεύξεται καὶ οὐκ ἐπανελεύσεται τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.**

1c. <u>Tobit</u> 8.2-3

¹ὁ δὲ πορευόμενος ἐμνήσθη τῶν λόγων Ραφαηλ καὶ ελαβεν τὴν τέφραν τῶν θυμιαμάτων καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τ1ην καρδίαν τοῦ ἰχθύος καὶ τὸ ηπαρ κα`1ι ἐκάπνισεν. ³οτε δὲ ὠσφράνθη τὸ δαιμόνιον τῆς ὀσμῆς, εφυγεν εἰς τὰ ἀνώτατα Αἰγύπτου . . .

1d. <u>Tobit</u> 11.8, 11.10-13
⁸σὺ οὖν εγχρισον τὴν χολὴν εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ δηχθεὶς διατρίψει καὶ ἀποβαλεῖ τὰ λευκώματα καὶ οψεται σε. . . . ¹⁰καὶ τωβιτ ἐξήρχετο πρὸς τὴν θύραν καὶ προσέκοπτεν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ¹¹καὶ ἐπελάβετο τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσέπασεν τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ λέγων **Θάρσει, πάτερ.** ¹²ὡς δὲ συνεδήχθησαν, διέτριψε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλεπίσθη ἀπὸ τῶν κανθῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ λευκώματα. ¹³καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν υἱὸν . . .

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XVI. The Sacred River and Its Fish In the Messianic Age

1. <u>Ezekiel</u> 47.9-10

⁹καὶ εσται πᾶσα ψυχὴ τῶν ζώων τῶν τῶν ἐκζεόντων ἐπὶ πάντα, ἐφ᾽ α αν ἐπέλθη ἐκεῖ ὁ ποταμός, ζήσεται, καὶ εσται ἐκεῖ ἰχθὺς πολὺς σφόδρα, οτι ηκει ἐκεῖ τὸ υδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ υγιασει καὶ ζήσεται· πᾶν, ἐφ᾽ ο αν ἐπέλθη ὁ ποταμὸς ἐκεῖ, ζήσεται. ¹⁰καὶ στή-σονται ἐκεῖ ἀλεεῖς ἀπὸ Αινγαδιν εως Αινγαλιμ· Ψυγμος σαγηνῶν εσται, καθ᾽ αὐτὴν εσται, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες αὐτῆς, ὡς οἱ ἰχθύες θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης πλήθος πολὺ σφό-δρα.

APPENDIX 3

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL ON THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION

The Avercius inscription is probably the most significant piece of evidence relevant to the interpretation of early Christian fish symbolism. In order to understand that symbolism, it is necessary to investigate a number of matters that are not immediately related to the interpretation of the fish. These matters provide an overall context, outside of which the use of fish as symbols makes no sense. This is especially the case in the Avercius inscription, which (as I argue in Chapter 3) is a rather carefully structured document where words and phrases are all interrelated. In order to avoid cluttering the discussion of fish symbolism and losing the thread of the argument (a great danger, since the Avercius inscription is so complex), I have therefore placed a number of issues in this appendix.

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I. **THE DISCOVERY AND HISTORY OF THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION**

For a long time, scholars were familiar with the <u>vita</u> of a certain bishop of Hierapolis, Avercius,[1] who was reknowned for his miracles and for his travels throughout the Mediterranean area, especially Rome, Syria and Mesopotamia. So highly respected was he that, according to some manuscripts of the <u>vita</u>, in Syria and Mesopotamia, he was dubbed "equal to the apostle (i.e. Paul)" (ἰσαπόστολος);[2] and it would seem that his <u>vita</u> protrayed him, both in regard to his miraculous actions and to his travels, as one who imitated Paul.[3] For his most significant action, he exorcised
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1. There are three titles in Greek. I offer the versions given by T. Nissen (<u>S. Abercii Vita</u>): 1) <u>Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγί~οις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἰσαποστόλου Ἀβερκίου</u> = <u>Life and Citizenship of Avercius, Our Father Among the Saints and Equal to the Apostle</u> (MS Parisinus 1540; MS Hier. Sabeus 27; and MS Mosquensis 379); 2) <u>Μετάφρασις εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβερκίου</u> = <u>Summary of the Life and Wonders of our Father Avercius Among the Saints</u> (MS Coisilianus 110); 3) <u>Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβερκίου ἐπισκό~που Ἱερα~~πόλεως</u> = <u>Life and Citizenship of our Bishop of Hierapolis, Avercius, Among the Saints</u> (Simeon Metaphrastes). On the manuscript tradition, see n. 27 below.

2. <u>Vita</u> (Nissen ed.), 1 (title), 50:1, 50:6, 55:16.

3. The mention of Paul in the inscription and the description of his travels throughout the Mediterranean offer further confirmation of this. See pp. 342-47 above for the relation between travel and fish symbolism.

the terrible demon that afflicted the daughter (Lucilla) of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and the empress Faustina (presumably in 163 C.E.). As punishment for the demon, he required him to carry a stone altar from the hippodrome in Rome back to Hierapolis. It is, on this altar, the vita explains, that he commissions the inscribing of his funerary inscription.

Since many scholars regarded the vita as a compendium of miracle stories and as factually erroneous in several instances (such as the earthquake in Smyrna), they not only considered the vita to be of virtually no historical value, but they also thought that the inscription was an imaginary invention of the author.[4] In contrast, others, especially William Ramsay, regarded the reference to the monument and text of the inscription, as well as select parts of the vita, as worthy of serious historical consideration.[5]

Prior to Ramsay, all commentators had considered the city of Hierapolis mentioned in the vita to be the well-known city in the Lycus Valley on the Meander River in what became known in late antiquity (after Diocletian) as the province of Phrygia Pactiana——a designation which seemed to cast further doubt on the historicity of the vita, since the bishop Apollinaris held his office at the same time that Avercius was supposed to have lived (in 171 C.E.), the era of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, (161-180 C.E.) and have travelled considerably after his visit to Rome (in 163 C.E.).[6] Yet, basing himself on the reference in the vita to Small Phrygia, as well as on the description of the travel routes of the imperial messengers discussed in the vita——routes which made no sense for a journey to Hierapolis on the Meander——Ramsay suggested that it was not the Meander Hierapolis that was intended, but rather the much less well-known and very remote city of Hieropolis, located in the immediate vicinity of two other cities, Brouzos and Otrous, in what became known in late antiquity as the province of Phrygia Salutaris in the valley of Sandukli.[7] The major metropolis of this region was Synnada, far to the northeast of the other area of Phrygia whose major metropolis was

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4. For very sketchy summaries of scholarship prior to Ramsay, see L. Duchesne, "L'épitaphe d'Abercius," 159-60. For the most comprehensive summary of the vita, see H. Thurston, 340-44.

5. See all the citations under "Ramsay, W." in my Bibliography, but especially "The Tale of St. Abercius."

6. See the discussion in W. Ramsay, "The Tale of St Abercius," 340.

7. On the division of Phrygia into two provinces, see n. 25 below. On the origins, etymology, and interchangeability of the names Hieropolis and Hierapolis (for any city with these Greek names), most fundamental is W. Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia 2:680-82. Hieropolis seems to have been the older name and was based on the centrality of the hieron (ἱερόν, "temple sanctuary") in Asia, as opposed to Hierapolis, which reflects the Greek idea of the centrality of the city (thus the use of the adjectival form ἱερά, which modifiies πόλις).

Laodicea. Travelling mostly by foot through this remote area of Phrygia,
Ramsay was able to locate for certain the less well-known Hieropolis,
and the small towns of Brouzos and Otrous associated with it. More-
over, he discovered that the difficult journey from Synnada to Hieropolis
mentioned in the vita corresponded to the same difficult journey in his (as
well as others') modern hike with the aid of guides——thus providing
further confirmation of the familiarity of the vita with this part of Phrygia.
As an indication that the vita was historically accurate in some other
regards, Ramsay learned that the hot springs mentioned in it are indeed
still present on the Hamam-Su River in the valley of Sandukli.[8]

In 1882, in his exploration of the valley of Sandukli, Ramsay discovered a
stone column in front of the mosque at Kelendres with a funerary inscrip-
tion in dactylic hexameters of a certain Alexander, the son of Antoninus
(now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum).[9]

[Ἐκ]λεκτῆς πό[λ]εως ὁ πολεί[της τ]οῦτ᾽ ἐποί[ησα]
[ζῶν ᴇ]ν᾽ ᴇχω φανερ[ὴν] σώματος ᴇνθα θέσιν.
Οᴘνομα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντωνίου μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἁγνοῦ.
Οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ᴇτερόν τινα θήσει·
Εἰ δ᾽ οὖν, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχείλια χρυσᾶ
καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεροπόλει χείλια χρυσᾶ.
Εγράφει ᴇτει τ᾽ μηνὶ ὄ᾽ ζόντος.
Εἰρήνη παράγουσιν καὶ μνησκομένοις περὶ ἡμῶν.

As a citizen of a select city, I have commissioned
    this (monument)
while living in order that I might have here a public
    place for my body.
My name is Alexander, son of Antoninus, the disciple
    of a holy shepherd.
This was written in the sixth month of the year 300
    (216 C.E.).[10]
Peace to those who pass by and remember me.[11]

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8. As one can see in n. 42 in Chapter 3, the presence of hot springs
proves important for the interpretation of fish symbolism in the Aver-
cius inscription. For another attempt to rehabilitate the historicity of the
vita, see H. Thurston ("The Story of St. Avercius," 348-50), who,
among other things, argues that the earthquake in Smyrna, which is re-
ferred to in the vita, may not refer to the famous earthquake of
173 C.E., but rather to a smaller earthquake in 152 C.E.

9. For a photograph, see A. Ferrua, "Nuove osservazioni," 285, fig. 2.

10. That is, as calculated from the date of the Roman conquest of
Phrygia by Sulla in 84 B.C.E.

11. For a sketch of this inscription, see that reproduced from Ramsay,

Since, as far as I know, there are no extant pagan peace salutations to passers-by (while there are several early Christian epigraphic examples of such peace salutations) and since the use of the word "peace" (εἰρήνη) on inscriptions was distinctively Christian (or Jewish) in antiquity,[12] the reference to peace in this inscription makes it most probable that it was Christian. In addition, the reference to a disciple of a shepherd suggests a Christian context more easily than a pagan one.[13]

Upon examination of the text of the Avercius inscription in Text # I.1 in Appendix 1, the first six verses of this inscription, with the exception of some minor differences (especially the reference to Alexander instead of Avercius), repeats verses one to three and verses twenty to twenty-two of the inscription of Avercius. This repetition suggested to Ramsay that the inscription of Avercius served as an epigraphic model in the Sandukli area. Following the description of the location of the Avercius inscription as having been near the hot springs at the outskirts of the city——which makes no sense for the Meander Hierapolis, whose hot springs were situated in the center of the city——he found in the entrance of the men's bathroom at the outskirts of Hieropolis two fragments of a marble bomos (βόμος = "altar") with part of the inscription inscribed on them (now in the Sezione Lapidaria of the Museo Pio Cristiano in the Vatican Museums).

Confirming the description of the vita, the remains of the epigraphic monument suggest that the text of the inscription was inscribed on a nearly square stone monument in the form of a bomos,[14] as was common for Phrygian funerary monuments.[15] As some have pointed out, its lettering

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Cities and Bishoprics 2:721 (1897).

12. See my discussion of the Pectorius inscription in pp. 371-88 above for an especially important use of peace.

13. See Appendix 3.7 below for further discussion of this point.

14. " . . . καὶ λίθον τινὰ τετράγωνον, μῆκος τε καὶ πλάτος ἴσον, τάφον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευάζει καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῷ λίθῳ ἐφίστησι τοῦ~ον δέτι ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῷ ἐγχαράξας·" [" . . . And he prepared for himself a tomb, a square stone of equal length and width, and he set up an altar on the tomb for carving his inscription on it."]: Simeon Metaphrastes in Nissen ed. 121:25. Or ". . . κα~τα~σκεύ~α~σεν ἑαυτῷ τύμβον ἰσοτετράγωονον καὶ τον βωμόν, ὃν κατὰ πρόσ~ταξ~ιν αὐτοῦ ἠγα~γεν ὁ δαίμων ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἐστη~σεν ἐπάνω τοῦ τύμβου ἐγχαράξας εἰς αὐτὸν θεόπνευστον ἐπ~ί~γραμ~μα . . . [" . . . he set up for himself a completely square tomb and the altar, which the demon carried from Rome at his (Avercius') command. He placed it above the tomb and carved a divinely inspired inscription on it . . .]: various mss. in Nissen ed. 53:2-5. For exact measurements and confirmation of its nearly

is irregular and off-line——also a common characteristic of Greek funerary inscriptions from Phrygia, and (therefore) not necessarily indicative of a late date.[16] The original layout of the inscription is not certain, and many have proposed a variety of schemes, making use of the three lateral sides of the cube.[17] Yet, based on the layout of the Alexander inscription, it seems most probable that the entire text of the inscription was inscribed on one side, what one might call for the sake of convenience the south side.[18] On the east side, a stonemason inscribed a garland——an image found frequently found on epigraphic monuments throughout the Mediterrranean area.[19]

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square form, see A. Ferrua, "Nuove osservazioni," 287-89.

15. On this Phrygian form, see W. Ramsay, "The Tale of St. Abercius," 350; and L. Duchesne, "L'épitaphe d'Abercius," 165.

16. A. Abel, "Étude sûr l'inscription d'Abercius," 344-47. See immediately below for a brief comparison of the letter forms of the Alexander and Avercius inscriptions.

17. For a review of the various schemes, see A. Ferrua, "Nuove osservazioni," 284-86. Of particular note is that of C. Robert ("Das Grab des Abercius"), since he argues for a two-stage inscribing of the epitaph on all four sides. Asserting that the lettering of the extant portion of the inscription was cramped, he proposed that verses 1-6 and 20-22 were written at an early date, and that verses 7-19 were inserted by Avercius at the end of his life (that is, after he had completed his travels). But Robert claims that there was not enough space for a neat inscription, and, thus, the cramped character of the lettering is explained by this. Yet, as Abel points out, this sort of lettering is typical of many Phrygian inscriptions: "Étude sûr l'inscription d'Abercius," 344-47.

18. For the view that only one side of the inscription was inscribed, see A. Ferrua, "Nuove osservazioni," 284-86, as well as the sketch of the layout offered by W. Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia 2:721.

19. On the general use of garlands in Graeco-Roman iconography, see especially M. Honroth, Stadtrömische Girlanden.

II. **DATE OF THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION**

For the dating of the Avercius inscription, it is of greatest importance to evaluate its relationship to the Alexander inscription. Most definitive for the priority of the Avercius inscription is the irregular scansion of v. 3 of the Alexander inscription (with an extra half-foot), which is most readily explained as the insertion of Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντωνίου, whereas the scansion of line three of the Avercius inscription works. This suggests that, when copying the Avercius inscription, Alexander had his own name inserted, but could not make the scansion right. Furthermore, the frequent angular forms of the "sigma" and "epsilon" in the Avercius inscription, as opposed to the more commonly lunate forms of the same letters in the Alexander inscription suggest (although admittedly without absolute certainty) that the Avercius inscription was older.[20]

It is most likely, therefore, that the Avercius inscription antedated 216 C.E. (the date of the Alexander inscription). Further specification of the date is more uncertain, although one clue provides some aid. In his Ecclesiastical History (5.16.1-5), Eusebius quotes part of an anti-Montanist treatise by an anonymous author, who mentions that it is addressed to a certain Avircius Marcellus (Ἀυίρκιος Μάρκελλος). In so doing, the author also refers to "our fellow presbyter, Zoticus of Otrous" (τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὀτρηνοῦ)——that is, a fellow presybyter of the author and of Avircius. Since Hieropolis and Otrous are located so closely to one another in a remote area of Phrygia, it is probable that the man named Avircius Marcellus is none other than the Avercius of Hieropolis mentioned in the Avercius inscription.[21] In

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20. For this view of the paleography, see G. B. de Rossi, ICUR 1:XVIII; and T. Zahn, "Avircius Marcellus von Hieropolis," 67, n. 1. For an effective demonstration of the priority of the Avercius inscription, see G. de Sanctis, "Die Grabinschrift des Aberkios."

21. While some interpreters reject this on account of the different spellings of the names (see especially A. Ferrua, "Nuove osservazioni," pp. 282-283; and W. Wischmeyer, "Die Aberkiosinschrift," pp. 26-27), such a discrepancy can be explained. As Wischmeyer points out, both of these spellings (as well as variants of them) are to be found in in scriptions throughout the Mediterranean. The spelling Ἀυίρ~κιος_ (= Avircius) is a Latinized/Romanized version of the more original Ἀβέρ~κι~ος (= Avercius), which is closer to its Phrygian roots in Asia Minor. Since Avercius lived primarily in the second half of the second century C.E. and Eusebius lived in the fourth century C.E., it is, in my opinion, very possible that Eusebius, at a time when a great number of indigenous names were Latinized, simply was more familiar with the Latinized version of the name. It is not surprising that the spelling of Ἀβέρ~κιος is found in an inscription from the hinterlands of Phrygia, where Latin/Roman onomastic influences may have had less of an effect.

addition, the name Avercius is not common, and the existence of two mentions of a person named Avercius and Avircius, probably from the same geographical area, suggests likely identification.[22] Because of a statement in Eusebius (EH 5.16.19), it would seem most likely that Avercius received this treatise in 192/93 C.E.[23] Thus, I would conclude that the inscription should probably be dated somewhere between 192/93 and c. 212 C.E.[24]

III. **FORMAT OF THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION**

The text of the inscription is based on three different groups of sources: the two fragments of the inscription, the Alexander inscription, and the version of the inscription given in the vita of Avercius, the original source of which is to be dated to the late fourth or early fifth century C.E.[25]

Other interpreters reject the identification of Avercius with Aviricius Marcellus, because they see the inscription as pagan. For a discussion of this problem see Section 3.6 below.

22. It is also possible that there could be a familial relation between the two different Avercius', but the prominence of both of them in the Christian community (see pp. 351-55 above for the high status of Avercius as indicated by the inscription) suggests they are the same person.

23. EH 5.16.19: "πλείω γὰρ ἠ τρισκαίδεκα ετη εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέ~ραν ἐξ οὗ τετελεύτηκεν ἡ γυνή, καὶ ουτε μερικὸς ουτε κα~θο~λ~ικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονεν πό~λε~μος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Χρισ~τι~ανοῖς μᾶλλον εἰρήνη διάμονος ἐξ ἐλέου Θεοῦ" ["For it is more than thirteen years ago today that this woman (the Montanist Maximilla) passed away, and there has been in this world neither local nor universal war, but rather, out of the pity of God, continual peace for Christians."] Different interpreters take different views in regard to what interval of time these thirteen years referred, but it seems most likely to have been the reign of Commodus (180-192 C.E.), since this period was relatively peaceful as far as Christians were concerned. On the other hand, the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 C.E.), was, as some have suggested, not so peaceful as far as Christians were concerned (e.g. the edict against the Christians in 202, the martyrdoms in North Africa, etc.). On the Severan period and martyrdom, see W. H. C. Frend, Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church, 302-46.

24. Since Avercius states that he commissioned the inscribing of the inscription while alive (ζῶν, v.2)——apparently a frequent occurrence in Phrygia on pagan, Jewish, and Christian inscriptions from antiquity—— the date of 212 C.E. at the end of the chronological range is suggested by the assumption that one should expect some reasonable interval of time to have elapsed between the commissioning of the monument and

That the inscription was split into two pieces at that time and that there were places where emendations had to be made, is suggested in an early tradition of the vita: "Thus, here one understands the text of the inscription, but time has removed a little of the precision and caused it to be understood faultily."[26] This is further confirmed by the variations in the readings at the juncture where the marble stone broke——that is, at v. 12. On the other hand, the author of the vita would also seem to have had access to the entire inscription rather than solely to the fragments to which one now has access. Thus, the vita provides the textual evidence

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Avercius' actual death——which had to have been prior to 216 C.E.

25. Ramsay ("The Tale of Saint Abercius, 342-47) dates the vita somewhere between 363 and 385 C.E. on the following basis. The division of Phrygia into two provinces (Phrygia I and Phrygia II) by Diocletian seem to be reflected in the vita by the reference to Little Phrygia (Φρυγία Μικρά)——that is, as opposed to Great Phrygia. This would date it to no later than 297 C.E. On the other hand, the designation Phrygia Salutaris does not occur in the vita. Since this designation begins to appear at the end of the fourth century C.E., and since it does not occur here, a date prior to the end of the fourth century is suggested. One should also know that Phrygia Pactiana was governed by a consularis in 535 C.E., while the vita, on the other hand, refers to a praeses or ἡγέ~μων, which, according to another source (Notit. dignit. orient I), governed Phrygia Pactiana in 405 C.E. Since the imperial messengers in the vita go first to Byzantium after their voyage from Brundisium, a date after 330 C.E. is likely, because prior to 330, voyages from Brundisium generally arrived at Ephesus. Clearly the vita was written after 330 C.E., when Constantinople was the capital of the eastern empire. Finally, the vita refers to the emperor Julian's rescension of the corn dole, instituted by the empress Faustina, in thanks for the healing of her daughter (363 C.E.).

I am not so confident that the absence of a reference to Phrygia Salutaris dates it prior to the end of the fourth century C.E., since arguments ex silentio are notoriously difficult to make. I would prefer to give wider latitude and argue that the vita could have been written anywhere from 363 to 535 C.E. Duchesne ("L'épitaphe d'Abercius," 155) prefers a fifth or sixth century C.E. date. One should also not forget that Ms. Parisinus 1540 of the vita mentions Phrygia Salutaris. Further investigation, however, needs to be done on this matter.

26 . "τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος ὧδε πως ἐπὶ λέξεως εἶ~χεν, ꙍτι μὴ ὁ χρό~νος ὑφεῖλε κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ ἡμαρ~τημένως ꙍχειν τὴν γραφὴν παρε~σκεύασεν": Nissen ed., 122:174-77.

for critical words and passages which one would otherwise not possess. Finally, the process of reconstructing the text of the inscription is further complicated by the presence of at least six different traditions of the <u>vita</u> and a total of more than forty-two manuscripts.[27]

IV. **TEXT-CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION**[28]

Verse 2:   The Mss. have καιρῷ or καιρὸν, but φανερῶς is
             attested by the Alexander inscription. It is
             not surpising that a Christian after Constantine
             and Theodosius would not have understood the
             need for public proclamation. The Mss. read

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27. The standard critical edition of the <u>vita</u> of Avercius is that by T. Nissen, <u>S. Abercii Vita</u> (1912) with a discussion of the manuscript traditions. For another critical evaluation and summary of the manuscript traditions, see A. Abel, "Étude sûr l'inscription d'Abercius" (1929): 326-333. Abel and Nissen suggest the following breakdown in chronological order (Greek Tradition = 1-4) 1) Thirty-seven manuscripts for the <u>vita</u> of Simeon Metaphrastes (also known as Logothetes, fl. c. 960 C.E.), the Latin translation (by Surius) of which may be found in <u>PG</u> 115:1211-48; 2) Ms. Coisilianus 110 (in Paris);
3) Mss. Hierosolymitanus Sabeus 27 and Mosquensis 379;
4) Ms. Parisinus 1540; 5) Russian version——a translation, evaluation, and commentary of which may be found in W. Lüdtke and T. Nissen, <u>Die Grabschrift des Aberkios</u>, 1910); and 6) Armenian version. A translation of the Armenian version of the inscription may be found in F. C. Conybeare, "Harnack on the Inscription of Abercius," 1895. Within these six different groups one might cite three basic families: 1) Simeon Metaphrastes; 2) Ms. Parisinus 1540, Ms. Hierus. Sabeus 27, Ms. Mosquensis 379, and the Russian version; and
3) MS Coisilianus 110. In general, the earliest manuscripts date to the tenth century C.E. and the latest to the fifteenth century C.E. Of course, most of them go back to ancient originals; see p. 759 and n. 25 in this appendix above for possible date of the <u>vita</u>. While I have not evaluated thoroughly the manuscript tradition of the entire <u>vita</u>, one provisional observation may be in order. At least in regard to the Avercius inscription, the Russian version does not seem to go back to as early an archetype as Nissen and Abel suggest. It constantly expands upon the text of the inscription and often offers clearly very late translations and interpretations.

28. For the text of the inscription, see Text # I.1 in Appendix 1. I only include important variations and points of reference.

ἐνθάδε, but this is a metrical error.

Verse 3:   ὧν ὁ is necessitated by metre, and the Mss. probably simply reversed the two words for syntactical reasons.

Verse 4:   Another variant for ὤρεσι is οὤρεσι.

Verse 5:   Other Mss. read πάντα and/or καθαρεύοντας. Because of this, Ramsay (1897) suggests κατὰ πάνθ᾽ ὁρόωντας in order to restore the rhythm. But this is a much more radical alteration than my reading.

Verse 6:   Various attempts have been made to fill the lacuna: e.g. Russian version = τὰ Ῥώμης; Pitra (1855) = τὰ ζωῆς; Grégoire (1933) = φυλάξαι; Strathmann and Klauser (1950) = . . . ν ᾱπαντα τὰ.[29]

Verse 7:   Ramsay says that he saw an "eta" after ΒΑΣΙΛ . . . , and thus he reads βασιλῆαν ("king"),[30] but the close inspection of Calder and Ferrua suggest that the "eta" was never there.[31] The Mss. read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝΑΘΡΗΣΑΙ, where the first nine letters could be read as either βασίλειαν ("queen") or βασιλείαν ("kingdom" or "capitol city"). The former makes no sense, because the mention of two queens is redundant, while the latter is confirmed in the Russian version. Wischmeyer proposes βασιλιδ᾽ ("capitol city"),[32] but I would prefer (as would most editors) to keep the reading of the Mss.

Verse 11:   There are numerous conjectures for what follows ΣΥΝΟ, but that of W. M. Calder——συνομαίμους——

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29. J.-B. Pitra, "ΙΧΘΥΣ sive de Pisce Allegorico et Symbolico"; H. Grégoire, "Encore l'inscription d'Abercius"; and H. Strathmann and Th. Klauser, "Aberkios."

30. See Cities and Bishoprics 2:722-23 (1897).

31. W. M. Calder, "The Epitaph of Avircius Marcellus" and A. Ferrua, "Nuove Osservazioni." In any case, the author of the vita seems to assume that the word "king" was not there, since the vita explains that the emperor was absent during the visit of Avercius to Rome.

seems most plausible, since it is based on other epigraphic evidence from Asia Minor.[33] This evidence suggests that early Christians in Phrygia used συνομαίμους in the sense of ἀδελφοί ("brothers"). The Mss. have συνομηγύρους ("congregants"?), but this is not an attested Greek word. Some other conjectures are: συνοπάδους ("companions") = Ramsay;[34] συνομήθεις ("friends") = Ramsay;[35] and συνομίλους ("associates") = Lightfoot.[36]

Verse 12: This line marks the break in the stone, but Παῦλον, though difficult to read, is decipherable. ἐπ᾽ ὀχῳ ("in a carriage") is the conjecture of Hirschfeld and later supported by Wehofer,[37] and followed by most authors since that time. The Mss. read ἐσωθεν, but the "omicron" of ὀχῳ is clearly decipherable on the stone. Ramsay's proposal of ἐπομήν ("I follow") as a contrast to προῆγε ("leads") is certainly a valid alternative.[38]

The attempt of Dietrich to read a "nu" and an "êta" (with the resultant word νῆστις, "fasting") instead of a "pi" and a "iota" at the beginning of . . . ΣΤΙΣ is based on his own attempt to interpret the inscription as pagan.[39] But his reading is contradicted by close observation of the letters, which are in fact clearly a "pi" and a "iota." Thus, the word is almost certainly

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32. W. Wischmeyer, "Die Aberkiosinschrift als Grabepigramm," 37-38.

33. "The Epitaph of Avircius Marcellus," 2-4.

34. The text as given in "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," 427; and in The Academy.

35. Cities and Bishoprics 2:727.

36. Apostolic Fathers 1.2:497.

37. Respectively "Zu der Aberkiosinschrift"; and "Philologische Bemerkungen," 61.

38. Cities and Bishoprics 2:727 (1897).

Πιστις, as all the Mss. themselves attest. For the same reasons, the attempt of Hirschfeld to read »Ισις instead of πίστις is incorrect.[40]

Verse 15: All the Mss., except Parisinus 1540, incorrectly read ɛδωκɛ, evidently because they did not concern themselves with metrical issues.

The Armenian version adds the surprising gloss "as a symbol." While this was clearly not in the inscription, it suggests that the transcriber was at least interpreting in the right direction, as my own interpretation of the use of the fish as a symbols suggest.

Verses 15- The grammatical subject of these verses has
16   vexed scholars ever since the discovery of the inscription. Most have opted for πίστις, but there is no syntactical reason why it could not also be παρθένος ἁγνὴ. It is very possible that the ambiguity is intentional and that both faith and the holy virgin are in some sense seen as providing the meal.

Verse 19: This is a problematic line metrically: $—\ \underset{\alpha}{\overset{2}{—}}\ —\ |\ —\overset{2}{2}\ \overset{2}{2}\ —\ |\ —\overset{2}{2}\ |\ —\overset{2}{.}$ The placement of the name Avercius produces an extra half-foot. Thus, Lightfoot suggests ὑπὲρ μου, and Ramsay suggests ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.[41] Zahn suggests the reading εὔξαι instead of εὔξαιτο in order to make the meter work.[42] Although there is reason for correction, the solution remains too uncertain, and I preserve the version of the vita.

Verse 22: Since Ἱεροπόλει is a metrical problem, Ramsay proposes Ἱεραπόλει.[43] But it is unclear why the author of the vita would have reverted to

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39. Die Grabschrift des Aberkios.

40. "Zu der Abercius-Inschrift."

41. J. B. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers 1.2:497; W. Ramsay, passim.

42. T. Zahn, "Avircius Marcellus von Hieoropolis."

the older version of the city name (Ἱερόπολις), which by late antiquity was much less commonly used than the newer version (Ἱεράπολις).[44] One would have expected the author to have kept the "alpha." In any case, the Alexander inscription confirms the reading of the <u>vita</u>. It is possible that the word Ἱερόπολις is chosen because of the emphasis on the πόλις ("city") in the inscription (πόλεως and πολείτης in v. 1), as also in the Alexander inscription.

V. THE PAGAN CONNOTATIONS OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION

In his groundbreaking and extremely significant study of the Avercius inscription, Wolfgang Wischmeyer demonstrates that one can better understand most of the words and phrases in the Avercius inscription by examining their pagan associations as found on pagan inscriptions.[45] While his purpose was limited to identifying the meanings of specific words and phrases in particular inscriptions and, while he does not investigate the interplay of Christian referents and associations in the Avercius inscription, he lays the first part of the foundation for any study of complex symbolic networks in the Avercius inscription. I now continue that work in this appendix entry, since my argument for the multivalent character of fish symbolism in the Avercius inscription is partly confirmed by the multivalent character of other words and phrases in the inscription.

The very fact that many scholars tried to argue that the Avercius inscription was pagan, indicates that the language of the inscription is complex and multivalent. As Wischmeyer points out, terms such as "looking down" (καθοροῶντας), "queen" (βασίλισσα), "great" or "large" (μεγάλος), "golden-sandalled" (χρυσοπέδιλος), "faith" (Πίστις), and "holy" (ἁγνὸς) often describe pagan deities, or refer to them, or are appropriate in a pagan religious context. For example, inscriptions describe both Hera and Isis as queens.[46] Adjectives formed by compound with "gold-" (χρυσός-) are often used to describe pagan deities, and "gol-

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43. W. Ramsay, <u>passim</u>.

44. See n. 7 above.

45. "Die Aberkiosinschrift als Grabepigramm."

46. See references listed in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 39.

den-sandalled" was applied to Hera and Hecate.[47] Homer describes Zeus
as "looking down from Mt. Ida" (ἐξ »Ιδης καθορῶν).[48] Inscriptions refer
to almost all the gods as great, but the word is especially applied to the
Cabiri at Samothrace (Θεοῖς μεγάλοις) and to Zeus.[49] Faith was consid-
ered an abstract deity in antiquity (especially in Rome, where the cult of
Fides was extremely old, but apparently to some extent also in regions of
Greece). Consequently, she is often described in literature, mentioned in
inscriptions, and pictured in iconography.[50] The image of faith leading a
carriage is reminiscent of the images of the goddess victory leading the
Roman emperor or general in reliefs of their processional adventus.[51]
Other deities also served as guides for human beings, such as "Hera,
guide" («Ηρα ὀδηγός).[52] Demeter, Aphrodite, Artemis, and the nymphs
are all described as holy in some inscriptions.[53] "Holy" commonly
describes any item associated with a pagan deity and has the sense of
being dedicated to that particular deity.[54]

Furthermore, boasting that one is a citizen of a particular city is a com-
mon topos found on inscriptions, and ἐκλεκτὴ πόλις appears on at least

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47. See references listed in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 39.

48. Il. 11.337; 13.4; etc.

49. See references listed in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 32.

50. For references, see especially G. Piccaluga, "Fides nella religione
romana di età imperiale." See also "Fides" in PW; F. Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ
2:482-83; C. Becker, "Fides"; and D. Lührmann, "Glaube." In general
on the issue of abstract deities, consult J. R. Fears, "The Cult of Virtues
and Roman Imperial Ideology."

51. Suggested by W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 42. For fuller
discussion of the adventus ceremony in late antiquity, see
S. McCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity.

52. Pausanias 2.11.2.

53. See references listed in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 29. I
should add that in literature this goes back to Homer, who describes
Artemis as χρυ~σόθρο~νος »Αρτεμις ἀγνὴ (Od. 5.123; 18.102)——the
first word being one of those χρυσος- compounds that are so often
applied to deities; Persephone is also described as holy (Od. 11.386).

54. E.g. see references under ἀγνός in any of the major Greek
dictionaries.

one pagan inscription.[55] References to shepherds pasturing their flock on mountains is a common bucolic theme in Greek and Latin poetry.[56] "Chaste" is one of the prevalent pagan meanings for ἀγνός.[57] Strikingly, an erotic poem describes love in almost exactly the same terms as v. 5 of the Avercius inscription:

<div style="text-align:center">

Δισσὸς »Ερως αιθει ψυχὴν μίαν. ὦ τὰ περισσὰ
    ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντη πάντα κατοσσόμενοι

Double Eros burns one soul. Oh eyes that look down
upon all things everywhere, beyond what is neces-
sary.[58]

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"Eyes looking down everywhere" is precisely the theme of v. 5. Similar to v. 6, the composer of an inscription from Ravenna speaks of "having taught the playing of musical phrases."[59] The reference to a kingdom/ capitol city clearly refers to Rome both in its both broad sense as an empire and in its more narrow capacity as a capitol city.[60] While the reference to a queen can also refer to Rome, it more generally refers in this period to the empress.[61] Adjectives which have in their compounds a

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55. See references listed in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 28.

56. See references listed in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 29, 31.

57. See the references listed under ἀγνός in any of the major Greek dictionaries.

58. <u>Anth. Pal</u>. 12.91; cited in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 31.

59. "ἐδίδαξας ἀοίδια γράμματα φονεῖν," cited from W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 33; and found in A. J. Festugière, "L'initiée par l'epoux."

60. See references listed in W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 37-38.

61. And in an earlier period it can refer to Hellenistic queens. See W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 38-39, as well as the appropriate entries in the major Greek dictionaries. It is impossible to determine if the story of the visit of Avercius to the empress Faustina has any historical validity. Most interpreters think that it was a fabrication based on the <u>vita</u> author's interpretation of the inscription. As Ramsay points out, making the imperial family into semi-Christians was a

reference to gold, such as "golden-robed" and "golden-sandalled," suggest the general preference of royalty for clothing, accoutrements, and homes gilded with gold.[62] Since it is known that seal rings were extremely popular throughout the Roman empire,[63] σφραγεῖδα could very well have referred to a seal ring.[64] If συνομαιμός is the correct reading, it is also well-attested in pagan inscriptions.[65] In addition, inscriptions show that ὄχος was particularly associated with the carriages of high officials.[66] For pagan interpretations of the adjective καθαρός ("pure"), see n. 19 in Chapter 3; and for pure wine, see p. 546 above. In addition, pagan inscriptions, especially inscriptions from Asia Minor, frequently threaten fines.[67] That this is a relatively high fine would suggest that the deceased was an important person.[68]

In terms of the non-textual aspects of the inscription, I should indicate that the garland on the east side of the Avercius monument is a common pagan image found frequently on both Greek and Latin inscriptions

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common stratagem of many late antique and early Byzantine hagiographers: "The Tale of Saint Abercius," 348. That Avercius came from a remote city in the hinterlands of Phrygia would seem to confirm this. Yet, why does the inscription refer to a queen? It could refer simply to the church as I suggest below, but none of the other words in the inscription have this simple type of reference solely to a Christian item. The possibility must remain open that Avercius saw the empress while in Rome, although the healing of her daughter may well have been a later accretion in the story.

62. For a discussion of this, see T. M. Wehofer, "Philologische Bemerkungen zur Aberkiusinschrift," 80-81. As he mentions, especially striking is the reference to the entirely golden tunic of Elagablus (usus est aurea omni tunica) in S.H.A., Elagablus 24.

63. See V. Chapot, "Signum" (with references).

64. On this word referring to seal-rings, see also p. 341 above.

65. J. and L. Robert Bulletin épigraphique 59/60 (1946/47): 357, no. 202; W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 40.

66. J. and L. Robert, Hellenica 4 (1948): 42.98; Bulletin épigraphique 74 (1961): 220, no. 536; and W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 41.

67. E.g. see the numerous inscriptions collected in MAMA.

68. See W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 44-45.

throughout the Mediterranean.[69] In addition, I already observed above that the epigraphic monument in the form of a square altar or <u>bomos</u> was common in Asia Minor.[70]

VI. THE DEBATE OVER THE POSSIBLE PAGAN ORIGINS OF THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION

In 1894, Gerhard Ficker proposed that Avercius was in fact a priest of Attis who went to see the rock of Pesinunte, which was included in the statue of Cybele in Rome.[71] According to him, the reference to a queen in fact referred to this statue. Although it is clear that Ficker intended his argument as part of a protestant anti-catholic polemic against the primacy of Rome,[72] two years later in 1896, Albrecht Dietrich supported Ficker's thesis in a more intelligible and apparently objective way. He proposed that Avercius went to Rome for the ceremony of the marriage in 220 C.E. between the emperor Elagablus as sun god («Ηλιος) and the heavenly goddess Urania (Οὐρανία), who, according to Dietrich, was equated with the queen of the heavens (<u>regina</u> <u>coelestis</u> or βασιλίσση τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).[73] The sun god was represented by means of the aniconic coni-

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69. On the garland in general, see M. Honroth, <u>Stadtrömische Girlanden</u>.

70. See p. 756 and n. 15 above.

71. "Der heidnische Charakter der Abercius-Inschrift" (with references).

72. He himself states that he wants to combat the idea of the importance of the early Christian church of Rome; from his point of view, if Avercius had been a bishop from Phrygia who went to visit the Roman church, which is described in royal terms as a queen, then this might have given too great an importance to Rome. See below on pp. 776-77 above for discussion of the association of βασί~λισσα with the early Christian church. For a discussion of the polemic, see T. M. Wehofer, "Philologische Bemerkungen zur Aberkiosinscrift," 61-66.

73. For recent discussion of the religious background of Elagablus, see: T. Optendrenk, <u>Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Elagabal im Spiegel der Historia Augusta</u>; R. Turcan, <u>Héliogabale et le sacre du Soleil</u>; M. Pietrzykowski, "Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Elagabal"; and M. Frey, <u>Untersuchungen zur Religion und zur Religionspolitik des Kaisers Elagabal</u>.

cal black stone.[74] Both Ficker and Dietrich argued for the association of Avercius with Attis on several grounds, the most important of which are the following: Attis/Adonis is described as a "shepherd" (pastor); he is described as having had many eyes (ὁ μυριόμματος); and he is described as "holy" (ἀγνὸς). Moreover, both interpret λαὸς as λᾶας ("stone"), and both see the trip of Avercius to Syria as a syncretistic amalgam of the Attis cult and the Syrian Goddess (Dea Syria/Atargatis). Because he supposedly was a priest of Attis, he alone had the opportunity to eat fish——which were prohibited as sacred animals for the laity.

There are several general problems with these theses. First, no reference to Attis exists in the inscription. Second, Attis is described as a shepherd and as holy, but is never explicitly labelled "a holy shepherd."[75] Third, the Avercius inscription does not describe the shepherd as having a myriad of eyes. Fourth, the inscription implies that everyone ate the fish, not just the priests.[76] Fifth, the interpretation of λαὸς as "stone" (λᾶας) is based on a very obscure use of the word which is attested only in a very few sources, whereas by far the most normal meaning of λαὸς is "people."

As to the specific individual arguments of each,[77] I would argue that, in regard to Ficker, no reference to Cybele occurs in the inscription. In regard to Dietrich, I would argue, that first, as I have observed, ΒΑΣΙΛ . . . probably does not refer to "king." Second, the evidence adduced for the argument that the title of queen applies to the goddess Ourania is faulty.[78] Third, neither Elagablus nor the heavenly goddess are mentioned in the inscription. Fourth, the date of the bizarre marriage ceremony of Elagablus is 220 C.E., while, as I have argued, the Avercius

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74. Herodian Hist. 5.6.4 describes the marriage, while Herodian Hist. 5.3.5 describes the black stone.

75. Whereas, for example, Christ was labelled with a similar adjective; see immediately below.

76. On priests and priestesses eating fish, see pp. 176, 179, 193 (n. 244) above.

77. For critiques of both Ficker and Dietrich, see A. Abel, "Étude sûr l'inscription d'Abercius," 389-94 (1929). For a critique of Ficker, see also L. Duchesne's review of G. Ficker (1894). The most important critiques of Dietrich are the following ones: T. M. Wehofer, "Eine Neue Aberkioshypothese" (1896); L. Duchesne, review of A. Dietrich (1897); and F. Cumont, "L'inscription d'Abercius et son dernier exégète" (1897).

78. See T. M. Wehofer. "Eine Neue Aberkioshypothese," 362-70.

inscription in fact predates the Alexander inscription of 216 C.E.[79] Fifth, a black stone was not likely to have been described as "bright" or "shining," as λαμπρός implies in v. 9.[80]

For many of the same reasons, in 1895 Adolph von Harnack argued that the Avercius inscription could not be Christian.[81] Coming to the defence of Ficker, but not accepting his specific positions, Harnack argued that this inscription reflected a syncretistic form of Christianity that was not orthodox, but gnostic. For example, the king (although this is probably an incorrect translation) and queen could refer to a gnostic syzygy. To justify his claim of syncretism, he adduces the text "Narration of Events Taking Place in Persia," which he argues is syncretistic, but I argue in Chapter 3 falls within the Christian mainstream.[82] For full discussion of fish symbolism in this text and the Christian character of the texts, see pp. 371-405 of this chapter.

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VII. **THE EVIDENCE FOR THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER OF THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION**

If one divides the evidence into internal and external,[83] one finds confirmation that the Avercius inscriptions is most probably Christian. Since the Avercius inscription is situated in the ancient <u>vita</u> of an early Christian saint and is understood by that <u>vita</u> to be Christian, it is consequently clear that many ancient Christians also thought the inscription to be Christian. In addition, the archetype of the <u>vita</u> seems to have been

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79. See Appendix 3.1-2. Rather, Dietrich follows the scheme of C.-Robert who suggested a two-stage chronology in the inscribing of the inscription——the second stage coming after 216 C.E. (as outlined on n. 17 above).

80. There are other minor arguments for a pagan origin of the Avercius inscription, but these also are unsatisfactory. In this regard, see A. Abel, "Étude sûr l'inscription d'Abercius," 388-89.

81. <u>Zur Aberciusinschrift</u>.

82. For a critique of Harnack, see the following: L. Duchesne, "Épitaphe d'Abercius" (1896); A. Abel, "Étude sûr l'inscription d'Abercius," 389-94 (1929).

83. A categorization which L. Duchesne first suggested in "L'épitaphe d'Abercius," 162-65.

written in the remote area of Phrygia, where the inscription was found.[84]
This suggests that early Christians in that area were familar with the
actual physical location of the inscription (they certainly knew it well
enough to transcribe it) and recognized it as a Christian monument. Gen-
erally, it is a good principle to assume that persons who lived close to the
period of a monument and who thought it to belong to one group or
another, are to be believed, unless there is definitive evidence to the
contrary. Furthermore, an identifiably Christian inscription——the Alex-
ander inscription——copies six verses of the Avercius inscription. It is
most probable that individuals would have taken the trouble to imitate an
epitaph, if they had some kind of connection to the deceased in that epi-
taph. In this case, the most probable connection is Christianity. Finally,
if I am right that Avercius in the inscription is the same person as the
Christian Avircius Marcellus in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,
further confirmation of the Christianity of the inscription is found.

In regard to the internal evidence of the inscription, one can divide that
into roughly three categories: 1) those words or phrases which have a
predominantly Christian background and are probably or almost certainly
Christian; 2) those words or phrases which have in part a pagan back-
ground, but because of the context in the inscription, are probably or
almost certainly Christian; and 3) those words or phrases which are not
obligated to have a Christian referent, but which, though they have a
pagan background, also clearly could refer to a Christian rererent. To
this I would add a sub-category designated as 3', namely those words and
phrases, as well as the carved image of the garland and the physical shape
of the epigraphic monument, which have a pagan background, but were
perfectly acceptable to most Christians. This sub-category is intended as
a response to those interpreters, who could not imagine that certain
aspects of the inscription could be acceptable to early Christians. The
latter two categories (2 and 3) are of course closely related, since they
both refer to a pagan background, but it is important to distinguish them,
because the second category helps to establish positively the Christian
character of the inscription, while the third category can only be ad-
vanced once the Christian character of the inscription is established. In
addition, the formation of a second category is crucial for understanding
the fish symbol and those items associated with it (Paul, faith, the water
spring, bread and wine, and the holy virgin). I deal with the second
category almost entirely in Chapter 3 rather than in this appendix, since it
is directly related to fish symbolism.

As to those words and phrases which are probably or almost certainly
Christian (Category 1), I begin with the phrase, "having Paul in my
carriage" (Παῦλον ἔχων ἐπ᾽ ὀχῳ). Although it is possible that this could

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84. As Ramsay has shown; see pp. 753-54.

refer to an individual named Paul,[85] there are no similar expressions in pagan inscriptions or literature of which am aware. On the other hand, it is known that early Christians such as Ignatius, believed that in their missionary travels, they followed in the footsteps of Paul.[86] In addition, early Christians describe the mission of Paul as having covered both the east and the west,[87] as well as having extended to Syria and having included Rome——not dissimilarly to the Avercius inscription.[88] In regard to the reference to Paul, it is most likely that the inscription refers to Paul in such a way that one might understand Avercius as guided by the person of Paul and the ideal of Faith.[89]

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85. A. Dietrich sugests that he could be a travel companion of Avercius: Die Grabschrift des Aberkios, 49.

86. E.g. Ignatius, Ad Ephesios 12.2: " . . . Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἡγι~ασ~μένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου, ἀξιομακαρίστου, οὗ γέ~νοι~τό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ιχνη εὑρεθῆναι οταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω . . . " [" . . . fellow initiates of Paul, who was sanctified, approved of, worthy to be made blessed, and in whose footsteps may I be found when I attain to God . . . "]. In the fifth or sixth century C.E. Antiochene Martydom of Ignatius 5 (in J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers 2.2), Ignatius desires to follow the footsteps of Paul to Rome: " . . . κατ᾽ ιχνος βαδίζειν ἐθελῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύ~λου . . . " [" . . . wishing to travel in the footsteps of the apostle Paul . . . "].

87. 1 Clement 5.6: " . . . κῆρυξ γενόμενος εν τε τῇ ἀνα~το~λῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δυσει: "He was a herald in both the east and the west." I show on p. 344 above that the river Euphrates and the Mesopotamian city of Nisibis refer to the eastern extent of the Roman empire.

88. On early Christian texts for Paul in Syria, see for example Epistula Apostolorum 33; for early Christian texts on Paul in Rome, see for example 1 Clement 5.6. Of course, Avercius does not go to Spain (Romans 15.24, 28), and thus there is not a precise imitation. It may well be that Christian communities in Spain were not sufficiently well-established in the time of Avercius for early Christians to visit (as is evidenced by the lack of reference after Paul to early Christian journeys to Spain). In any case, one can see that the focus of travel for Avercius, as for many early Christians, was Rome (see pp. 351-55 above).

89. Some have suggested that, by referring to Paul, Avercius actually referred to the letters of Paul; e.g. J. B. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers 1.2:497. In this case, one could cite Acts 8.28, in which the Ethiopian eunuch, while seated in his chariot, reads the book of Isaiah: "καθή~με~νος ἐπὶ τοῦ αρματος αὐ~τοῦ καὶ ἀνε~γί~νωσ~κεν τὸν προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν." ["And seated on his chariot, he read the prophet Isaiah."]

In any case, "Paul" clearly refers to the early Christian apostle. This is significant for the interpretation of fish symbolism, since it is the offering of the fish that specifically characterizes the Pauline journey of Avercius.

In addition to Paul, I should mention the word λαός, which is only rarely found in pagan inscriptions,[90] but, on the other hand, is found not infrequently in ancient Jewish inscriptions——apparently referring to the Jewish community.[91] As confirmation of this, λαός in the New Testament is a term sometimes used to indicate Jews in general or Jews as opposed to gentiles.[92] And in the New Testament, as well as early Christian literature, it can also generally refer to the Christian community.[93] Consequently, it is probable that Avercius is drawing on the ancient Jewish epigraphic use of this term, as well as on the Christian literary use of the word, in order to indicate a Christian community. In fact, in another city in Phrygia, the other Hierapolis on the Meander, is found an third century C.E. iscription using λαός for the Jewish community there.[94]

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In any case, Avercius would very likely have been familiar with the letters of Paul and used their portrayal of Paul as a guide for himself. I do not, however, know of any example of early Christians bearing the actual letters of Paul, but the possibility should probably not be excluded. If one accepts the reading of Ramsay, Παῦλον ἐχων ἐπομήν (rather than επ᾿ ⊗χῳ), this would make even more unlikely the reference to the actual possession of Pauline letters and more likely the interpretation given above.

90. See W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 39-40.

91. See L. Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin," 693. To this I would also add the following examples: B. Lifshitz, Donateurs 31 (Nyssa, Caria; third to fourth centuries C.E.); CII 720 = Donateurs 9 (Mantineia, Arcadia; fourth century C.E.) where the deceased (Aurelios Elpides) is called "father of the people," πατὴρ λαοῦ); and CII 662 (Elche, Spain; fifth to sixth centuries C.E.).

92. For references, see H. Strathmann, "Λαός."

93. For references, see H. Strathmann, "Λαός."

94. CII 776: ". . . τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαί[ω]ν" ["to the people of the Jews"].

As an addendum, I should indicate that it is not clear if the word θέσις in v. 2 does, or does not, fit into this category.[95]

Although images of shepherds (Gk. ποιμήν; Lat. pastor) are important in numerous genres of ancient Greek and Latin literature,[96] and I have already shown that the word "holy" (ἀγνός) was used in both pagan religious and semi-religious contexts,[97] yet the phrase ποιμὴν ἀγνός is not found in pagan literature or inscriptions. At the same time, an analagous phrase (ποιμὴν ἁγιε) is found in Clement of Alexandria's Hymn to Christ (v. 30),[98], and that phrase was also possibly inscribed on a gold glass in the form of a monogram.[99] Consequently, the phrase is probably to be seen as having been Christian. Although the phrase, "disciple of a holy shepherd" (μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ) is not found in early Christian texts outside of the Alexander inscription, nevertheless, considering the extensive literary and iconographic tradition of depicting Christ as a shepherd (often the chriophorus), the phrase makes better sense in a Christian context than in any other pagan one. By using the word μαθητής, Avercius could admittedly be referring to the normal secular use of μαθητής as "student" or "pupil," but, given the almost certain association of the phrase ποιμὴν ἀγνός with Christ, it should most likely be seen in relation to the tradition of regarding the followers of Christ as his religious disciples.[100]

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95. While the word θέσις in verse two of the inscription is rather infrequently used as the word for grave in the pre-Constantinian period, the sequence——cross + θέσις + name——is very common in the fourth century C.E. on Christian inscriptions. See W. Wischmeyer, "Aberkiosinschrift," 28. Yet, it is difficult to determine whether, prior to the fourth century C.E., the word was simply a rare pagan term used to fill the space for metrical reasons or was actually a word that was associated with early Christian remains, since so few pre-Constantinian Christian inscriptions are extant or are identifiable.

96. See p. 340 above.

97. See pp. 104, 189-90.

98. = Text # II.C.1. ἁγιος and ἀγνός are synonyms. Of course, the normal expression is "good shepherd" (ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός), as, for example, in John 10.11. For metrical reasons, that would not work in the inscription of Avercius or in the hymn of Clement.

99. See J. Wilpert, Fractio Panis, 109.

100. For instance, it was frequently used for pupils of philosophers: e.g. Onesicritus who was a pupil of Diogenes: Diogenes Laertius, Lives 84.

As a further clue to the Christian character of this inscription, see the discussion in Chapter 3 concerning the relationship between Book 5 of the <u>Sybilline Oracles</u> and passages in the Avercius inscriptions.[101] See also the discussion of the Maritima inscription from the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome.[102]

Also reminiscent of the language in the Avercius inscription is a passage in the Septuagint version of <u>Ps</u>. 44.10b, where a queen is described as wearing a golden <u>hymatium</u>:

> παρέστη ἡ βασίλισσα ἐκ δεξιῶν σου ἐν ἱματισμῷ
> διαχρύσῳ περιβεβλημένη πεποικιλμένη
>
> On your right, a queen wrapped in many colors
> stands in a hymatium woven of gold

Early Christian writers interpreted the queen in the passage to refer to the Christian church. For example, Clement of Alexandria says in <u>Paedagogos</u> 2.10:

> κἂν ὁ λόγος τοῦτο ψάλλη δια Δαβὶδ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου λέγων **ευφρανειν σε θυγατέρες βασιλέων ἐν τῇ τιμῇ σου· παρέσ-τη ἡ βασίλισσα ἐκ δεχιῶν σου ἐν ἱματισμῷ διαχρύσῳ και κροσσοτοῖς χρυσοῖς περιβεβλημένη**, οὐκ ἐσθῆτα τὴν τρυφη-τικὴν μεμήνυκεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ πίστεως συνυφασμένονἀκήρα τον τῶν ἠλεημένων κόσμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεδήλωκεν. ἐν ἡ αδολος Ἰησοῦς ὡς χρυσὸς διαπρέπει, καὶ οἱ κρόσσοι, οἱ ἐκλεκτοί, οἱ χρυσοί.
>
> If the Logos sings this about the Lord through David by saying——**the daughters of kings enjoy you in your honor. A queen stands on your right in a hymatium woven of gold and wrapped in golden tassels**——he did not reveal voluptuous clothing, but showed the pure ornamentation of the church that was woven from the faith of those who are shown mercy. By means of it, Jesus was conspic-uous as gold, and the golden tassels are the chosen ones (i.e. Christians).

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101. See pp. 324-25 above and Endnote 2 in Chapter 3.

102. See pp. 348-49 above.

In addition to the identification of the queen with the Christian church,[103] the emphasis on gold in Clement recalls the Avercius inscription, as perhaps does the mention of faith and of the "select" or "chosen" (ἐκλεκτοί).

In any event, while I have already noted that the word βασίλισσα ("queen") can refer to pagan goddesses and to empresses, it should now also be clear that βασίλισσα can refer to the Christian church in early Christian literature. In particular, the association of a queen with golden garments and accoutrements finds special resonance in Jewish and Christian literature.

Yet, since golden garmentry is also characteristic of royalty in pagan literarature, it is probably appropriate to put βασίλισσα in the above-mentioned third category, although the general similarity to the Sibilline Oracle passage and to the passage in Clement makes its category placement somewhat difficult.[104]

In regard to the third category (since I cover the second category in Chapter 3 itself), I focus on a few words and phrases, which I believe are of special relevance for the interpretation of fish symbolism. At the out-set, it is of particular importance to remember that I assume that I have already proven the Christian character of the Avercius inscription.

In vv. 12-16, three words are of particular note. As indicated, "faith" (πίστις) could be an abstract goddess. Yet, in the context of a Christian inscription, it is difficult to imagine not considering the importance of the idea of faith in early Christianity——especially since Avercius seems to have modelled himself on Paul, for whom (and for his followers) faith was such an important component of being a Christian. Thus, it is probable that the reference, at least in part, refers to the early Christian emphasis on the importance of faith.

In addition to these words in vv. 12-16, I should mention again that συνομαιμός (if one accepts it as the correct reading) is a word attested in

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103. See further Justin Martyr, Dialogue 63.4. Also reminiscent of the golden-clothed queen is another woman with special garmentry found in Rev. 12.1, who was regarded by some early Christians as the Church. For example, see Hippolytus, On the Antichrist 61: "τὴν μὲν οὖν γυ~ναῖ~κα τὴν περιβεβλημένην τὸν ἥλιον σαφέστατα τὴν ἐκ~~κλη~~σίαν ἐδήλωσεν, ἐνδεδυμένην τὸν λόγον τὸν πατρῷον." ["He showed that the woman enrobed with the sun was most clearly the Church, which put on the paternal Logos above the radiant sun."] This passage also suggests the marriage between Christ and the church.

104. See Endnote 2 in Chapter 3.

pagan inscriptions. It apparently refers to family, kindred or relations,[105] while in Christian inscriptions it seems to refer to the members of the Christian community——similarly to ἀδελφοί ("brethren"), which is also found in Christian inscriptions from Asia Minor.[106] That Avercius would refer to those whom he met on his voyage as his brethren suggests the kind of familial salutation that would normally accompany pagan inscriptions, but clearly here with a new twist in that he does not mean flesh and blood family.

Moving away from vv. 12-16, I would point to v. 5 with its reference to the holy shepherd, "who possesses huge eyes, which he cast down everywhere" (ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς ἐχει μεγάλους πάντη καθορῶντας). Not only do all-seeing eyes characterize pagan deities, but they are also an important attribute of God both in Jewish and Christian literature and inscriptions.[107] Likewise, while the motif of shepherds pasturing their sheep on plains and mountains is found in pagan bucolic literature, it may well call to mind in a Christian inscription the good shepherd who shepherds his sheep in paradise and on earth——the former of which is often referred to exegetically in terms of mountains.[108]

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105. E.g. Dittenberger, SIG[3] 527.71 (Dreros). For a discussion of the description of early Christianity as family and its relation to fish symbolism, see pp. 335-36 above.

106. For references, see W. H. Calder, "The Inscription of Avircius Marcellus."

107. For a Christian inscription, see SEG 6.370: "Πρῶτον μὲν ὑμνήσω Θεὸν τὸν πάντει ὁρῶντα . . . " ["First I will sing of God, who sees everywhere."] For a Jewish inscription, see CII 696 (Thebes, Phtiotis), " . . . ἐνο~ρ[ῶν~τος] Θεοῦ . . . " (" . . . of the seeing God . . . ") and CII 725, ll. 9-10, "κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν" ["Oh Lord, who sees everything"], as well as a discussion of this material in L. Kant, "Jewish Inscription in Greek and Latin," 702-03, and A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, 418. For literary evidence, see a plethora of references in F. Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ 2:468-69. See also the reference to the "unsleeping eye" (ἀκοίμητος ὀφθαλμός) of God in Basil of Caesarea in Text # V.1 (7.5).

108. See the sources collected in F. Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ 2:466-68: Origen, Homily on Genesis 9.3; Cyprian of Antioch, Confession 16; Irenaeus, Adversus haereses 3.20.3; Methodius, Banquet 3.6; and Martyrdom of Polyarp 19.2.

While the individual words γράμματα and πιστός in v. 6 are found frequently in pagan and early Christian literature,[109] the phrase γράμματα πιστά is not found in either of them. On the other hand, as a phrase, it is very much reminiscent of the description of the New Testament as the "holy scriptures" (ἰερὰ γράμματα).[110]

Also belonging to this third category are the references to χρηστός and to "seal" (σφραγίς).[111]

As mentioned above, the sub-category 3'is largely a response to the objections of those who argue that certain features of the Avercius inscription are too pagan to be attributed to an orthodox Christian monument. Of course, from my examination of the Avercius inscription in general, it should be clear by now that almost all its words and phrases are laden with both pagan and Christian connontations. Thus, from the outset, it is difficult to imagine, simply because an attribute of the inscription is pagan, that that would contravene the Christian character of the monument. Early Christians simply used the language and materials which were available to them, and they happened to be from a pagan culture. Even what many regard as one of the most Christian of all symbols——fish——is clearly interpreted by Christians through its pagan associations, as Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate.

In specific regard to the objections of Harnack and others, it is now known, for example, that many early Christian inscriptions carried not only threats of fines, but curses as well, against those who would bury another person in their tomb.[112] Likewise, the altar or bomos style of monument is characteristic of all Phrygian funerary monuments, including Christian ones.[113]

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109. See W. Wischmeyer, "Aberciosinschrift," 32-34.

110. Frequently found (for example) in Origen; see F. Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ 2:472-73.

111. For the former see p. 323 above; for the latter see Endnote 4.

112. E.g. see many of the inscriptions collected in W. Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia; and Th. Zahn, "Avircius Marcellus von Hieropolis," 83-84. As a case study, useful are Jewish and Christian curse formulae from Asia Minor, particularly ἔσται αὐτῷ/αὐτή τὸν Θεὸν (he/she shall have to reckon with God") used especially in inscriptions from Eumeneia. See for a start L. Robert, "Épitaphes d'Eumeneia de Phrygie" (with some specific references to Ramsay) and my discussion in "Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin," 685-86, 705.

Finally, the veiled/mystical language of the inscription does not make it pagan. For the better part of the first two centuries of Christianity, Christian monuments did not reveal their Christian character, and it is therefore impossible to determine which monuments are Christian. Toward the end of the second century C.E. and at the beginning of the third century C.E. are found certain monuments that bear the first indications of Christianity. In Rome, in the cemetery of San Sebastiano, epigraphic monuments use the image of the fish apparently to indicate Christianity,[114] while in Phrygia in Asia Minor curse formulae are found in the form ἔσται αὐτῷ/αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν ("he/ she shall have to account with God") that can indicate either Jewish or Christian origins.[115] In general, this type of oblique imagery and language gave indication of Christianity on Christian monuments in the period prior to Constantine.[116]

Thus, it is their veiled character that characterizes early Christian inscriptions, and, in that regard, the Avercius inscription appropriately fits in with other early Christian inscriptions of the same period.[117] Of course, it is significant that fish imagery figures on early Christian monuments prior to Constantine as an indication of Christianity, and its presence in the Avercius inscription therefore suggests the same kind of oblique indication of Christianity.

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113. L. Duchesne, "L'épitaphe d'Abercius," 165.

114. See pp. 591ff above.

115. See n. 112 above.

116. The so-called "Christians for Christians" (Χρηστιανοὶ Χρησ~τι~α~νοὶς) inscriptions from Phrygia are an exception: E. Gibson, The «Christians for Christians Inscriptions» in Phrygia.

117. For a sober view of the problem of veiled Christian inscriptions, see W. M. Calder, "Early Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia." The use of the word φανερός ("public") may suggest a degree of openness not always found on early Christian inscriptions, but this does not make it either Montanist (as in the so-called "Christians for Christians" inscriptions in Phrygia; see previous footnote) or anti-Montanist (e.g. as an open proclamation of orthodoxy). Based on his interpretation of φανερός and συνῳδός, Ramsay ("Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia," 266-67) suggests that the Avercius inscription was anti-Montanist; his argument is unconvincing, however.

VIII. PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN REFERENCES IN THE EPIGRAPHIC FORMULAE OF THE AVERCIUS INSCRIPTION

In the Avercius inscription, the formulaic portions (vv. 1-2 and 17-22) contain items that are standard in Phrygian epitaphs:[118] mention that the inscribing was done while alive, mention of age, and mention of a threat of a fine. It is interesting to note, however, that in their midst are found isolated indications of items which one can best label as non-traditional: namely v. 19, which has no pagan epigraphic parallels; and possibly ἐκλεκτός in v. 1, which, although it is found on one pagan inscription from Phrygia, is extremely rare. Whether these are direct indications of Christianity by themselves is unclear,[119] but, in any case, considering the Christian character of the inscription as a whole, they easily take on a Christian connotation and might in fact be considered Christian insertions into an otherwise standard pagan format.

Thus, the general tenor of these two sections is that of a pagan epitaph from Phrygia, with occasional intimations of Christianity. In a sense, this sets the stage for the interpretation of all the symbols of the inscription, since many of them, such as the fish, have pagan associations, but, at the same time, bear Christian associations as well.[120]From a literary point of view, the two sections are connected by the repetition of the syllable πολ-: πόλεως (v. 1), πολείτης (v. 1), and Ἱεροπόλει (v. 22).

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118. In general on the characteristics of Phrygian inscriptions (including these), see the materials collected in the relevant vols. in MAMA.

119. For example, ἐκλεκτός can indicate the Christian elect, as shown in the above-mentioned passage from Clement (see pp. 775-76 above). In addition, ἐκλεκ~τὸς πόλις can indicate the heavenly city; see sources collected in A. Abel, "Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercius," 357-58.

120. For a comparative analysis of this issue in the Avercius and Pectorius inscriptions, see the relevant sections in Chapter 3.

APPENDIX 4

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL ON THE PECTORIUS INSCRIPTION

I. TEXT CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE PECTORIUS INSCRIPTION

For text of the inscription, see Text # I.2 in Appendix 1.

v. 1: Some propose [- ἁγί]ον ("holy") instead of [- θεῖ]ον ("divine"), but that is unlikely since it adds an extra syllable, which is metrically dubious.

v. 2: Also the reading ζωήν ("life") instead of πηγήν can not be completely excluded. But πηγήν is much more likely, since the general similarity of the Pectorius inscription to the Avercius inscription suggests a reference to a water spring and since letter measurements (although here not conclusive) indicate that the three letters ("eta," "gamma," and "eta") of πηγήν would more likely fit the missing gap better than the two letters ("omega" and "eta") of ζωήν.

v. 7: Numerous readings have been made here, many of them based on the reading Γαλιλαίῳ ("Galilean") instead of αρα λιλαίω. But the letter in question is clearly a "rho" and not a "gamma." Thus, *αρα λιλαίω* is evidently correct.

Instead of χό[ρταζ'], Guarducci reads ἰχθ[ὺ]β[ο]τ' ("fed on by fish"), though a close examination of the inscription would seem to suggest other letters. Furthermore, it is difficult to understand the meaning of the sentence with this word included.

v. 11: Numerous readings have been proposed for this fragmentary verse, none of them certain, as the following examples attest: Franz (Ἰ[χθὺν ὁρῶν υἱοῦ] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου = "Upon seeing the fish, remember Pectorius, its son"); Borret and Leemans («Ἰ[λαθι καὶ ψυχῆς] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου = "Be gracious and remember the soul of Pectorius"); Wordsworth («Ἰ[λαθι καὶ δούλου] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου = "Be gracious and remember the slave Pectorius"); Pitra (Ἰ[χθύος εἰρήνη,] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου = "In the peace of the fish, remember Pectorius"); Rossignol (Ἰ[κνοῦμαι σε, τεοῦ] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου = "I beseech you, remember your Pectorius"); Kirchoff (Ἰ[χθύος ἐν δείπνῳ] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου = "Remember Pectorius, a fish in a meal"); and Secchi (Ἰ[λασθεὶς Υἱοῦ σέο] μννήσεο Πεκτορίοιο = "Be merciful on your son; remember Pectorius"). I follow the reading of Lenormant, which O. Pohl includes in his text (although I underdot the final "omicron").