



---

Studies in Early Christian Epigraphy

Author(s): W. M. Calder

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 10 (1920), pp. 42-59

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/295787>

Accessed: 08/12/2013 04:21

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of Roman Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## STUDIES IN EARLY CHRISTIAN EPIGRAPHY.

(Plate 1.)

By PROFESSOR W. M. CALDER.

### TWO EPISCOPAL EPITAPHS FROM LAODICEA COMBUSTA.<sup>1</sup>

The publication of a second fourth-century epitaph from Laodicea Combusta, engraved on the tomb of two of its bishops, Severus and Eugenius, calls for fresh study, from a new angle, of the epitaph of the persecuted bishop Julius Eugenius of the same city, which was first published (with a provisional text) in the *Expositor* in 1908, and has already become the subject of a considerable literature.<sup>2</sup> An opportunity therefore offers itself to present English readers with a complete and (I hope) final text of the bishop's epitaph. This is all the more necessary that an English version, inaccurate in almost every detail, has been incorporated in a text-book issued by the Cambridge University Press.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. THE EPITAPH OF JULIUS EUGENIUS.

The recovery of the correct text of this badly-weathered and mutilated inscription has proceeded by degrees. It had been seen by an unknown traveller in or before the eighteenth century, who wrote down a summary of it from memory, omitting the most valuable details; and the version which thus gained currency was assigned to a better-known Laodicea, the 'lukewarm' city on the Lycus. The sarcophagus on which it is engraved was rediscovered by the writer in 1908, and the copying of the inscription was a maiden effort in practical epigraphy. Save that two faint letters were miscopied and a break in the surface of the stone remained unrecorded, the copy made on that occasion was correct. In 1909, when I had the opportunity of revisiting the monument in company with Sir W. M. Ramsay and Miss Ramsay, the practised eyes of my friends removed

<sup>1</sup> This and succeeding papers were originally prepared for discussion in a seminar conducted in connection with the Lectureship in Christian Epigraphy in the University of Manchester. In their present form they are part of a belated report presented to the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College, Oxford, and to the Wilson Trustees in Aberdeen University, who financed the exploration carried out by me in Asia Minor from 1908 to 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Calder, *Expositor*, 1908 p. 385 ff., 1909 p. 307 ff. (where a private criticism by Dessau is discussed); Ramsay, *ibid.* 1908 p. 409 ff., 1910 p. 51 ff., *Luke the Physician*, p. 339 ff.; Harnack, *Theol. Lit.* 1909, p. 165; Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche (Studi e testi, 1909)*, p. 59 ff.; Preuschen,

*Analecta, Kürzere Texte*, etc. p. 149 f.; Calder, *Klio*, 1910, p. 232; Wilhelm, *ibid.* 1911, p. 388 ff.; Jalabert, art. *Epigraphie* in *D'Alès Dict. Apologet.*; Battifol, *Bull. Soc. Ant.* 1911, p. 10 ff. and *Bull. de Lit. et Arch. chrét.* 1911, p. 25 ff. May I ask some foreign colleague to bring the list up to date, an impossible task in the libraries to which I have access?

<sup>3</sup> Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy* (English translation), p. 322. Eugenius's reference to the persecution in lines 7-8 of his epitaph appears as: 'And having suffered many annoyances from the General Diogenes.' I have not seen the original Italian, but find it hard to believe that the translator is responsible for this curious rendering.

one of the mistakes, and substituted Flavia for Gaia as the 'praenomen' of Eugenius' wife. At the same time, the lacuna on the surface of the stone, at the beginning of the last line, was duly marked on Miss Ramsay's drawing of the monument which formed the basis of the epigraphic copy published by me in *Klio*, on our joint authority, in 1910 (vol. x, p. 232 ff.). This copy attracted the attention of a highly-skilled epigraphist, Prof. Adolf Wilhelm of Vienna, who pointed out to me that the letters which I had read as ΑΣΑΠΛΩ in l. 17 should be ΑΞΑΠΛΩ, giving the reading, ἀπ[α]ξαπλω(ς) which actually occurs in the eighteenth-century summary.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he suggested a division and restoration of the last two lines of the inscription which was much superior to those suggested in my original publication (ταῦτα ἐποίησα ἐπιγρ(ά)φιν ἐμὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δοχῆς] τοῦ γένους μου) and in Ramsay's *Luke the Physician*, p. 340, and my paper in *Klio*, vol. x, p. 233 (ταῦτα ἐποίησα ἐπιγρ(ά)φιν ε[κ] τύμβον ἐμὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δοχῆς] ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ γένους μου). He read ταῦτα ἐποίησα ἐπιγρ(α)φῖνε [εἰς κόσ]μον τῆς τε ἐκλ[ησίας κέ] τοῦ γένους μου. 'I had the above engraved for the distinction of the church and of my family.' This reading commends itself at the first glance, even without the support of the very apt parallels which Prof. Wilhelm quoted on publishing it.<sup>3</sup> When I had an opportunity of re-examining the monument in 1911, with my attention specially directed to these points, it was a great pleasure to find complete confirmation of both Prof. Wilhelm's acute restorations. In l. 17, the letter I had misread in ἀπαξαπλως is clearly Ξ, and is exactly like the Ξ in λιθοξοικοῦς. In l. 19, the traces on the stone bear out Prof. Wilhelm's restoration at every point. The correct understanding of the final clause of the inscription is particularly important, as the proposed readings ἐκδοχῆς and ἐκλογῆς both implied that Eugenius prepared a tomb for his family as well as for himself—the latter reading implying further that only some members of his family were Christians. According to the correct text, he made the tomb only for himself (ἐμαυτῷ l. 18), and had the record of his career carved on his sarcophagus 'for the glory of the Church and of my family.' This is an important gain, as we shall see presently.

At one point the restoration of the inscription must remain doubtful. In l. 17, I suggested . . . λυψόμε]νός τε τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον,

<sup>1</sup> I ought to add that in 1912, when I paid a hurried visit to Ladik with the Vali of Konia to identify the sarcophagus of Eugenius, which he had been instructed to transport to Konia or to Constantinople, I took the opportunity of making a few notes on the inscription. I find in my 1912 notebook . . . ΑΞΑΠΛΩC. . . . I am loth to believe that the final C escaped us in 1909, and the 1912 notes were made very hurriedly. Should my 1912 copy be subsequently confirmed, it only involves the removal of the circular brackets in l. 17. The

photograph (pl. 1) is indecisive. On the same occasion I observed that the broken edge of the stone comes close to the last word in l. 19, and that there is room for five letters in the gap after ΜΟΥ. I do not suggest, or believe, that any letters were engraved here.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκδοχῆς in *Luke the Physician*. Ramsay suggested ἐκ[δοχῆς ἀπ]ὸ after seeing the stone. But the letter to the r. of the gap is Ε or C, not O.

<sup>3</sup> *Klio*, 1911, p. 388 ff.

with the meaning ‘when about to leave the life of this world,’ and quoted as a parallel the phrase *λίψας βίον* (‘having departed this life’) in a Galatian inscription. Ramsay preferred . . . *ἀρνούμε]νός τε τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον*, and translated<sup>1</sup> ‘renouncing the life of men (for a hermit’s).’ While much tempted by this ingenious suggestion (which the new epitaph may yet prove to support: see below) I prefer for the present to print *λειψόμε]νος*,<sup>2</sup> on the principle that, other things being equal, the restoration which reads least into the text of a mutilated inscription is the one which the cautious editor should choose. Further epigraphic discovery may yet settle this question; meantime an examination of the use of *ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος* by contemporary ecclesiastical writers might prove helpful.<sup>3</sup> For the credit of the episcopate we may hold the engraver, and not the bishop, responsible for *στρατευσάμενον* in l. 4.

The corrected text of the inscription runs as follows:

Μ (ἄρκος) Ἰού(λιος) Εὐ[γέ]νιος Κυρίλλου Κέλερος Κουησσέως βουλ(ευτοῦ)  
στρατευσ[ά]μενος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Πισιδίαν ἡγεμονικῇ τάξει  
καὶ γήμας θυγατέρα Γαίου Νεστοριανοῦ συνκλητικοῦ  
Φλ(αουίαν) Ἰουλ(ίαν) Φ[λ]αουιανὴν καὶ μετ’ ἐπιτεί[μ]ίας στρατευσάμενον  
(sic)

5 ἐν δὲ τῷ [μ]εταξὺ χρόνῳ κελύσεως [φ]οιτησάσης ἐπὶ Μαξιμίνου  
τοὺς Χρ[ε]ιστιανοὺς θύειν καὶ μὴ ἀπα[λ]λάττεσθαι τῆς  
στρατεί[α]ς πλείστας δὲ ὅσας βασάνο[υ]ς ὑπομείνας  
ἐπὶ Διογέ[ν]ους ἡγεμόνος σπουδάσας [τ]ε ἀπαλλαγῆναι  
τῆς στρατείας τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστιν φυλάσσων

10 χρόνον τ[ε] βραχὺν διατρείψας ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων πόλι  
καὶ βουλήσ[ε]ι τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος  
κατασταθ[ε]ίς καὶ εἴκοσι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν  
μετὰ πολ[λ]ῆς ἐπιτεμίας διοι[κ]ήσας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν  
ἀνοικοδο[μ]ήσας ἀπὸ θεμελίων καὶ σύνπαντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν

15 κόσμον [τ]οῦτ’ ἐστὶν στοῶν τε καὶ τ[ε]ραστώων καὶ  
ζωγραφιῶ[ν] καὶ κεντήσεων καὶ ὑδρείου καὶ προπύλου καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς  
λιθοξοικοῖς ἔργοις καὶ πᾶ[σι] ἀπ[α]ξαπλῶ(ς) κατασκευά[σας] λειψόμε]νός  
τε τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων

<sup>1</sup> *Luke the Physician*, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> This fills the space better than *λειψόμε]νος*.

<sup>3</sup> Franchi de’ Cavalieri (*Note agiogr.* p. 61) maintains that *ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος* means ‘human life,’ not ‘the life of the world’ (*la vita del secolo*). He suggests *λογισάμε]νος* or *λογιζόμε]νος*, comparing Herodotus, vii, 46: *λογισάμενος ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος*. This is attractive; but can *λογισάμενος τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον*, without the addition *ὡς βραχὺς ἐστὶ*, convey the same meaning? The point requires further investigation. Of the suggested restorations, *λογισάμενος* implies that

*ὁ τ. ἀ. βίος* means (1) ‘human life’ as opposed to the life of *θεοί* or *θηρία*; *ἀρνούμενος* implies the meaning (2) ‘the life of the world’ as opposed to the life of a hermit; *λειψόμενος* and *διερχόμενος* both imply the meaning (3) ‘*this* life’ as opposed to the future life. Basil’s use of *ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος* or *ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος* (as Mr. T. M. Gribbin informs me) supports (1). So also Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i, 2, 17 (W. H. Buckler). Until I am convinced that *ὁ τ. ἀ. βίος* cannot mean ‘*this* life,’ I shall prefer *λειψόμενος* or *διερχόμενος τὸν τ. ἀ. βίον*, either of which expresses the same idea as the customary *ζῶν* (see below, p. 46, 50 f).

βίον ἐποίησα ἐμαυτῷ πέ[λτα τ]ε καὶ σορόν ἐν ἧ τὰ [π]ρο[γεγραμμένα]  
 ταῦτα ἐποίησα ἐπιγρ(α)φῖνε  
 εἰς κόσ]μον τῆς τε ἐκλ[ησίας κ]ἔ τοῦ γένους μου

NOTES: l. 4, στρατευσάμενον an engraver's error for —νος; l. 16, (σὺν) καὶ πᾶσι, Ramsay; l. 17, Ramsay reads ἀρνούμε]νος, Franchi de' Cavalieri, λογισάμε]νος, W. H. Buckler, διερχόμε]νος

‘ Marcus Julius Eugenius, son of Cyrillus Celer of Kouessos, a member of the (Laodicean) senate, having served (as an officer) in the *officium* of the governor of Pisidia and having married Flavia Julia Flaviana, daughter of Gaius (Julius) Nestorianus, a man of (Roman) senatorial rank; and having served with distinction; and when a command had meanwhile gone forth in the time of Maximinus that Christians should offer sacrifice and not quit the service, having endured very many tortures under Diogenes governor (of Pisidia) and having contrived to quit the service, maintaining the faith of the Christians; and having spent a short time in the city of the Laodiceans; and having been made bishop by the will of Almighty God; and having administered the episcopate for 25 full years with great distinction; and having rebuilt from its foundations the entire church and all the adornment around it, consisting of stoai and tetrastoa and paintings and mosaics and fountain and outer gateway; and having furnished it with all the construction in masonry and, in a word, with everything; and being about to leave the life of this world; I made for myself a plinth and a sarcophagus on which I caused the above to be engraved, for the distinction of the church and of my family.’

This inscription, which is our only authority for the decree of the Emperor Maximinus ordering Christian soldiers to offer sacrifice to the Roman deities without the option of retiring from the service, has naturally given rise to a large amount of discussion on various aspects of the Great Persecution, and the above translation is the measure of what I have learnt from criticism of my original publication, especially by Ramsay, Dessau, Wilhelm, Grégoire, Franchi de' Cavalieri and Battifol.<sup>1</sup> On this occasion I am dealing with the epitaph of Eugenius only in so far as it has a relation to the new episcopal inscription published below, and will confine myself to questions regarding its date, its character and design, and the circumstances under which it was engraved.

The epitaph of Eugenius, as the text itself (l. 18) informs us, was engraved on the side of his sarcophagus. The meaning of the word πέλτα, which I was unable to ascertain in 1908, has subsequently

<sup>1</sup> See the literature quoted on p. 42. M. Grégoire, in a private communication, pointed out the meaning of κεντήσεις. In l. 17, I now prefer πᾶσι to πάλυτ' as providing a simpler construction, and as probably being echoed in the πασῶν ἀπαξᾶπλῶς καταστάσεων of the eighteenth-century summary (printed in Expositor, 1908, p. 386, from *Cities*

and *Bishoprics of Phrygia*, part ii, p. 543). The expression λιθοξοικοῖς ἔργοις (l. 17) includes sculptured details as well as masonry. Perhaps τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμον (ll. 14, 15) should be rendered ‘the adornment in and about it’—the ζωγραφίαι and κεντήσεις are certainly not confined to the constructions surrounding the church proper.

been fixed by an inscription found at Iconium, which runs as follows: Ζῶντες φρονο(ῶ)ντες. Αἴλιος Δάριος κατεσκευάσεν τὰ πέλτα σὺν τῷ ἐπεστῶ[τι] βωμῷ αἰαυτῷ καὶ Πορτωρία Ματρῶνῃ συνβί[φῃ] καὶ τέκνοις μου. δς δὲ ἂν ἐπι[σβι]άσητε δῶσ[ει τῷ] φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) α. The πέλτα was accordingly the substructure (no doubt differing in character from tomb to tomb) on which the monument stood.<sup>1</sup> I have translated it 'plinth.'

It should be noted that it is the record of his career which, in the design of the bishop, is to confer distinction on the church and on his family (ll. 18, 19). We are not obliged to conclude that the sarcophagus stood in the church, although this view is not *prima facie* excluded.

In accordance with the usual Anatolian custom, exemplified also in the inscription of Iconium quoted above, Eugenius prepared his tomb in his lifetime. His reference to the persecution under Diogenes, governor of Pisidia, makes it possible for us to date the preparation of the tomb within the limits of a few years. The evidence is stated as follows by Ramsay in *Luke the Physician*, p. 344 f.

'The edict under Maximin must have been issued shortly after his accession to the imperial dignity in A.D. 307. It was followed by the arrest and torture of the young officer [at Antioch] in Pisidia by order of the governor Diogenes. The official in question, Valerius Diogenes, is known from other documents<sup>2</sup> to have governed Pisidia about this time. This date is fixed by the fact that at Apameia he erected a monument in honour of the Empress Valeria, who fell into unmerited disgrace and had to flee from court in A.D. 311. Diogenes, therefore, was governor before that year; and as there is no reason to think that duration of office was longer at this time than previously, it is probable that Julius Eugenius suffered shortly before the persecution was stopped by edict of Galerius in A.D. 311. The edict of Maximin, in that case, would be a supplementary decree issued during the long persecution 303-311, and not mentioned by Eusebius in his History.

'But the possibility must be considered that Diogenes may have governed Pisidia for a longer period, and that the time when Eugenius suffered was during the recrudescence of persecution in the East under Maximin in A.D. 312 and 313. In that case, however, it is difficult to reconcile this edict of Maximin with the description of his conduct as given by Eusebius: he did not issue any formal edict annulling Galerius' act of toleration, but contented himself with sending letters and practically setting aside the edict of grace, until at last, just before his death, he issued a new edict of toleration. All reasons therefore point to the earlier date.'

<sup>1</sup> See my paper in *Revue de Philologie*, xxxvi (1912), p. 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay quotes *C.I.L.* iii, 6807, 13661. On his title see my note in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1912, p. 87.

Ramsay accordingly concludes that Eugenius suffered about A.D. 310. He must on any view have suffered between the accession of Maximin in A.D. 307 and his death in August, A.D. 313.

Eugenius, who must have been serving in the capital of the province Pisidia, Antioch, now returned to his native city, and after a short stay there was made bishop. We may date his appointment about A.D. 315 or a year or two earlier, and, as he laboured in the episcopate for twenty-five full years, the preparation of his tomb is dated about A.D. 340.

Finally, the design of the sarcophagus<sup>1</sup> and the arrangement of the inscription must be considered. The inscription is engraved on a sunk panel, flanked by a raised support finished at the sides in a curved design of which several examples have been found in the neighbourhood of Laodicea. The lines of the inscription begin, on the left side, at the edge of the panel, but are carried over the raised border of the panel on to the support at the right side whenever this is necessary to complete a word, and to avoid dividing it between two lines. Prof. Wilhelm called attention to this fact in support of his division ἐπιγρ(α)φῆνε in l. 18, where the first publication had adopted ἐπιγρ(ά)φων εἰς.

## II. THE EPITAPH OF SEVERUS AND EUGENIUS.

The following inscription, copied and photographed by Ramsay and the writer at Ladik in 1911, is engraved in a sunk panel of the same type as that on the sarcophagus of Julius Eugenius, flanked by a design of similar character. In this case too the first two lines are extended on to the border of the panel and the support in order to complete the final words; the next three lines, by a liberal use of ligature, are completed within the panel, and below them the stone is broken on the right side. This stone was not part of a sarcophagus; Ramsay noted that it is a large tablet, made to stand out from a wall, as the sides are worked, but not the back. The text is clear, and every letter in the preserved portion of the inscription is certain.

Τὸν Χ(ριστο)ῦ σοφίης ὑποφήτορα, τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα,  
 Οὐρανίου γενέτου κύνδιμον ἀθλοφόρον,  
 Σ]εβῆρον πόλεων πανεπίσκοπον ἡγητῆρα  
 Λ]αοῦ σακκοφόρου μνήμα κέκευθε τόδε.  
 5 Λεί]ψανον Εὐγενίου τε θε(εο)υδέος ὃν κατέλιψεν  
 Ζώ]νης πνευματικῆς ἄξιον ἠνίοχον.  
 Οὗτοι] καὶ ζῶντες εἰς π[αρά Λαοδικεῦσιν  
 Τοῦτ' εὐ]άσκητον μνή[μ' ἐπέθεντο σοροῖς.  
 . . . . . Π . . . . .  
 . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in *Klio*, vol. x, p. 232. The panel and accompanying design is similar to that on the sarcophagus published by Miss Ramsay in *Studies*

in *the E. Rom. Prov.* (Ramsay), p. 16, fig. 5 b; cf. *ibid.* p. 46, fig. 24.

The restorations at the beginning of the first five lines are obvious ; that in the sixth line is probably correct. I had thought also of Σκηνῆς, 'tabernacle,' and of Ἀπήνης 'chariot.' The latter would go well with ἡνίοχον, and is used in a similar context in an inscription of Egypt<sup>1</sup> referring to a bishop of Constantinople ('the Younger Rome') :

Τὸν δ' ἔκυρον Θεόδωρον ἀριζήλης ἐπ' ἀπήνης  
+ Ῥώμης ὀπλοτέρης θήκατο κηδεμόνα.

But such a violation of metre, although common in the less educated type of Anatolian inscription, would be intolerable in an inscription

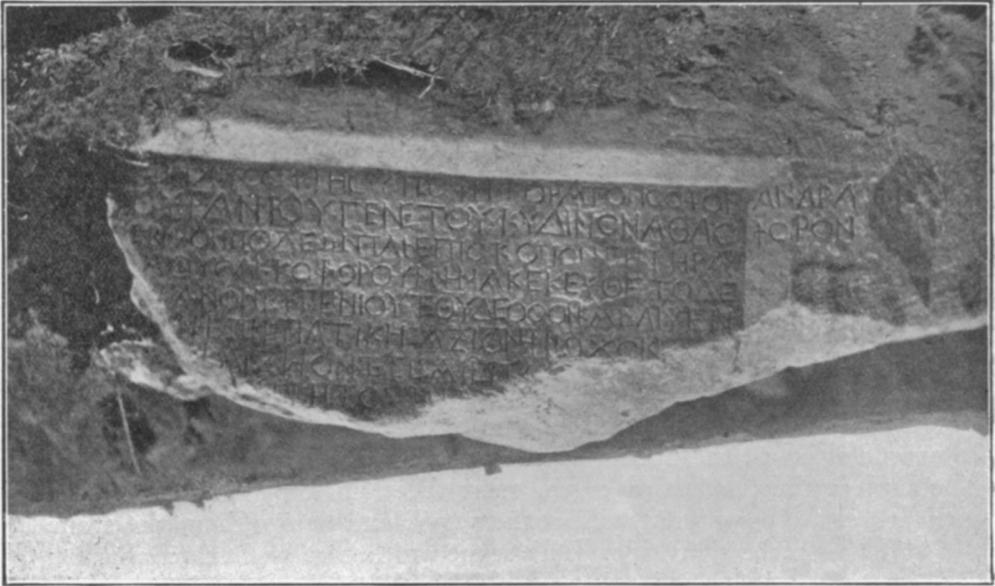


FIG. 3. BISHOPS SEVERUS AND EUGENIUS (p. 47).

of this class. A third possibility is perhaps Φωνῆς πνευματικῆς ; a similar idea is expressed in an inscription of Amasia, which says of a bishop<sup>2</sup>

Κινεῖ μὲν αἰεὶ τοῖς θεοτεύκτοις ἕσμασιν τὴν γλῶτταν  
πληρῶν τῆς πνευματικῆς χορ(ε)ίας τόνδε τὸν τόπον . . . .

The expression φωνῆς πνευματικῆς ἀξιον ἡνίοχον 'a worthy director of the Voice of the Spirit,' is reminiscent of 1 Cor. xiv ; the imagery

<sup>1</sup> Lefebvre, *Inscr. gr. brét. d'Egypte*, no. 227.

(Anderson, Cumont, Grégoire), vol. iii, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> See Cumont's explanation in *Studia Pontica*

Cf. also *Col.* iii, 16.

might be derived from the language of Montanism, one of whose tenets was that 'the spirit still spoke through many believers.'<sup>1</sup>

But there can be no doubt that Ζώ]νης (which occurred independently to W. H. Buckler) is the most suitable restoration. The word ζώνη was regularly used in the fourth century (e.g. in Canon XII of the Council of Nicaea) as the distinguishing mark of the military profession, and was used, at least at a later period, of civil officials as well.<sup>2</sup> Julius Eugenius had laid aside his 'military belt' to become a confessor and a bishop; the Eugenius of this inscription is described as a 'director worthy of his spiritual belt'—in other words, of his ecclesiastical rank.

The restoration of the seventh and eighth lines is conjectural. It assumes that these lines describe the joint preparation by the two bishops of a sepulchral monument which contained two sarcophagi.

This inscription is seen at the first glance to be a document of unusual interest. Our attempt to understand it may begin with a line for line translation.

“The interpreter of the wisdom of Christ, the wise man,  
The glorious victor (in the contest) of the Heavenly Father (or Son)  
Severus, the all-overseeing leader of cities  
Of the sackcloth-wearing folk this monument conceals;  
Also the remains of God-fearing Eugenius, whom he left behind,  
A director worthy of his spiritual belt  
These ?] even in life [among the Laodiceans ?]  
[Placed this ?] well-wrought memorial [over ?] their [sarcophagi ?]  
: . . . . . [lost] . . . . .  
: . . . . . [lost] . . . . .

A note may be added on the text. In lines 1 and 5, Χ(ριστο)ϋ and θ(εο)υδέος are written in abbreviation, with a horizontal bar above ΧΥ and ΘΥ respectively. One letter only is lost at the beginning of lines 3 and 4. There is room for three letters at the beginning of line 5. In lines 6 and 7 respectively, ΝΗΕ (written in ligature) and ΚΑΙ are preceded by the top part of an upright stroke; there is also the upper end of an upright stroke after Η at the end of line 8. Note that in line 6 this upright stroke is not inconsistent with the restoration Ζώ]νης, as Ω is written elsewhere in the inscription in the late rectangular fashion. After Π at the end of line 7 and before Γ at the beginning of line 8, there remains the top part of Α, Δ or Λ. In

<sup>1</sup> I quote Whitley, art. *Sects* in Hasting's *E.R.E.* (But even Justin wrote: *πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν*, *Apol.* i, 6.) With *ἡνίοχος φωνῆς* compare *ἡνίοχος κιθάρας* (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μίλητος*). If the idea underlying *ἡνίοχος φωνῆς* were that of a harpist, the metaphor itself might belong to the language of Montanism; cf.

Epiphanius, *Panar.* p. 405 (Oehler) *εὐθὺς γὰρ ὁ Μοντανὸς φησιν, Ἴδού, ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα, κἀγὼ ἵπταμαι ὡσεὶ πλῆκτρον.*

<sup>2</sup> Hence the expressions *ἀποζώννυμι* 'cashier,' *ἀπόζωστος* 'discharged.' Cf. e.g. *Cod. Just.* xii, 17, 3; xii, 50, 3. Anna Comnena, i, 16. (These references I owe to Mr. Buckler.)

line 8 this can, of course, only be A ; in line 7 it may be A or Λ. The middle point of the curved design which rounds off the support is exactly opposite the middle of the fifth line ; I conclude that there were nine lines on the panel, and that at least one line (the pentameter of the fifth distich) was carved on the border at the bottom of the panel, exactly as in the case of the inscription of Julius Eugenius. One letter of the ninth line survives.<sup>1</sup>

The stark individuality of the Greek Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor, while it raises them in interest and value above the stereotyped formulae of the Latin monuments of early Western Christianity, is disconcerting to their interpreter. After years of discovery and study a new inscription is continually coming to light which forms a class by itself, and sets a new type of problem. We may instance the inscription of the 'purple-dyers' of Hierapolis, the monument of Avircius Marcellus,<sup>2</sup> the tomb of the 'blessed Papas' at Dorla,<sup>3</sup> the epitaph of the presbyter Nestor,<sup>4</sup> all inscriptions of unique character like the two we are discussing, and several others which will be published in subsequent papers. Interpretation of these documents must combine boldness with caution ; first views inevitably contain an element of error, the elimination of which will be welcomed as the first step to a just appreciation of the new evidence.

It will be observed that the above restoration of the two concluding lines of the inscription begs a question. The question is this : Did the two bishops join in the preparation of their common memorial or did Eugenius prepare the tomb for his (deceased) predecessor and for himself ? There is nothing in either of the two epitaphs which supports the latter suggestion, but a third possibility may be considered, that the memorial was dedicated to the two bishops after their death by a third person, or by the local Christian community, who recorded the fact in the lines of the inscription which have been lost. Those who take the first view will probably find the proposed restoration of lines 7 and 8 reasonably satisfactory : the words *παρὰ Λαοδικεῶσιν* are, of course, inserted *exempli gratia*. Those who cling to the third possibility will look for a different meaning in lines 7 and 8, something like : 'They were (or did) so and so in their lives, and in death they were not divided.'<sup>5</sup> Restoration on these lines may appeal to the literary artist, who could claim in support of his view that the dedication of the tomb may have been described in the lost lines. But the epigraphist is bound by the rules of his craft. An Anatolian epitaph is expected to record the preparation of the tomb, by means of one or other of the customary formulae. This record is not

<sup>1</sup> The shape of the letters is discussed below, p. 51 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, pp. 118, 545, 709, 722.

<sup>3</sup> *Mis Ramsay in Studies in the E. Rom. Prov.* p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, p. 360.

<sup>5</sup> For the benefit of foreign readers, I add the reference : 2 Sam. ii, 3.

omitted in the epitaph of Julius Eugenius; the words ζῶντες in line 7 and μνημα in line 8 point the way which the epigraphist must follow. If this way leads to a wrong issue, he must turn back and take another. We may in the end have to take another way. Let us see whither the present way leads us.

We assume then, as a working hypothesis, that the tomb was prepared by the two bishops while both were alive. This leads us to a further conclusion. Eugenius is said to be the successor of Severus; therefore Severus must have resigned the episcopate. The natural inference is that Severus retired to a hermitage.

This brings us back to Ramsay's theory of the circumstances under which Julius Eugenius prepared his sepulchre. As indicated above, he read ἀρνούμενος τε τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον in line 17, understanding that Eugenius renounced the life of the world to become a hermit. It will partly depend on the view we take of the character of the Laodicean church in the fourth century whether we feel obliged to accept this view regarding Julius Eugenius. We reserve its discussion for the present.

We must now address ourselves to the question: is the Eugenius of the new episcopal epitaph identical with Julius Eugenius of Kouessos? May we add two new names to the list of Anatolian bishops, or only one?

It is the duty of the epigraphist to state the epigraphical evidence first, and to emphasise its value as a criterion. It is the more incumbent on him to do so that the epigraphical case is apt to go by default in a discussion by ecclesiastical historians of a new inscription.

The monument of Julius Eugenius has been published in *fac-simile* in *Klio*, loc. cit. Both it and the new monument are reproduced on plate I and fig. 3. It remains to discuss the style of lettering used in either inscription, and to state the deductions which may fairly be drawn from such similarity or difference as we observe.

The lettering of the epitaph of Julius Eugenius may be taken to represent high-class engraving as practised in Laodicea about A.D. 340, and a similar claim in respect of the style of lettering may be made for the Severus inscription, whatever view we come to regarding its date. Neither inscription can fairly be compared in this respect with the uneducated type of inscription, of which many examples have been found in the Laodicean region. The lettering of the Severus inscription differs from that of the Julius Eugenius inscription in the following particulars: Φ (thus in Eugenius' inscription) is carved with angular sides; Υ has a cross-bar at the juncture; Ω is carved in rectangular form in line 3, in ligature with N, and is like an English W with vertical outer bars in line 7; C and Γ both appear; E always appears thus; Ψ is formed by three straight lines; ligatures are frequent; X (ριστο)ϛ and θ (σο)υδέος are written in abbreviation, with a horizontal

bar above them; the form of  $\Xi$  differs in the two inscriptions. In other respects the lettering on the two monuments is similar.

It is common ground among epigraphists that lettering on Anatolian inscriptions of the Imperial and early Byzantine periods is a very uncertain criterion of date, except in a broad sense. The differences I have mentioned would not be regarded as a serious argument against the contemporaneity of the two inscriptions if they belonged to different localities; in that case the differences might quite naturally be attributed to variety in local style. But we must admit that such an amount of difference in the lettering constitutes a serious objection to the view that both these inscriptions were carved at the same time, under the direction of the same artist, for the same memorial. I wish to make it clear that I feel the full weight of this objection to the view, which I shall maintain provisionally, that the two bishops prepared their tomb together.

Was Julius Eugenius of Kouessos the successor of Severus? A certain answer to this question may still be found among the ruins of Laodicea. On the present evidence it seems probable that the two bishops were identical, and it may be helpful to a future explorer or excavator if I sum up the case for (*a*) their identification, (*b*) the simultaneous dedication of the two monuments. The two points are really distinct (see below), but it will be convenient to discuss them together.

1. The Severus inscription is engraved on a tablet which stood out from the wall of a building. In design the tablet resembles that carved on Eugenius' sarcophagus, and may well have come from the same workshop. It is an obvious suggestion that the Severus inscription stood over the door<sup>1</sup> or was built into some other prominent part of the wall of a memorial chapel, which contained the sarcophagi of the two bishops, and was described by the term *μνήμα* in lines 4 and 8. Such memorial chapels, dedicated especially to martyrs, were well known in Asia Minor in the fourth century,<sup>2</sup> and many later examples, commemorating pious Christians, have come to light at Barata.<sup>3</sup> My restoration of lines 7 and 8 is based on this assumption.

2. Severus is described as *Οὐρανίου γενέτου κύδιμον ἀθλοφόρον*. The word *γενέτης* means indifferently 'father' and 'son'; the former is probably the meaning here, as in a Christian inscription of Laodicea in Pontus.<sup>4</sup> The word *ἀθλητής* (champion) to which *ἀθλοφόρος* (victor, prize-winner) may be regarded as a poetical equivalent, was regularly used in early Christian literature and inscriptions with the meaning of *μάρτυς* (martyr). In this sense,

<sup>1</sup> The lintel was often engraved with the dedicatory inscription, but the Severus tablet is not a lintel.

<sup>2</sup> See Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.* p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Θεὸς γενέτης*: *Studia Pontica* (Anderson, Cumont, Grégoire), iii, p. 34.

ἀθλητής was usually accompanied by Θεοῦ or Χριστοῦ: many instances could be quoted, but two must suffice. Basil of Caesarea, in a letter of thanks to Ascholius of Thessalonica, who had arranged the transport of the relics (λείψανα) of a martyr to Caesarea, speaks of the martyrs as τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Migne, vol. iv, p. 255; cf. p. 142). And the inscription of Amasia in Pontus, already referred to,<sup>1</sup> describes the martyr St. Theodorus of Amasia, who suffered in the persecution of A.D. 306, as ὁ τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) ἀθλητῆς καὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων πολίτης Θεόδωρος.<sup>2</sup> For the use of ἀθλοφόρος in the same sense we may compare the epigram of Gregory of Nazianzus in the *Anthologia Palatina* (viii, 118, 1), where σηκός has its technical sense of μαρτύριον, or 'martyr's memorial':<sup>3</sup>

εἶς δόμος, ἀλλ' ὑπένερθε τάφος, καθύπερθε δὲ σηκός,  
τύμβος δειμαμένοις, σηκός ἀεθλοφόροις.

In all these cases ἀθλητής and ἀθλοφόρος are used in the sense of a Christian who had died for his faith, a μάρτυς in the strict sense.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately for our purpose, the word μάρτυς was not always used in this strict sense, and was often given as a sort of honorary title to Christians who had shown steadfastness in the persecutions, without having been called on to make the supreme sacrifice, or even to suffer any bodily harm. The word was even degraded, after the period of the persecutions, to include those who 'bore witness' by the blamelessness of their lives.<sup>5</sup> Protests against laxity in the use of this hallowed title are frequent in early Christian literature, and my own impression is that the use of μάρτυς or ἀθλοφόρος on a public monument of the fourth century would be impossible except in the case of one who had died, or had at any rate been tortured, in a persecution. In the homeland of Montanism, and the adopted country of Novatianism, such a use is doubly impossible. Now Julius Eugenius himself suffered in the Great Persecution, and the church at Laodicea was razed to its foundations, as is implied in Eugenius' account of its rebuilding (ἀνοικοδομήσας ἀπὸ θεμελίων). We are justified in assuming that the bishop of Laodicea whom Julius Eugenius succeeded did not emerge scatheless from the ordeal. In a succeeding paper I shall quote the case of a martyr who was put to death in the Laodicean district. A martyr Severus is succeeded in the episcopate of Laodicea by Eugenius; Julius Eugenius suffered in the persecution and a short time afterwards became bishop of Laodicea, and rebuilt the ruined church; it is

<sup>1</sup> p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription mentions the Emperor Anastasius I (A.D. 491-518).

<sup>3</sup> Franchi de' Cavalieri, loc. cit. See also the inscription of the martyr Socrates of Zenonopolis

in Isauria, dated A.D. 488, discussed by Wiegand in *Ath. Mittb.* 1911, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου, *Acts* xxii, 20; cf. *Rev.* ii, 13 (Antipas of Pergamos).

<sup>5</sup> For an admirable discussion of this subject, see de Labriolle in *Bulletin de Lit. et d'Arch. Chrét.* 1911, p. 50 ff.

difficult to resist the conclusion that Julius Eugenius and the successor of Severus were one and the same person.

3. Leaving aside for the present the question of the difference in style between the two inscriptions, and assuming that my restoration of lines 7 and 8 is correct in essentials, there is no material obstacle, on the ground of chronology, to our identification of the two bishops. If we assume that Severus, having survived the ordeal of the persecution, resigned the bishopric of Laodicea, to make room for Julius Eugenius, and retired to a hermitage, there is no reason to suspect that he did so on the approach of old age. The probability lies the other way. Assuming that he resigned in A.D. 315 about the age of 40, he need not have been much older than Eugenius about A.D. 340, when the latter composed the epitaph on his sarcophagus. If Eugenius contemplated retirement to a hermitage about that time, it would be a suitable occasion for the two bishops to prepare their last resting-place. On this view, Severus remained bishop for the 'short time' which elapsed between Eugenius' return to Laodicea and his elevation to the episcopal chair (line 10).

4. While the two inscriptions differ much in form and in spirit, the one resembling the monuments of pagan sepulchral epigraphy in its insistence on the life-history and family connexions of Julius Eugenius, the other suppressing all but ecclesiastical details and foreshadowing the stately formalism of the developed ecclesiastical epigraphy of the Byzantine period, there is one feature which the Anatolian archaeologist at once recognises that they have in common. They both imply that the bishops are to be buried apart from their families. Julius Eugenius prepares the tomb 'for myself'; he was married, but he refers to his family only in the last line, where they are coupled with the church as sharing in the distinction of his career.<sup>1</sup> The Severus inscription also clearly contemplates the burial of the two bishops apart from their families.

To judge from the archaeological remains, the one feature in the gradually decaying paganism of Anatolia which retained a firm hold on the reverence of the people was the cult of the dead. Much light has been thrown on this subject in Ramsay's numerous writings. The family tomb, or *συγγενικόν*, was the *οἶκος* wherein the dead had their home; the anniversary of death was the occasion of communion between the dead and the living in sacrifice and feasting; the door of the tomb, often represented on the actual monument, and occasionally called *θύρα*, was the passage of communication between this world and the world of the dead.<sup>2</sup> Stringent regulations, under legal sanction, were made for the protection of the grave. The family grave was similarly honoured and protected by the earliest

<sup>1</sup> This fact emerges from Wilhelm's restoration. The earlier discussions of the epitaph were all at fault on this important point. The separate burial of *martyrs* was of course universal.

<sup>2</sup> See Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the E. Rom. Prov.* p. 65, and the references there quoted. It is interesting to find the *θύρα* mentioned as a feature of a *μαρτύριον* by Gregory of Nyssa (*Migne* 46, 752A, quoted by Franchi de' Cavalieri).

Christians whose epitaphs can be identified; these epitaphs are difficult to distinguish from those of contemporary paganism. Like his pagan neighbour, the Christian, while still alive, prepared a last resting-place for himself and his posterity. Or he might be 'gathered to his fathers' in a grave which had been prepared for him by a progenitor.

A precisely similar situation is revealed by the comparative study of pagan and early Christian epigraphy in the West. Le Blant<sup>1</sup> distinguishes four principal stages in the evolution of Christian sepulchral epigraphy in Gaul, and the same holds true of Italy. In the period of the persecutions, in the late third and early fourth centuries, the majority of Christian epitaphs were cast in the pagan mould, and are distinguishable only by a symbol or some slight variety of expression. His family relationship, his profession or social status, his native city, the maker of his tomb, still find mention in the epitaph of the Christian and the pagan alike. In the next period the first three of these details tend to disappear from the Christian epitaph, and it is not long before the maker of the tomb ceases to be mentioned. The Christian epitaph has now shed its pagan features; but this was not enough. The pagan sees nothing but sorrow in the day of death, and rarely mentions it. For the Christian, it is the day of entry into a new life, a new birthday, and in the fourth phase of development it is regularly recorded on his tomb.

In the Greek Christian epigraphy of Asia Minor, while the details are different,<sup>2</sup> an analogous development can be traced; the gradual change in the character of sepulchral epigraphy illustrates one aspect of the process of dissolution which was taking place in the social structure of Anatolia under the influence of an ascetic Christianity. The tender solicitude for the family grave, and for the perpetuation in death of the ties of kinship, which the third-century Christian shared with his pagan neighbour, has made way in the sixth century for that 'nudité redoutable du dernier jour' in which the dead Christian has been dragooned into an expressionless *δοῦλος Θεοῦ*, when his epitaph consists of some such phrase as + *Θέσις Ἀναστασίου*, and his grave, if possible, lay in 'holy ground' near the tomb of a martyr.<sup>3</sup> The veneration given to the tombs of the martyrs was the Christian expression of the natural piety of the older paganism, seen at its best in the epitaph, 'carved in rough characters, on the rocks,' of the 'Old Mortality' of Amasia<sup>4</sup>:

Σήματα [συ]νθραυσθέντα παλαιγενέων ἡρώων  
 Ἐν μακροῖσι χρόνοις Λούκιος ἡρμόσατο.  
 Τοιγάρ, ὅσ[οι τ]ειμᾶτε τάφους νεκύων, παροδεῖτ[αι],  
 Λούκιον [ε]ὐ(φ)ήμως τείετ' ἀμειβόμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> *Manuel d'Epigraphie chrétienne*, ch. i.

<sup>2</sup> In particular, mention of the date of death is rare in Anatolia.

<sup>3</sup> This is the general tendency. There are many exceptions in Anatolia, where the primitive religion

of the country has tended to modify and even to absorb all imported religions—Greek, Christian and Moslem alike.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec.* no. 394.

The two inscriptions of Laodicea both belong to the period of transition, and both alike exemplify one of its stages. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the steps in the process of transition; suffice it to say that in respect of the idea involved in the mode of burial there is nothing to justify us in drawing a distinction in date between the two epitaphs.

5. The symbolism of the early Christian monuments of Asia Minor has still to be studied in the minute and comprehensive manner of De Rossi and Le Blant. The possibility of such study is indeed excluded at present by the wide dispersion of the monuments, the difficulties of travel, and the shortness of human life; it will only become practicable when photographic reproductions are available in the mass. The foundation of a comparative study of sepulchral symbolism, in respect of two selected regions, has been laid in Miss Ramsay's paper in *Studies in the E. Rom. Prov.*; and Ramsay, Mendel, and others have thrown much light on the use of symbolic decoration and imagery in various parts of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> Enough has been ascertained to enable us to consider, provisionally at least, the deductions to be drawn from the absence of the cross or other Christian symbol on the two monuments with which we are dealing.

In the part of Phrygia described in the *Cities and Bishoprics* (and the same is true of inscriptions which have subsequently been found) all the epitaphs and monumental inscriptions which have the cross, either as a decorative motif or carved in the body of the inscription, may confidently be assigned to the fifth century or later; one or two may date, at the earliest, from the very end of the fourth.<sup>2</sup> On a later occasion, after he had acquired familiarity with the inscriptions of Lycaonia and Eastern Phrygia, Ramsay expressed the opinion that the use of the cross, or some equivalent symbol, became almost universal [on the Anatolian plateau?] soon after A.D. 340.<sup>3</sup> An independent examination of numerous monuments in Eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia leads me to the same conclusion, unless a peculiar cryptic use of the cross which I have observed on a small number of inscriptions proves to be of earlier date.<sup>4</sup> Neither of the two episcopal epitaphs displays the cross or any other symbolic feature. If the Severus inscription were even a few years later than the epitaph of Julius Eugenius, we might reasonably expect to find on it, preferably at the beginning of the first line, the sign of the cross.

But we must in candour deal with the serious objection to the simultaneity of the two dedications which we have already found in

<sup>1</sup> See especially Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 488 ff. and *Luke the Physician*, concluding chapter; Mendel, BCH., 1902, 225 ff., and *Catalogue du Musée de Brousse*; Crowfoot, ABSA., 1897-8, 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> They are enumerated in *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 489, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Recent Discovery*, etc. p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> They will be published in a later paper in this series. I refer to the carving of X in MNHMHCXAPIN in the form of a cross +.

the difference in style between the two inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> My first impression, in presence of the Severus monument, was that it was distinctly later than the epitaph of Eugenius, and belonged to the second half of the fourth century. The abbreviations in the Severus epitaph appear to be later in character, and to belong to a more developed ecclesiastical style, than those on the epitaph of Julius Eugenius. And the language in which the Severus epitaph is couched strengthens this impression.

The argument may indeed be irrelevant, and the difference in language, style, and lettering between the two inscriptions may be quite simply explained by their difference in character. The one is a record in plain prose of the civil and ecclesiastical career of a bishop who is not without a touch of vanity, carved on his sarcophagus. The other is the dedication of a chapel in which two high ecclesiastical dignitaries are to be laid to rest, in verse, and in highly poetical language. It may be that the difference in style between the two inscriptions exemplifies a customary distinction made in the Laodicean workshops between the two classes of memorial. We have no independent evidence to support this opinion, but it cannot be held to be *prima facie* impossible.

However, even if the disparity in style between the two inscriptions is held to disprove the contemporaneity of their dedication, we are not thereby obliged to abandon the identification of Severus' successor with Julius Eugenius. We could in that case adopt my alternative suggestion for the restoration of lines 7 and 8, and assume that the dedication of what I have hitherto called the Severus epitaph belonged to a later period, when a memorial μαρτύριον was built by the faithful at Laodicea to house the sarcophagi of two of their bishops who suffered in the Great Persecution. On that view it would be natural to suppose that Severus was an ἀθλοφόρος of God in the strict sense, and perished with the destruction of his church.<sup>2</sup>

Can lines 7 and 8 of the inscription be restored on this alternative hypothesis? The following suggests itself as a possible restoration, assuming that the dedication of the memorial is described in the lost lines :

Ἄγων] καὶ ζῶοντες ἑαῖς π[ληγαῖς ὄνομ' ἔσχον,  
 Νῦν τ' <sup>3</sup> εὖ]άσκητον μνη[μ' ἔχει ἀμφοτέρους.

‘ Even in life [they won a hallowed name ?] by their [stripes ?  
 And now ?] a well-wrought memorial [hath both in its keeping ?

<sup>1</sup> Two poetical inscriptions of Khavsa in Pontus, belonging to the same monument, and probably contemporary with the Emperor Julian, are exactly alike in style and lettering : *Studia Pontica*, iii, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps some expert in martyrology can identify him.

<sup>3</sup> According to my copy Νῦν τ' fills the space better than Ἐν τ', which also suggested itself ; or perhaps : Ἄγων τ' ]άσκητόν μνη[μα θανόντας ἔχει.

The ἀγνὸν ὄνομα is the title of ἅγιος μάρτυς, or ἀθλοφόρος Θεοῦ; if the restoration is correct, both bishops received the title of ‘martyr’ for the torture, poetically or perhaps literally called the ‘stripes,’ which they suffered in the persecution. Both may have been ‘scarred and mutilated veterans’ of the Great Persecution. But only Severus is specifically described as a martyr in the preserved portion of the inscription. We know that Eugenius survived; Severus may have ‘won the victor’s crown.’

The conclusion we have reached may be briefly stated. Whether the Severus inscription was engraved by the two bishops about A.D. 340 when Julius Eugenius prepared his tomb, or whether it is the dedication, after their death, of a monument to the two bishops, we have found reason to believe that Julius Eugenius was the successor of Severus. If the second hypothesis is confirmed, the interesting fact emerges that two bishops of Laodicea, one at least of whom was a ‘martyr’ only in the second degree, were honoured by the erection of a μαρτύριον soon after the middle of the fourth century of our era. The writer’s personal view is that the second hypothesis is the more probable; *iudicet lector*.

The expression λαοῦ σακκοφόρου in the Severus inscription throws unexpected light on the character of Laodicean Christianity in the fourth century. I shall discuss the bearing of this term, and of certain other features in the two episcopal inscriptions, in a forthcoming article on *The Epigraphy of the Anatolian Heresies*. But the chronological argument in the present article would not be complete without a reference to the fact that the use of the term σακκοφόρος on a public monument cannot be subsequent to A.D. 428, when the sect called Saccophori, first mentioned in literature by Basil in A.D. 375, was proscribed by Theodosius II and Valentinian.<sup>1</sup>

POSTSCRIPTUM.—After the above was written, I chanced on the story of the Syrian confessor Theodorus who was tortured by the Emperor Julian. An inscription of Gerasa (Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec.* 1063 from *C.I.G.* (Boeckh), 8654) records the building of a μαρτύριον to Theodorus (ἠκοδομήθη τὸ μαρτύριον) ‘in the fifth or sixth century of our era.’ The poetical dedication of the memorial chapel begins with the words:

Ἄένος? δ]όμος εἰμὶ ἀεθλοφόρου Θεοδῶ(ρου)  
Μάρτ[υ]ρος ἄθα[νάτῳ Θεοῦ . . . . .

(The restoration of the remainder of the second line is uncertain; Kaibel is certainly wrong.)

The story of Theodorus, which is quoted or referred to by Socrates,

<sup>1</sup> *Codex Just.* i, tit. 5; cf. Basil, vol. iv (Migne), § 296.



NO. 1. BISHOP JULIUS EUGENIUS (p. 42).



NO. 2. BISHOP JULIUS EUGENIUS (p. 42).

Sozomen, Theodoret, and Augustine rests ultimately on the authority of Rufinus, who relates it (i, 36) as told him by the confessor himself. Whatever doubt may be attached to the historicity of the story (apart from the miraculous details) by the character of the authority, is laid to rest by the inscription. This is a case of a μαρτύριον erected to an ἀθλοφόρος and μάρτυς Θεοῦ who suffered torture, but survived the ordeal. Unfortunately the date of the inscription is uncertain, and, if it is much later than the Severus inscription, it belongs to a period when greater freedom may have been tolerated in the use of the term 'martyr' as applied to confessors. Even so, it has an interesting bearing on the above discussion.