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EARLY-CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS FROM PHRYGIA

By W. M. CALDER

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIANS of Phrygia were the nameless converts made by Paul the Apostle when he preached ¹ to a congregation of Jews and "God-fearing" gentiles (the latter being Greek or Greco-Phrygian *incolae* or *cives* of the *colonia* and Greek-speaking members of Roman colonial families) in the synagogue at Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia ² in A.D. 49; and before Paul's death the Christian mission to Phrygia had been launched from bases both in the east (Iconium and Antioch) and in the west (Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae). Between the middle of the first and the end of the second century, five generations of Phrygian Christians (as Paul expressed it on the same occasion) "fell on sleep and were laid unto their fathers"—in surface family sepulchres along the roads outside the cities and in country graveyards throughout all the hellenised districts of Phrygia. During this period the strong conservatism of Phrygian sepulchral custom, reinforced by the prudence in the face of persecution or proscription held to be enjoined by Scripture (had not Jesus himself withdrawn into Gethsemane?), precluded the open display on tombstones—in all ages the consecrated tokens of sorrow and of hope—of any trace of the Christian profession. For this period the criteria of nomenclature, simplicity of style and avoidance of symbols or expressions characteristic of pagan beliefs have been used, not very successfully, in attempts to identify a Christian epitaph here and there.³

At last, a little before or a little after A.D. 200 ⁴ the silence of 150 years is broken by an epitaph, in 22 elegant hexameters, which one Avircius Marcellus, recognised by Ecclesiastical History as bishop (less probably as a presbyter) of Hieropolis in central Phrygia, composed and had engraved on the altar which was to stand over his grave. The bishop describes himself as "the disciple of a pure Shepherd . . . who sent me to Rome to look upon Sovereignty and on a Queen golden-robed and golden-sandalled; and there I saw a people on which was a bright Seal". Next, the bishop tells of his journey to Nisibis "with Paul in my hands, and Faith everywhere led the way", and of how he had everywhere found "brothers" and partaken of the "Fish from the fountain" and the "mixed cup with bread".⁵ All this without a word to indicate that the "Queen" is the

¹ Acts 13¹⁴⁻⁴³.

² Called "Pisidian Antioch", *ibid.* 14. Antioch was a Phrygian city "over against Pisidia" ((πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ, Strabo).

³ e.g. by Schultze, *Altchr. Städte und Landschaften*, II, *Kleinasien*, I, pp. 425 ff.

⁴ The (largely legendary) *Vita Abercii* places Avircius' visit to Rome (mentioned in the epitaph) in the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus (A.D. 161-169). The anti-Montanist tractate in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, V, 16 ff., dating about A.D. 192, is addressed to Avircius (in 16, 4 read ἐκάστοτε for ἐκάστα τέ). The epitaph of Avircius, composed in his 72nd year, antedates that of Alexander of Hieropolis (dated in A.D. 216).

⁵ Text of the epitaph in Ramsay, *CB*, p. 722, as corrected in *JRS*, XXIX, 1939, p. 1 (where Ramsay's βασιλῆαν in l. 7 is shown to be illusory, and support is given to Grégoire's

Church in Rome, the “ bright Seal ” the symbol of baptism, the “ brothers ” found everywhere from Rome to Nisibis fellow-members of the Christian Church and the composer Bishop of Hieropolis. The epitaph is the child of its age ; it may well have been carved under the tolerant Commodus, but Roman Emperors did not normally live long, and Avircius had cause to remember Commodus’ predecessor, the saintly persecutor of the Christians Marcus Aurelius.

One of the most remarkable features of this remarkable Christian document is its prescription of a fine for violation of the grave, to be divided between the Roman treasury and the city of Hieropolis. The prescription of a fine for violation of the tomb was common form with the better-off pagan citizens of Phrygian cities at this period ; in many cases, in addition to the fine, or as an alternative to the fine, the anger of the gods—the gods in general or a particular god—was invoked on the violator. Towards the middle of the third century a formula of this latter class, warning violators of the wrath of heaven, begins to appear in the upper Maeander basin, especially in the cities of Eumeneia and Apameia, and at Avircius’ city Hieropolis. This formula runs (with variations) : εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερον ἐμβάλει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ΘΕΟΝ “ If anyone shall intrude another (corpse) he shall have to reckon with (the god ?)—(God ?) ”.¹

This formula, already suspected of being Christian, of meaning not πρὸς τὸν θεόν but πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, by Kaibel in 1879, was definitely proved by Ramsay and Duchesne in 1883 to have been in Christian use ; in 1894 Cumont claimed that it was exclusively Christian, and provided a safe clue to the identification of Christian tombstones in Phrygia. In 1939,² re-examining the problem in the light of a considerable body of new evidence, I found myself in substantial agreement with Cumont, and showed that this formula, having been in pagan use at an earlier period in Lycia and Pisidia, was adopted by the Christians of the upper Maeander and used by them (as dated tombstones show)³ at least from A.D. 249 to 273 ; that it was not used by Phrygian pagans ; that in rare cases it was imitated by Jews. From the upper Maeander basin the “ Eumeneian formula ” spread into Eastern Phrygia and appears sporadically further afield ; early in the fourth century its place was taken in Eastern Phrygia by one or other

συνομήμους in l. 11). The δισχέιλια and χεῖλια χρυσᾶ of the fine have been universally taken to mean 2,000 and 1,000 pieces of gold (*aurei*). That would be χρυσοί, and about 20 times the largest fine usually prescribed in Phrygia at this period. Understand (δηνάρια) χρυσᾶ “ *denarii* payable in gold ”. The symbol for *denarii* may have been omitted by the Byzantine copyist of the epitaph, or more probably—*metri gratia*—by Avircius himself. On rare instances of payment of fines in χρυσοί during the Imperial period see *CB*, p. 722, quoting Hirschfeld in *Königsberger Studien*, i, p. 144. Occurring in a poem, the expression (δηνάρια) χρυσᾶ need not be technical ; the requirement is I think unparalleled in a penalty-clause of this period, and deserves the attention of numismatists.

¹ The device by which the modern printer distinguishes God from god or the god had no counterpart on ancient tombstones. The letters ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΝ might refer indifferently to Jehovah, to the God of Acts 14¹⁵, or to the god of the neighbouring pagan temple.

² *Anatolian Studies* . . . Buckler, pp. 15 ff., where references to Kaibel, etc., are given.

³ See Addendum, p. 38.

of two formulae, δώσει λόγον τῷ Θεῷ, "he shall render account to God," or ἔξει (ἔχει) πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, "he shall have to deal with God." The latter variety remained in use for long.

Also to the second half of the third century (a grim period in the history of the Church) belongs a remarkable series of tombstones—grouped compactly in the northern part of central Phrygia, but with outlying examples at Apameia, possibly at Hierapolis, near Thyateira in Lydia—on which Christianity is openly professed, normally in the formula Χρηστianoὶ Χρηστιανοῖς, "Christians to Christians" boldly asserting that not only the dead but the surviving dedicators are Christians. The series contains two dated examples, of A.D. 248 and 278. Earlier epigraphists (Ramsay, Cumont, Anderson) had attributed the open profession of Christianity on these tombstones to Montanist influence; in 1923¹ I ventured to identify their dedicators with the Phrygian Montanists themselves (who, as is well known, insisted on the duty of profession in the face of persecution). This view was accepted and confirmed by Professor Grégoire² who called attention to a monument of northern Phrygia (copied at Eskişehir, whither inscriptions drift in from a wide area) in which the Montanist qualification "spiritual" (πνευματική) was added to Χρηστιανή on the epitaph of a lady called Mountana. Recently Professor Grégoire has changed his opinion, and now classes the "open profession" epitaphs (with the sole exception of the epitaph of Mountana) along with the "veiled" epitaphs of the upper Maeander as memorials of Orthodox Christianity.³

Professor Grégoire has reached this position by way of a new study of the sources for the history of the persecutions. Against the background of Harnack's masterly analysis and cartography of Christian expansion down to Constantine, he sketches a picture of Christian well-being under a series of indifferent, tolerant, philochristian and even Christian emperors, a well-being not seriously disturbed by occasional official persecutions, some of them half-hearted, and more frequent popular pogroms. In the context of this picture he can no longer see cause to attribute the "Christians-to-Christians" epitaphs to rigorist fanatics, and makes oblation of them to "la grande Eglise".

Harnack's account of the development of the Church, based almost entirely on the literary sources, has been amply confirmed by the inscriptions of Phrygia. They too testify that "these things were not done in a corner". The Christians of the age of persecution lived in the world; they were known, and knew it. They had their known meeting-places—Lactantius mentions churches at Nicomedia and in Phrygia, both destroyed in the last persecution; archaeology has added a third Anatolian church which suffered the same fate (at Laodicea Combusta)⁴ as well as the Syrian church at Doura. Beginning with Avircius, we find Christians well

¹ *Philadelphia and Montanism* (reprinted from *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, VII, 1923, pp. 309 ff.); cf. *ibid.* XIII, 1929, pp. 266 ff.

² *Byzantion*, I, 1924, p. 708; cf. *Bulletin JRL*, XIII, 1929, p. 266.

³ *Les Persécutions dans l'Empire romain* (1951), p. 18.

⁴ *MAMA*, I, No. 70, ll. 13 ff.

down into the third century placing their graves under the protection of the State, and prescribing fines for intrusion. They served on city councils, and conducted themselves in general as good citizens of the earthly "braif toon" (as Avircius describes Hieropolis)¹ as well as of the heavenly city.

All this is ascertained truth; but another obstinate truth remains to account for. Professor Grégoire stresses the fact that it is only in Asia Minor (and for practical purposes this means Central Phrygia) that we find Christian epitaphs of the age of persecution. (He and I refer to epitaphs set up publicly in surface cemeteries—the Roman Catacombs do not enter into this discussion.) This again is true, but true in a sense not very consistent with his picture of a Church largely left to go its own sweet way. During the second and third centuries multitudes of Christians in the eastern provinces, and a large number in the west, died natural deaths and were buried in surface cemeteries. Our epigraphical collections contain masses of epitaphs from all over the Empire dating from this period. Except on the absurd hypothesis that (outside Phrygia) Christians, and they alone, were buried without memorial, it is clear that a considerable proportion of these epitaphs are Christian. Why then have they not been listed as such? Precisely because Christians all over the Empire (and, as we have seen, for a century and a half in Phrygia itself) allowed no sign of their faith to appear on their tombstones, and used the same epitaphial formulae as their pagan neighbours. Their epitaphs are in our hands, but we cannot recognise them. It is against this background of epitaphial mutism, extending all over west and east and lasting till about A.D. 325 that the Christian epigraphy of Phrygia, beginning about A.D. 200, must be considered if we are to understand its character. We are not surprised to find that when epitaphs recognisable as Christian begin to appear they betray their identity by unobtrusive signs, not always easy to recognise. The identity and religion of Avircius Marcellus were in all probability known to Marcus Aurelius; his profession of faith on his tombstone is so discreetly veiled that even Harnack was blind to it. And the Eumeneian formula in its simplest (and much commonest) form, carved on monuments otherwise identical in all respects with those of contemporary pagans, might well have appeared to a visiting Sicilian merchant to be still another variety of the Phrygian pagan sepulchral curse. It is of course true that the conventional description "crypto-Christian"—still used by Grégoire; I have in my time both used it and protested against it—gives a misleading idea of the character and purpose of the Eumeneian formula. The Christians knew that they were known, and here and there a member of the Church might and did modify the basic formula in a more overtly Christian direction. It even happened that a third century Eumeneian bishop was described as "bishop" on his tombstone, with the *Chi-Rho* monogram preceding the title.² The users of the Eumeneian formula, as its occasional

¹ This Scoticism is an exact equivalent (there is none in English) of the χρηστή πατρίς with which Avircius closes his epitaph; he begins it with ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολεῖτης "citizen of a Chosen City".

² *JRS*, XVI, 1926, p. 73, No. 200.

biblical frills show, were not attempting to conceal their membership of the Church under pagan forms of neutral character. The formula was their own ; it professed their faith ; but it did so without provocation, without open defiance in cities whose official religion was pagan. It was a question of social conduct, of good manners in a community of mixed creeds, above all of consideration for the safety of fellow-Christians. The best commentary on Christian sepulchral practice on the upper Maeander is the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*—itself the most important literary source for the Orthodox-Montanist controversy over profession in Phrygia.¹ “For he (Polycarp) waited to be betrayed as also the Lord had done, that we also might become his imitators ‘not thinking of ourselves alone, but also of our neighbours’ (Phil. 2⁴).” “For this reason, brethren, we commend not those who give themselves up, since the Gospel does not so teach us.”

With all respect to my distinguished colleague, I must continue to assert that a gulf divides these unprovocative Christian *devotiones* from the challenging formula “Christians to Christians”, displayed prominently above or beneath the epitaph, and proclaiming that the surviving relatives have repudiated the official religion of the Empire. Professor Grégoire is rightly critical of much of the evidence of the Martyrologies, with their picture of a Church continuously “plongée dans le sang” ; but he will not I think challenge the truth of their delineation of the stock procedure at trials of Christians, confirmed as it is by Pliny. When the accused was questioned, the avowal “I am a Christian”, with refusal to retract, normally had very unpleasant consequences. The “Christians to Christians” inscriptions date from the second half of the third century, a period (on Professor Grégoire’s own showing) during which such trials were, at the best, a recent memory or a danger on the horizon ; and in such a situation the “open profession” formula on public monuments reflects a very different school of thought from an adaptation, even with occasional biblical trappings, of a pagan formula consigning tomb-robbers to the wrath of heaven.

My space is brief, and I will confine myself to two points to which, it seems to me, Professor Grégoire has not given due weight. He knows, none better, that when the Christian epigraphist questions the Imperial *sepulchrales* of the second and third centuries, and in effect down to A.D. 325, for the slightest expression of Christian character, the answer is οὐδὲ γὰρ. He knows that this *vastum silentium* is broken only in Central Phrygia, in the south by a discreet murmur, in the north by a cry of defiance ; in their topographical distribution the two types naturally overlap.² He knows that Phrygia was the homeland of Montanism and a cockpit of the Orthodox-Montanist controversy. He knows that one of the leading issues in this controversy was the question discussed by the greatest of all Montanists in

¹ I pointed this out in *Philadelphia and Montanism*, pp. 25 ff., unaware that I had been anticipated by Renan. Grégoire agrees, and by accepting the Eusebian date for the *Martyrdom* strengthens our joint case (*Analecta Bollandiana*, LXIX, p. 22).

² They even interlock ; see *MAMA*, VI, No. 234.

the *De fuga in persecutione*, the question whether it was the absolute duty of the Christian in a pagan state, in all circumstances, to proclaim and act on his faith. I have long been convinced and am still convinced that the "veiled" epitaphs of the south (they include that of Avircius, an anti-Montanist leader) and the "open profession" epitaphs of the north are the concrete memorials of the two opposing sides to this controversy. I will now go further. When the Phrygian section of the *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes de l'Asie mineure* appears it will provide, along with *Roma Sotterranea* and its continuations, the sole epigraphical documentation of the pre-Constantinian Church; in some important respects it will supplement and correct the picture provided by the evidence of the Catacombs. Which is another way of repeating what I have indicated above, that Central Phrygia had been producing whole categories of Christian monuments for a century before a few stray samples begin to appear even in the immediate border-lands of Lycaonia and Isauria and nearly a century and a half before Christian inscriptions appear in other parts of the east which had contained Christian churches at least as long as Phrygia. I submit that to attribute a sepulchral practice peculiar to a definite area to a contemporary school of thought native to and operative in that area, a school of whose principles the practice is the concrete expression, is sound historical method. I venture to suggest that the pre-Constantinian Christian epigraphy of Phrygia in both its contrasting types is the legacy to the *Recueil* of the Montanists, the "open profession" epitaphs their own direct contribution, the "veiled" epitaphs the fruit of their challenge to their Orthodox brethren. But for Montanist intransigence the Christian epigraphy of Phrygia might well have been as late—and as dull—as that of Galatia, to the infinite loss of the *Recueil*. If there be a better explanation of the primacy of Phrygia in the Christian epigraphy of the surface cemetery—perhaps the most intriguing of the problems which face the Early-Christian epigraphist—the onus of providing it rests on the shoulders of Professor Grégoire.

Secondly, the distinguished Editor of the *Recueil* knows better than most that when pagan persecution was finally over and when the description of buried Christians as "Christians" became as safe as it now seems to us natural, the practice in fact abruptly ceased. After the Peace of the Church Christian sepulchral monuments in Phrygia as over the East generally become easily recognisable, at first through the growing fashion of replacing the old pagan family names by biblical names or names signifying Christian virtues or aspirations, or by the mention of Church offices and other Christian touches, later (after about A.D. 350) by the almost universal use on tombstones of the various forms of the Cross. But for the description of the dead as "Christians", over long periods and in wide areas, we look in vain. In 1923¹ I was able to adduce three instances from the whole of Asia Minor in which certainly post-Constantinian epitaphs dating down to about A.D. 500—one each from Caria, Cilicia and Lycaonia—described

¹ *Philadelphia and Montanism*, p. 45.

a dead man as a "Christian". In 1953, after nine further epigraphical journeys over a wide area, I can add one more—from Phrygia.¹ On the view that the Orthodox Christians of Phrygia used the term "Christian" to describe their dead down to the Edict of Toleration, their sudden and complete abandonment of a title with honourable associations is hard to account for. If on the other hand "Christians to Christians" was a Montanist slogan, its disuse after the Peace of the Church was natural. True the Montanists continued to be persecuted and liquidated after the Church had found peace, but the persecutor was no longer the pagan State but la grande Eglise herself. A Gibbon—or a Huguenot—might hold that under the new dispensation the old sepulchral slogan of the pagan persecutions was as appropriate as ever. But the Montanists were bound by their own theory; their new executioners were but *psychici* but still *Christiani*, and the title had ceased to be distinctive. Henceforward, as Professor Grégoire has shown,² the Montanists' gravestones are distinguished only by their predilection for certain dedicatory formulae, and by the titles of their clergy.

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The following epitaphs, recorded by Ian W. Macpherson and myself in the course of an epigraphical journey from Dorylaeum to Lystra in October, 1951, should be studied in the light of the above remarks.

The first is a monument of the Peace of the Church.

1. Northern Phrygia (exact provenance unknown; now in depot at Kutahia) (Plate I, a). Stele of white marble; above, rectangular niche containing arch, inside which is filleted garland. H., 1.06; w., 0.62; th., 0.14; letters, 0.02 to 0.016 (in l. 24, 0.011 to 0.013).

Αὐρ. Ἀθηνόδοτος Δοκιμεὺς τεχνίτης ἐποίησε τὸ ἔργον.

ἐνθα χθὼν κατέχι Ἀκάκιον σὺ|φροναν ἄνδρα,
Μηνοδώρου υἱόν, θεοτίμητον ἀληθῶς,
ἦσιον ἐν κόσμῳ ἔης πάτρης κα|τὰ πάντα·
5 τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐν | χηροσύνῃ ὑπομίνας,
μουνό|γαμος μούνον τεῦξεν τέκνον ἐν βιό|τοιο,
τοῦνομα Λούκιλλαν τὴν σὺ|φρονα, τῷ πατρὶ κῦδος·
δῶκεν δ' αὐτὴν ἀν|δρὶ ἐφ' ἐλπίσι γηροκομηθην
ἀνεσιῶ | Τροφίμῳ· τύχαν δὲ κακῶν ὑμενέων, |
10 ὄκτω κ' δέκα μῆνας μεθ' αὐτὸν οὐκ | ἐβίωσεν·
πικραὶ γάρ Μοῖραι ἴσους μίτους | ἐπέκλωσαν
μητρὶ κ' θυγατρὶ ὅμοια Πρω|τεσιλάου.
Δόμνη σεμνοτάτῃ τύμβοις | ἰδίοισι δὲ κῆται.
τριάκονταέτη θυγατέ|ραν κατέλιψε,
τεσσαρέτῃ πάλιν αὐτὴ τὸν | πατέρα ἐπρόαξεν·
15 τύμβοις παππῶοις | μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνθάδε κῆτη.

¹ *MAMA*, IV, No. 313.

² *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres* . . . (Academie royale de Belgique), XXXVIII, 1952, pp. 167 ff.

ἄνδρες | πρεσβύτατοι κ' ὁμήλικες ἡδὲ νέοι τε, |
 δῆριν πρὸς τίναν ἔσχον; οὐ πρὸς νέον οὐδὲ | γέροντα·
 τιμῇ τῇ μεγάλῃ παρὰ πάτρης παρ' ἐπέμφθη·
 20 Θεὸς πού μ' ἐκέλευσ'· ἐνὶ Πλου|τεῖ ἢ Παραδί|ζω
 μίσθους ἀντιλάβοιτε παρ' ἀθανάτου Θεοῦ | αὐτοῦ·
 ἐμοὶ γάρ οὐ μελέτη· κακὸν κόσμον κατέλιπα. |

τὴν σφραγίδα Θεὸς ἐμοὶ τέκνω διασώζει·
 θνητὸς ἐν ἀθανά|τοις Ἀβρά[μ κ]όλποισι τετύχηκα,
 Θεῷ δουλεύω, Παραδί|ζοισι κατοικῶ·

This epitaph, in 27 epigraphic lines including the monumental mason's signature at the top, consists of 24 hexameters as numbered in the transcription, the last three being carved down the left side of the stele. At the end of each hexameter (except 21 and 24 which end with the ends of epigraphic lines, and 23, after which there are three dots arranged vertically) a leaf is carved. The epitaph is of mature post-Nicene type; the absence of a cross and of any trace of Byzantine stylisation in its elegant lettering dates it not later than about A.D. 350. The first 15 verses sketch the biography and family relationships of Akakios ("Innocent") son of Metrodorus—note the appearance in a family of normal pagan nomenclature of a "significant" Christian name. Verse 16 implies that Akakios died in middle life. Stress is laid on the fact that he was married only once, and lived 30 years in widowhood. He had given his only child, Lucilla, in marriage to his nephew Trophimus "in hopes of support in old age".¹ But Lucilla died (aged 30, v. 13) less than 18 months after her husband, for the Fates (vv. 10, 11) had spun the thread of life of equal length for mother and daughter—both were short-lived like Protesilaus (fourth-century Christians often seek an opportunity to show that they know their Homer).² The mother—her name was Domna—"lies in a grave of her own" (v. 12).³ Domna left a daughter (Lucilla) who lived to be 30 and who pre-deceased (ἐπρόαξεν) her father by 4 years. In strict grammar, v. 13 means "she left a daughter aged 30"; but that cannot be the meaning here.

So I would unravel the tangled tale of relationships, not very lucidly or grammatically set forth in vv. 1-15.

In vv. 16-24, Akakios speaks in the first person. Mindful of the Seventh Beatitude, he calls the generation before his, his own generation and his juniors to witness that he had striven with none, and had been escorted to his grave in high honour—"for such, it seems, was God's command".⁴ There follows a strange prayer: "May you" (i.e. those addressed in v. 16) "receive the wages due to you in Hell or in Paradise from Immortal God

¹ I have left γηροκομηθην, which scans and is therefore deliberate, without accent; Akakios means γηροκομηθῆναι.

² See e.g. CR, LXII, 1948, p. 10, and remember Basil's dissertation on Classical Reading for Young Churchmen.

³ In view of the contrast implied in v. 15, τύμβοις ἰδίοισι should be so taken, rather than as an early example of the later use of ἴδιος: "the same grave."

⁴ v. 19. Here ἐκέλευσεν-ῇ is also possible, but I think less likely.

himself. For what care I? It is a wicked world I have left." The last two sentences are a quaint echo and adaptation of the tag common in pagan epitaphs: οὐκ ἦμην· ἐγενόμην· οὐκ ἔσομαι· (or οὐκ εἰμί·) οὐ μέλει μοι. "I was not; I came to be; I shall not be" (or "am not"); "I care not."

The epitaph ends with a reference to the Seal of baptism, the passport to Paradise. References to the Sacraments, common in the West, are rare in the Christian inscriptions of Phrygia.¹

"God has the Seal in his keeping for me, (His) child. Mortal as I am, I have found a place on the immortal bosom of Abraham.² I am a servant of God. I dwell in Paradise."

In this epitaph (from the Montanist country) the insistence on a single marriage and the rather self-righteous tone of the prayer in ll. 19-21 might suggest Montanist authorship; but it is safer to treat Akakios as an Orthodox churchman.

The interest of my next epitaph is so unusual that I must warn readers that its Christian character is certain to be challenged, possibly even by scholars familiar with the atmosphere of Phrygian graveyards of the second and third centuries, and the delicate touches that mark the Christian epitaphs off from the pagan. The coy memorials of the age of persecution reach the haven of the Christian *Corpus* after eventful passages; in Heping's mustering of sources for the worship of Attis, Avircius, bishop of Hieropolis, fell in with Roman *Archigalli* and Phrygian *Attabokaoi*, and even Adolf Wilhelm, prince of epigraphists, altered the text of a martyr's memorial from Laodicea Combusta to transform him into a breeder of wild beasts for the Roman arena.³ I confine myself to a recital of facts, and let the reader judge for himself.

2. Çeltikci, near Gediz,⁴ now in the depot at Kutahia (Plate II, *b*) Limestone stele, with tenon, broken above. In *aedicula* between pilasters with criss-cross decoration, standing male figure, facing front, head lost. On his right side, pruning-hook and tablets; on his left side, whip and dog bounding to right and looking backwards to its master. In figure's right hand, rounded object stamped with cross. Behind figure's left hand, end of horizontal bar from which *uva* is suspended by its stem.

[ἔτους] σξδ' μη(νός) Πανήμου [. .]
 [Πό]πλις Σιλίκις Ὀλπιανός
 [ὁ σύ]ντροφος αὐτοῦ κ' Εὐτύ-
 [χης κ'] Ζωτικῆς οἱ γονεῖς αὐ-
 5 [τοῦ κ'] Ἀντίπατρος ὁ ἀδελ-
 [φός] αὐτοῦ Εὐτύχη γλυκυ-
 [τάτῳ] μνήμης χάριν.

¹ See *Philadelphia and Montanism*, p. 33.

² In the gap in v. 23 there is barely room for two letters. Ἀβραάμ, LXX, Gen. 17⁵, is too long. Cf. Ἀβραμῖος κόλποις in *MAMA*, VII, no. 587 = *MAMA*, I, p. XXVI.

³ Text in *MAMA*, I, No. 157. See Wilhelm *Gr. Grabinschriften aus Kleinasien* (1932), p. 37, and my criticism in *Gnomon*, X, 1934, p. 503.

⁴ Mustafa Yesil Bay, Librarian of the Vahid Paşa Library at Kutahia told me he had been schoolmaster at Gediz, and brought the stone to Kutahia.

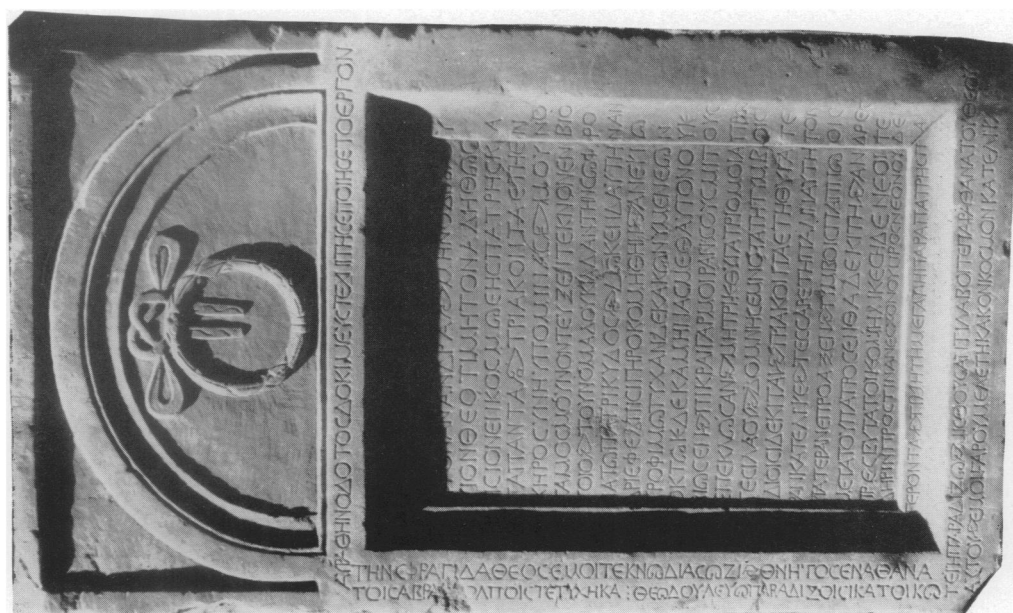
The lettering, not clear on the photograph, is worn, but the impression makes every preserved letter certain ; the restorations follow as a matter of course. In l. 1 two irrecoverable letters were carved on the right, giving the day (later than the 10th) of the month Panemos in the year 588', which by the Sullan era is A.D. 179-180, the last year of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. In this family epitaph, in which the dead Eutyches is honoured by his father, mother and brother, precedence over the blood-relations (a family of Greek or Greco-Phrygian townfolk or agriculturists) is taken by a co-dedicant Publius Silicius Ulpianus, a *civis Romanus*, who is described as " foster-brother " of the dead man. Fosterage was a widespread institution in Roman Asia Minor, and cases in which the foster-father was of lower rank than the foster-child are not uncommon.¹

Had the damage to this tombstone extended a few inches further down, in other words, had the inscription stood alone, it would have taken its place among the mass of second (and third) century epitaphs of " neutral " character, which epigraphists, in the absence of any clue to their religious affinity, list as pagan. But the inscription does not stand alone. In the dead man's right hand (palm to front) is displayed a rounded object marked with a cross ; pressed behind, but not grasped by his left hand (back to front) is the end of a horizontal bar from which a bunch of grapes is suspended by its stem. The bar and the stem, arranged in this pattern necessarily form a *Tau* cross, the earliest form of the Christian symbol. Is the *Tau* cross deliberately portrayed ? But for the evidence of four monuments of the Amorium region, I should hesitate even to ask this question ; these monuments (to be published in *MAMA*, VII, Nos. 277, 279, 297, 298) suggest an affirmative answer. All four amid decoration otherwise " neutral " in character display, two of them a pair of fish, the third and fourth a fish suspended in the same fashion from a horizontal bar ; of the epitaphs three are " neutral ", one, which runs " Paul son of Gaius to himself and to his sweetest wife Kyriake in memory " would, on the evidence of the wife's name, be classed as Christian. Whatever view is taken of the *Tau* above the *uva* in our epitaph, in association with the " fruit of the vine " the rounded object with the cross in the dead man's right hand falls into place as the sacramental Bread, the ἄρτος στρογγυλοειδής (" rounded loaf ") of Epiphanius, *Anc.* 57, the ἄρτος δισκοφανής (" quoit-shaped loaf ") of the Tanagra epitaph which I published in *CR*, LXII 1948, pp. 8 ff.

The round boss, the cross, and the *uva* are all known as elements in pagan decoration. Their grouping here, in association with what can be, and may be the most primitive form of the cross as purely decorative elements in a dead man's hands, would be an extraordinary coincidence. Treated as symbols, their relevance and meaning is plain.

If our monument is Christian it is the earliest dated tombstone in the history of Christianity. It precedes by a full generation the epitaph of

¹ See Cameron in *Anatolian Studies* . . . Buckler, p. 28.



(a) No. 1.



(b) No. 4.



(d) No. 7.



(c) No. 3.



(b) No. 2.



(a) No. 5.

Alexander of Hieropolis (A.D. 216) and the sarcophagus of Prosenes in Rome (A.D. 217).

My next two inscriptions clinch an argument.

3. In the depot at Kutahia, provenance unknown (Plate II; *c*). (Comparison of the decoration—including the Latin cross—with that of *Philadelphia and Montanism* p. 34, No. 11 suggests the upper Tembris valley.) Limestone stele, broken below. H. 0·76; W. 0·54; th. 0·11; letters 0·015. Above, curved acroteria surmounting garland inside which is Latin cross. In the field, flanked by pilasters with vine-and-grape pattern, saw (?), tablets, comb, spindle-and-distaff.

Αὐρ.	κω κ Μικα-
Τατιον	λος πατρι
Φιλομή-	10 +ρηστιαν-
λου τέκν-	οι +ρηστια-
5 ω Μικω κ	νοῖς μνήμης
Ἑρμιόνης	+α-
ἀνδρι Μι-	ριν

In *JRS*, XIV, 1924, pp. 88 ff., I published seven East-Phrygian inscriptions of the late third and fourth centuries in which the X of χάρις (in one case of χάριτας) is represented by a Greek cross. Four of these were identifiable on other grounds as Christian, three were “neutral”; and I suggested that the latter should be listed as Christian. A number of fresh examples of this use of the cross, again with recognisably Christian epitaphs among them, are included in *MAMA*, VII. Our new epitaph shows the same use of the cross by Montanists about A.D. 275, and is the first known example in Phrygia of its insertion into the word for “Christian”. Substitution of the cross for X can now be regarded as a reliable indication of Christianity. See also on No. 4.

As stated above, the normal use of the cross on Orthodox monuments in Phrygia, whether at the top of the monument or at the beginning (and sometimes also the end) of the inscription, is post-Nicene, and hardly occurs before A.D. 350. In *Philadelphia and Montanism*, p. 10, it was pointed out that the Montanists were already using the cross at the head of the monument in the later third century. Our new epitaph is a fresh instance.

4. Haci Beyli Köy, near Eyret; now in Museum at Afyon Karahisar (Plate I, *b*). Coarse marble stele, with tenon. H. 0·64; W. 0·43; th. 0·8; letters 0·01 to 0·015. In aedicula with triangular pediment, male and female busts, with portraits of small boy and baby girl.

On borders of pediment and on lower border of aedicula.

Τελέσφορος καὶ Τειμόλαος Ὀνησί (μον) μω πατρι καὶ Τατει μητρι καὶ Ζενίω καὶ Ἀμιας ἁδελφῶς (*sic*) μνήμης +άρις. τὸν Θεὸν σοί· μὴ ἀδι(σ)κήσεις.

In pediment.

Μενναδρους Δοκιμεὺς ἐπώλησα.

The letter-cutter (from Docimium, like the elegant carver of No. 1) cannot even spell his own name, which is Menandros. The stone is erected by two brothers, Telesphorus and Timolaus to their father and mother,

and a brother and sister who died young. The imprecatory formula τὸν Θεὸν σοί· μὴ ἁδικήσῃς “(I call down) God upon you. Wrong not (the tomb)” has the distinction of being the only Anatolian formula of imprecation used both by Christians and by contemporary pagans in the same area (see *Anatolian Studies* . . . *Buckler*, p. 26 ; on its distribution see *Anderson in SERP*, p. 203). It was characteristic of Northern Phrygia, and was used both by Montanists (*Philadelphia and Montanism*, Nos. 9 and 12) and probably also by Orthodox Christians. Neither it, nor the cross in χάρις (an occasional variant of χάριν) proves this Christian inscription to be either Montanist or Orthodox.

The portraiture is interesting ; remembering the drawing in Ramsay *CB*, p. 736, I recognised it as Christian before Macpherson and I deciphered the inscription. The boy in Ramsay’s drawing (taken by him, mistakenly I think, to be Christ) may well be by the same artist as the boy on our monument. The group has a grace and a tenderness unusual on monuments of this rude type.

Of the two epitaphs which follow the first is unquestionably Orthodox.

5. Cepni Köy, now in the Museum at Afyon Karahisar (Plate II, *a*). Stele with lateral pilasters, broken above. H. 1·19 ; W. 0·56 ; th. 0·7 ; letters 0·015 to 0·02. In the field, on a pedestal, two men and a woman ; above them, wreath with fillets.

Αὐρ. Νανα Μηνοφίλου	ὑπαρχόντων.
κατεσκεύασεν τὸ	ὃς ταύτη τῇ ἰσθήλῃ
μνημῖον τῷ υἱῷ Εὐ-	κακοεργέα χεῖρα
φήμῳ ἐκ τῶν ἀπολει-	προσίοσι, ἔσθῃ αὐτῷ
5 φθέντων ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ	10 πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.

The artist presents a pleasing portrait, not without individuality, of a Christian family of about A.D. 250–275. Erected by Aurelia Nana to her son Euphemus out of the property he left ; the male portrait on the left may be that of her father Menophilus or of her husband (not mentioned). Here the Eumeneian formula has migrated northwards and is combined with a protasis common in metrical curses in Northern Phrygia. With the common form ἔσθῃ for ἔσται compare ἦσιον for αἴσιον in No. 1, v. 3.

6. Kinderaz, near Kadın Han (territory of Laodicea Combusta). Plain limestone slab. H. 0·68 ; W. 0·68 ; th. 0·3 ; letters 0·02 to 0·03. (No illustration.)

[+ Φ]λα. Ἀλέξαν-	τις βαλὶ ξένον
δρος ὡ ΑΛΑΜ[·]	ἢ ἐπαρὶ τὸν λί-
ΡΙΑΚΟC σὺν τῇ	θον τοῦτόν
συνβίου μου	ποτε ἔσχι πρὸ-
5 Θεοσεβίῃ ἐνθα	ς τὸν Θεόν.
κατάκιτε. ε[ι]	

This epitaph dates about A.D. 400–450. In l. 2, after M, there are traces of a vertical bar, suggesting B or Π ; I do not understand this title or description. The imprecation runs : “ If anyone shall ever put in a stranger or lift this stone, he has to deal with God.” The form

ἔσχι is a by-form of ἔχει, probably due to confusion of ἴσχει and ἔσχε; it occurs along the Phrygo-Lycaonian border, e.g. *MAMA*, I, No. 169, VII, No. 96 (ἔσχι). Which reminds me that I have a correction to make in the text of the first inscription I copied in Phrygia, published in *Revue de Philologie*, XXXVI, 1912, p. 68, No. 38 (Iconium, Ramsay and Calder, 1908). A hexameter records the dedication of the stele by Domna to Paul; the apodosis of the imprecation is restored as [π]άσχη π[ρὸς τ]ο[ῦ] ἔρχου[έν]ο[υ] κρίν(ε)ι[ν] ζώντας] καὶ [νεκ]ρούς. It was my first meeting with this formula; and I mistook EI for A. Transcribe (εἰ)σχη πρὸς τὸν ἐρχόμενον . . . “he has to deal with Him who comes to judge the quick and the dead.” The P in [NEK]POYC is converted into a quadruple monogrammatic cross (a Greek cross with a loop on each of its four bars), on which see Sulzberger in *Byzantion*, III, 1926, p. 112.¹

To close this offering of ἀπαρχαί (and my gratitude) to the Institute, I repeat the text of our most surprising find, already published, with a brief note by W. M. Calder and an exhaustive commentary by H. Grégoire in *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres* (Académie royale de Bruxelles), XXXVIII, 1952, pp. 163 ff.

7. Bayam Alan Çiftliği, near Sebaste (now in the Museum at Afyon Karahisar) (Plate II, *d*). Marble slab, broken on l., sides and back rough (suggesting that the stone was built into a wall). H. 0.50; W. 0.47; th. 0.4; letters 0.015 to 0.065.

[Ϝ] ἔνταῦθα κῆται
[ὁ] ἅγιος Παυλῖνος
[μο]ίστης κ(αὶ) κοινωνὸς
[ἔχ]ω[ν] τὴν χάριν

5 [Θ(εο)ῦ] ἔτη πέ'.
[ὁ ἅγ]ιος Τρόφιμος
[μά]ρτυς.

Paulinus was a Montanist archbishop who died aged 85 about A.D. 500, and is associated on his tombstone with St. Trophimus, martyr.

This is the second epigraphical confirmation of Jerome's statement that the Montanists “*habent . . . primos . . . patriarchas, secundos, quos appellant † caenonus, v. l. cenonos †, atque ita in tertium paene ultimum gradum episcopi devolvuntur*”, in other words that the Montanist archbishops were called κοινωνοί. Professor Grégoire has convinced me that in l. 3 my κτίστης must give way to his μοίστης (μύστης); in ll. 4, 5, 6 I have retained my own restorations, and I still prefer to identify St. Trophimus with the Synnadic martyr (claimed by the Montanists as a fellow sectary) than (with G.) to treat him as a victim of la grande Eglise, buried along with Paulinus. In l. 4 G. restores [εὐρῶ]ν, which is one of the aorist participles I had thought of to provide an easier construction, and rejected in terms of my *caveat* that a restoration involving more than three letters here would be “un péché contre la morale épigraphique”. Epigraphists have a responsibility to inexperienced readers; restoration of a broken left edge ought to assume normal alignment, and the spatial limit is fixed by ll. 1, 2, 6 and 7.

¹ The inscription of Dineir published *ibid.*, p. 111, as from my copy was not copied by me. I first recorded inscriptions at Dineir (Apameia) in 1930.

Here I decline *cum Gregorio peccare*, as also in l. 6, where he assumes non-existent room for a monogrammatic cross at the beginning. But these are peccadilloes, and I hasten to refer the curious reader to Professor Grégoire's ingenious and learned commentary.

For the friendly welcome and help we received from the Turkish Department of Antiquities, from Museum Directors (especially Süleyman Gökçe Bay of Afyon Karahisar), from local officials, schoolmasters and village hosts, from the Director of the Institute and Mrs. Seton Lloyd, Macpherson and I record our grateful thanks.

ADDENDUM (p. 26, n. 3).

The MS. of the above article was completed in 1953. The following Eumeneian monument was discovered by Michael Ballance in April, 1954.

Emircik (Ballance and Calder, 1954). Bomos, broken below, with epitaphs on front and on right side. H. 0.59 : w. 0.32 to 0.26 ; th. 0.27 ; letters, front, 0.013 to 0.019 ; pediment, 0.022 to 0.025 ; right side, 0.015 to 0.018. The two inscriptions are by the same engraver, and contemporary.

Front : [ἐ]τους τλα' (μηνός) β' | Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος | Τηίου φ(υλῆς) Ἀπολλων | [ί]δος καὶ Αὐρ. Ζηνω (5) || νῖς ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασαν τὸ ἥρῳ|ον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς | τέκνοις αὐτῶν Ἀμμ|ια καὶ Μεσσαλείνη καὶ (10) || Ζηωνίδι καὶ Ἀλε|ξανδρεία ἡ ἄν ἄτε|κνος ἐξ αὐτῶν τελε[υ]|τήση· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον ἐπε|νέκη πτώμα ἔστα[ι] (15) || [α]ὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θε|ὸν καὶ νῦν καὶ τῷ π|[α]ντί αἰῶνι καὶ μὴ τύ|[χ]υτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ [ἐ] | παναγείας, καὶ ὃς [ἄν] (20) || [κ]ωλύσει αὐτῶν [τεθῆ | ναί τινα τῇ προ|κίμῃ] | [νῆ] αἰρέσι ἐ[νέχοιτο].

Right Side : Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Γαί | ου κατεσκεύασεν τὸ | ἥρῳον τὸ ἀπὸ βορέ|ου ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυ (5) || νεκί αὐτοῦ Αὐρ. Κό|μψη· μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ[ς] | κηδευθῆναι οὐδε|νι ἑτέρω ἐξὸν ἔ(σ)ται θ[ε]ῖ|ναι ἰς αὐτὸ εἰ μὴ τιν(10) || α αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν | ἰς αὐτὸ κηδεῦσα[ι] | τινα μέχρι ζώσιν· με|τὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰ τις ἔτε (15) || ρον ἐπιχείρησει θεῖνα[ι] | ἔσ(ται) αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θε|ὸν καὶ μὴ τύχυτο τ|[ῆς] τ οὗ Θεοῦ ἐπανγ[ε]||λίας

The date (on the pediment) corresponds to A.D. 246, and this is now the earliest dated tombstone displaying the "Eumeneian formula" ; incidentally it shows that expansion of the basic formula by scriptural echoes was not a late development. The burial plot is shared, and the same bomos used for their epitaphs, by two Christian families of normal pagan nomenclature. The epitaph on the front of the bomos records that Aurelios Alexandros of the Apollonid tribe and his wife Aurelia Zenonis built the tomb for themselves and for any of their four daughters who might die childless. The imprecation runs, "And if anyone intrudes another corpse he shall have to reckon with God both now and in all eternity, and may he have no part in God's promise" (cf. Acts 26^e, etc.), "and whoever prevents any of them (i.e. the daughters) from being buried (here) may he be subject to the afore-said disposition." The "disposition" is the curse.

The letter partly preserved at the end of l. 21 is *omicron* or *omega* ; that at the end of l. 22 is *gamma*, *epsilon* or *sigma*. Αἰρεσις cannot be fitted in here ; for αἰρέσ(ε)ι in its testamentary sense, see Moulton-Milligan *s.v.* A Phrygian epitaph, providing for the use of the grave, had testamentary validity ; a copy was usually deposited in the Record Office.

The Apollonid tribe at Eumeneia is here mentioned for the first time ; for the five tribes hitherto known, see *JRS*, xvi, 1926, p. 61, No. 196.

In the other epitaph, Aurelios Zotikos states that he has constructed "the tomb on the north side" for himself and his wife Aurelia Kompse. After their burial no one is to be laid in the tomb except by their wish expressed while alive. "Thereafter, if anyone attempts to bury another, he shall have to reckon with God, and may he have no part in God's promise." The rest is broken away.

W. M. C.