

ALLEN BRENT

Ignatius of Antioch
and the Second Sophistic

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

36

Mohr Siebeck

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Herausgeber/Editor: CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Berlin)

Beirat/Advisory Board

HUBERT CANKIK (Berlin) · GIOVANNI CASADIO (Salerno)

SUSANNA ELM (Berkeley) · JOHANNES HAHN (Münster)

JÖRG RÜPKE (Erfurt)

36



Allen Brent

Ignatius of Antioch and the Second Sophistic

A Study of an Early Christian Transformation
of Pagan Culture

Mohr Siebeck

ALLEN BRENT, born 1940; the major part of his career was spent as Associate Professor in History in the University of North Queensland in Australia; he is at present a supernumary member of the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

978-3-16-158642-2 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

ISBN 3-16-148794-X

ISBN-13 978-3-16-148794-1

ISSN 1436-3003 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

© 2006 by Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Held in Rottenburg.

Printed in Germany.

Caroline Penrose Bammel, F.B.A.
In piam memoriam

Preface

This study arose out of a project funded by a major Grant in aid of Research awarded by the Leverhulme Trust (1998-1999) in the general area of the development of the social and political structures of early Christianity as contra-cultural images that mirrored the development of imperial ideology as a reflection of cosmic order. It was further advanced by a most creative interaction that I was to experience as joint supervisor in the Faculty of Divinity at Cambridge of the Ph.D. thesis of the now Dr. John-Paul Lotz, which I hope is soon to be published in its own right. It was Dr. Lotz who first drew my attention to the significance of the concept of *homonoia* in the Second Sophistic and its significance for the Ignatian Letters.

I continue to be grateful in the development of my work to members of the Faculty of Divinity at Cambridge, in particular to Professors William Horbury and Graham Stanton, and particularly to Drs. James Carleton Paget and Thomas Graumann. Outside Cambridge, in particular I am exceedingly grateful to my former colleague at Exeter, Dr. Alastair Logan, and also to Dr. Alistair Stewart-Sykes, both of whom thoroughly proofread the manuscript but also gave me the benefit of their insightful and sometimes critical observations on my argument. I am particularly grateful to Professor Bert Smith of the Ashmoleum Museum, Oxford, and the Aphrodisias Exploration Fund, for his provision of photographic plates.

Arguments and controversies over historical persons and events that persist over centuries and constantly go over the ground of the same primary material can be awfully tiresome. It has not been my intention to produce a new *Vindiciae* of the genuineness of the Ignatian *corpus* that is simply a rehash of old arguments based on old material. It is my hope that my work will contribute to the study of the Apostolic Fathers in the second century by reaching a solution to the Ignatian question on the basis of the new evidence of the epigraphy of the Roman Empire of the Hellenistic East.

Feast of St. Ignatius of Antioch,
17 October 2005.

Allen Brent
St. Edmund's College
Cambridge

Contents

Abbreviations	xi
Introduction	1
1. Methodological Reflections	5
A. Objectivity: Translation of Separated Human Languages	8
B. Objectivity: Semantic Universals and Family Resemblance	11
C. Historical Research: Anthropology of Language Learning	14
2. The Enigma of Ignatius of Antioch	18
A. Lechner's Solution to the Ignatian Enigma	20
B. Ignatius, Polycarp and Irenaeus: Differing Worlds	23
C. Distortions: <i>Didascalia</i> and <i>Constitutiones Apostolicae</i>	30
D. Τύπος in the world of the second sophistic	38
3. Ignatius' Typology of Church Order	41
A. προκαθημέ νος in Cultic Processions: Gods and Priests	43
B. Τύπος: The Creation of Divine Images	66
C. Ένωσις as the Purpose of προκαθημένος εἰς Τύπον	86
D. Ignatius and Gnosticism's origins in Hellenistic Cults	118
4. Sacred Images and Mystery Processions	121
A. Τύπος and Ένωσις: Hellenistic Deification	124
B. θεοφόρος and σύνοδος	140
C. Ignatius' Martyr Procession: Contemporary Reactions	180
D. Cult Foundation and the Apotropaic Functions of Τύποι	212
5. Ignatius' Response to Roman Imperialism	231
A. Ignatius, όμόνοια and Cult	233
B. όμόνοια the Imperial <i>pax</i>	245
C. όμόνοια, Ambassadors and the συθυσία	257
D. όμόνοια as the Principle of Hellenic and Church Unity	296
E. Ignatius' Cultural and Historical Background	309
6. Ignatius and Polycarp	312
7. Ignatius and the Second Sophistic	319
Plates	327
Bibliography	343

Indices	353
1. Old and New Testament	353
2. Ancient Christian and Jewish Authors	354
3. Ancient Pagan Authors	360
4. Inscriptions	363
5. Important Greek Words	367
6. Modern Authors	373
7. Subjects	375

Abbreviations

<i>AGJU</i>	<i>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums</i> (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
<i>AmJArch</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AmJPhil</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini and W. Haase (Ed.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter 1972–)
<i>AnthGrec</i>	R. Aubreton (Ed.), <i>Anthologie Grecque, Première Partie. Anthologie Palatine</i> . Tom. 1–IX, Ed. P. Waltz et al.; Tom. XI,; Tom. XIII–XV, Ed. F. Buffière, (<i>Collection des Universités de France publié sous le Patronage de l'association Guillaume Budé</i> ; Paris: Société d'édition Les belles Lettres, 1928–1970)
<i>ArcCl</i>	<i>Archeologia classica</i>
<i>Athen</i>	<i>Athenaeum</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AThR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>ATANT</i>	<i>Abhandlungen zur Theologie des alten und neuen Testaments</i>
<i>Aug</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i>
<i>BAG</i>	W. Bauer, <i>Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur</i> , Ed. K. and B. Aland, Auflage 6, (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1988)
<i>BAGD</i>	F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3 rd Edition, (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press. 2000)
<i>BArC</i>	<i>Bollettino di archeologia cristiana</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
<i>BEHE.R</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, Sciences religieuses</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>

<i>BMC</i>	H. Mattingly (Ed.), <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , (London: Trustees of the British Museum 1923–)
<i>BMC Lycaonia</i>	G. F. Hill, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia</i> , (London: British Museum and Longmans Green 1900)
<i>BullCorrHell</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> (Giessen: Töpelmann 1900–)
<i>CCCA</i>	<i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> , (<i>EPRO</i> 50; Leiden: E. J. Brill 1982), Vols I–VII.
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>ClassRev</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>ClassStud</i>	<i>Classical Studies</i> . (Department of Classics of the University of Kyoto)
<i>CIPi</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus des Séances. Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>DACL</i>	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, <i>Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i> , (Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Ané 1924)
<i>DAIRM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: römische Abteilung</i>
<i>EpAnat</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>EphL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Liturgicae</i>
<i>EPRO</i>	M. J. Vermaseren (Ed.), <i>Etudes Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans L'Empire Romain</i> , (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961–)
<i>EThL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>FRLANT</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des alten und neuen Testaments</i> (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1903–)
<i>FZPhTh</i>	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i>
<i>GCS</i>	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte</i>
<i>Greg</i>	<i>Gregorianum</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>Gym</i>	<i>Gymnasium</i>

<i>HA</i>	<i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>Herm</i>	<i>Hermes</i>
<i>Hermath</i>	<i>Hermathena</i>
<i>Hesp</i>	<i>Hesperia</i>
<i>Horsley, New Docs</i>	Ed. G. Horsley, <i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> , (Macquarie University: Ancient History Documentation Research Centre 1983–)
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>Hypomn.</i>	<i>Hypomnemata: Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben</i> , (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1962–)
<i>I.Delos</i>	F. Durrbach (Ed.), <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , (Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: fonds d'épigraphie grecque: fondation du Duc de Loubat; Paris, Honoré Champion 1929)
<i>I.Eph.</i>	H. Wankel (Ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , (Kommission für die archäologische Erforschung Kleinasiens bei der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Österreichisches archäologisches Institut. Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität Köln; Bonn: Habelt 1979–)
<i>I.Kyme</i>	H. Engelmann (Ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> , (Kommission für die archäologische Erforschung Kleinasiens bei der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität Köln; Bonn: Habelt 1976)
<i>I.Laod.</i>	T. Corsten (Ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos</i> , (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Bonn: Habelt 1997)
<i>I.Smyrn.</i>	G. Petzl (Ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> , (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Bonn: Habelt 1982)
<i>ICUR</i>	G. B. De Rossi and A. Silvagni (Ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores</i> , (Rome 1862–; n.s. 1921–)
<i>IG</i>	J. Kirschner (Ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , (Berlin: Rheimarum 1913–; De Gruyter 1924–)
<i>IGRR</i>	R. Cagnat and G. Lafaye et al. (Ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , (Paris: Leroux 1911–)

<i>IGUR</i>	L. Moretti (Ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romanae</i> , (Rome: Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la storia antica 1968–)
<i>ILCV</i>	E. Diehl (Ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , (Berlin: Weidmann 1924–1931)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau (Ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selecta</i> , (Berlin: Weidmann 1962)
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JbNum</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JHells</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archeology</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
<i>JRomS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNT.S</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplementary Series</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>MAMA</i>	W. M. Calder et al. (Ed.), <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> , (London: Longmans, Green 1928–)
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Antiquité</i>
<i>MemAmAc</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>Nollé, Side</i>	J. Nollé, <i>Side im Altertum, Geschichte und Zeignisse</i> , Bd. 1–2, (<i>Inschiften greichischer Städte aus Kleinsasien</i> , Bd. 43 and 44; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Bonn: Habelt 1993 and 2001)
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OECT</i>	H. Chadwick (Ed.), <i>Oxford Early Christian Texts</i> , (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
<i>Öjh</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	Ed. W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , (Hildesheim/ New York: Olms 1970)
<i>PG</i>	P. G., Migne (Ed.), <i>Patrologia Graeca-Latina</i> , (Paris 1857–)
<i>PL</i>	P. G. Migne (Ed), <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , (Paris 1844–)
<i>Phil</i>	<i>Philologus, Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum</i>
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
<i>PTS</i>	<i>Patristische Texte und Studien</i> (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1964–)

PWK	A. Paulys and G. Wissowa, <i>Real-encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , (Stuttgart: Metzler 1899)
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RAr	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RBen	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
RH	<i>Revue historique</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RevÉtAnc	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
RevEtGrec	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RecSciRel	<i>Recherches de sciences religieuses</i>
RelStudRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
RevHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
RIC	C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson (Eds.), <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , (London: Spinks and Son 1918-)
RivAC	<i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i>
Robert, Hellenica	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> , (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient 1948).
Robert, OpMinSel	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta, Épigraphie et Antiquités Grecques</i> , Vols 1-7, (Amsterdam: Hakkert 1969–1990)
Röm. Mitt.	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: römische Abteilung</i> . (Rome: W. Regenbergl)
RPARA	<i>Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia</i>
RPC	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. P. Ripollès, and I. Caradice (Eds.), <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , vols I–II, (London/Paris: British Museum Press/ Bibliothèque Nationale 1992 and 1999)
RPhil	<i>Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
RSLR	<i>Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa</i>
RThAM	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i>
SBAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
SC	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 1944–)
SecCent	<i>The Second Century</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SPAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophische-historische Klasse</i>
StEphAug.	Rome: <i>Studia Ephemeridis «Augustinianum» (Institutum Patristicum «Augustinianum»)</i>
StudClas	<i>Studii clasice. Societatea de Studii Clasice din România</i>

<i>StudPatr</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>Suppl.VCh.</i>	<i>Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae</i> , (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1987–)
<i>Syll.</i> ³	W. Dittenberger (Ed.), <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , volumen tertium, ed. (Hildesheim: Olms 1960)
<i>TAM</i>	E. Kalinka (Ed.), <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris, collecti et editi auspiciis Academiae Litterarum Vindobonensis</i> , (Vienna: A. Hoelder 1901–)
<i>TBA</i>	<i>Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>Theoph</i>	<i>Theophania: Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Verbum Caro: Revue théologique et oecuménique</i>
<i>VCh</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>WMANT</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum alten und neuen Testament</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum neuen Testament</i> (Tübingen: Mohr)
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZPapEpig</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZWTh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Introduction

The 'Second Sophistic,' a term originally coined by Philostratus,¹ has been adopted by modern scholars to describe an extensive historical phenomenon, with implications of the highest importance for our understanding the history of the Greek city states in Asia Minor from the end of the first century after Christ. It describes the emergence, from the time of Domitian onwards (A.D. 81–96), of a developing narrative of Hellenic cultural identity that nevertheless drew together and organised, into a new pattern, themes and concepts scattered throughout the history of Greek civilisation from Athens in 404 B.C. onwards. It is described as a 'sophistic,' in view of the character of the oratory that proclaimed this ideal, whose intellectual antecedents were the Sophists. The latter believed that there was no criterion of truth that could decide between two mutually exclusive, opposing propositions. In consequence, in order to marshal practical support for positive action in favour of one course rather than another, rhetorical persuasion was the only practical way forward. Aelius Aristides (A.D. 117–187), in one famous oration, was to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of sophists over philosophers, and *vice versa*, in a far more judicious and balanced way that was ever found in Socrates or in Plato.

The mark of a cultural identity is not a mysterious essence, but the narratives, empirically examinable from their epigraphical, archaeological, and literary remains, that emanate from social groups and that are characterised by the distinctive kind of language game that they play. Furthermore, such identities are not formed in a context that is a-historical and a-temporal, but in dynamic interaction with other cultural identities, with alternative narratives that express, in their discourses, rival social constructions of reality. Let us note, therefore, what basically was the narrative of Hellenistic culture known as the Second Sophistic, and with what alternative narrative it interacted in developing the specific shape that it did from the end of the first century onwards.

Orators, such as Dio Chrysostom (A.D. 40–120) and Aelius Aristides, to be followed in the course of the third century by biographers of philosophers and sophists such as Philostratus and Diogenes Laertius, were to claim that the Greek city states of Asia Minor formed a common Hellenic Culture, characterised by its contemporary mystery religions, its common history, and autonomous political institutions that were the city-state. That culture was pure and uncontaminated, as Diogenes Laertius claimed, in his *Lives of the*

¹ Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 481.

Philosophers, when he sought to show that philosophy was a wholly Greek institution, with its origins in the Wise Men of Athens and Asia Minor, and that both Plato and Philostratus had been wrong to attribute those origins, respectively, to either Egypt or India. Diogenes, notoriously, excludes any mention of Latin writers such as Lucretius or Seneca from his *Lives*. The city-states, moreover, in practising that civilisation, were autonomous and self-governing, with their citizen assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) passing resolutions and electing or appointing ambassadors to negotiate treaties and other agreements between those cities as equals. The key concept that came to occupy a central point in the discourse of autonomy was that of ὁμόνοια or concord. ὁμόνοια was evocative of a harmony achieved, like that of a choir, through mutual acceptance of an order that one found naturally and rationally worth following, rather than an εἰρήνη or peace imposed coercively against resistant wills that needed to be brought into subjection.

The alternative construction of reality is thus represented in the narrative of Roman imperial power, and imperial claims to have achieved *pax* in nature and society. That power appears to have been felt acutely in the East from the time of Domitian onwards. Symptomatic of that power, and its effect upon Asia Minor, were both Domitian's Edict on the Vineyards, and the riposte of both the *Apocalypse* and the Sibylline Oracle. But, notwithstanding, it would be wrong to characterise the interaction between Hellenic and Roman constructions of reality as that between a dominant and a subject culture, with the latter resisting its downtrodden condition. Such an explanatory model would draw principally on a discredited Marxist materialism that sees all dialectical relations in terms of material repression. Its inadequacy is, at all events, to be increasingly laid bare in the failure of its present applicability to international events, and the understanding of the American and Allied war on terrorism purely in terms of a new imperialism the motivation for which is economic materialism.

Those who owned the narrative of the Second Sophistic certainly did not see themselves as oppressed and culturally alienated peoples. The superiority of Greek institutions, philosophy, and mystery religions were for them self-evident. To many in those societies economic repression may not have been regarded as the principal form of repression, to which any other assertion of freedom or autonomy became a phantasy of superstructural legitimation. The ideal of the Greek city-state was always necessarily frugal, given its goal of achieving a small, self-governing community that could maximise the participation of its citizens in the political process.

Moreover, the imperial power was willing itself to own the construction of reality of those whom it controlled politically but not culturally. Domitian himself celebrated on his coins, not the *pax-εἰρήνη* of his own discourse, but that of ὁμόνοια or concord. He also extended both the ideology and ritual of the Imperial Cult, which itself was Hellenic and not Roman in origin. Hadrian

(A.D. 76–138) himself was not only initiated into the Dionysiac Mysteries (A.D. 124), but also encouraged the formation of a league or *Hellenikon* that promulgated those mysteries as a worldwide cult. Roman ‘imperialism’ – like our own, contemporary American ‘imperialism’ – cannot thus be understood in the framework of concepts used to describe, say, British ‘imperialism’ in India, implying the wholesale repression of a religious culture and its history, and its replacement by that of its conquerors. Both Domitian and Hadrian affirmed the culture of those whom it allegedly ‘repressed,’ and, indeed, made the latter’s narrative part of their own.

The allegedly ‘repressed’ culture itself was in turn to define Roman imperial order within its own terms, and to find Rome making that definition its own. Simon Price has illuminated this process in his view of the Imperial Cult in Asia Minor. According to that view, Rome as an external and alien power, not originally part of the constitution of the city state, was made acceptable to that state by regarding it as an external force that was divine and transcendent.² The Imperial Cult was thus the religious and ritual means of accommodating to the reality of Rome’s power whilst preserving belief in constitutional and political autonomy.

We see in another example a similar process in operation. The ideal of autonomy on the part of the city states meant that rivalry and strife could only be settled through the negotiation between ambassadors of an ὁμόνοια freely arrived at and accepted. But we shall see that the principal examples of such ὁμόνοια treaties are the attempted settlements of rivalries over claimed titles associated with the Neokorate, or the right to be Temple Keeper of the Imperial Cult.

It will be my argument in this book that the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch, as well as Clement’s *Corinthians*, reflect the interaction between certain forms of early Christianity, and various points in the dialogue between Roman power (εἰρήνη) and Hellenic ordered autonomy (ὁμόνοια), with convergence and assimilations of themes on the one hand, combined with an inevitable measure of paradox on the other. Clement, we shall see, mirrors imperial order in his demands that the Corinthian community achieve peace by submission to an authority made lawful for good Stoic reasons, namely that the legitimate order of society reflects the metaphysical harmony of the cosmos. But our main concern will be with Ignatius, who represents an Asian rather than a Roman perspective in seeing εἰρήνη as ὁμόνοια, and the means to a worldwide political unity based upon secure theological principles. His construction of ecclesial order, however, whether within a given Christian community, or between such communities, involved the use of a theology of mystery cult and its ritual, as part of the celebration of social order, the roots of

² S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984).

which were ultimately pagan. It involved also a typology of deity, priesthood, and enacted mystery drama. It involved clerics elected as ambassadors to proclaim a *συνθυσία* or joint sacrifice by means of which unity in *ὁμόνοια* could be achieved between cities and further universalized. As such Ignatius' project parallels Hadrian's strategy with the *Hellenikon*, sharing in his concept of the Catholic Church and the threefold Order an early Christian reflection of the pagan, ritual and sacramental end to such political unity on the basis of a common, Hellenic ideal.

To a detailed analysis of Ignatius of Antioch's attempt at cultural transformation through cultural engagement we now turn.

Chapter One

Methodological Reflections

Language games and forms of life in the Second Sophistic

What are the meanings that the theology of Church Order and human salvation, found in the seven letters of Ignatius of Antioch, had in his social and historical context in the Asia Minor of the second century?

I could of course have phrased this initial question differently, and in a form more amenable to the traditional, historico-critical method of historical research. I could have asked: "What did Ignatius of Antioch himself mean by his theological claims, and how were those claims understood (i) by himself, and, (ii) by various individuals and groups amongst his contemporaries?" At this point, with the use of concrete data that are drawn from his words, and the surviving records of his contemporaries, the researcher could proceed by a process of (or resembling) inductive logic to reach conclusions of what he, as an individual, meant, and how he could not possibly have meant what his contemporaries meant by the words and sentences that he used. Thus the true account of what was actually in the mind of Ignatius, and how that mind operated, is laid bare by induction brought to bear on the raw and unformed data that is fundamental to the historico-critical method.

But to state the question in such a form is to locate it in a discredited epistemology. The concept of an individual mind and its distinct operations was a product of an Enlightenment epistemology, characterised by the work of John Locke, for whom the problem of knowledge is perhaps caricatured, but not unfairly, as: How do I as an individual on a desert island build up a veridical picture of the world, and how do other, individual minds do the same, and then bring together the resultant pictures in order to align them into a common account? How does one individual mind construct a picture that is more veridical than another, and what is the mistake made by the producer of the less veridical picture: for what distracting causes has induction from the individual data failed in his case?

In the second half of the twentieth century the fallacy of that way of setting up the problem, along with its empiricist presuppositions, was well exposed by both the later Wittgenstein, and by proponents of sociology of knowledge.

Wittgenstein was finally to argue that meaning and claims to truth were interpersonal, and presupposed a discourse emanating from a social backcloth. Claims to knowledge and truth were made between persons, and de-

pended on the inter-personal rules of a language game.¹ In a game of soccer, what is a goal, and what is not, depends upon the mutual and interpersonal playing of a game that presupposes the normative character of the off-side rule, implicit in the playing long before written down and codified in books of referee's rules. So too in a language game the cries of the participant players 'true,' 'false' etc. were made on the basis of interpersonal and mutually accepted ground rules on when such claims could be made, and in what contexts. Individuals, in other words, participated in a social discourse as a condition of them being able to express either to others or to themselves any individual meaning or truth about the world or human existence.

In order to have agreement or disagreement in opinion the individual had to achieve a prior agreement, an agreement in a form of life, the most basic form of the process for achieving which was the initiatory learning in childhood of the language or languages of society. His famous example was that I can, if I like, as a revolutionary, decide that henceforth, whenever I hear the sound of ringing, I claim to see the colour blue, or when I see the colour blue, I claim to hear the sound ringing. But my revolutionary program will only have meaning, and any chance of proceeding, if I continue to abide by most other concepts and rules for their application, and leave them more or less unaltered. Only in this way will others know what I mean and be persuaded to act likewise and to change their use of sound and colour words in a new and radical direction. If I ceased my agreement in a form of life, then my individual discourse – what an empiricist would conceive as my individual mind – would collapse into chaos and cease to express anything, whether agreement or disagreement in opinion.

Thus both the phrasing and rephrasing of my original question was misconceived. We cannot confront the mind of Ignatius of Antioch as a brute fact of nature, any more than we can confront those brute facts about the world that the empiricists finally called sense-data, and deduce from either a veridical picture of what they are like.² We need rather to play the language game of both him and his contemporaries in order to see the various moves that both he and others made in order to express agreements and disagreements in opinion, within what we can deduce as those fundamental rules that expressed their agreement in a form of life.

¹ L. Wittgenstein, *On Certainty*, (Oxford: Blackwell 1969), and *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell 1974); P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1967); P. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1973).

² B. Russell, *Problems of Philosophy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1967/1991) exemplifies this approach, with which L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1961) has been identified, but not without serious qualification, see G. E. M. Anscombe, *An Introduction to Wittgenstein's Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, (London: Hutchinson 1967).

The Ignatian *Letters*, I shall argue, are neither alien to the culture of the Greek city-states of Asia Minor in the Second Sophistic, nor are entirely consonant with that culture. We will find in them the language of ὁμόνοια festivals ending rivalry between cities, the summoning of assemblies to elect ambassadors (θεοπρεσβύται), etc. We will also find there such ambassadors described in terms of those who bear divine images (θεοφόροι, ναοφόροι) in procession as part of a ritual of sacrifice. Both the Eucharist in individual churches, and the sacrifice, the ἀντίψυχον, of Ignatius' procession, are both described in terms indicative of such a cultural backcloth. So also with the Ignatian concept of individual churches forming together the world-wide or catholic Church (ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία) we will find parallels with both world wide associations of Dionysiac cults, and the ideal, adopted and used by Hadrian, of an Hellenic Council (Ἑλληνικόν) binding together the Greek cities into a common civilisation.

But of course in Ignatius' procession, whether of the Eucharist or of that for his martyrdom, Christian bishops, presbyters, and deacons do not carry molten or graven images, nor offer neither incense nor animal sacrifices. Thus for him to call his martyrdom a sacrifice in a way that reflects, but does not replace, that of Calvary takes some manipulation of pagan imagery. His purpose, in affirming the identity of Christian communities in terms of a shared, conceptual structure is both like and unlike the assertion of Hellenic identity in the imperial structures of the Roman Power. On the one hand such allusions could mean, in terms of an historico-critical methodology, too tied to its roots in empiricist individualism, that he was either influenced by (or not influenced by) such a background, and that his pagan influence does (or does not) die the death of his many contradictions. I submit, however, that our understanding of how Ignatius' discourse functions (as opposed to his 'mind') will put us in a far better position to understand the relationship between him and pagan Asian Minor in the second century.

We propose understanding Ignatius, like Wittgenstein's moral rebel, as arising within a form of life, and on the basis of its fundamental, constitutive categories arguing, in a way intelligible to his fellow participants, Pagan and Christian, for a shift in their agreement in opinion. We no longer need here the metaphysical notion of a 'collective' as opposed to an 'individual' mind, but of a shared discourse rich with both actual and possible meanings. We shall be claiming therefore that, in order to understand the theology of Order and human salvation in Ignatius, we must establish not only on what he and his contemporaries did actually agree or disagree, but what the logic of that language made it possible for them to agree or disagree on (whether we have evidence for them having actually done so or not). In this way too we shall not be confined by the historico-critical method, not because we wish to write

a historical romance, but because we are proceeding in a disciplined way, licensed by a method that has better epistemological foundations than the naïve empiricism to which the traditional, hypothetico-deductive method was prone.

I appreciate that, in the present academic culture in which post-modernism is a serious contender, my attempt at method rather than hermeneutic will be contentious. It will be clear from what I say that, firstly, I believe that it is possible to reconstruct the historical discourse of Ignatius and his contemporaries, and to lay bare the logic of what he was saying within that discourse and their responses to it. I am further claiming, secondly, that as a historian I am entitled to give an account not of what he and those contemporaries actually concluded but what a historically conditioned discourse logically allowed them to conclude, even though the fragmentary literary and epigraphic data, whilst demonstrating that logic, does not present empirical evidence that such conclusions were in fact reached. I appreciate that these two claims are contested so that I need now to sketch my reply to possible objections to both of them.

A. Objectivity: Translation of Separated Human Languages

In reply to my claim to historical objectivity, post-modernists would, I appreciate, object that my claim to recover the past in the form of any historical discourse is doomed to failure. The objectivity of the process is an illusion. What Ignatius and his contemporaries meant when speaking to one another is irretrievably lost: all that any account can give is what their marks on paper mean to us in our twenty-first century discourse, which they would have found as unintelligible as our discourse would be to them.

In response I contend that post-modernism, like the sociology of knowledge that preceded it, is a critique of empiricist historical methodologies but not a substitute for them. I am reminded by such claims of the logician Willard Quine's theory of the indeterminability of translation, and replies to it in terms of Wittgenstein's theory of language games and family-resemblance.

Quine held that it was logically possible for there to be two languages that were totally incomprehensible to each other's speakers, even though the speaker of one thought that he had succeeded in translating the language of the other. His famous example was of an anthropologist learning a tribal language from its apparent behavioural characteristics and seeking to translate the object of a particular linguistic reference (or 'stimulus meaning'), such as 'gavagai,' by the word 'rabbit':

Consider 'gavagai'. Who knows but what the object to which this term applies are not rabbits after all, but mere stages, or brief temporal segments, of rabbits? In either event the stimulus situations that prompt assent to 'gavagai' would be the same as for 'rabbit.' Or perhaps the objects to which 'gavagai' applies are all and sundry detached parts of rabbits; again the

stimulus meaning would register no difference. When from sameness of stimulus meanings of 'gavagai' and 'rabbit' the linguist leaps to the conclusion that a gavagai is a whole enduring rabbit, he is just taking for granted that the native is enough like us to have a brief general term for rabbits and no brief general term for rabbit stages or parts.³

When the speaker of the first language saw a rabbit and referred to gavagai as "enduring rabbit stages," the speaker of the other translated "rabbit" in the different sense of whole rabbit and so on. Each believed they knew what each other meant, but both inhabited universes of discourse completely incomprehensible to the other. It seems here that we have a form of scepticism applicable also to the possibility of recovering past discourses separated in time that is identical with that of Quine's spatial and linguistic separation. The latter's scepticism was about understanding the meaning of contemporary discourses separated by geographical or cultural space, whereas the post modernist is sceptical about recovering the meaning of a discourse separated from our own in time.

The fallacy of Quine's argument lies in the character of human languages, and their general concepts characterised by the quality of what Wittgenstein described as 'family-resemblance.' Quine speaks as though any concept, such as a "rabbit," ought to be defined exhaustively in any human language, and thus distinguished from any non-rabbit. Unfortunately, due to the ambiguity of a verbal stimulus that results in an imprecise response, ordinary languages are communicatively weak. Since one such exhaustive definition in one language does not correspond to an exhaustive definition in another, there can be no necessary possibility of translation: when translation takes place it is because of purely accidental and contingent conceptual overlaps. But concepts in natural human languages are not such exhaustively defined, closed categories.

The implication is that languages ought to function in order to be clear by achieving exhaustively defined and therefore closed classes of general terms. But if a term is exhaustively defined, then clearly no new particular can be included within that class otherwise the definition would not be exhaustive. Empiricism fed upon such a notion, whose model would be the artificial language of part of a scientific description in which formulae are used, such as H₂O, as an exhaustive definition of the more vague 'water,' defining it as pure, and as containing two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen. Quine's behaviourism therefore led him to his thesis that natural languages were communicatively weak because indeterminate stimuli produced indeterminate responses. The result was that he produced his theory of indeterminacy of translation that meant that natural languages were not guaranteed to be translatable in terms of each other.

³ W. van O. Quine, *Word and Object* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1960), p. 51–52.

But Yudkin pointed out that the absence of open-class concepts in natural languages was not their weakness but their communicative strength: without this feature they would be restricted and limited in their ability to represent both human experience and extend human discourse. She charged Quine in his example with attributing to the tribe “a passion for exactness that only someone familiar with the metaphysical hair-splitting in our own language could manifest.” She then quoted Leach’s contra example of asking whether the sketch of a car upon a blackboard is a Ford or a Cadillac. Leach compared this with someone putting a question like: “Do ants have legs?” to a Kachin who, while killing a pig, says, “I am giving it to the ants.” It is arguable that it is the vagueness (or imprecision) of a special kind exhibited by the sketch of the car or a Kachin’s concept of an ant that constitutes their communicative strength.⁴

This special kind of imprecision enables communication to go on without commitment to any distinct picture, presuppositions, or discovery which one side may have but the other not about what the terms imply. It is this special kind of imprecision that allows new discoveries to be incorporated into existing schemes (or open-classes), and prevents one form of discourse being able to insulate and separate itself from another. It is this open-class character of natural languages that enables both cross-cultural and trans-historical understanding about linguistic rules, and excludes the problems that Quine has about radical translation.

Ignatius is thus able to communicate to us his meaning in terms of how concepts could in one way apply, but in another way not, through the open ended character of the fundamental concepts that he uses. It could still make sense, for example, to talk of bearing images in procession even when those images were human and not in plastic form. His ability to do so is dependent on the concepts of *τύποι* and *θεοφόροι* being sufficiently open-ended to enable new incorporations to be included in known schemes.

But what of the second objection aimed at our right to reconstruct from haphazard and fragmentary remains of epigraphs and other artefacts the fuller discourse that they presupposed? A post-modernist approach to the reading of such texts believes that any objective historical reconstruction is impossible, and based on the fantasy that we can recover the historical past free from the restrictions of time and place in our contemporary world: our ‘objective’ historical accounts are merely another subjective language game generated by the twenty-first century constructed of reality that we inhabit. On what basis can Wittgenstein offer us the assurance that we can in principle understand them and not simply give the product of our own, twenty-first century hermeneutic applied to their words?

⁴ M. Yudkin, On Quine’s contrempts of translation, in *Mind* 88 (1979), p. 93–96.

Indices

1. Old and New Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		<i>John</i>	
2:9	242	1:1	96, 97
31:32	73	3:8	25, 205
<i>Exodus</i>		6: 16–21	98
19.	31	6:26–59	25
25:40	68, 93	6:32	25
25:40	68	8:14	25
<i>Numbers</i>		9:39	67
18	31	12:13	67
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		12:31	241
28:22	64	13:4	97
<i>Isaiah</i>		14:30	241
40:19–20 (LXX)	74	16:1	241
<i>Amos</i>		19:7–9	25
5:26 (LXX)	68, 74, 88	20	77
<i>II Maccabees</i>		20:17	21
12:40	154	20:22	27
<i>III Maccabees</i>		20:22–23	138
3:30	68	20:27	21
<i>IV Maccabees</i>		21:22	27
6:19	68, 89	<i>Acts</i>	
6:29	124	1:15	214, 251
17:21	124	2:1	214, 251
<i>Matthew</i>		2:44	214, 251
14:22–24	98	2:47	214
14:25–31	98	6:5	239
14:49	98	7:43	68, 87
26:6–13	138	7:44	68, 74
28:19–20	36	8:9–11	110
<i>Mark</i>		8: 20–23	110
6:45–52	98	23:25	68
9:50	220	24:4	251
<i>Luke</i>		24:25	251
17:35	251	26:25	251
		<i>Romans</i>	
		5:14	68
		5:15	89
		6:17	68, 89
		12:18	220

<i>I Corinthians</i>		4:14	28
10: 6	92	5:3–16	24
10:6–11	68	5:17	24
10:7–10	92	5:19	24
11:20	251	6:16	97
14:23	251		
<i>II Corinthians</i>		<i>II Timothy</i>	
10:1	251	1:6	28
13.11	220	<i>Titus</i>	
<i>Galatians</i>		1:5	24
5:23	251	1:6	28
		2:7	68
<i>Philippians</i>		<i>Hebrews</i>	
1:1	24	8:5	68, 87, 93
3:17	68	9:24	81
<i>Ephesians</i>		<i>I Peter</i>	
5:1–2	124	5:1	24
		5:3	68
<i>I Thessalonians</i>		<i>II Peter</i>	
1:7	68	1:6	251
5:13	220	<i>I John</i>	
5:23	308	2:18–19	98
<i>II Thessalonians</i>		2:26	98
3:9	68	4:1	98
<i>I Timothy</i>		4:2-3	318
1:4	97	<i>II John</i>	
2:5	97	7	98, 318
2:9	251	<i>Apocalypse</i>	
2:15	251	21:24	91
3:8 and 12	24	22:1–2	26
3:16	97		
4:7	97		
4:12	68		

2. Ancient Christian and Jewish Authors

Barnabas		13.5	68
<i>Epistula</i>		14.5	241
2.10	241	19.12	220
4.1	241	<i>Constitutiones Apostolorum</i>	
5	316	II.25.5 (27–28)	32
5.8	316	II.25.7 (39–41)	32
7.3	68	II.26.3 (20–21)	32
7.11	68	II.26.4 (35–36)	34
12.2–10	68	II.26.4.6 (40–41)	35
12.10	241	II.26.4–6 (35–41)	31

II.26.5 (37–38).	35	Pseudo-Clement	
II.26.7 (47–48)	36	<i>II Epistula ad Corinthios</i>	
II.26.7 (48–53)	36	1.7	241
II.26.8 (53–54)	37	13.3	241
II.26.8 (54–55)	37		
II.28.4 (10–13)	31, 36	<i>Didache</i>	
Clement of Alexandria		4.3	220
<i>Excerpta de Theodoto</i>		4.11	68
32.1	101	14.3	27
33.3	67	<i>Didascalialia</i> (Connolly)	
36.1	100	p. 80.19–21	32
36.1–2	100	p. 86.24–p. 88.1	35
63.2–64	100, 101	p. 87–89	32
63.2	100	p. 87–91	31
85.1	67	p. 87.14	32
Clement of Rome		p. 87.19–p. 89.1	34
<i>Epistula ad Corinthios</i>		p. 88.2	35
1.1	270	p. 89.1–2	35
3.4	270	p. 89.2–3	36
9.4	251	p. 89.3–4	36
11.2	251	p. 89.4–5	37
15.1	220	p. 91.3–9	32, 36
20.1–3	244	<i>Didascalialia</i> (Syriac: Connolly)	
20.1 and 3	252	p. 86.24–p. 88.1	35
20.10–11	252	p. 88.2	35
21.1	251, 254	p. 88.3–4	36
21.3	254	p. 88.4–5	36
30.3	251	<i>Diognetus, epistula ad</i>	
34.7	251	8.4	242
37.1–5	253	10.7	242
37.5	254	12.3 and 8	242
40.5	175	Epiphanius of Salamis	
42.1–2	175	<i>Panarion Haereticorum</i>	
42.4–5	24	31.5	47
44.2	220	34.1	106
44.5	24	34.2–20	111
47.6	24, 175	Eusebius of Caesarea	
49.5.	251	<i>Chronicon</i>	
50.5.	251	CXXXI Olymp.	25
54.2	175, 239	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
57.1	175	III.22,	25
60.4	252	III.36.12	18
61.1.	253	III.36.13–15	316
62.2	251	III.36.14–15	22
63.2–4	270		
63.4	220		
65.1.	270		

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|-----------------------------|---|
| IV.11.4 | 106 | VI.55.2 | 105 |
| IV.14.3–8 | 19 | VII.28.1 | 106 |
| V.24.14 and 16 | 220 | | |
| X.5. | 186 | Ignatius of Antioch | |
| Eusebius (Hegesippus) | | <i>Epistula ad Ephesios</i> | |
| <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> | | <i>Praef.</i> | 47, 48, 181, 304 |
| III.20.6 | 219 | 1.1 | 46, 50, 127, 137, 161,
165, 176, 199, 223,
226, 296, 305, 322 |
| VIII.4.4 | 219 | 1.1–2. | 122 |
| Eusebius (Irenaeus <i>Ad Florinum</i>) | | 1.2 | 138, 191, 304, 305,
307, 311 |
| <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> | | 1.3 | 90, 143, 178, 213,
239, 266 |
| V.20 | 19 | 2.1 | 223, 225, 293 |
| <i>Gospel of Philip, NHC 2</i> | | 2.2 | 30, 184, 254 |
| 77.35–78.12. | 27 | 3.2 | 130, 184, 306, 323 |
| <i>Gospel of Truth, NHC 1</i> | | 3.3 | 145 |
| 33.9–34.34 | 27 | 4.1 | 30, 145, 299, 305,
306 |
| Hermas Pastor | | 4.1–2 | 130, 239, 254, 255 |
| <i>Mandata</i> | | 4.2 | 137, 154, 302, 304,
306 |
| 27(II).3 | 220 | 5.1 | 91, 213, 266, 304 |
| <i>Similitudines</i> | | 5.2 | 176 |
| 51(II).2 | 67, 68 | 5.3 | 184, 251 |
| 73(VIII.7).2 | 220 | 6.1 | 135 |
| <i>Visiones</i> | | 6.2 | 250, 287 |
| 8(II.4)2–3 | 175 | 7.2 | 97, 201, 203 |
| 13(III.5).1 | 175 | 8.1 | 48, 222, 240 |
| 14(III.6).3 | 220 | 9.2 | 50, 59, 62, 74, 76,
114, 130, 136, 140,
143, 152, 215, 323 |
| 14(III.9).2 | 220 | 10 | 184 |
| 19(III.11).4 | 68 | 10.1 | 201, 241 |
| 20(III.12).3 | 220 | 10.2 | 227 |
| 22(IV.1).1 | 68 | 10.3 | 62 |
| 23(IV.2).5 | 68 | 12.1–2 | 62 |
| 24(IV.3).6 | 68 | 12.2 | 123, 127, 130, 143,
178, 214, 218, 304 |
| Pseudo Hippolytus of Rome | | 13 | 184, 213 |
| <i>Refutatio Omnium Haeresium</i> | | 13.1 | 214, 218, 244, 251,
255, 303 |
| V. | 106 | 13.2. | 227, 254 |
| VI.7.1 | 106, 110, 111 | 17.1 | 27, 77, 126, 138,
241 |
| VI.7–20. | 106 | 18.2 | 99, 116, 153 |
| VI.20.1 | 68, 111 | 19.1 | 19, 205, 241 |
| VI.20.1–2 | 112 | 19.2 | 109, 228, 241 |
| VI.20.2 | 112 | 19.2–3 | 240 |
| VI.35.5–7. | 105 | | |
| VI.39.1. | 105, 106 | | |
| VI.40.1–2 | 110 | | |
| VI.42.2 | 107 | | |

19.3	230	3.1	25, 31, 38, 41, 43,
20.1	42		54, 196, 300
20.2	89, 180, 201, 303,	4.1	18
	307	4.2	241
21.1	42, 124, 139, 184,	5.1–2	206
	222, 226	5.2	50, 191
21.2	304, 307	6.1	154, 184
		6.2	18, 89, 180, 202
		7.2	136
<i>Epistula ad Magnesios</i>		8.2	127, 173, 174, 202,
<i>Praef.</i>	48		205, 239
1.1.	203, 268	9.1	203
1.2	90, 97, 128, 138, 201,	9.1–2	182
	204, 230, 241, 269,	9.1–10.1	313
	305	11.2	304
2	49, 66, 177, 184	12.1	179, 223, 307
2.1	177, 267	12.1–2	224, 307
3.2	90, 97, 243	12.2	137, 139, 255, 275,
5.1–2	203		293
6.1	26, 28, 38, 39, 41,	12.2–3	304
	137, 166, 177,	13.2	184, 304
	184, 213, 237, 239,	13.3	139, 304
	241, 255, 267, 306		
6.1–2	43	<i>Ad Romanos</i>	
6.2	38, 41, 66, 89, 127,	<i>Praef.</i> ,	43–45, 47–49, 181,
	136, 304		304
7.1	29, 98, 126, 251	1.1	49
7.2	28, 97, 100, 130, 136,	1.1–2	139
	145, 176, 323	1.2	139, 304
8.2	22, 97, 109	2.1	139
9.1	194	2.2	45, 50, 124, 126, 127,
10.1	195, 197, 306, 323		139, 166, 180, 184,
10.1 and 3	323		222, 293
10.3	195, 306, 323	3.3	47, 243, 306, 323
13.1.	27, 32, 77, 126, 138,	4.1	18, 46, 47, 123, 139,
	155, 173, 174, 203		175, 304
13.2	89, 184, 229, 304	4.2	123, 175, 176,
14	304		191, 222
14.1	139, 293	5.3	53, 139, 191, 304
15	293	6.1	45, 153, 166, 241
15.1	225, 308	6.3	128, 140, 178, 304,
			323
<i>Ad Trallianos</i>		7.1	115, 241
<i>Praef.</i>	49, 181, 255	7.2	18, 115
1.1	198, 224, 239, 255,	7.3	25, 115
	266, 276, 280	8.3	123, 139, 175
1.1–2	214	9.1	64, 90, 188
1.1–3	25	9.2	139, 303–305
1.2.	176, 266, 276, 322	9.3	114, 179, 275
2.1–2	184	10.1	48
2.2–3	177	10.1–2	180
2.3.	136		

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|--|
| 10.2 | 225, 275, 303 | 9.2. | 293 |
| 10.3 | 293 | 10.1 | 223, 293 |
| <i>Ad Philadelphios</i> | | 10.1–11.3 | 218 |
| <i>Praef.</i> | 238, 307 | 10.2 | 42, 124, 139, 184,
221 |
| 1.1. | 304, 305 | 11.1 | 128, 137, 139, 182,
201, 221, 222, 304 |
| 1.1–2. | 135 | 11.2 | 47, 184, 186, 203,
207, 223, 228, 255,
269 |
| 2.1 | 277 | 11, 2–3 | 50, 179, 219 |
| 2.2 | 179, 184, 207,
274, 304, 305, 307 | 12.1 | 177, 225 |
| 3.1. | 154, 226 | 12.1–2 | 129 |
| 3.2 | 277, 304 | 12.2 | 49, 128, 129, 173,
201, 293 |
| 4 | 176, 304 | <i>Ad Polycarpum</i> | |
| 4.1 | 122, 136 | <i>Praef.</i> | 24 |
| 5.1 | 25, 43, 139 | 1.1 | 267, 277 |
| 5.2. | 304 | 1.1–2 | 267 |
| 6.1 | 194, 196, 306 | 1.2 | 227, 304 |
| 6.2 | 241 | 1.3 | 202 |
| 7 | 184 | 2 | 218 |
| 7.1 | 25, 168, 205–207 | 2.1. | 202 |
| 7.1–2 | 277 | 2.3 | 42, 124, 139, 184,
222, 304 |
| 7.2 | 176, 226, 255, 304,
323 | 4.2 | 196 |
| 8.1 | 174, 227, 245, 255,
277, 305 | 6 | 218 |
| 9.1. | 25, 206 | 6.1 | 116, 184, 222, 267,
323 |
| 10.1 | 207, 218, 219, 251,
255, 269, 276 | 6.2 | 116 |
| 10.2 | 114, 138, 179, 314 | 7.1 | 139, 191, 201,
228, 255, 276, 304
257, 308 |
| 11.1 (L) | 241 | 7.2 | 128, 173, 179, 184,
201, 207, 274 |
| 11.2. | 304, 308 | 8.1 | 50, 179 |
| <i>Ad Smyrnaeos</i> | | 8.3 | 304 |
| <i>Praef</i> | 130, 181, 201, 255,
304 | Irenaeus of Lyons | |
| 1.1 | 97, 99, 116, 241,
266 | <i>Adversus Haereses</i> | |
| 1.1–2 | 203 | <i>Praef.</i> 1.44 | 106 |
| 2.1. | 137 | 1.1–11.4 | 106 |
| 3.1. | 174 | 1.1–12 | 107 |
| 3.1–3 | 21, 90 | 1.1.23–31 | 106, 107 |
| 3.2 | 90, 100, 178 | 1.2.2 | 47 |
| 3.2–3. | 28 | 1.2.39 | 96 |
| 3.3. | 90 | 1.8.2 | 95 |
| 4.2. | 137 | 1.8.5 | 97 |
| 7.1–2 | 154 | 1.11.1 | 99 |
| 7.2 | 277, 307 | | |
| 8.1 | 30 | | |
| 8.2 | 116, 143, 196, 213,
239, 301, 305, 306,
323 | | |

I.11.2	96	V.28.4	18
I.11.3-4	96	V.35.2	92
I.13.1	106		
I.13.2	110	Josephus	
I.13.2-6	47	<i>Antiquitates</i>	
I.13.2	110	1.310-311(19.8)	73
I.13-16.2	107	1.322(19.10)	73
I.14.4	47	14.439-447	125
I.15.1.14	97	15.329(9.5)	74
I.15.6	110	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>	
I.16.3-20.3	108	1.321-322	125
I.16.21-22	108	3.420(9.3)	73
I.18.4	96		
I.21.1-8	104	Justin Martyr	
I.21.3	102	<i>Apologia</i>	
I.21.4.11-14	118	1.26	111
I.21.4.2-5	117	65. 3-5	62
I.21.5.15-16	117	67.4-6	62
I.21.7	111	<i>Dialogus</i>	
I.23-31	107	41	27
I.23.1	110, 111	42.4	68
I.23.1.1-16	112	90.2	68
I.23.1.4-8	113	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>	
I.23.2.6-7	112, 115	11.15	27
I.23.2.8-10	112	Origen	
I.23.2.8-18	113	<i>In Cantum Canticorum Homilia</i>	
I.23.2.10-11	110	<i>Prolog. 2.36 (71-72)</i> 18	
I.23.2.12-13	112	<i>In Lucam Homilia</i>	
I.23.2.14-19	112	VI.4	19
I.23.3.1-11	113	<i>De Principiis</i>	
I.23.3.2	115	III.6.8 (249-264),=	92
I.23.3.5-7	116	Philo of Alexandria	
I.23.4.4-8	111	<i>De Opificio Mundi</i>	
I.23.5.4-14	117	4 (18)	83
I.29-30	108	5 (20)	83
II. <i>Praef.</i> 1-9	107	23 (71)	84
II.17.4	96	51 (145)	84
II.18.7	96	56 (157)	84
III.3.2.15-19	26	<i>Legum Allegoria</i>	
III.3.4	19, 314	III 102-103	93
III.12.13	96		
III.17.2	95		
III.23.4.10-12	68		
IV.14.3	19, 92, 93		
IV.19.1	92, 94		

<i>Questiones et Solutiones in Exodum</i>		6.11	24
II.82	93	7.1.	318
		9	316
Polycarp of Smyrna		9.1	20, 31, 315
<i>Ad Philippenses</i>		13	22, 314, 316
<i>Praef.</i> ,	24, 115, 181	13.1–2	20
1.1	20, 115, 180, 181,	13.2	316
	313	13.7	313
2.1	241		
3.3	305	Tertullian	
4.3	24	<i>Adv. Valentinum</i>	
5.2–3	24	4	107
6.1	24		

3. Ancient Pagan Authors

Aelius Aristides		XIII.367.5–6	75
<i>Orationes</i>		Appian	
22.8–10	232	<i>Bellum Civile</i>	
23.6–7	297	2.49	125
23.8	297	<i>Mithridatica</i>	
23.53–55	254	106	125
23.10	297	Apuleius	
24.2.3.	235	<i>Apologia</i>	
24.9.	235	53	211
24.12–13	235	63	211
24.23–24.	235	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	
41.1–2	59	11.8	150
45	232	11.10	145
47	232	Aristophanes	
Aeschylus		<i>Aves</i>	
<i>Septem contra Thebas</i>		1109–1110	71
271–272	63	Artemidorus Daldianus	
Annaeus Cornutus		<i>Onirocriticus</i>	
<i>Theologiae Graecae compendium</i>		II.56,	212
6	169	Athenaeus Naucratis	
<i>Anthologie Grecque</i>		<i>Deipnosophistae</i>	
X (XI).176	64	IV.148.b–c.	151
XIII.350.7–8	71		
XIII.362.1–2	75		
XIII.366.1–2	75		
XIII.366–367	75		
XIII.367.1–2	75		

Caesar		XI.89.8	127
<i>Bellum Civile</i>		XVI.92.5	129, 130, 145
III.4.5	125	XVI.95.1	129
		XVII.110.5	127
Cassius Dio		Dionysius of Halicarnassus	
<i>Historia Romana</i>		<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>	
XXXVI.2.5	125	II.19.4	168
XLIX.20.3–5	125		
XLIX.22.1–2	125, 299	Euripides	
Cicero		<i>Hysipyle</i>	
<i>Ad Familiares</i>		<i>Frag.</i> 764	71
7.2(9.7)	64	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>	
VIII.4.6	217	421	223
<i>De Natura Deorum</i>		<i>Troiades</i>	
1	227	1071–1076	131
<i>In Pisonem</i>		Herodian	
36.89	217	<i>Ab Excessu Divi Marci</i>	
Demosthenes		V.5.6–7	210
<i>Contra Androtion</i>		Herodotus	
42(55)	66	<i>Historiae</i>	
<i>Contra Phaenippum</i>		2.86	82
42(25)	223	3.88	82
<i>De Corona</i>		4.76	169
18	59, 190	Hesiod	
Dio Chrysostom		<i>Opera</i>	
<i>Orationes</i>		608	225
33.4	50	Homer	
33.6	50	<i>Odyssea</i>	
35.14	45	4.568	223
36.21	238	Isocrates	
36.22	239	<i>Evagoras</i>	
36.23	240	74 (9.204)	72
36.31	243	75 (9.204)	72
36.31–32	243	<i>De Pace</i>	
39.8	249	(8).20	223
39.2	235	<i>Panegyricus</i>	
39.4	50, 235	150 (4.72)	72
Diodorus Siculus		John Malalas	
<i>Bibliotheca Historica</i>		<i>Chronographia</i>	
III.69.2–3	128	XI.276.9	217
IV.84.2	128		
V.51.2	147		
XI.89.5	127		

Justinianus		Nonnus	
<i>Codex</i>		<i>Dionysiaca</i>	
VI.48	187	4	79
XI.8.16	187	4.71	79
<i>Digesta</i>		4.102–104	79
XLVIII.19.31	217	19.198–206	134
Livy		19.224–227	134
<i>Ab Urbe Condita</i>		48.584–587	83
XXXI.24	275	Pausanias	
XXXIX.13–18	216	<i>Graeciae Descriptio</i>	
Lucan		III.6.4	279
<i>Pharsalia</i>		VI.16.5	275
1.637	216	Philodemus	
Lucian of Samosata		<i>Rhetorica</i>	
<i>Alexander</i>		1.23.20–24	57
3	201	Philostratus	
5	201	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	
6	202	V.20	207
6–8	202	<i>Vita Sophistarum</i>	
10	202	481	1
11	204	515	264
12	204	520	264
13	205	531	237
18	206	530–531	264
22	202	539–540	247
37	207	Plato	
38	207	<i>Philebus</i>	
38–40	207	39c	82
<i>Demonax</i>		Pliny	
11	232	<i>Epistula</i>	
<i>Dialogi Mortuorum</i>		10.96	216
11 (16).1 (402)	82	Plotinus	
<i>Juppiter Tradoedus</i>		<i>Enneades</i>	
28	203	1.2.4.20	85
<i>Peregrinus Proteus</i>		II.9.12.5–10	85
3	185	II.9.12.23	85
6.	185	IV.4.2.24–25	86
10	185	V.3.2.10	85
11	185	V.9.5.20–24	85
11	41		
41	184		

Plutarch		VI.45.5–10	235
<i>Antonius</i>		IX.35.6	67
34	125	XXI.37.5–6	168
61	125	Strabo	
<i>Moralia</i>		<i>Geographica</i>	
187 B	67	IX.1.12	232
<i>Numa</i>		XI.14.15	125
10 (67).7	59	XIV.3.3	303
<i>Pericles</i>		Suetonius	
13.4	232	<i>Domitian</i>	
<i>Quaestiones Graecae</i>		4.4	159
36.299 B	146	Tacitus	
<i>Romulus</i>		<i>Annales</i>	
XIII.24	187	15.44	215
XIII.24.5	187	Xenophon	
<i>Sulla</i>		<i>Oeconomicus</i>	
29.6	211	9.6.	67
Polybius			
<i>Historiae</i>			
III.48.11	57		

4. Inscriptions

<i>Bull. Epigr.</i> (1977)		Ehrenberg and Jones	
p. 420	61	no. 99	272
p. 420	176	Horsley, <i>New Docs</i> ,	
<i>CIG</i>		4 (1987) p. 40 no. 12	80
2221	77	<i>I.Eph.</i>	
2963	60	Ia. 21.1–4.	246
2963 c.7–11	144	II.453	71
2967	70	V.1489.8–10	247
3108.7–8	55	V.1489.10–12	247
3177.9–10	141	V.1489.11–12	247
3642	173	V.1489.A.7–9	247
3953d	60	V.1489A 8–9	247
<i>CIL</i>		VI.2026.16	262
II.172	159	VII.1.3252.4–11	52
II.1963	159	<i>I. Kyme</i>	
VI.504	148	37.4–6	60
VI.2233	161		
VI.31128	171		

<i>ILS</i>		III.796.1-6	249
510	148	III.796.12-13	249
1264	148	III.797.1-2	55
1675	148	III.879,	171
4152	148	III.880	171
4153	148	IV.353	155
5432	165	IV.353.A.32	155
		IV.353.A.4-5a	155
<i>I. Sardis</i>		IV.353.A.5b.	155
VII.1.8.12-14	272	IV.353.B.15-16	156
		IV.353.C.10-11	155
<i>I. Smyrn.</i>		IV.386.1-6	149
II.1.622.5-8	61	IV.661.22-23	63
II.1.655.1-2	61	IV.1207	48
II.1.727.3-4	61	IV.1399.8	141
II.1.729-730	61	IV.1400.9-10	141
		IV.1756	259, 272
<i>IG</i>		IV.1756 I.10-23	272
I.2.10	65		
I.3.14	65	<i>IGUR</i>	
II-III.2.1538	146	1.80	171
III.1.1102	76	67	70
III.2.1330.2-5	75	129.4-6	190
IV.495	146	143	141
IV.679	226	160	146-148
IV.917	154	160.IA.1	147
V.2.269	140	160.IA.2	147
V.2.270	140	160.IA.5-15	146
VI.3492	146	160.IA.6-12	147
VII.553	226	160.IA.13-15	147
VII.689	226	160.IA.16-17	146, 147
VII.1790	226	160.IA.18-20	147
VII.2463	226	160.IA.24-27	148
XI (2).161.b.16	167	160.IA.28-31	148
XII.1.50	65	160.IA.32-40	148
XII.1.157.5-6	226	160.IB.5-7	148
XII.1.731.5-11	65	160.IB.8-10	148
XII.3.522	61	160.IB.11-14	148
XII.7.50.3-4	49	160.IB.15-16	149
XII.9.1179.33	64	160.IB.17-19	149
XIV.1107	141	160.IB.20-21	149
XIV.1607	80	160.IB.22-23	149
XIV.2171	80	160.IB.24-28	149
		160.IB.29-40	149
<i>IGRR</i>		160.IC.3-55	150
I.368	136	160.ID.3-40	150
III.89.9-15	55	160.IIA.1-17	150
III.115	190	160.IIA.18-22	150
III.209	142, 300	160.IIA.23-57	150
III.583.1-7	59	160.IIB.1-46	150
III.584.9-10	59		

160.IIC.1–45	150	514.3–4	46
160.IIIA.1–59	150	514.5–6	47
160.IIIB.1–27	150	516	263
160.IIIB.28–30	151	529.5	190
160.IIIB.31.45	151	549.6	46
160.IIIC.1–33	151	556.2	303
160.IIIC.34–57	152	573.1–11	192
244.2–12	141	573.12	192
1216.1–6	80	573.17–21	193
1268	81	573.24–26	193
1268.4–7	80	578	44, 171
1327.5–6	81		
		<i>SEG</i>	
<i>MAMA</i>		II.705.20	166
VIII.406.5–6	61	II.705.24–25	166
VIII.502	162	IV.187.17	167
IX.31	163	IV.187.19	167
		IV.187.32	167
<i>Nollé, Side</i>		IV.187.34	167
I.3.2.1.6	49	VI.58.1–6	142, 300
I.3.2.1.6–8	52	VI.59.1–5	142
		VI.59.8–28	142
<i>OGIS</i>		IX.13.12–19	65
308.1	239	XII.511	280, 285
331.IV.53	145	XII.511.6, 10, 19	291
331.IV.53–55	145	XXVI.943.3–5	61
379.5–11	238	XXVI.1021.4–13	77
383	125	XXVI.1272.7–8	61
383.35–50	125	XXVI.1307	61
383.57	127	XXVII.384.2–4.	190
383.57–58	126	XXVIII.841.3–6.	190
383.59–65	127	XXVIII.1933	197
383.60	133	XXIX.1205.5–13	153
383.94	303	XXXII.453	229
388–401.	125	XXXII.453.2–5	225
453.1–2	238	XXXII.453.24–26	226
480.13	49	XXXIII.1087.17–19	238
493	49	XXXIII.1123	48
493.1–3	49	XXXIII.1135	190
493.2	46	XXXIV.62	250
493.9–10	49	XXXIV.1298.A	193
493.14–15	49	XXXV	136
496.1–7	46	XXXV.3	65
503–508.	298	XXXV.1327	135, 137
504	163, 229	XXXV.1327.1–5	196
504.1–4	299	XXXV.1327.4–5	135, 196
507	163, 229	XXXV.1327.6–8	135
507.1–3	299	XXXV.1327.10–12	135
510.4	46	XXXVI.5	65
510.15	49	XXXVII.1259.5–13	44
513.3	46		

XXXVII.1335.2–6	44, 171	<i>Syll.</i> ³	
XXXVII.1403.20.15–23	52	117.10–11	276
XXXVIII.1462 A.1–9	156	286.6	291
XXXVIII.1462.A.4	295	289.2	290
XXXVIII. 1462.C	156, 292	289.2–17	285
XXXVIII.1462.C.51–54	157	289.3	286, 290
XXXVIII.1462.C.51–57	300	289.3–17	286
XXXVIII.1462.C.52	292	289.8	291
XXXVIII.1462.C.56–59	157	289.12	291
XXXVIII.1462.C.57–58	291	289.14	290
XXXVIII.1462.C.57–59	294	289.16–17	291
XXXVIII. 1462.C.58	297, 294	303	275
XXXVIII.1462 C.61–64	157	353.5	277
XXXVIII.1462.C.80–102	292	357.9–10	154
XXXVIII.1462.C.83–100	157	364.15	238
XXXVIII.1462.C.85–87	228, 294	364.15–20	250
XXXVIII.1462.D.105–106	295	384.7–8	290
XXXIX	291	384.7–25	287
XXXIX.1243.IV.35–36	56	384.10	291
XXXIX.1243.IV.45–46	56	384.16–17	291
XXXIX.1244.II.37–38	199	384.18	290
XXXIX.1414	78	384.24	291
XXXIX.1426	281, 282	384.26–29	288
XXXIX.1426.2–3	282, 291	413.5	238
XXXIX.1426.12–17	283	434.25–40	279
XXXIX.1426.14	291	487.9	290
XXXIX.1426.35.	291	487.9–13	288
XXXIX.1426.36	291	487.13	291
XXXIX.1426.38	295	487.14.	291
XXXIX.1426.39	291	487.15	290
XL	49	495.84–89.	191
XL.107.40	284	589.32–44	132
XL.1694	49	598.C	229
XLII.1745	275	613. 5–12.	56
XLIII	140	613.11–15	263
XLIII.24.2–3	56	619.40	65
XLIII.706	239	622B	229
XLIII.773.32–33	140	629.22	145
XLIII.850.4–5	56	633.19	58
XLIII.986.1	239	656.5	277
XLIII.1135	140	656.45	277
XLIV.534.10–16	236	661.3–19	289
XLIV.1705	245	661.9 and 12	291
XLVI.807.5–6	196, 300	661.11	290
XLVI.1477	76	661.15	290
XLVII.163.6–7	302	661.15–17	291
XLVII.163.13–17.	298	661.17	291
XLVII.1280.2–3	196, 300	663.1–15	208

685	229	1017.15.	250
694.40–54.	58	1051.14–17	226
694.50–54	52	1106.90.	302
696.1	132	1109.65	250
700.36–47	271, 277	1115.1–5	56
704.E.12–19	198	1115.1–6	150
704.E.30–32.	199	1240.4–5	64
705	197	1240.12–17	64
705.26–28	197	1240.23	64
736.29–30	149	1240.28–29.	64
736.49–50.	199		
761.A.2–5	273	<i>TAM</i>	
783.4	48	II.174.E.6–14	54
783.28–30	48	III.136.2–4	155
849.10–11	247	III.136.7–14	155
849.11–12	247	III.695.5–6	61
851.7–9	141	V.2.915	58
851.26–27	141	V.2.948.2–4	49
867.24	46	V.2.1016.1–3	49
867.54–56	48	V.2.1192	48
873.2 and 9–13	189	VII.2.969.3–11	263
887	238		

5. Important Greek Words

ἀγαλμα 16, 42, 66, 69, 79, 83, 86–88, 121, 130, 144, 154, 155, 167, 168, 173, 177, 185, 206, 208, 210, 272, 322, 326		<i>See also</i> τελετή	
ἀγαλμάτιον 211		ἀναζωπυρήσαντες 300	
ἀγάπη 29, 45, 46, 51, 58, 64–81, 115, 176, 179–182, 188, 199, 225, 226, 239, 251, 255, 263, 266, 274, 291, 293, 308, 314		– ἐν αἵματι θεου 45, 122, 137, 164, 176, 177, 223, 296, 322	
ἀγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς 114, 181, 182		ἀναπαύειν 223, 224, 293	
<i>See also</i> θεοπρεπής		ἀναψύχειν 223, 224, 293	
ἀγιοφόροι 16, 76, 114, 140, 143–145, 148, 152, 153, 158, 165, 167, 172, 174, 178, 206, 215, 321, 323		ἀντιτύπος 81	
ἀγιοφόρος 17, 131, 137, 140, 143–145, 179, 322, 325, 326		ἀντίψυχον 7, 16, 17, 42, 124, 139, 165, 175, 176, 184, 221–226, 228, 229, 233, 257, 258, 272, 278, 287, 288, 292, 293, 323, 326	
ἀγών		ἀντροφύλακες 151, 154	
– μυστικός 212, 300		17, 42, 125, 140, 166	
ἀγωνοθέτης 156–158, 238, 292, 294, 299, 300		ἄξιαγνος 47	
ἀμφιθαλεῖς 148, 149		ἄξιο– prefix 47	
ἀναγαγεῖν		ἄξιόθεος 47–49, 128, 176	
– τελετήν μυστικῶς 137		ἄξιομακάριστος 48	
		ἄξιοπλόκος	
		– πνευματικός στεφάνος 77, 138, 173, 174, 203	
		– τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου 27, 32, 126, 155, 173	
		ἄξιοπρεπής 47	

- ἀπαγγέλλειν 270, 271, 283, 285–290, 292
- ἀπέχεσθαι 153, 154
- ἀποδεδειγμένος 238
- ἐν γνώμῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 238
 - ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου 238
 - πρεσβευτῆς 238
 - πρῶτος ἄρχων 238
 - ὑπατος 238
- ἀποδεξάμενος 271, 276, 277
- ἀποδιῦλισμὸν 226, 227
- ἀπολύτρωσις 102, 103, 116, 117
- ἀποπρεσβεία 273
- ἀρχέτυπα 85
- ἀρχετύπον
- παραδείγμα 83
- ἀρχιβάσσαροι 148, 149
- ἀρχιβουκόλοι 148
- ἀρχινεάνισκοι 149
- ἀρχινεάνισκος 149, 152
- ἄρχων 51, 115, 122, 156, 157, 186, 192, 197, 238, 241, 252, 281, 299
- ἀσπάσασθαι 128, 221, 224, 282, 308
- βασιλεία 230, 241, 242, 253, 303,
- βασιλείαι 45, 46, 64,
- τοῦ αἰῶνος 45, 165, 230
- βαστάζειν 64, 153, 154, 156, 157, 212, 262
- ἱερὸν κόσμον 144
- βουκόλοι 56, 148, 149
- ἱεροὶ 148
- βωμοφόροι 145, 158
- βωμοφόρος 146, 178
- See also* ναοφόρος
- γνώμη 104, 111, 115, 205, 235, 238–240, 249, 277, 286, 289, 290, 305, 306
- βουλῆς 171, 286, 287, 289, 290
 - ἐπισκόπου 30, 130, 239, 305
 - προβούλων 239
- δαδοῦχος 147
- δαιμόνιον
- ἀσώματον 28, 90
- δείγματα
- τύπων 84
- δεσμός
- κακίας 241
- δημάρχοι 292
- διαδήματα 181, 282
- διαδοχή 24, 26, 28, 29, 56, 108, 110, 118, 121, 209, 237, 238, 269, 309, 312, 313, 317
- διάδοχος 25, 28, 104, 141, 142, 227, 304
- διακονία 269, 304
- Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 26, 63, 89, 177, 178, 185, 188, 237, 267, 269, 310
 - Θεοῦ 128, 177
- διάκονοι 22, 23, 25–27, 40, 44, 54, 114, 122, 136, 176, 177, 179, 205, 222, 223, 237, 238, 267, 269, 314
- μυστηρίων 26, 136, 177, 267
- διάκονος 35
- διδαχαί
- διδαχαῖς πολυδόξοις 136
- διδαχή 89, 136
- ἀφθαρσίας 89, 136
- εἰδῶλον 129–131, 145, 154, 173, 182, 201
- εἰκόνες 51, 81, 82, 88, 94, 112, 155–158, 167, 177, 206
- τῶν Σεβαστῶν 155, 157
- εἰκὼν 16, 42, 64, 66, 68, 69, 74–84, 86, 87, 92, 94, 121, 154, 155, 210, 226, 326
- εἰκόνα φαίνων 76
 - καθ' ὁμοίωσιν 84
- εἰρηνεύειν 23, 47, 219, 220, 228, 255, 272–274, 279, 290, 295, 298
- εἰρήνη 2, 3, 17, 23, 47, 216, 219, 227, 229–234, 244, 248–257, 270, 271, 274, 276, 277, 296, 300, 309–311, 325, 326
- ἐκκλησία
- καθολικὴ 7, 23, 199, 213, 296, 301, 304–306, 323
 - προκαθημένη 43–47
- ἔκτυπα 156, 158, 167, 172, 229, 292, 326
- ἐλέσθαι
- πρεσβευτᾶς 269, 271, 272, 275, 282
- Ἑλληνικόν 3, 4, 7, 229, 318, 322, 323, 326
- ἐνθεαζόμενοι 204, 205
- See also* ἀναζωπυρήσαντες and πλῆθος
- ἐνθειον 127, 130, 205
- ἐνθρόνισμα 125, 126, 130, 131, 154,

- 173, 174, 182
 ἐνότης 42, 85, 86, 90, 91, 96, 100–103,
 130, 174, 239, 255, 256, 298, 302,
 304–307
 – ἐν ἐνότητι 90, 98, 100, 130,
 174, 239, 304, 306
 ἔνωσις 3, 42, 84–91, 93, 95, 96–105,
 107, 109–111, 113–119, 121–125,
 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137–139,
 153, 174–176, 179, 195, 214, 226,
 237, 250, 255, 256, 304, 306
 ἔξαρχος 54, 59, 110, 121, 227
 ἐξεμπλᾶριον 128, 177, 225, 293
 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό 214, 244, 251, 269, 272,
 273
 ἐπισκοπεῖν 64, 188, 205
 ἐπίσκοποι 25, 32, 33, 44, 52, 53, 65,
 67, 305
 ἐπίσκοπος 19, 24–25, 30, 31, 34, 35,
 63, 65, 87, 90, 91, 114, 122, 128, 129,
 131, 165, 173, 176, 188, 196, 216,
 220, 224, 227, 243, 266, 280, 293
 ἐπιτυχεῖν 123, 124, 137, 139, 143,
 201, 223, 224, 228, 304
 – θεοῦ 123, 137, 139, 143, 221, 223,
 224, 228, 256, 304
 ἔρις 39, 134, 222
 εὐταξία 250, 287
 εὐχαριστία 29, 30, 122, 214, 303
 ἦρωσ 146, 147, 152
 θαλλοφόρος 146, 178
 θεῖος
 – λόγος 83
 – πρεσβύτης 109
 – τύπος 125, 129, 133
 θεοδρόμοι 184, 207, 274, 287, 293,
 305
 θεοδρόμος 184, 268, 274
 θεοὶ 51, 291
 – πρὸ πόλεως 17, 51, 55, 56, 60,
 140, 146, 149, 152, 176, 326
 – προκαθημένοι 17, 41, 50, 63,
 126, 326
 – προϊστάμενοι 51, 55, 176, 303,
 326
 θεολόγος 46, 261
 θεοπρεπεστάτη
 – ἐκκλησία 145, 181, 210
 – χωρα 127
 θεοπρεπεστάτοι 128
 – δεσμοὶ 128, 137, 182, 221, 222
 θεοπρεπεστάτων
 – ὄνομα 128
 θεοπρεπής 127–130, 146, 155,
 174, 177, 178, 182, 201, 203
 θεοπρεσβύται 7, 16, 17, 184, 203, 207,
 287, 293–295
See also νεκραγγέλοι
 θεοπρεσβύτης 184, 222, 268, 272–274,
 276, 291
 θεοφόροι 7, 10, 16, 42, 74, 76, 116,
 121, 123, 140, 144, 145, 147, 148,
 152, 153, 166, 172, 174, 178, 200,
 206, 215, 216, 228, 233, 288, 295,
 297, 321, 323
 θεοφόρος 3, 17, 59, 60, 128, 140, 141,
 143, 145–149, 151, 153, 155, 157–
 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171,
 173, 175, 177, 179, 185, 186, 201,
 224, 227, 229, 237, 275, 276, 314,
 319, 321, 325
 θιασάρχει 209, 214
 θιασάρχης 16, 41, 185, 190, 191, 200,
 303
 θίασος 16, 41, 51, 59, 68, 146, 148,
 150, 174, 175, 178, 180, 190, 193–
 196, 200, 201, 213–215, 225, 304
 θυσία 58, 61, 65, 123, 131, 132, 145,
 157, 168, 222, 228, 281–283, 285,
 287–289, 292, 294, 302, 303, 326
 – μεγάλων μυστηρίων 287, 288
 ἴδιον μέγεθος 47, 186, 219, 220
 ἰδρῦσθαι 64, 141, 208, 213
 ἱερομνήμων 56, 149, 152
 ἱεροφάντης 146, 289
 καθηγεμών 42, 51, 56–62, 114, 149,
 150, 152, 178, 269, 326
 – Διονύσος 149–150
 – θεῖων μυστηρίων 56, 150
 – κληφόρος 146, 178
 – τῆς ὁδοῦ 57
 κεκοινωνηκώς
 – μυστηρίων 89
 κεκοσμημένα 93, 94, 130, 145
 κεκοσμημένοι 130, 136, 140, 143, 145,
 152
 – ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς 130, 136,
 140, 145

- κισταφόροι 148, 161, 165
κισταφόρος 17, 59, 146, 149, 58, 161, 165, 178, 229, 323, 326
κοινός-όν 56, 101, 125, 169, 170, 198, 226, 243, 246, 256, 258, 260, 261, 271, 296–298, 303, 304–306, 309, 318, 326
– ὄνομα 304, 305, 318
– συνέδριον 302, 303, 304
– – πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων 298, 303, 306
κοινωνία 102, 103, 116, 240, 242
See also μετεχειν
κραθέντες 28, 90, 100, 178
– τῆ σαρκί αὐτοῦ 28, 90, 174
λικνίτης 148
λικνόν 148, 152
λικνοφόροι 148
λικνοφόρος 59, 146, 152, 178
λόγος 18, 22, 59, 65, 72, 82, 83, 90, 96, 97, 100, 104, 105, 109, 202, 203, 223, 243, 308
μέγεθος 46, 47, 129, 186, 219, 220
μερισμός 99–102, 174, 176, 207, 226, 229, 250, 255, 256, 277
μέρος
– τοῦ μυστηρίου 142, 143, 301
μετέχειν 60, 130, 154, 298, 299, 310, 302, 304, 306
– ιδέας 84, 85
– θεοῦ πάντοτε 130, 154, 302, 306
– μυστηρίων 153, 154
– ψήφου 303
μετουσία 283, 284, 291
μίμημα 115, 124, 127–129, 181, 182, 314
μίμησις 39, 115, 116, 121, 123, 143, 322
μιμητής 122, 127, 128, 174–176, 189, 255, 323
– τοῦ πάθους 129, 139, 177, 186, 222, 304, 323
μορφᾶς τύπον ἔμπνουν 77, 78
μορφή 68, 74, 75, 77, 79, 83, 111, 114, 125, 126, 190,
– εἰς μορφήν 68, 111, 114
See also εἰκῶν *and* τύπος
μυσταγωγία 102, 110, 116
μυσταγωγοί 104, 111, 112
μύστη 135, 189, 204, 206, 232
μυστήρια 112, 188, 189, 200, 205, 222, 232, 240, 301
ναῖσκος 160, 161
ναοφόροι 7, 16, 76, 114, 140, 143–145, 152, 153, 158, 165, 172, 174, 178, 206, 215, 321, 323
ναοφόρος 160, 161, 165, 229, 325, 326
νεκραγγέλοι 184, 207
νερτεροδρόμοι 184, 207
νεωκόρος 44, 46, 47, 49, 153, 161, 169, 171, 190, 154, 246, 247, 258
– βουλή 48
ξόανα 206
– δώδεκα θεῶν 129, 132, 206
οἰκουμένη 141, 143, 300–302
ὁμολογίας 28, 29, 102, 103, 116, 117, 178, 266
ὁμολογία 271, 279
ὁμόνοια 2, 3, 4, 7, 16, 17, 23, 25, 28–30, 39, 46, 47, 74, 193, 214, 218, 224, 229–231, 233–285, 287, 289–293, 295–301, 303–310, 312, 317, 321–323, 325, 326
– θεοῦ 25, 39, 237, 267, 271, 306–308
– κοινή 279
– πίστεως 214, 218, 229
ὄνομα
– θεοπρεπεστάτον 128
– κοινόν 308, 318
Πανελλήνες 152, 203, 244
Πανελληνίος 163
Πανελλήνιον 299, 302, 306, 307
παράδειγμα 93, 243
περιφέρειν 137, 138, 140, 211, 212, 224
See also ἀγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς
περίφημα 222, 223, 226, 229, 240, 274, 292, 326
πλάνη 109, 240, 241, 242
πλήθος 25, 28, 127, 129, 130, 173, 174, 176, 178, 196, 205, 214, 238, 239, 266, 267, 276, 303
πνευματικός
– γάμος 102, 103, 116, 117

- στέφανος 27, 32, 77, 138, 155, 173, 174
 πολυπληθία 178, 213, 239, 256, 266
 πομπεύειν 157, 228, 294, 326
 πομπή 50, 129, 131, 134, 144, 280–282, 289–292, 326
 πρεσβεία 22, 219, 238, 268, 269, 272–274, 276, 314
 πρεσβεῖς 219, 263, 270, 290
 πρεσβεῦσαι 48, 219, 249, 263, 264, 268, 269, 276, 314
 πρεσβευταὶ 184, 270, 273, 274, 281–283, 291
See also νεκραγγέλοι and θεοπρεσβῦται
 πρεσβυτήs 238, 263, 265
 πρεσβυτέριον 77, 129, 162, 174, 239
 - θεοπρεπές 128, 129, 173, 176, 201
 πρεσβυτέροι 24, 25, 29, 32, 34, 36, 44, 52, 77, 106, 129, 212, 322, 237, 238, 267, 269, 293, 314
 πρεσβύτης 109, 110, 222, 268, 271–274, 276, 291, 326
 προεπρέσβευεν 53, 262
 προεστώς 53, 54, 56, 57, 60–62, 126, 186, 23
 προέστη
 - ἀγῶνος 56, 263
 - θυσῶν 56
 προγεγραμμένα 281
 - πρόσωπα 25, 28, 136, 166, 178, 267, 281
See also πρόσωπα
 προηγμένων 17, 50, 54, 56, 58–59, 190, 265
 προηγητής 6, 17, 58, 59, 265
 προϊστάμενοι 17, 50, 55, 121, 176, 326
 - θείων μυστηρίων 56, 150
 προκαθεζόμενη
 - θεός 262
 - πόλις 161, 171
 προκαθεζόμενοι 121
 προκαθεζόμενος 171, 172, , 262
 προκαθηγεμών 17, 57, 60
See also καθιγεμών
 προκαθηγέτης 51, 60, 158, 159, 300
 προκαθημένα
 - θέαι τῆs πόλεως 54, 58
 προκαθημένοι 16, 17, 38, 44, 49–51, 53–55, 62, 122, 124, 126, 322
 138, 213, 215, 266, 311, 326
 - τῆs κώμης 52, 53
 προκαθημένος 31, 34, 39, 41–45, 47, 51–53, 55, 57, 59–63, 65, 66, 68, 87, 121, 122, 124, 133, 144, 149, 157, 171, 172, 265
 - εἰς τόπον 31, 34–37, 66
 - εἰς τύπον 16, 17, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34–39, 41, 43, 44, 53, 60, 62, 63, 65–68, 73, 75, 79, 83–87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 124, 133, 136, 152, 158, 181, 186, 200, 212, 214, 237, 252, 265, 267, 303, 306, 314
See also τύπος
 προπέμπειν 115, 181, 182, 314
 προπομπεύειν 156, 157, 326
 - τῶν μυστηρίων 52, 53
 προπρεσβέυειν 263, 264
See also πρεσβεῦσαι
 προσκαθημένος
 - θεραπεῖαις 209
 προστάτης 185–188, 200, 220
 πρόσωπα 137, 139, 143, 156, 160–162, 167, 169, 172, 173, 213, 229
 - ἔκτυπα 156, 158, 166, 167, 172, 192, 229
See also προγεγραμμένα
 πυρφόροι 146, 149, 153, 178
 σεβαστοφόρος 17, 146, 155–158, 166, 167, 218, 229, 233, 262, 294, 297, 300, 326
 σπονδισθῆναι 45, 46, 124, 176, 180, 222
 στασιάζειν 235, 236, 238, 250, 251
 στάσις 39, 236, 242, 249, 250, 251, 254–256, 270
 στεφανηφόρος 132, 167, 172, 197–199, 272
 στέφανος 16, 22, 27, 28, 32, 33, 42, 71, 78, 135, 155, 156–158, 160, 163, 166, 167, 173, 203, 263, 264, 271, 278, 289, 292, 293, 300, 321, 322
 - ἐκκλησίας 32
 - πνευματικός 27, 32, 77, 126, 138, 155, 174

- χρυσοῦς 150, 157, 292
- συγγενεία 78, 80, 81, 84
- συγχαρῆναι 219, 269, 272, 273, 276
- συμβούλιον
 - θεοπρεπέστατον 128, 173, 274
- συμύσται 123, 168, 173 189, 214, 218, 301, 322, 325
- συμπρεσβύτερος 24, 25
- σύμφωνοι
 - ἐν ὁμονοία 239
- συναγαγεῖν 191, 192, 196, 298, 299, 303
 - ἐκκλησίαν 191, 192
 - κατὰ νόμον 196, 300
- συναγωγεὺς 191-193, 196, 198, 199, 200, 205, 300, 302, 303
- συναγωγή 193, 196, 199, 200, 302, 303
- σύνδεσμος
 - ἀποστόλων 25, 126, 129
- συνδώδεκα 131
- συνέδριον 63, 89, 199, 255, 259, 279, 298, 300, 303
 - ἀποστόλων 63, 89, 124
 - ἐπισκόπου 174, 255
 - θεοῦ 25
 - πρεσβυτέρων 129
- συνήθεια 91, 213, 266
- σύνθρονος 62, 128, 130
 - τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς 129
- συνθύειν 292, 293
- συνθυσία 17, 57, 157, 224, 226, 228, 229, 237, 247, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273-279, 281-285, 287, 289-296, 303, 310, 312, 322
- συνθυτής 225, 226, 275
- σύνοδος 16, 45, 61, 68, 77, 114, 140-143, 145-147, 149, 151-153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177-179, 191, 197-199, 210, 215, 218, 222, 224, 225, 230, 273, 288, 288, 298, 301-305, 312, 323, 325, 326
- συντομπεύειν 132, 281, 323, 326
 - See also* πομπεύειν and προπομπεύειν
- συντρέχειν 30, 130, 145, 239, 305, 323
- σωματεῖον 47, 147, 186-188, 220
- σωτηρία 92, 113, 115, 272, 276, 279, 280, 284-286, 289, 290, 295
- Τελεστήριον 232
- τελετή 135, 185, 188, 189, 191, 192, 196, 200, 202, 204, 207
 - See also* ἀναγαγεῖν
- τεχνιταί 198, 199
- τόπος 26, 31, 32, 34-38, 45, 66, 86, 125, 128, 145, 192, 193, 210, 225
- τύποι 10, 25, 26, 28-32, 39, 42, 51, 54, 64, 68, 72-74, 80, 83-85, 87-89, 91-93, 96, 101, 112, 114, 119, 122, 123, 127, 130-134, 136-139, 143-145, 152, 155, 160, 161, 163, 165-169, 171-174, 177, 179, 181, 189, 191, 206, 209, 210, 212-215, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 233, 237, 257, 262, 264, 265, 267, 268, 273, 293, 300, 310, 319, 321-323
 - ἀφθαρσίας 127, 138
 - θεῶν 74
 - ξοάνων 132
- τύπος 16, 26, 29, 30-39, 41, 42, 50, 62, 63, 66-97, 100, 104, 116, 119, 121, 122, 124-129, 131-135, 137-140, 153-155, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 169, 172, 175, 178, 185, 189, 190, 200, 298, 301, 310, 314, 319, 322, 323, 325, 326
 - ἀφθαρσίας 129, 138
 - διακονίας 89, 184
 - ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ 210
 - θεου 26, 34, 63, 65, 131, 135, 140, 176, 178, 207, 237, 265, 267, 298, 301
 - πατρός 25, 26, 29, 34, 50, 89, 90, 114, 128, 129, 139, 140, 172, 177, 178, 185, 200, 210, 233, 237, 244, 275, 310, 314, 319
 - μορφᾶς 77
 - συνέδριου ἀποστόλων 26, 27, 36, 63, 89, 124, 178, 237, 267, 310
 - Χριστοῦ 35
- υγεία 284-286, 290, 295
 - See also* σωτηρία
- φαλλοφόρος 146, 149, 178
- φάρμακον 89, 179, 201
- φιλία 58, 234, 240, 242, 254, 279, 280,

- 285, 297
 – κοινή 240, 297
 φιλοσέβαστος 46, 49, 246
 φύσις 50, 128, 198, 199
 χειροτονῆσαι 56, 142, 219, 271, 269,
 272, 274, 276, 294
 χειροτονία 142
 χορὸς 16, 45, 65, 130, 136, 137, 145,
 180, 238, 239, 241, 244, 252, 254,
 298, 304, 306, 310
 χρῆσις 198
 Χριστιανισμός 47, 194, 195, 306, 322,
 323, 326
 χριστοφόροι 16, 74, 76, 114, 140, 143–
 145, 152, 153, 158, 165, 166, 172,
 174, 178, 179, 215, 321, 323, 326
 ψήφισμα 247, 283, 294

6. Modern Authors

- Andersen S. R. 13, 343
 Anderson G. 235, 343
 Anderson J. G. C. 52, 343
 Anscombe G. E. M. 6, 343
 Bakke O. D. 253, 343
 Balland A. 263, 343
 Balzand H. 68, 343
 Bamborough R. 12, 343
 Bammel
 C. P. Hammond 21, 97, 98, 343
 Bammel E. 209, 343
 Barnard L. W. 217, 343
 Barr-Sharrar B. 134, 343
 Bartsch H.-W. 46, 123, 175, 343
 Beardsmore R. M. 11, 343
 Behr C. A. 232, 343
 Berger P. 6, 343
 Bömer F. 179, 343
 Bommers K. 46, 123, 175, 343
 Borza E. N. 132, 343
 Bousquet J. 78, 343
 Boyancé P. 151, 343
 Brent A. 13, 15, 21, 26, 27, 29, 45, 46,
 52, 62, 123, 124, 126, 146, 155, 156,
 159, 166, 173, 175, 186, 209–211, 213,
 215, 216, 227, 228, 235, 248, 250, 256,
 261, 267, 270, 273, 344
 Brown R. E. 175, 216, 344
 Burkert W. 264, 344
 Cartledge P. 279, 344
 Chomsky N. 11, 13, 14, 60, 319, 324,
 325, 344
 Clerc Ch. 60, 212, 344
 Clinton K. 299, 344
 Connolly R. H. 31, 32–37, 344
 Corwin V. 126, 344
 Cox D. H. 170, 171, 344
 Cumont F. 146–152, 148, 160, 161, 165,
 344–345
 Daux G. 61, 197, 345
 Davies S. L. 217, 218, 345
 Deissmann A. 64, 65, 345
 Diehl E. 63, 146, 345
 Diels H. 203, 345
 Dölger F. J. 210–212, 345
 Dürrbach F. 167, 345
 Edwards M. J. 21, 22, 345
 Elsner J. 216, 217, 345
 Essig K.-G. 216, 217, 345
 Faraone C. A. 210, 345
 Fears J. R. 159, 249, 345
 Feissel D. 70, 345
 Ferguson E. 22, 345
 Follet S. 302, 345
 Foucart P. 232, 345
 Franke P. R. 245, 246, 258–260, 345
 Friend W. C. H. 124, 216, 345
 Freyer-Schauenburg B. 124, 345
 Friesen S. J. 44, 247, 345
 Gleason M. W. 236, 345
 Goldhill S. 245, 346
 Graillot H. 160, 161, 346

- Guarducci M. 146, 147, 346
- Habicht Ch. 283, 284, 347
- Hansen P. A. 78, 346
- Harland P. 152, 346
- Harrison N. P. 22, 186, 218–220, 317, 346
- Hauler E. 33, 38, 346
- Hepding H. 160, 169, 346
- Herrmann P. 61, 346
- Hicks E. L. 192, 193, 346
- Hill G. F. 162, 170, 173, 245, 246, 346
- Holmes M. J. 38, 346
- Horsley G. 80, 346
- Hübner R. 19–22, 42, 90, 97, 313, 346
- Hudson W. Donald 15, 16, 346
- Imhoof-Blumer F. 169, 170, 346
- Inan J. 161–164, 166, 346
- Invernizzi A. 52, 346
- Joly R. 20, 31, 183, 217, 231, 346
- Jones C. P. 283, 284, 298, 302, 346–347
- Kampmann U. 246, 247, 259, 260, 347
- Käsemann E. 21, 347
- Katz J. J. 11, 347
- Kenan E. 161, 347
- Kern O. 236, 347
- Kienast D. 245, 278, 347
- Kirsten E. 283, 284, 347
- Krueger P. 187, 347
- Laeuchli S. 23, 347
- Laminger-Pascher G. 171, 347
- Lampe P. 175, 188, 347
- Le Boulluec A. 93, 347
- Le Glay M. 163, 347
- Lechner T. 19–25, 29, 42, 91, 95–102, 108, 109, 116, 183, 240, 241, 313, 317, 347
- Lightfoot D. W. 13, 331
- Lightfoot J. B. 26, 37, 38, 47, 144, 183, 316, 317, 319, 320, 321, 347
- Lindemann A. 21, 347
- Logan A. H. B. 108, 347
- Löhr W. A. 108, 347
- Luckmann T. 6, 343
- Lucca C. 22, 347
- Magie D. 143, 347
- Marasco G. 279, 348
- Markschies C. 94, 108, 348
- Matthews P. 14, 348
- Maurer Ch. 25, 100, 348
- Meinhold P. 29, 348
- Merkelbach R. 54, 348
- Meier J.-P. 175, 216, 332
- Miltner F. 71, 348
- Mionnet T. E. 261, 348
- Mitchell S. 157, 348
- Molland E. 26, 348
- Munier C. 316, 348
- Musurillo H. A. 262, 263, 348
- Nilsson M. P. 147, 150, 348
- Nollé J. 49, 52, 57, 163, 245, 258, 259, 348
- Nollé M. K. 245, 248, 258–260, 264, 278, 348
- Oliver J. H. 302, 348
- Opelt I. 283, 284, 348
- Padberg R. 29, 349
- Paulsen H. 125, 349
- Peek W. 52, 77, 349
- Perler O. 124, 349
- Pétrément S. 108, 349
- Pflaum H. G., 275, 349
- Pleket H. W. 135, 155, 256, 262, 349
- Price S. R. F. 3, 155, 156, 245, 256, 259, 260, 261, 272, 309, 310, 349
- Quine W. van O. 8–10, 349
- Ramsay W. 63, 349
- Richardson J. E. T. 15, 349
- Rius-Camps J. 21, 33, 349
- Robert J. 57, 349
- Robert L. 49, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 68, 70, 131, 144, 146, 148, 153–155, 161, 164, 167, 176, 200, 210–212, 262, 349
- Roesch P. 225, 226, 229, 350
- Rosenbaum E. 161–164, 166, 350
- Roux G. 69–73, 131, 132, 350
- Russell B. 6, 350
- Sandevour P. 93, 335
- Schlier H. 46, 100, 123, 175, 350

- Schnelle U. 21, 350
 Schneider G. 68, 331
 Schoedel W. 22, 27, 124, 166, 183, 201, 202, 217, 222, 224, 227, 241, 274, 298, 308, 316, 317, 350
 Schöllgen G. 21, 29, 62, 350
 Schunack G. 68, 350
 Sheppard A. A. R. 245, 350
 Sokolowski F. 153, 350
 Spawforth A. J. S. 163, 279, 298, 302, 350
 Stadtmueller H. 63, 350
 Stauber B. 54, 336
 Stephan H. 275, 350
 Stewart A. 132, 350
 Strong E. 161, 165, 350
- Tamura T. 197, 350
 Trevett C. 216, 350
- Tripp D. H. 107, 350
 Vinzent M. 19–21, 43, 90, 97, 97, 98, 313, 350
 Vogliano A. 146, 350
 Vogt H. J. 21, 22, 350
- Waddington W. H. 170, 171, 351
 Weiss P. 162, 170, 171, 351
 Welwe K.-W. 279, 351
 Wetter G. P. 46, 123, 175, 351
 Wilhelm A. 52, 54, 55, 351
 Winch P. 11, 351
 Wittgenstein L. 5–13, 15, 42, 78, 88, 94, 229, 274, 301, 303, 319, 321–325, 351
 Wörrle M. 159, 163, 167, 229, 295, 351
- Yudkin M. 10, 351
- Zahn Th. 26, 37, 38, 274, 351

7. Subjects

- agreement
 – in form of life 6, 7, 14, 15, 17, 42, 66, 69, 80, 88, 94, 114, 118, 119, 158, 213, 245, 265, 305, 307, 319, 321, 325
 – in opinion 6, 7, 16, 42, 88, 89, 93, 94, 108, 114, 118, 119, 158, 197, 199, 303, 325
- altar
 – Christian 29, 45, 46, 122, 124, 130, 136, 138, 139, 145, 166, 179, 180, 221, 222,
 – Jewish 32, 37
 – pagan 61, 65, 70, 136, 145–147, 155–157, 170, 189, 204, 258, 261, 262, 277–281, 284, 293
- ambassadors 2, 3, 7, 16, 17, 30, 33, 39, 47, 48, 136, 179, 181, 184, 207, 218, 219, 222, 223, 228, 230, 233, 257, 259, 261–265, 267–285, 287, 289, 312, 314
- apostles 19, 24–26, 29, 37, 36, 37, 53, 89, 105, 126, 130, 143, 144, 224, 245, 312, 314, 315, 320
 – council 25, 26, 29, 32, 63, 237, 267
 – – Spirit-filled 27, 29, 53, 77, 116, 133, 134, 164, 179, 243, 255, 268
- apotropaic rites 30, 208, 210–219, 221, 223, 225–229, 231, 233, 244, 277
- atonement sacrifice 16, 124, 129, 176, 221–223, 226, 277
- baptism 29, 67, 98–105, 109, 110, 115, 116–119, 152, 153
- Basilides 106, 108, 111
- bas-relief 69–74, 78, 79, 82, 124, 131, 133, 166
- body-soul 42, 75, 79
- choreographed procession 23, 50, 122, 123, 138, 152, 177, 178, 180, 182, 191, 204, 313
- chronography 21, 108, 109, 217, 317
- chronology 100, 107, 109, 110, 321
- conceptual backcloth 16, 51, 91, 93, 97, 104, 119, 196, 199, 204, 225, 273, 319, 322, 324–326
- deification 42, 61, 114, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 140, 143, 145, 158, 214, 314
- disagreement in opinion 6, 88, 93, 94, 108, 114, 197, 303, 321–325
- divinization 120, 121, 123, 126, 129,

- 174, 191, 214
- Domitian 1–3, 63, 73, 139, 155, 159,
160, 164, 172, 212, 233, 236, 244, 245,
247–250, 252, 258, 259, 263, 273, 278,
279, 293, 300, 317
- drama of replay 23, 26, 56, 84, 89, 91,
116, 118, 120, 122, 152, 165, 172, 174,
175, 177, 179, 182, 200, 206, 207, 209,
227, 237, 244, 277, 396, 322
- dramatis personae* 84, 136, 152, 267
- Enlightenment 5, 117, 118, 173, 188, 226,
227, 284, 319, 320
- family-resemblance 8, 9, 12, 13, 15–17,
78, 88, 152, 153, 167, 229, 274, 277,
322, 323, 325
- festival 7, 67, 139, 156, 157, 232, 247,
257–259, 262, 268, 273, 278, 282, 285,
289, 292, 294–296, 299, 310, 322
- forgery 20–25, 107, 183, 241, 313–317
- form of life 6, 7, 14–17, 42, 51, 65, 69,
79, 88, 93, 94, 104, 108, 114, 118, 119,
124, 155, 158, 172, 197, 199, 213, 231,
245, 273, 277, 301, 303, 315, 319, 321,
322, 324–326
- Gnosticism 42, 43, 86, 91, 93, 95–97,
100, 108, 109, 114, 118–121, 256
- Godhead 21, 28, 119, 268
- Hadrian 2,3, 4, 7, 23, 56, 60, 61, 76, 101,
104, 108, 141–144, 146, 155, 156, 158,
163, 218, 236, 260, 264, 285, 295,
298–302, 306, 307, 318, 323
- Hegesippus 19–21, 26, 209, 219, 312,
317
- Homonoia* 23, 172, 235, 245, 246, 248,
249, 278
- immortality 63, 90, 118, 119, 128, 181,
203, 246
- Imperial Cult 2, 3, 27, 44–46, 48, 49, 74,
123, 146, 153, 155–159, 162–165,
169, 171, 172, 176, 190, 208, 233–236,
244, 247, 256, 258–262, 272, 273, 278,
298, 300, 301, 309, 310, 312
- initiation 98, 103,, 104, 110, 116, 119,
139, 142, 143, 146, 147, 150, 152, 174,
189, 207, 256, 318
- interpolator 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 180, 181,
217, 313–317, 320
- Johannine Pentecost 27, 77, 84, 116, 126,
134, 172, 244, 322
- language game 1, 5–8, 10, 11, 15–17,
41, 51, 56, 60, 62, 70, 78–80, 86–88,
91, 97, 118–121, 124, 126, 134, 139,
144, 145, 155, 158, 165, 167, 171, 172,
194, 197, 199, 208, 225, 229, 231, 250,
251, 273–275, 277, 279, 300, 301, 303,
309, 314, 319
- long recension 26, 37, 38, 66, 68, 303,
316
- Marcion 21, 90, 97, 106, 314
- Marcosians 98, 99, 101–107, 110, 116–
118
- Marcus Aurelius 141, 217, 263
- martyr
- bishop 19, 50, 122, 136, 137, 157,
158, 165, 182, 205, 225, 226, 313, 314
 - procession 16, 20, 42, 69, 73, 76,
114–116, 122, 137–140, 152, 173, 175,
177–183, 185, 186–189, 191, 193, 195,
197, 199–201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211–
213, 215, 218, 221–224, 228., 230, 231,
257, 265, 268, 273, 274, 277, 278, 293,
296, 299, 305, 307, 308, 313, 314, 323
- masks 28, 134, 136, 137, 143, 212
- middle recension 17, 20, 26, 38, 100, 127,
178, 181, 183, 209, 312, 313, 315, 316,
319, 320
- moral rebel 7, 16, 17, 65, 199, 301, 303,
315, 321
- mystery cult 3, 23, 39, 42, 51, 60, 61,
69, 71, 104, 110, 112, 114, 118, 121,
141, 143, 145, 152, 172, 177, 180, 185,
189–191, 194, 196, 200, 212, 215, 218,
223, 225, 227, 231, 232, 237, 262, 273,
287, 288, 297, 307
- Nero 22, 247, 259, 260, 315
- open-class concept 10–12, 16
- orthodox 19, 20, 22, 25, 67, 94, 99, 102,
241, 309, 314, 315, 318
- pantomime 49, 115, 134–136, 143, 191,
204
- performance 13, 14, 41, 60, 136, 194, 198,
272, 301, 312, 324, 325
- political theology 23, 39, 139, 162, 234,
243, 244, 248, 250, 255, 256, 260, 310,
312, 318, 323
- Pontifex Maximus* 59, 139, 144, 234, 279,

- 286
- pre-eminence 16, 17, 23, 24, 26, 34, 38,
39, 41, 43–55, 58, 62, 65, 77, 79, 89,
133, 136, 171, 172, 237, 262, 265, 321,
322
- pseudepigrapha 21, 22, 23, 26, 231, 313,
319
- sophists 1, 50, 165, 266, 271, 301, 302,
307
- stoics 3, 242, 251, 252, 309
- synagogue 94, 192–193
- Theodotus 67, 98, 100, 101–103, 105,
117
- threefold Order 4, 22, 24–28, 30, 32, 41
54, 86, 89, 114, 119, 136, 137, 176,
181, 184, 189, 216, 237, 239, 243, 277,
301
- Trajan 21, 76, 103, 105, 110, 142, 157,
160, 164, 217–220, 265, 304, 321
- Valentinianism 19, 22, 42, 43, 47, 67, 90–
100, 102, 103–109, 116–119, 183, 240,
241, 313
- Valentinus 103–108, 110, 111, 118
- Verona Latin 31, 33, 37, 66

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum

Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Editor: CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Berlin)

- Aland, Barbara / Hahn, Johannes / Ronning, Christian (Ed.):* Literarische Konstituierung von Identifikationsfiguren in der Antike. 2003. *Volume 16.*
- Betz, Hans Dieter:* The „Mithras Liturgy“. 2003. *Volume 18.*
- Bracht Katharina:* Vollkommenheit und Vollendung. 1999. *Volume 2.*
- Bremer, Jan Maarten:* see *Furley, William D.*
- Brent, Allen:* Ignatius of Antioch and the Second Sophistic. 2006. *Volume 36.*
- Bumazhnov, Dmitrij:* Der Mensch als Gottes Bild im christlichen Ägypten. 2005. *Volume 34.*
- Burgsmüller, Anne:* Die Askeseschrift des Pseudo-Basilios. 2005. *Volume 28.*
- Conring, Barbara:* Hieronymus als Briefschreiber. 2001. *Volume 8.*
- Cook, John Granger:* The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism. 2000. *Volume 3.*
- : The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism. 2004. *Volume 23.*
- Dörnemann, Michael:* Krankheit und Heilung in der Theologie der frühen Kirchenväter. 2003. *Volume 20.*
- Egelhaaf-Gaiser, Ulrike / Schäfer, Alfred (Ed.):* Religiöse Vereine in der römischen Antike. 2002. *Volume 13.*
- Elliott, Mark W.:* The Song of Songs and Christology in the Early Church. 2000. *Volume 7.*
- Förster, Hans:* Die Feier der Geburt Christi in der Alten Kirche. 2000. *Volume 4.*
- Frateantonio, Christa:* Religiöse Autonomie der Stadt im Imperium Romanum. 2003. *Volume 19.*
- Furley, William D. / Bremer, Jan Maarten:* Greek Hymns I. 2001. *Volume 9.*
- : Greek Hymns II. 2001. *Volume 10.*
- Greschat, Katharina:* Die *Moralia in Job* Gregors des Großen. 2005. *Volume 31.*
- Gutsfeld, Andreas / Koch, Dietrich-Alex (Ed.):* Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. 2006. *Volume 25.*
- Hahn, Johannes:* see *Aland, Barbara*
- Henner, Jutta:* Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica. 2000. *Volume 5.*
- Henze, Matthias:* The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel. 2001. *Volume 11.*
- Hirsch-Luipold, Rainer:* Plutarchs Denken in Bildern. 2002. *Volume 14.*
- Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754.* Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar ihres Horos, besorgt von *Torsten Krannich, Christoph Schubert* und *Claudia Sode*, nebst einem Beitrag zur *Epistula ad Constantiam* des Eusebios von Cäsarea von *Annette von Stockhausen*. 2002. *Volume 15.*

- Koch, Dietrich-Alex*: see *Gutsfeld, Andreas*
- Krannich, Torsten*: Von Leporius bis zu Leo dem Großen. 2005. *Volume 32*.
- : see *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754*.
- Maas, Michael*: Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean. 2003. *Volume 17*.
- Mastrocinque, Attilio*: From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism. 2005. *Volume 24*.
- Müller, Andreas*: Das Konzept des geistlichen Gehorsams bei Johannes Sinaïtes. 2006. *Volume 37*.
- Mutschler, Bernhard*: Irenäus als johanneischer Theologe. 2004. *Volume 21*.
- Ronning, Christian*: see *Aland, Barbara*
- Samellas, Antigone*: Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 A.D.). 2002. *Volume 12*.
- Schäfer, Alfred*: see *Egelhaaf-Gaiser, Ulrike*
- Schulze, Christian*: Medizin und Christentum in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter. 2005. *Volume 27*.
- Schurig, Sebastian*: Die Theologie des Kreuzes beim frühen Cyrill von Alexandria. 2005. *Volume 29*.
- Schubert, Christoph*: see *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754*.
- Sode, Claudia*: see *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754*.
- Stockhausen, Annette von*: see *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754*.
- Thom, Johan C.*: Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus. 2005. *Volume 33*.
- Tiersch, Claudia*: Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398–404). 2002. *Volume 6*.
- Tloka, Jutta*: Griechische Christen – Christliche Griechen. 2005. *Band 30*.
- Der Tractatus Tripartitus aus Nag Hammadi Codex I (Codex Jung)*.
Neu übersetzt von Peter Nagel. 1998. *Volume 1*.
- Zuntz, Günther*: Griechische philosophische Hymnen. 2005. *Volume 35*.