

î ò ý

òü úîñö ö þîûúóó þöÿ öîûÿ ðü

DOI: 10.32608/6076184202330-1-35-59

:gghIZpkyZlvy ihk\ys_gZ hibkZgbx ij__fkl_gghklb f_
^Zfb yauqgbdh\ b ojbklbZg gZ lZndZlg Zeb b Zhb x^bZeh]Z h qm
kZo jZa_jgm\r_fmky f_4lm\gbjZk\hfZljb\Zxlky lZdb_ \hij
ku dZd ZglbqgZy b bm^_ckdZy lJZ^bppy h qZjh^_yo l_
qm^hl\hjp_ \ b dhe^mgh\ Z\gg_öjebklbZgkjdhc ebm_jZlmju h
^_kZo \ Zihklhevkdh_ \j_fy b ihke^_mxsbc i_jbZ^ jhev q
g_gbb ojbklbZgkl\Z b ihe_fbdZ f_^am ojbklbZgZfb b yau
\k_]h Hjbj_ghf b P_evkhf h ijbh^_ qm^_k OjbklZ b _]h
Hkh[h_ \gbfZ m^_e_gh qm^_kZf \ jZgg_c Z]bh]jZnbb Hg
\k_]h \dhekwdbö l_dklZo Z-tip_öZgZdl_gjh\Zgby kdhjhc kf_jl
\b^_gby Zgh\ kihkh[ghklb l_ji_glvkbulöim[ebqgduc^ oZjZ
l_j qlh hlebqZ_l bo hl lh]h qlh \klj_qZ_lky \ Zglbqguo
djbnbq_kdbo >_ygbyo Zihklheh\ Fu iheZ]Z_f qlh h[jZs_
[hevr_c kl_i_gb k\hckl_ggh khqbg_gbyf h[jZs_gguf dh
kdhc Z g_ d ojbklbZgkdhc Zm^blhjbb

Dexq_\u_ kjZgZ_ ojbklbZgkl\h JbfgdZy bZ]byby qm
dhe^h\kl\h ihe_fbdZ Hjbj_g P_evk

Keywords:Early Christianity, Roman Empire, miracle, magic, witchcraft, p
lemics, Origen, Celsus.

Qm^_kZ \ jZgg_f ojbklbZgkl_ bf_xl ^he]mx b
gby < jZagh_ \j_fy d gb f h[jZsZehkv fghl'_kl\h l
jbdh\ nbehkhnh\ ikboheh]h\ b khpbheh]h\ fu m
bkke^_h\Zgby gh bo qbkeh hq_gv _ebdZ b hgh
_l >bZiZahg l_f ih^gbfZ\rboky \ wlbo jZ[hIZo
aZsblu bklbgghklb qm^_k OjbklZ ^h ijh[e_f dhg
klZ\bl_e_c jZaebqguo j_eb]bhaguo l_q_jgbc gZ
fZevguo f_^bpbgkdbo mkem] \ Jbfgdhc bfi_jbb b
`b\hlguo \ Zihdjbnbq_kdbo >_ygbyo Zihklheh\
klZlvb fu ihijh[m_f \ h[sbo q_jlZo hibkZlv ij__
f_^am yauq_kdbca]hgöb gZ qm^_h b fZ]bx b ojbklb
\ajey^Zfb Z \ aZdexq_gb_ ij_^eh`blv g_kdhev dh
ih\h^m \Z`ghklb qm^_k b jZkkdZah\ h gbo \ ijhp_

gby ojbklbZgkl\zbfkjdhf bj_

:GLBQG:Y B BM>?CKD:Y LJ:>BPBY H QM>?K:O B F:

Ke^m_l gZqZlv k lh]h-jkfkhdhly fjZm\ dhl
 juc ijbreh ojbklbZgkl\h qm^_kZ [ueb²h fuf y\
 kemqZebkv ijb kZfuo jZaguo h[klhy\evkl\Zo k l
 ex^vfb bo l\hjPZfb [ueb [h]b nbehkhnuy klZlmb
 qb_ wdahjPZfb \^vfu `b\hlg_u b]hjgu_ bkl
 Qm^_kgu_ agZf_gby ij^_kdZau\Zeb jh^_gb_ b
 bfi_jZlhjh\ dZd jZkkdZau\Z_l K_lhgbc y\gh \hk
 dZdbf khqbg_gb_f ihk\ys_gguf wlhfm kx`_lm q
 p_e_gby i_jbh^bq_kdb ijhZkZobekde_ibg \k\h
 fh`gufb qm^_kZfb gZihieg_gu jhfZgu kha^Zgg_u
 G_hieZlhgbd lhjnbjbc ihe_fbabjmy k ojjbklbZgZf
 fhe\beky QRQ HVW DXWHP JUDQG HZAD EHUH VI
 g_obljh_a \$GY &KU IU 4psalm81:Zie206n239),
 b g_fgh]bkh]u_f_ggdbb k gb f ihkin]bb [>eg_,
 gu_ k_^_gby gZf ^Zxl ©:ihh]by^a b i_j\k_dgb]b ©
 :ime_y ^bZeh]b b izfne_lu EmdbZgZ b ©@bagv :ih
]h^a NeZ\by NbehkljZIZ

Bm^_ckdZy ljZ^bpbby lZd`_ ij^_hklZ\ey_l [h]Zl
 kbem_]h f_gvr_c ba_klghklb hklZgh\bfsy gZ wl
 ^jh[g³_< ^j_ghklb _]_b ihevah\Zebkv keZ\hc
 ijbq_f k hkh[hc ki_pbZebaZpbapZgth]e-Zvtoh\
 ahjpbaf<hagbdgh_gb_ wllhcklijZdlZehkv k bf_gZ
 :\jZZfZ >Z\b^Z b KhefhgZ k\b^_l_evklZZ h g_c
 _f \ Zglbqghc ebl_jZlmj_ dmfjZgkdbo jmdhibkyo
 ih`Zemc kZfuc ba_klguc b jZa_jgmluc jZkkdZ
 Bm^_ckdbo ^j_ghklyo BhkbnZ NeZKhyehfZgkdbZau

¹ GZb[he_ _\Z`gu_ jZ[hlu ihke^_gAuo 1978; 1507-1557;c
 Smith 1978; Remus1983; Kee.1986; Kelhoffer. 1999:23-34; Paget 2011: 131-
 148; Watson(ed). 2012;Montanari, Rengako(eds). 2018.

² Dhebq_kl\h bkke^_h\Zgbc h qm^_kZo b fZ]bb \ Zglbqg
 mdZ`_f ebrv g_dhlhju_ g^_Z\gb_ Paget Obbik(eds) b db
 1991; Anderson.1994; Graf. 1997; Dickie. 2001; Collins2008; Stratton, Kallers
 (eds.). 2014; Bortolani, Furlay, Nagel, Quaed(eds.).2019.

³ Ih^jh[g__ h qm^_kZo b fZ]bb Gredm1979b a19647; Betz
 1987: 212235;Becker 2002;Bohak 2008.

⁴ Novakovic2011: 95412.

_]h fZ]bq_kdbo nhjfmeZo ^ey bae_q_gby hl [he_ ^_fhgh\ Bhkbn \kihfgbe k\h_]h kh\j_f_ggbdZ g_ dhlhjuc h^gZ`^u ba]gZe ^_fhgh\ ba h^_j`bfuo \ <_kiZkbZgZ b_]h kugh_c

Hg ihklmibe ke_^mxsbfiht]gZkbe d ghkm h^_j`bfh]h ^_fhghf iZe_p gZ dhlhjhf gZoh^beky k \dexq_gguf \ g_f dhjg_f mdZaZggh]h Khehfhg gby b l_f bale_dZe m [_kgh\Zluo ^_fhgz ba gha gbc dhg_qgh lhlqZk iZ^Ze aZf_jl\h gZ a_fex ijbkmlkl\h\Z\rbwlljb]h]h\ [ue [u ihdeyklvky qlh hg m`_ [hevr_ g_ ijb^_l \ k_[y _keb [u g_ [ueh b khklZ\^e_gguo bf nhjfme aZdebgZgbc @_eZy \ihieg_ m[_^blv ijbkmlkl\mxsbo \ lhf vqlh hg ^_ck gh h[eZ^Z_l mdZaZgghc kbehx ?e_ZlaZj _e_e k [_kgh\Zlh]h gZihieg_gguc \h^hx dm[h_d b khkm^ ^ gby gh] b ijbZau\Ze ^_fhgm ijb \uoh^_ ba l_eZ hijhdb^u\Zlv khkm^ qlh[u \k_ ajbl_eb gZ ^_e_ ^blvky qlh aehck^k^mo_evgh ihdbgme h^_j`bfh]h (Jos. Flav. AJ, VIII, 4649; a^_k^Zbe i_j =_gd_ey

Djh_f_ bm^_ckdbo wdahjpbklh\ gZf bla_klgu l\hjpu ijhjhdb dhe^mgu _^vfu b ih^h[gu_ i_j] g_djhfZ^g(Jos.Flav. AJ, XVIII, 85-87; XX, 97-99; XX, 169472; BJ, VII, 437-441; Juv. Sat., VI, 542-547; Luc.Philops., 16 et al.) GZdhg_p g_dhlhju_]j_q_kdb_ fZ]bq_kdb_ izib hlghkysb_ky9d\h , ,kh^_j`Zl nhjfmeu k bf_gZfb _] ;h]Zb [b[e_ckdbo i_j_k^hFghZ`k_cy :]ZZfZ b^8KhehfhgZ ?keb \ ^j_\ghklb \hagbdZeb Fihju h am^_kZo s_f [hevrbgkl_ kemqZ_\ wlh [ueb g_ dhgnebdlu

⁵ Duling, 1985: 1-25.

⁶ < <Z\behgkdhf LZefm^_ khojZgbeky jZkkdZa h[Hgd_e_ Hgd_e ydh[u ie_fyggbd bfi_jZihjZ LblZ ih`_eZ\rbcklZ bkihevah\Ze g_djhfgZglb\^_b @la_eZedbo \jZ]h\ Bb]Zbey^a <ZeZZfZ b BbkmkZ Hgkigpfb_bhmZagZe dZdbf gZdZaZgk ih^_j]Zxiky gZ lhf k_b_57a)EGdrM1978: 164168; IZgl_e__\ 2015: 234248.

⁷ Betz 1992:XLI >gmf_jZpby kljZgbp ^h gZqZeZ hkgh\gh]h l_dk ^Z_lky kljhqgiufb Z l ggh ;keb IZdijngy\Zk lh imklv aZ]eZ\gufb j_ZebgghcgjZ@

⁸ Alexander 1999: 10521078, 12101219;Bohak 2008: 196201.

jb\rbo \ qm^h Z jZagh]eZkby f`^m jZayebqgufb
sb⁸ Gbdlh g_ klZ\be ih^ khfg_gb_ jZkkdZau ijhl
fZy qlh wlh fh`_l \ua\Zlv p_igmx j_Zdpbx ihke_
]h qm^gh]h b k_jot_kl_kl_ggh]h g_ hkIZg_lky d
fZdkbfmf qlh fh`gh [ueh mkeurZlv h nZdlbq_kdh
lZd wlh aZf_qZgby h gZ^`ghklb k\b¹⁰_lbr_c b jz
]^Z fh] \hagbdgmlv \hijhk [ueh eb ijhbahr_^r_
[ulb_f bf_xs_kfl_kl_ggh_ ijhbkoh`^_gb_ imklv b
LZd Pbp_jhg ml_j`^Ze

Gbqlh g_ fh`_l ijhbahclb [_a ijbqbmou b gbqlh
qZ_lky lZdh]h qlh g_ fh`_l kemqblvky :_keb
lh qlh kf]eh ijhbahclb lh \ wlf g_ ke^_m_l \
AgZqbl g_l og m^hZdk B[h_keb ke^_m_l kqblZlv
lh qlh kbm^qjZ^dh lh b fm^ju qm(Oie)De d
div. II i_j JB` Bdh]h

Iha`_ lemlZjo ijbagZ_l \hafh`ghklv kms_kl\h\
kl_ggh]h hkgh\Zgby^a qm^Z b _]h jZpbhgZevgh]
aZf_lbl qlh \k_wlh g_ bf__l gbdZdh]h hlghr_gb
bahr_^r_]h 3OX¹W?S_HUhe__ k_jv_agZy ^bkdmkk
jZa]hj_lvky hlghkbl_evgh ijbjh^u kh[ulby_ bf_eh
kl_ggh_ qm^h .è . beb dhe^h\kl\h Z20 . b
klhijboh^behkv dZd aZsbsZlv OjbklZ hl h[\bg_gbc \
_c lZd b hijZ^u\Zlvky kZfbf Z bgh]^Z ggbby[jZsZe
ijhbl\ k\hbo ijhbl\gdh\gbdh\ bm^__]ghkl\bdh\
< Zglbqghf fbj_ [ueh g_kdhevvdh jZkijhkljZg_
q_gbc \h\grbdh\ b dhe^mgh\ hkgh\gufb \]j_q_kd
fm`qbg " fZ] %œó/)" aZdebgZl_ev 3.!. .

⁹ >h^ 2003: 199200.

¹⁰ < dZq_kl_ bkdexq_gby fh`gh \kihfgblv iZfne_l ©:e
E`_ijhhd^a]^_ EmdbZg rhdbjh\Zgguc vgbajhkl\guf `r
j_eb]bhagh]h j_nhjfZlhjZ ihdZaZe \kx f_oZgbdm _]
©ij^kdZaZgbc^a H^gZdh _]h h[ebq_gby hkh[h]h mki_
ih^Z\eyxs__ [hevrbgkl\h gZk_e_gby bfi_jbb [hevr_ ioh
©Ex[bl_e_c e`b^a hohlgh jZkkdZau\Zgusb qm^kZdaq_f gZ
jZpbhgZevgh fukeys_]h wibalteregpZmE b ZlgZ

¹¹ G_dhlhju_ ^j_gb_ Zllhju iulZebkv jZa^_eblv ©_kl_
«g_kl_kl_ggu_^a kh[ulby LZd \ khqbg_gbb h kbghgfbZ
NbehgZ ;b[ek-dh]h g_w dhlhjh_khojZgbehkv \ \b^_
\baZglbckdh]h \j_f_gb [ueh kdZaZgh ©Qm^h 2 !." ijhbkoh^
Z agZf_gb_ 1 0U \hij_db h[uqgh(Ammohijs466)m _s_c^a

) " dhe^mg rZjeZlZg ^ay! _g'sbgZjh^_ddZ \hj
y b j _ È2 " dhe^mgvy rZjeZlZg^bz \ eZl
PDJXV fHZQHlYFXV qZjh^_cdhe^PDgOHMeFYXV_gsbg
FDQWDWUL[\hjh_y VDJD \her_gbbZ beb
L_jfbg " PDJXV bagZqZevgh hlghkbeky d i_jk
g_ bf_e gbdZdbo hljbPZI_ evguo dhgghlZpbc gh
\jZ]Zfb]j_idhkZfb ij_jZlbeZ bo j_eb]hbxqmlv©qlh
[hevr__ q_f¹³h[fZgw]hl l_jfbg ijbh[j_e g_]ZlB\gh_
gb¹⁴ ?s_ [hevr_wlhl g_]ZlB\ mkm]m[beky \ jbfk
kdhc ljZ^bpbb]^_ g_ lhevdh bkihevah\Zgb_fZ
h[eZ^Zgb_dgb]Zfb k aZdebgZgbyfb jZkkfZljB\Z
ij_klmie_gby 3DXO 6HQW 9 FZ]b b Zklj
ba]hgyebkv ba]hjh^Z dZd [j]eh^h g w bb\
]] g w ZgZeh]bqgu_f_ju ij_^ij¹⁵g_bfZegkv b
f_g__ fu j_]meyjgh klZedb\Z_fky kh k\b^_l_evk
jZkijhkljZg_gby fZ]bq_kdbo ijZdlbd \ wihom iha^
b \k_]h i_jbh^Z bfi_jbb b wlh \f_kl_ kuh^ghc k
fb ih_a^dZfb jbfkdhc agZlB b ijhklh ex[hiulkl\mxs
qlh[u ihagZdhfblvky kZqZjh^m]fbc ihiuldbfb g_dh
juo nbehknh\ e_]Zebah\Zlv fZ]bx ij_jZlB\ __ \
ehkh¹⁶bbihdZau\Z_l qlh \ j_Zevghklb]hkih^kl\h
Zf[b\Ze_glgh_hlghr_gb_¹⁷.d wlhc kn_j_
>Zlv dZlhhij_^_e_gb_lhfm qlh \ ZgZbqghf fb
ehkv fZ]b_c hq_gv g_ijhklh _keb \hh[s_ \hafh
aZdhgZo nb]mjbmxl khklZ\e_gb_a_eccb^ey ijb\
^urZ q_eh_q_kdb_`_j\hijbghr_gby b bkihevah\
ij_^kdZaZgbc bklhjbdb mihfbgZxl h]hjhkdhiZo
qe_gh\ bo k_f_chb adZlbb]o]^_ gZijhlb\ bo bf_g
g_db_aeh_sb_agZdb 7DF \$QQ ,, gh
hij_^_e_gby g_l ;hevrbgkl\h kh\j_f_gguo mq_gu
qlh ihiuldb hij_^_eblv fZ]bx b knhjfmelj\Zlv _

¹² Dickie. 2001: 1216; Rives 2010: 53-77.

¹³ Segal 1981: 36.

¹⁴ lh^h[gmX f_lZfhjnham i_j_be l_jfbg ./.Ù " &KDOGD
[m^mqb wlghgbfhf kh \j_f_g_f ©oZe^_c^a klZe h[hagZqZlv

¹⁵ Segal.1981:356-358; Dickie. 2001: 1216.

¹⁶ l_ljh.\2003:129-154.

¹⁷ Gh 2011: 130-133.

j_eb]bb aZ_^hfh [_amkf_fgufugzbqkhhkj_^hlhqb
k\h_ \gbfZgb_ [m^v lh hlghr_gb_ d bkihevam_fu
ihegbl_ey b beb aZdZaqbdZ wnn_dl qm^Z beb
l_ogbdZ < gZklhys_ \j_fy [hevrh_ jZkijhkljZg
khpbbheh]bq_kdbc ih^oh^ \ jZfdZo dhlhj]h fZ]b
dZd ZglbkhhpbZevgZy ZghfZevgZy b g¹⁸]\ZevgZ
Kh]eZkgh_fm hp_gdZ q_eh_dZ beb]jmiiu ex^_
qZklh [ueZ k\yaZgZ F \hkijbylb_f_]h bo ebqg
^_ckl\bc b aZ\bk_eZ hl hlghr_gb]mZdh]h kq_eh_\
pbZevguf hdjm_gb_f b khh\l_kl_ggh hl lh]h
qlh hgb hdZau\Zxl hljbpZI_evgh_ \ebygb_ gZ h
khpbbheh]bq_kdh]h ih^oh^Z \Z`gZ Zevl_jgZlb\ghk
h[\bgy_fh]h bg^b\b^mmfZ beb]jmiiu ^hfbgbjmxs_\
kl\m H[\bg_gby \ fZ]bb \u^b]Zebkv eb[h ijhlb\ l
\Ze kms_kl\mxsbc ihjy^hd _s_c eb[h ijhlb\ l_o
:ime_x \hkijgbfZebkv dZd qm`Zdb ij_l_g^mxsb
dhlhju_ kqblZebkv g_h¹⁹qm`^Z_fufb

K?L?EVKL<: J:GG?OJBKLB:GKDHC EBL?J:L

OjkbIbZgkdbf ibk~~Zll~~_eyfqm^_kZ [ueb bgl_j_kg
jZaghc kl_i_gb < Gh\hf AZ_l_ hgb qZs_ \k_]
?\Zg]_ebyo b k\yaZg²⁰u k B_b_k_g_b_y_b ih^jh[gh hibku
xlky qm^_kZ ²¹ihklh h h\qbke_ lZ\ez h^gZdh \hki
Zihklhez yauq~~gd~~dm^d\hjpZ ijhlb\hj_qZI_]h lh

¹⁸ Aune 1978: 15101515; Segal. 1981:367; I_ljh.\ 2003: 1721; Paget 2011:133.

¹⁹ H[\bg_gb_ \ aZgylbyo fZ]b_c ijhlb\ :ime_y [ueh \u^b]g
Ljbiheb jh^kl_ggbdzfb [h]Zlhc \^h\ u gZ dhlhjhc hg `_g
ebrb\ bo _ gZke_^kl\Z ^cyn ddf b ZgZuejko koh`^_gby
:ime_c [ue jh^hf ba FZ^Z\juz jZagbpb\ dmevlmjghf mjh
Ex[hilugh qlh h^bg ba i_j_uo ZglbfZ]bq_kdbo]ijh¹⁸p_khh\ \
g w [ue bgpbpbjh]_g mij Zbz hZ h evghhlims_jg b dZ Z Khk_^b
_]h g_laex[\bebb radz]f [hevrb_ mjh`Zb dhlhju_ hg kgbfZe
fZe_gvdh]h mqZklidZ b h[\bgbeeb \ i_j_fZgb\Zgbb ieh^h
ijbg_k gZ nhjmf hjm^by k\h_]h ljm^Z b ijb_e \k_o ^hfZ
[udh\ kh keh\Zfb ©<hl \k_ fhb aZdebgljgby\XdlI,[ue hijZ\^

41-42; Dickie. 2001: 138140).

²⁰ Blackburn 2011: 113-130.

²¹ Penner 2012:125-174.

J^_ wlhfm kx`_lm m^_e_gh kh\k_f:\ghf glnhZhe f_klZ
 gby d ?\j_yfb^bf hfm kqblZ_l ©agZf_gby b qm^_
 h[s_ba_klgufb b ^_lZevgh g_ hklZgZ\23-4Z_lky gZ
 h qm^_kZo ihke_^gbo ^g_c jZkkdZau\Z_hky \ Hld
 xsZy ljZ^bpbby lZd`_ jZaghjh^gZ < khqbg_gbyo z
 ph\ kh^_j`Zlky mdZaZgby gZ agZf_gby b qm^_kZ
 gu_ k Bbkmkhf (SLVW %DUQ bZb [m^ms
 ghc 'LG b ^Zxlky bgkljmdpbb dZd hleb
 lbgguo hl eh`guo +HUP²³ 0DhQ Gklmkl\mxi kkuedb
 dZb eb[h kh\j_f_ggbdh\ aZgbfZxsbody iZ^h[gufb
 fb Xklbg Bjbg_c N_hnbe :glbhobckdbchb L_jlm
 ^hf mihfbgZgkl bZgkdbo qm^h\hj_p_\ \ qZklghklb
 klh\ gh gbdZdbo ih^jh[ghkl_c h[bo ^_yl_evghk
 g_l >ey wlbo Z\lhjh\ qm^h g_ [ueh qZklvx ih\k_
 hgb ihgbfZxl _]h Zf[b\Ze_glguc oZjZdl_j Wlh ij
 iuldZf aZsblblv qm^_kZ ij`^_ \k_]h kh\hj_ggu
 h[ty\gby bo qZjh^_ckl\hf qZklh d wlhc l_f_h[jZ
 hijh\j]Zy ml\j`^_gby yauqgbdZ P_evkZ h lhf q
 fZeky 20 . dhe^h\kl\hf ;hevr_ \k_]h jZkkdZ
 \klj_Zlky \ Zihdjbnbq_kdbo >_ygbyo Zihklheh\ V
 lhjkl\h b lhqgh_ \j_fy kha^Zgby dhlhjuo g_ba_k
 bkp_eyfb \hk dj_r_gbyfb wdahjpbafZfb²⁴.b ij_\jZs_
 KZfb ojbklbZg_ jZa^_eyeb k yauqgbdZfb b b
 l_evnguc \ajey^²⁵ gZ FZjZ bah[jZ`Z_l\leZjZp lZ
 sbfbky k ©\heo\Zf²⁴; 13:6-10; 19:8- bk jZ
 kdZau\Z_l dZd lZ_e \ Wn_k_ ^h[beky kh``_gby
 q_kdbo dgb] gZ ^jZof >fyg b^bf-ij_ ^hkl
 j`_gby ijhlb\ fZ]bb \ ©>b^Zo_ a m <ZjgZ\ u b m
 %DUQ ,JQ (SK Xklbg ml\j`^Z
 hklZ\beb fZ]bq_kdb_ bkd mkl\Z ©Fu ij_h^_ ihev
 klyfb fZ]bb Z gug_ ij_ ^Zeb k_[y [eZ]hfm ;h]m^a
 ihjZ[hsZxsZy kbeZ fZ]bb ijhbkoh^bl hl ^_fhgh\
 L_jlmeebZg ibkZe —qwhhfZ]abZjZaZ q_eh_Z_kdh]h

²² Watson. 2012189-196; Rhodea2019.

²³ Reiling.1973.

²⁴ Achtemeier 1976: 149180; Bolyki. 1995:15-36; Bremmer. 19981-20; Bremmer2000: 15-34.

²⁵ Remus1983.

qbgsbd \kydh]h aZ[em`^_gby]m[bl_ev kiZk_gb
DQLP QZklh \klj_qZxlky g_]Zlb\gu_ aZf.
ba jeZ\u ?\Zg]_eby hl FZln_y ,JQ (SK
7HUW 'H LGRO djhf_lh]h kZfb p_jd
ihvah\Zeb h[\bg_gby \ aZgylbyo fZ]b_c ijhlb_
FZ]Z]ghklbdZ FZjdZ >_yge-24 kuzty Apol. I, 26, 2,
Acta Petri, 28, Iren. AH, I, 13; II, 31, 2-3, II, 32; HippRef., VI, 39, 1;
IX, 14, 2-3, VI, 7, 1).

DZdh\u nmgdpbb qm^_k \ jZgg_ojbklbZgkdbo
\k_]h hq_\b^gZ k\yav f`^m qm^_kZfb b Z\lhjb
lZ_e kkueZ_lky gZ gbo dh]^Z grf`^m dZkay\Zih^_
qlh n_kkZehgdbcpu ijbgyeb ?\Zg]_e k ehgZ l g avd
b b a Z kbeu b K\ylh]h >moZ hg ibih_l^yZ f a b qZy
qm^_k b k qm^hf

GZr_ [eZ]h_kl_h\Zgb_ m \Zk [ueh g_ \ Keh\
b\ kbeb \h K\ylhf >mo_ b kh fgh]bf m^hklh_j_
dZd \u >kZfb@ agZ_l_fu dZdh\Zk[feb^m \Zfb^a
(1 N_kk

:ihklhe ijhlb\hikhkIZ\ey_l ©m[_^bl_evgu_ keh\Z
fm^jhklb^a _]h hiihg_glh\ b k\hx ijhih_^v ©k kbe
Dhj < ^jm]hf f_kl_ hg ibr_l ©M f_gy gb \ q_
dZ ijhlb\ \ukrbo :ihklheh\ b gbqlh ljbagZdb :ihkl
hdZaZebkv i_j_^ \Zfb \kydbf l_ji_gb_f agZf_gby
kbeZfb^a Dhj - >Z`_ _keb a^_kv lZ_e ^h
qlh ih qZklb qm^hl\hjghe\k\beufnm ggilkhihklZ\bf l
i_j\hgZqZevgufb ZihklheZfgh lykgh_]h\hjhl h \Z`g
klb qm^Z ^ey k\h_]h kZfh\hkijbylby G_dhlhju_ n
qlh lZ_e kkueZeky gZ k\hb qm^_kZ lhevbdh \ ken
\Zeky_]h Z\lhjbl_l qlh h[tykgy_l h]jZg b q_ggh_
gZgbc \ ihkeZgbyo ih kjZ\g_gbx k >_ygbyfb b w
ij_^ih eh`_gbx qlh m lZ\ez [ueh [he__ [h]Zlh_ [h
q_f dZ`_lky gZ i_j\uc \a]ey^ b qlh jZkkdZau >
lZ\ez g_ y\eyxlky \ufukehf Emdb

M[_^_gb_ \ lhf qlh qm^_kZ ih^l_j`^Zeb Z
l\hjph\ ij_`^_ Zkh]hheh\ gZoh^bl ^hihegb_l_evgr
^_j`dm \ Zihdjbn b qy g d byo emqrbc h[jZfZ]p wih]h

²⁶ Kelhoffer.2000;Kelhoffer 2001: 163-184.
²⁷ Kelhoffer.2000 Evans2006:360-380;Paget 2011: 135, 145.

q_kdh_khklyaZgb_l_ljZ b KbfhgZ -12; Pass \$FWI
 Petriet Pauli²⁸ H^gZdh ijhIb\ wIh]h k\b^_l_evkI\mxi Aj
 g_gby \ dhlhjuo qm^Z_klZyk\y h[uqgufb _jmxsbf
 A^_kv gm`gh \kihfgblv mdZaZgb_lZ\ez_gZ bkp
 gby ijhjq_kl\Z b ^jm]b_ ^Zju ^Z\Z_fu= [jZlvyf
 qlh i_j_debdZ_lky kh keh\Zfb FZjdZ m agZf_g
 ^ml khijh\h^ ^Zlv m_jh\Z\rbo

Bf_g_fhbf [m^ml ba]hgylv [_kh\ [m^ml]h\hjb
 \ufb yaudZfb [m^ml [jZlv af_c b _keb qlh kf_
 \uivxl g_ ih\j_ ^bl bf \haeZ\Zhejmgdb b hgb
 [m^ml a^h Fndu 18),

Z iha`_ k aZf_qZgbyfb XklbgZ Bjbgy²⁹ _jlmeeb.
 Djhf_]lh qm^_kZ bkihevah\Zebkv ^ey_ih^^_j`d
 kdbo ml_j^_gbc K bo ihfhsvx k k bthg_ qZ_klmsZe
 ijbjh^_j_bkIZ

Bbkmk bf_l bfy b agZq_gb_ b q_eh_dZ b
 b[h Hg b k^_eZeky q_eh_dhf dZd y m`_ kdZaZe
 \he_ ;h]Z b HbpZ_jjZ_sbo \ G_]h ex^_c b ^ey k
 djmr_gby ^_fhgh\ Wlh b l_i_jv \u fh`_l_ magZl
 qlh ijhbkoh^bl ij_ ^ \Zrbfb]eZaZfb B[h fgh]b
 gZrbo ba ojbklbZg bkp_eyeb b gug_ _s_ bkp_e
 kl\h h^_j`bfuo ^_fhgZfb \h \k_f fbj_ b \ \Zr_f]
 aZdebh_gZyg_f BbkmkZ OjbklZ jZkiylh]h ijb lhglbk
 eZl_ f`^m l_f dZd hgb g_ [ueb bkp_e_gu \k_f
 aZdebh_gZfb aZ]h\hjsbdZfb b \$SRIO_yfb i_j
 l lj_h[jZ`_gkdh]h FI 7KHSRK \$G \$XW , ,

< ^jm]hf f_kl_]h\hgy h[Bbkmk_ dZd F_kkbb
 <<ijhq_ fu g_ j_rZ_l_kv ijbagZlv ?]h Ojbklhf dZd
 ibkZgby \b^bfu_ kh[ulby b ^_eZ kh_jrZ_fu_
 'LDO < wIbo hlju\dZo qm^_kZ g_ y\eyx
 km`^_gby Z ih^^_j`b\Zxl ^h]fZlBq_kdb_ ml_j^_g
 H[jZ_gb_ d qm^_kZf fh]eh ij_ke_ ^h\Zlv b Zih
 p_eb L_jlmeebZg aZsbsZe ojbklbZg hl h[\bg_gb
 \jZ]b jh^Z q_eh_q_kdh]h mdZau\Zykyq kb bl_jmxs
 lbggufb \jZ]Zfb-eX^fhgZfb klj_fysbfbky ih]m[blv \

²⁸ K dh]h, 2000:239-298; hKbfhg<_h_e_o_k_f: Ferreiro. 2005.
²⁹ Kelhoffer. 1999:23-34.

Dlh [u lh]^Za[Zke]e [u hl l_o lZcguo b ih\kx^A
hlgbfZxsbo \Zr jZamf b a^hjh\v_ \jZzh\ y]h\hjx
^_gbyo ^_fhgh\ dhlhjuo fu ba]hgy_f ba \Zk [_a
[_a hIeZ" 7HUW \$SRO.X ;jZlimpbgz

>ey g_]h ba]gZgb_ ^_fhgh\ ^_fhgkljbjmya bklbgg
q_kdbo ©[h]h\^a _v dh]^Z ojbklbZgbg ijbdZau\
q_eh_dm]h\hjbiv lh ^mo h[ty\ey_l k_[y ^_fhgh
a^_kv ihabppy L_jlmeebZgZ kdhj__ bkdexq_gb_
kdb_Zihev]_lu \ [hevr_c kl_i_gb dhgp_gljbjh\Ze
\ Bbkmk_ b_]h ihke_^h\Zl_eyo gZreb bkiheg_
<_loh]h AZ_lZ q_fgZ lhf qih hgb kh_prZeb qm
]_g aZsbsZy bklbggghklv kh\hj_ggh]h bfb \k_
wlhc l_f_gZkljhj`_ggh lZd dZd qm^_kZmh\le_dZ
xsbo hl q_ghkdhc ijbjh^u OjbklZ 2ULJ & &HOV
gZqZem hgb fh]eb [ulv g_h[oh^bfu ^ey lh]h qih]
g__ dj_idb_mfu ,ELG , gh \hafh`gh kim
bo ljZdlh\Zlv Zee_]hjbq_kdb ©LZd l_i_jv ihklhy
jeZaZ moka^miahf b mrb aZdjulu_jZgvrh ^ey mo
^_l_eb klZeb \gbfZlv mq_gbx_49]h]_a ,ELG ,,
Qm^_kZ k\b^_l_evkl\h\Zeb h ihklhyggghf ijbkm
;h]Z \ P_jd\b Keh\hkhq_lZgb_ ©agZf_gby b qm
2 !.2. bkihevam_lky \ >_ygbyo 22,48;4:30 \ >_yg
5:12;6:8;7:36;14:3;15: b lhkeZgbyo lZ\ez Ddfj
12:12;2N_kk ijh^he`Zy ljZ^bpbx gZqZlmx \ Bl
aZdhgbb b okZekZb \ <_lohf AZ_w_lhq^m^cklZby
;h]Z \h [eZ]h ?]h gZjh\hZal_hbgjhZgg_ojbklbZgkdhc
ebl_jZlmk\l_b^_l_evkl\h lh]h qih Ojbklhgx g_ hklZ
sbo b ?]h kbeZ ihfh]Z_l bf

< aZdexq_gbb hlf_lbf _s_ ^\Ziij\eho`_gZk <h
kdZau h qm^_kZo iha\heyeb ojbklbZgkdbf ijhih\
\u]ey^_lv jy^dhfg^mj_glZfb Fgh]hqbke_ggu_ aZib
]j_q_kdbo b \hklhqqguo [h]h\ \uklZ\eyebkv \ ojZfZ
\ ki_pbZevguo khqbg_gbyo Z^j_kh\Zgguo rbjhdh
eh g_h[oh^bfh ijhh\b\hihklZ\biv wlhfm\lith]ludm <h
fu ^he`gu g_mimboZnlvltbaqlh \k_wlb qm^_kgu_
fh]eb ijhklh jZa\le_dZlv qblZl_e_c b wlh hlghkbl

³⁰ Lampe 1970: 211-212; Frend 2005: 18-19.
³¹ Gh 2011: 106-114.

q_kdbf >_ygbyf Zihklheh\ IZd b d Zihdjbnbq_kdb

QM>?K: B J:KIJKLJ:G?GB? OJBKLB:GKL<:

?s_ Wb[[hg mdZaZe gZ ©kihhk[ghklv gZhjblv q
h^gm ba iylb dexq_\uo ijbqbg mkf³²_oZ g fhmh&lj_eb
jbl :=ZjgZd ©DZd aZdebgZI_eb [_kh\ \klmibeb c
b aZdebgZgb_ [ueh hg_gv \Z`guf kj_^\klhf ijhih\
kljZg_gby ojbklbZgkd³³hc Wlab]ba]pey^ \ gZr_ \j_f
ih^^_j`ZgZdbfb Z\lhjbl_lgufb mq_gujfZm³⁴gdZd l
JFZdZee³⁵_g< kZfhf ^_e_ \ >_ygbyo qm^_kZ qZk
h[jZs_gb_ >_yg b h
? \k_\bc \ P_jdh\ghc bklhjbb ©Ex^b« h`beb kbe
dhlhjhc mqbebeb b h m^b_kZ ?]h Eusebius]h B,^2).
LZdmx k\yav hlf_qZ_l Bjbg_c ©KZfb hkmh[h`^_g
oh\ qZklh ^_eZxlky _jmxsfbf b h[jZsZxlky d P_
L_jlmeebZg mihfygm\ qlh ^_fhgx ihdb^
^_c bkih\^_mxl ojbklb]ZgkdZd]h bklbggh]h ibr_l ©
ihdZaZgby \Zrbo [h]h\ h[uqgh b ij_\jZsZxl ex^_c
Kdhev qZklh ^h_jyy bf fu gZqbgZ_f _jblv \h
\$SRO Hjb]_g ml_j^Z_l qlh Zihktheu m[_
^_kZfb IZd dZd g_ \k_ hgb h[eZ^Zeb agZgbyfb
e_dlbdb & &HOV , b [_a wlbo qm^_k bo l
[u k\hx klZjmx _jm ,ELG , <_jhylgh kZfu
h[jZs_gby \ua\Zggh]h qm^hf ij_^\hklZ\eyxl gZf Z
>_ygby < >_ygbyo BhZg@Z_fw kb]Zbfl_o dlh ijb^
gZ wlh aj_ebs_ kmlv l_ dh]h y h[jZsmHZdbfb b
ju_ klZgml ohlvhgZheq]tagu^a \$F,WB- -RDQjQL
: X <bgh]jZ^h\Z Z h[jZs_gb_ Wn_&Z jZ]h]h oh^bl
gby ojZfZ :jl_fb^u

<g_aZigh `jl_g]b^ujjZa\Zebeky gZ fgh]h
qZkl_c \k_ gZoh^b\rb_ky \ ojZf_ _sb \^jm] ihi
ihe b djZkhIZ bo jZkiZeZkv Z IZd`_ [hevr_ k_f
ih eh\bgZ ojZfZ jmogmeZ IZd qlh b `j_p [ue jZ

³² = b[[h2007 (2): 3741.

³³ = Zjg.2007:89.

³⁴ Brown. 1971:54-55.

³⁵ MacMullen 1984:21-24.

miZ\r_c [Zedhc Lh]^Z lheiZ wn_kyg aZdjbqZeZ
BhZgg h^bg ;h] fbemxsbcb gZk b[h Lu h^bg ;h]
h[jZlbfky fu \b^y ?]lh fpre mgZk ;h`_ dZd Lu
`_eZ_rvbaZ\ v gZk hl _ebdh]h aZ[em`^_gby B h
gbo mfheyeb ez`Z gbp Z^jm]b_ ijhkb eb ij_dehg
bgu_ ieZdZeb jZah\Zjh h^`^u ihulZebkv [
`Zlv^a ,ELG

< >_ygbyo lZ\ez ihke_ qm^Z gZ Zj_g_ \ Wn_
©KiZkb gZk ;h`_ KiZkb gZk ;h] fm`Z lh]h qlh
ky^{36a} b ex^b m_jh\Zeb Z \ >_ygbyo l_ljZ l_lj b
mkljZb\Zxl p_eh_ ij^kIz\ e_gb_ i_j^ lhei hc ajbl
K ihfhsvx qm^_k h[jZsZeb \ _jm ex^_c g_ lhe
b bo mq_gbdb gh b _j_lbdb lh keh\Zf XklbgZ
gZg^j ijb\ e_deb keh\Zl_e_c ijb ihfhsb fZ]bb

Kbfhg kbehx ^_fhgh\ ^_ckl\h\Zhrbo q_j_a
kj^kI\h\j\h_gDeZ\^by d_kZjy ^_eZemher_[gu_ q
^_kZ \ pZjkl_gghf]hjh^ \Zr_f Jbf_« AgZx _s_
dlh F_gZg^j ^jm]hc kZfZjygb b mq_gbd KbfhgZ
\ebyg_f ^_fhgh\ b \ [ulghklv k\hx \ :glbhobb
h[hevklbe \her_[guf bkd mkl\hf ^Z\Z m_jye ih
l_e_c k\hbo qlh h (Apog 1, 26; 1j2)

lh ` _ kZfh_ Bjbgb_c ibkZe h k\h_f kh\j_f_ggbd_ \
FZjd_ ©Hg ihdZau\Z_l k_[y qm^hl\hjp_fk >_eZy
gh_ k_fm hg _e \ h[fZg b m\ e_d a,Z kh[hxbfgh]h
h ^jm]bo Zj_lbd

KlZjZxlky h[fZghf h[hevklblv ex^_c g_jZamf
Hgb ijhba\h^yl y\ e_gb_ f]gh_ggh bkq_aZxs__
fbgmlu g_ ijh^he`Zxs__ky b lZdbf h[jZahf hdZa
ih^h[gufb g_ gZr_fm =hkih^m Bbkmm Ojblm g
<heo\m^a \$+ -5);

d wlhc l_f_Zh_ljZys b Biihebl Jbfkdbc 5HI 9,
1-2; VII, 32, 50)³⁷.

K\yav f`^m qm^hf b h[jZs_gb_f [ueZ [_amk
\k_o ojbklhZg\ ,:D_eohnn_j h[jZlbe \gbfZgb_gZ
Xklbg]h\hjbl h g_c dh]^Z j_qv b^_l h hj_lbdZo

³⁶ K dh]h, 2000:190.
³⁷ Kelhoffer. 2007/8: 517448.

^hdkZevguo ojb_kZbZgZ_eZo b _]h kh³⁸_fD_ggDZo
 nn_j g_ hl\ _j] wlm k\yav gh kqblZ_l __bg^hdZa
 kh^bgbekyc^_l mdZaZ\ qlh Zihdjbnbq\kdb_>
 eyxIky lZdbf m` g_aZfukeh\Zluf l_dklhf ^ey g_
 _jmxsbZddfh`gh ih^mfZlv Qm^_kZ \ gba ihyley
 klh lZd hgb hdZau\Zxlky hli^Zyg hce_lhqDZcghe
 ljZgknhjfZpbj_oh^Z hl kf_jlb d `bagb B kiZk_g
 lb\r_]hky aZ\bkbl \ [hevr_c kl_i_gb hl ijb_j`_ggf
 _]h ^_ckl\bc q_fghl]hZiklbgylby qm^_kgh]h

IHE?FBD: <HDJM= QM>?K B F:=BB

GZkdhevdh \ub]jurgZ [ueZ l_fZ qm^_k ^ey
 fbkkbb" DZd \ur_ [ueh kdZaZgh h^gZ]jmiiZ m
 \Z`ghklb wl]h nZdlhjZ gh_klv b ^jm]Zy lhqDZ
 >`Eyfi_ ©OjbklbZgkdb_ Ziheh]_lu h[gZjm`beb
 d qm^_kZf hlgx^v g_lhuelmau⁴⁰dfm^_kZ [ueb ij
 \uqghe qZklvx `bagb Zglbqgh]h fbjZ \ g_f [ueb \
 oZgbafu ^ey ih^^_j`db b jZkijhkljZg_gby jZkkdZ
 qm^_kZo b ^bkdj^_blZpbhg^hZebkv ims_gu \
 ijhlb\ ojbklbZg P_jdh\guf ibkZI_eyf ijbrehkv aZs
 kZ BbkmkZ Zihklheh\ b bo mq_gbdh\ hl ^\mo \
 ij_l_gaby [ueZ k\yaZgZ k l_f qlh hgb [ueb g_g
 fufb \jh^_l_o qlh ijbibku\Ze Bjb\$+c,]ghklbZ
 :iheh]_l Dh^jZl :nbgkdbc ibkZ]rbrml_j`^Ze
 qlh \ _]h \j_fy _s [ueb `b\lu g_dhlhju_ ba bkp_e
 (XV +(,9 b wlb keh\Z fh]ml mdZau\Zlv g
 b bm^_b khfg_\Zebkv⁴¹ ?]haqm^_kZdZau\Ze \ ^
 klh_jghklb g_dhlhjuf qm^_kguf kh[ulbyf \ `bag
 qZklghklb jh^_gbx hl >_lu & &HOV , d

³⁸ Kelhoffer 2000: 321.

³⁹ Gallagher 1991:21; Paget 2011:137-138.

⁴⁰ Lampe 1970: 213.

⁴¹ W b h^ak ijZ\^Z \b^bl \ wibo keh\Zo mdZaZgb_ g_ gZ
 qm^_k BbkmkZ Z gZ bo wnn_dlb\ghklv k\b^_l_evkl\hf q_
 bkp_e_gguo KiZkbl_e_f b \kihdbZ]mf]h^hkguauq_kdhc
 kljhgh mdZaZgb_ gZ ^ebl_evghkZebkfZg]h :iheehgby
 LbZgkdb]h^2003:200).

46- b \hk dj_k_gbx ,ELG , -53)⁴², 52-53, VI, 72
 <lhjh_ [he__ qZklh_ h[\bg_gb_ b hkh h yeh \ l
 Zgkdb_ qm^_kZ ^hdZau\Zeb ijb gZ^e_`ghklv Bbkr
 kl_gguo ihke^h\ZI_e_c b kh\j_f_gguo djblbdZ
 dhe^mgZf P_evk j_]meyjgh h[jZsZeky dgwlhc l_t
 ghf keh_ hd] Hg\m^b fjh^m z ei h\lh j y h[\
 g_gby^b m qlh B b k r e k m g b a m q b \ r b c f Z] b x \ ?)
 ,ELG , P_evk j^dh khfg_Zeky \m Zdl_ qr
 kZ gh djblbdh\Ze bklhqqbd ?]h kbe Hg klZ\be
 mjh_gv k ©qZjh^_yfb h[_sZxsbf b m^b\bl_evgu_
 kh_jrZxl \umq_gbdb_]bilyg hl^Zxs b_ ihkj^b
 kdhev dh h[heh\ k\hb aZf_qZl_evgu_ agZgby ba
 ex^_c \u^m\Zxs b_ [he_agb \uau\Zxs b_u^mrb]_
 \Zxs b_ ijbajZqgu_ jhkdhrgu_ ibju ljZi_au i_q_?
 kl\Z ijb\h^ysb_ \ ^\b`_g b m x s b d k m s ^ k d k l \ b l _ e v g h
 k l b ` b \ h l g u o y l e y x s b o k y l Z d h \ u f b e b r v ^ e y \ h
 ,ELG , lh^h[gu_ h[\bg_gby kh klhjhg u b m
 Xklbg hf ©Hgb b m ^ b ` ` \ b ^ y l Z d b _ ^ _ e Z k q l
 guf h[hevs_gb_f b hkf_ebekv gZa\Z Z g s] h \ h e o
 dhf gZjh^Za 'LDO - WIZ djblbdZ ih\lhjy
 klheh\ b kh\j_f_gguo P_evkm ojbklbZgkdbo qm^
 ojbklbZg aZdex q Z \ k f y f m \ a g Z g b b b f _ g _ g _ d b o ^
 b \ i j b f _ g _ g b b a Z d e b g Z g b c ^ , E L G < , j y ^ _ 9 ,
 kemqZ_ P_evk h[\bgy_l ojbklbZgkdbo ©dhe^mgf
 jqbluo g \ ^ b \ lhf qlh hgb ij^eZ]Zxl k\hb
 gZ jugd_ ,ELG , , , , DZd _jhb hl dh
 ebkv ojbklbZg_ g_ [he__ q_f dhe^mgf h^h,ELG ,
 gu_ h[\bg_gby kh^_j`Zlky b \ Zihdjbnbq_kdbo >
 kljZl_] :g^jhgb d i j b d Z a Z e q l h [u Z i h k l h e B h Z g g
 e_gbl_Zlj_ gZ ke_^mxsbo mkeh\byo

Imklv \hc^zl \ hldjuluc h[s_kl_gguc l_Zlj gZ
 gbq_]h g_ ^_j`Z \ jmdZo b imklv g h e j b a u \ Z _
 r_[gh]h bf_gb dhlhjh_ hg dZd y keurZe ijhb
 (Acta Ioanni, 31; cf. Acta Pauli, 15, 20).

OjbklbZg_ jZagufb kihkh[Zfb ijhlb\hklhyeb w

⁴² Kf C. Cels, II]^_ Hjb]_g aZsbsZ_l j_Zevghklv jZk
 \hk dj_r_gbb ex^vfb Bbkmkhf ba f_jl\uo gZ lhf hkgh\Zgbb
 [ueb eh`vx lh \ ?\Zg]_ebyo bo [ueh [u g_ ljb Z gZfgh]h

gbyf lj_`^_ \k_]h hgb mdZau\Zeb gZ lh dZd bf
ihke_`h\ZI_`eb kh_jrZeb qm^_kZ Xklbg ^hdZau\Z
g_ [ueb \her_[gbdZfb ihlhfm qlh hgb g_ ijhbagf
gbc beb g_ kh_jrZeb hkh[u_ ijZdkbku _`^v Bbl
qm^_kjZ q_agb_f ,XVW 'LDO FI ,UHQ \$+
VIII, 272- Gh qm^_kZ \uau\Z_fu_ h^gbf keh\hf
klZlv hkggh\Zgb_f h[\bg_gby \ dhe^h\kl_h 7HUW
\Z fh]ml kqblZlvky fZ]bq_kdbfb fZgbimey_pbyfb m
ju wlh]h \ fZ]bq_kdbb⁴³ izi^{hjm}klZgZ wlh ojb_klbZg_
au\Zeb gZ jZaebqby aZdebgZgbc b fhebl_ b ih^c
kh_jrZeb qm^_kZ @\h bfy BbkmkZ^a Dhg_qgh ^
dhfuo k \hijhkhf wlh g_ [ueh k_jv_aguf Zj]mf_gf
p_e_g^hbfy BbkmkZ fh]eh ihdZaZlvky aZdebgZg
gb[m^v ^jm]hc fZ]bq_kdhc ijZdlbdhc hkh[_ggh
gZqZeb khijh\h`^Zlv k\hb qm^_kZ izkk⁴⁴:Zfb h
Hkgh\Zgb_f ^ey lZdbo bkp_e_gbc @\h bfy Bbkmk
m _\j__\ b ya^uq^gh^hju_ bkp_eyeb bf_g_f k\hbo [f
^_fhgh\ agZlv bfy hagZqZ_l h[eZ^Zlv \eZ^hklvx gZ
kb⁴⁵ Hlf_lbf qlh lZdh_h[jZs_gb_fh`gh [ueh [u \l
b dZd g_djhFZglbx lZd dZd h[jZs_gb_ ijhbkoH^
ex^yf ijBq_f Bbk^mzk^kfhZljb\Zlvky dZ-ddZag_`E"
guc ij_klmigbd beb kZfhm[bcpZ q_c ^mo⁴⁶ fh]eb
lha`_ lZd ` _ gZklhjh`_ggh fh]eh [ulv \kl^mq_gh i
q_gbdh\ ihlhfm qlh ojbklbZg_ dZd dZaZehkv
fhsv ^mrb dZag_gguo 7HUW 'H DQLPD

Kihkh[kl\h\Zeb h[\bg_gbyf \ fZ]bb b ^jm]b_ f
ojbklbZgkl\Z G_dhlhju_ q_jlu fhglZgbafZ l_q_g
\h ,,, \ \ dhlhjh_ hibjZehkv gZ ijhjq_kl\h ij
koh^kl\h k fZ]b_c h^hkh[k^hrg^hkl^hba^c ^moZ Wlh [ueh
`_ gZ ih_^_gb_ f_`^bmfh\ \h \j_fy lJZgkZ b gZit

⁴³ Remus1983:137.

⁴⁴ Hjb]_g khh[sZ_l qlh bf_gZ ijZhlph\ :lJZZfZ BkZZc
bkihevamxly \ aZdebgZgbyo g_ lhevdh bm^_yfb gh
aZdebgZl_eyfb b q^hrh^co^oef^hv, 33).

⁴⁵ Aune 1978: 1545.

⁴⁶ Aune 1978: 1545; lZgl_e 2015: >mg hlf_q^hl^hdh]^Z \
>_ygbyo l_lj \hkdebpZ_l @Wg_c bkp_ey_l l_[y Bbkmk
kh\j_f_ggdb fh]eb \hkijbgylv wlh dZd g_djhFZglbx lZd
. E" H fhebl_ b aZd^{Aug 29 8: 55 AM '15}kl52.

h^_j`bfhklv qZklh k\yau\Z_fm⁴⁷ kFhdg leZghbklkldfb_ ijhjqbpu [_k^h\Z\rb_ k Zg]_eZfb Z bbg h]^Z k ^_rb_ ^mrm \ l_e_kghc h[hehqd_ 7HUW 'H DQ fbgZeb ih^jhklldbmfh\ h dhlhjuo]h\hjyl fZ]bq_k ibjmku beb :ime_c \$SRO G_f_g__ ih^hajb m_j_gghklv fmq_gbpul_ji_lmb \ g_ij_f_gguo hl gZ \k_ \hijhku qlh hgZ aZ^Zkl ?fm<uBiDkV_d3HUS k\yau\Z_l ba^Zgguf K_llhfb_aZij_l h[jZsZgby \ br baf b ojbklbZgkl\h 6+\$ 6HSW fhgHZgbafhf b_]h ©bkijhr_ggufb ijhjq⁴⁸klDZhf^a iZjZee_e_c k fZ]b dhlhju_ fh]eb \ua\Zlv fhglZgbklkdb_ ijh]hq_kl\Z jZsZ_l \gbfZgb_m]hgZb_kjhqgbd agZgb_cZklh]m^ms_f eh]bx dhlhjZy lZd`_ ij_ke^h\ZeZk⁴⁹jbKZdbfb a K_j [ue ijZdlbmxsbf Zkljheh]hf _jysbf \ ij 6+\$ 6HSW 6HY b \hafh`gh hibjZykv gZ kqblZe \k_ \b^u ij_ ^kdZaZgbc j]y^m^seZjhghZeb]bq ^`gufb <H \, dZd kj_ ^b hjlh^hdkh\ lZd b _j_lb g_fZeh Zkljheh]h\ L_jlmeebZg mihfbgZ_Z h[h^g lb\r_fky \ ojbklbZgkl\h gh g_ ih`_eZ\r_f jZkkIZl ijhn_kkb_c DePr., 43 et al.⁵⁰) Yauqgbbd ml_j`^Zeb qlhv ojbklbZ ah\Zebkv dgb]Zfb k fZ]bq_kdbfb nhjfm^Zfb fheb eZfb ^ey ba]gZgby ^_fhgh\ b bkp_e_gby 2ULJ dZd fu k_cqZk agZ_f g_dhlhju_ ^_em^skih ev^Zfh \Zeb k\yaZggu_ k fZ]b_ Zfime^fluludhevvpZ b ih^h[g _sb &OHP \$OH[⁵¹3DLG ,,, < p_ehf ihiuldb ojbklbZg hl_klb h[\bg_gby \ [m^v lh \ hlghr_gbb qm^_k BbkmkZ beb ihke_ ^m^ ^hklb]eb ihegh]h<mkh]gpZ dhgph\ lZd dZd ojbklb ijZdlbmd b ^_ygby BbkmkZ [ueh ljm^gh hlebqb h[uqgh kqblZehkv ©\her_[guf^a p_jdh\gu_ Z\hju fhjZevgu_ dZq_kl\Z BbkmkZ b_]h ihke_ ^h\Zl_e_

⁴⁷ > h^ ^2003:110-117.
⁴⁸ Wypustek. 1997: 285 WIZ lhqdZ aj_gby ijbagZ_lky g_ \k_ fg_gbc DfZ]Ze. 2018: 156-173.
⁴⁹ Wypustek 1997: 280-281.
⁵⁰ Hodges 1997:359-373; von Stuckrad. 2000: 40; Hegedus 2007; Kelley. 2008: 607-629.
⁵¹ Shandruk 2012: 31-57.

\ebygb_ bo ^_yl_evghklb \ZijgZiZ^idZibPh_evkZ aZ
eyy qlh

gb h^bg dhe^mg k\hbfb ^_ckl\byfb_g_ \uau\Z_ l
eyo klj_fe_gby d gjZ\kl_gghfgm injehqrb]gbx
bo d kljZom-; b h b y h g b \Z x l i h j Z`_gu l_f qlh
\b^y\g_ klZjZ_lky gbkdhevdh \ha^_ckl\h\Zlv gZ
lZd qlh[u hgb \k\h_c`bagb g_ aZ[u\Zeb j]y^m
;h`by gZ^ gbfb Gbq_]h ih^h[gh]h dhe^mgu g_ ij
ihlfm qlh hgb eb[h g_ fh]ml eb[h g_ `eZxl e
g_ jZkiheh`_gu d lhfm qlh[u mlZmZ Z l b ex^_c
kZfbh ij_bkiheg_gadbo \Z h b l _evguo ihjhdh\
(Orig. C. &HOV , Kj ,UHQ \$+ , ,

lh^h[guf h[jZahf d fhjZeb Zi_eebjh\Zeh b ml_j`^
Zg h lhf qlh hgb gbdh]^Z g_ kh_jrZeb qm^_kZ a
qZeh bo hl yauq_kdbo ©qm^hl\hjp_\C. Cels.UW \$ S
l, 68).

H^gZdh ihkdhevdm P_evk b ^jm]b_ djblbdb k
qm`_jh^guf we_f_glhf qv_ ijbkmlkl\b_ \j_ ^beh \l
]hkm^Zjkl\m hgb khagZl_evgh k\yau\Zab bo k
kl\hf qlh qZklh ijbf_gyebkv ih hlghr_gkx d ijhl
o b _gb_ P_evkZ :kde_ib_f b _]h qm^_kZfb 2ULJ
hagZqZeh ykgh]h ihgbfZgby bo ijbjh^u b_ij_\hko
kZfb BbkmkZ b _]h ihke_ ^h\Zl_e_c gh \y[hevr_c
aZgh k _]h m[_`^_ggghklvx \ lhf qlh :kde_ibc b _
hlebbq_ hl ojbklbZg ijb_fe_fu b ih⁵²_agu ^ey bfi

QM>?K: < J:GGBO FMQ?GBQ?KL<:O

?s_ B_e_w mdZaZe qlh gZebqb_ mihfbgZgb
Z]bh]jZnbq_kdbo khqbg_gbyo y\ey_lky kb]v_agho
agZgby bo gZ⁵³_h^g^Z dh ^Z`_ \ l_dklZl dh ^ebggh
juo djZcg_ j_ ^dh klZ\biky ih^ khfg_gb_ \klj_qZ
ijyfhf \f_rZl_evkl_ k_jot_kl_kl_gguo kbe QZk
ihemqZeb ij_ ^agZf_gh\Zgb_ ij_ ^klhys_c dZagb
ba[_`Zlv wlhc mqZklb Z gZh[hjhl [eZ]h^Zjbeb ;

⁵² Frend 2005:13-14.

⁵³ Delehay.1927.

bo ba[jZe ^ey wlhc ^heb 0DUW 3RO (XV
2- HW DO >Ze__ g_dhIhju_ ojbklbZg_ ^_fhgk
gmx klhcdhklv \h \j_fy iulhd b dZagb Z g_dhIh
bamfe_gbx iZaZqgcbdh\ \h\k_ bo g_ hsmSZeb
13; Eus. HE, V, 1, 18-26; Mart. Perp., 15; 20; Eus. HE, VI, 5; Mart.
Pionii, 21 et al.).GZdhg_p fmq_gbdb ihemqZe^b \b^_gb
^_j`db b mdj_ie_gby ^moZ KZfu_ yjdb_ ijb_fju
kh^_j`Zlky \ fmq_gbq_kl\Zo l_ji_lmb b N_ebpbIZ
BZ^h\Z b FhglZgZ b Empby \k_bah_g_b\ijhZgq_b_dZl
kdh]h j_]bhgZ

Wlb kljZ^Zgby wlb ebr_gby wlhZ\j_fy g_kqZ
dexggb_ \ l_fgbp_ ^hjh]b_ [jZlvy hl ;h]Z LZ
dZd Hg `eZ_l qh[u fu [ueb lZd bkiulZgu Ih H
gZf ihkeZgZy b bkiulZgZy Mont. et Luc., 7, 4
2).

GZdhg_p bgh]^Z fmq_gbdZf y\ey_lky Ojbklhk gh
ba lxjvf dZd \ Zihdjbnbq_kdbo >_ygbyo Zihklh
\ _j_ b klhcdhklb 0DUW 0RQW HW /XF -11;
4).

AZdexgb_ \ l_fgbpZr luc we_f_gl b Zihdjbnbq_>
>_ygbc b fmq_gbq_kl\ gh qm^_kZ \ gb^ ghkyl i
guc oZjZ^dl<j >_ygbyo lZ\ez dh]^Z ZihklZ e hdZa
lhq_gbb \ ojZf_ :iheehgZ \ Kb^hg_ ih _Zh fhebl
lmy [h]Z b iheZ^ZgZh ogZdh lZ_e b _]h kimlgbdb
ihvah\Zebkv ij_^klZ\b\rbfky kem⁵⁵Z_4 p_ghf[_`Z
kblmZpby ih\lhjy_l ijhbahr_ ^r__ \ Nb-ZljbZ< >_y
Wn_k_ lZ_e hdZaZ\rbcky \ l_fgbp_ h[j]ZsZ_lky
fhc Bbkmk Ojbklhk« ^Zhrk v fg\h_xbe^Z[u gZ]eZaZo
l_fbeeu b ?\[meu dhb L\hb m`_ gba_j]ebkv hd
?fm y\ey_lky g_dbc kbyxsbx xghrZ b hk\h[h`^Z_l
lhl dj_klbi :jl_fbeem b \gh\v \ha\jZ⁵⁶Z_Gky \ l_
[hevr_ \k_]h qm^_k lZdh]h jh^Zgghy_o JBnlkuy Nhf
:ihklhe NhfZ hdZau\Z_lky aZdexq_g \ l_fgbpmpZ
ihdb^Z_l b \ha\jZsZ_lky \ g__ ih k\h_cActhe_gZkl
Thom. HW DO qh kljZ`Z `Zem_lky ©

⁵⁴ lZgl_e, 2014: 279276.
⁵⁵ Kdh]h, 2000: 177478.
⁵⁶ Kdh]h, 2000: 187488.

eZeb fu wlfhm dhe^mgm qlh hkg_klkl\ue qZjjk\i
bo b aZohl_e ^Zlv \hafh`ghklv [_`Zlv \k_f wlb
(Ibid. 162).

HI]hehkdb wlhc lJZ^bpb \klj_qZxlky Z Z]bh]jz
klyo l_ji_lmb g_db_ aeh[gu_ ex^b m[_^beb ljb[r
q_ggu_ ojbklbZg_ fh]ml k[_`Zlv kkl\Zfh sDUWhe^
3HUS GZ^h aZf_lblv qlh djhf_ e_]_g^ h [_
lxj_f b h[sbo ih^haj_gbc \ dhe^h\kl\ _ m wlhc l
^jm]Zy ijb_ b gZ\h[h^_gb_ hl hdh\ [ueh hklZlhqg
eyjghc l_fhc \ fZ]bq_kdbo iZibjmkZo LZud fu ma
\Z_fuc [h] ihfbfh ijhq_]h fh`_l ©hk\h[h^blv hl
aZdh\Zg \ lxjvf_ hldjulv ^\ _jb b ^Zjh\Zlv g_\b^b
l_[y \hh[s_ gbdh g_ m\b^b^a 3*0klv aZdeylv_ ^e
hlibjZgby ^\ _j_c 3*0 ;;;, \ aZdebgZgbu ^ey k[j
\Zgby hdh\ h^gh\j_f_ggh mihfbgZxlky b g_db_ \
A_k b K\ylhc >mo ?^bguc @b\hc 3*0 ^jm
jhf f_kl_ \ ihoh`_f aZdeylv_ bkihevamxkby bf_gZ
klZ 3*0 ;;;, - = ;_p ihez]Z_l qlh bfy Oj
bgl_jiheyp b k^_eZgghc m`_ ojbklbZgZfb ijh^he
ihedah\Zlv yauq_kdh57 aZdebgZghafh`gh qlh wIZ
l_jiheypby [ueZ k^_eZ]Z\ _sG_\hk_ ojbklbZg_ [ue
]hlh\ u klZlv fmq_gbdZfb b _keb h^gb ^ey lh]h
wlh]h \u[bjZeb_puqglv]h hklmigbq_kl\Z lhh^jm]b_
\Zeb [he__ bah[j_lZI_evgh

;hevrZy qZklv qm^_k \ fmq_gbq_kl\Zo ghkbl ©
im[ebguc oZjZdl_j wlh beb \b^_gby fmq_gbdh\
b keurZl lhevdh _jmxsb_ dZd gZijbf_jh]hehk
ebdZjiZ Kfbjgkdh]h dj_iblvky b [ulv fm`_kl_ggu
beb \hag_k_gb_ gZ g_[_kZ NjmdlmhaZ b_]h
maj_eb ojbklbZg_ gh g_ m\b^_e yauqgbD WfbebZ
dZq_kl\ _bkdexq_gby fh`gh ijb_klb jZa_ qh h]
ih\j_ b_e l_em lhebDZjiZ 0DUW 3RO - be
gZqZ\r__ky m \hbgZ m^Zjb\r_]h lbhgby1). 0DUW
;_amkeh\gh Z\lhju gZrbo l_dklh\ fh]eb [_a_ljm^Z
eh qm^_k gh dZ`_lky hgb ij_^ihqeb hklZ\blv bc

57 Betz 1992:180,n. 68.

kdbo >_ygbj^yqbo oZjb⁵⁸afZlbdh\

* * *

lhke_ <hag_k_gby BbkmkZ qm^_kZ ijh^he`Zxl
 ebdZ \ jZkiyhkljZg_gbb ojbklbZgkl\Z ijb aZsbl
 ^hdljbg b b^_c Z lZd`_ \ kha^Zgbb qm\kl\Z ihk
 kl\by BbkmkZ \ PaZdbZjZbd_jZ ^Zlgju_ khh[sZxl
 gZrb bklhqgdbb fu g_ fh`_flh^ZllvebdZ dmlx_ggm
 hp_gdm ijhbkoh^b\r_]h gh hlf_lbf ex[hizlmgm ^
 g_ggh_ ?\k_b_f ibkvfh jbfkdh]h _ibkdhiZ Dhjg
 NZ[bx :glbhobckdhfm k\b^_l_evkl\m_l h gZebq
 ^\maZdebgZI_e_c ql_ph\ b ijb\jZlgbdh\ \ jbfkdh
 9, <kihfgb\ h ihklhygguo mihfbgZgbyo p
 lhjZfb ba]gZgby ^_fhgh\ fh`gh aZdexqblv qlh w
 m`_j^dhklvx Qm^_kZ b]jZeb k\hx jhev b \ ihke
 Khahf_g\ \ nihfbgZ_l qlh_]h ^_^ kh k\h_c k_fv
 ojbklbZgkl^Z bcam^Z iZe_klbgkdh]h fhgZoZ BeZjb
 r_]h ^_fhgZ ba_]h ^jm]Z 6R]RZ qm^lv9jZgvr_hg
 jZkkdZau\Z_l h lhf dZd [ueZ h]zZs_lgZ B[q]jby
 ie_ggbojZ_klbZgkl_ebeZ [hevgh]h ,ELG h,,
 jbl k\b^_l_evkl\m_l h[wnn_dl_ ijhba_^_gghf c
 KlheigbdZ gZ [_^mbgh\ 7KHRG +LVW_UHO
 l_evkl\ h ih^h[ghf kh[jZgb]\ ;H,=jZ^_ ;h`v_f :)\m
 klbgZ lh^h^y blhg_klhbl_ ijbibkubZd kfk]e
 rh_ agZq_gb_-qm^klZzfqqh e_]dh bo fh`gh [ueh h
 dhe^h\kl\hf Qm^h [ueh \Z`ghc qZklvx ojbklbZgk
 lZpbp gh ojbklbZgkdb_ bgl_ee_dlmZeu agZeb q
 klhedgmlvky k k_jv_agu bb b[\w]gh gh]y kgy_l hghl
 l_evgmj j_^dhklv mihfbgZgbc h qm^_kZo b bo g
 jZkkfZljb\Zlv wlm l_fm

;B;EBH=J:NB Y

BKLHQGBDB

<bg]jZ^h :ihdjbnbq_kdb_ ©>_ygy BhZggZ# QZklv
 \b_l_dklZ ;b[eby b ojbklbZgkdZy ^j_K65klv
 JZggb_fm q_gbq_kl\Z l_j_Z]bu bklfe_gh\Zgby lh^ j

⁵⁸ Kyrtatas 2005: 65.

: > IZgl_e__\Z KI[

Kdh]hj_\ :ihdjbnbq_kdb_ ^_ygyby Zihklheh\ :jZ[kdh_
^_Ikl\Z KiZkbl_2000.KI[

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EBL?J:LMJ:

=ZjgZdFbkkbhg_jkdZy ijhih_^v b jZkijhkljZg_gb_ ojbk i_j_u_ ljb _dZ KI[

=b[[hgB\lhjby miZ^dZ b jZajmr_gby <_ebdhZ Jbfgdhc dZl b iZ^_gb_ Jbfgdhc-bfiFjbb L

>h^ak Wauqqgd b ojbklbZgbg \ kfmlgh_ \j_fy G_dhlh j_eb]bhaguo ijZdlbd \ i_jbh^ hl FZjdZ : \j_eby ^h DhgklZg

DZjjZevp_W : e]bhagZy iheblbdZ K_ilbfbby K_ _jZ \ k ojbklbZgkdbo]hg_gbc J_eb]by P_jdhZgbyH [s_kl]h Bkk dZpbb ih l_heh]bb b j_eb]bb -173. <ui K

Ghd : H[jZs_gb_ KIZjh_ b gh_h_ \ j_eb]bb hl : e_dkZg ^h ; eZ`ggh]h : \]mklbgZ KI[

IZgl_e_ \ Qm^_kgu_ kiZk_gby ba aZdexq_gby \ Zglbc ojbklbZgkdhc lre]jZ <hklhd : P_jbdZ \ ^j_ghklb <ui K -276.

IZgl_e_ \ OjbklbZgkdh_ckdZy ihe_fbdZ b g_djhfZglby (Mart. Pionii 13- J_eb]by P_jdh\ v H[s_kl]h -248. <ui K

I _ l j h \ : < N _ g h f _ g l _ m j] b b b y b e h f Z h j b y \ Z g l b q g , 2008. K I [

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