



THE CITIES AND BISHOPRICS OF PHRYGIA.

THIS paper is really the first part of a report on the results attained in 1883 by the Asia Minor Exploration Fund. Besides some minor excursions, I then made two long journeys in the interior of Asia Minor, June to October. I was accompanied almost the whole of the time by Mr. J. R. S. Sterrett, a Virginian student at the American School of Athens. Our usual practice was to ride by separate roads,¹ and in this way the expedition surveyed a much wider country than if I had been alone: the results were so good that I am anxious to arrange the expedition of 1884 in a similar way. Our chief aim was to construct the map of ancient Phrygia, and our method was to examine each district thoroughly enough to be able to say, not only where there were, but also where there were not, ancient sites. The discovery of monuments and inscriptions was a secondary object, and we did not aim at completeness in this regard; but even here our results are important. We copied more than four hundred and fifty inscriptions, which is at the rate of one hundred per month, and I incorporate in this paper those which have most direct bearing on the antiquities of each district. Most of them have passed under the eyes of both of us: where only one of us actually copied the inscription from the stone, I give his initials at the head of the text: where no initials are attached, it is to be understood that we have both verified the text on the stone.² I shall speak at another time of the monuments which we found.

¹ Of course not until Mr. Sterrett had learned my ways of work.

² Besides this I have impressions made by Mr. Sterrett of many of the inscriptions which he copied: in such case I still attach his initials to the

text. I hoped here to be able to refer to an important series of inscriptions copied by us at Tralleis, which Mr. Sterrett is preparing for publication; but an unfortunate accident has delayed his work.

We have such a mass of results of every kind that it will take time to arrange them and settle their value: this paper, written before resting from the fatigue of the journey, will give a fair specimen of the results of a month's work. 'Here a little, and there a little,' we collect the material which may in time make it possible to write a connected history of Phrygia.

Hierocles enumerates sixty-two cities in the two Phrygias: of these, sixteen have already been placed correctly on the map.¹ An attempt to solve the problem of Phrygian topography demands two qualifications—(1) knowledge of the country: the number of working days spent by me in actual exploration within or on the borders of Phrygia was sixty-two in 1881, ten in 1882, and one hundred and eighteen in 1883. To attain precision as to the main features of the country and fix them in my mind, I have drawn for myself, from my own observations, the map of great part of Phrygia. (2) A careful comparison of the lists of Hierocles, of the *Notitiæ Episcopatumum*, and of the bishops present at the councils of the first ten centuries.² Ptolemy has proved as yet far less useful than the later authorities; I have not discovered the principle of his order of enumeration and of his omissions, or the relation between his list and that of the cities which were coining money when he wrote. The early Itineraries are of the highest value; and I think we have this year traced every road on the Peutinger Table and the Antonine Itinerary west of Angora.

In one respect I dissent from many modern writers: I have been led to attach the highest value to the accuracy and precision of the ancient writers who refer to Phrygia. I could mention various cases where the ancients have been censured for differing from Kiepert's map, and where it will be found, when the new edition of that map appears, that the difference no longer exists. Gradually I have been forced to the opinion that so far as Phrygia is concerned, our censure of the inaccuracy of

¹ I omit four which have been identified in my own papers, also, Ceretapa, Dionysopolis, Trajanopolis, placed in the right district but on the wrong site, and Eudocias and other temporary names of well known cities.

² Writing in Smyrna I have to

depend on rough notes made during a very hasty and inadequate examination of the *Acta Conciliorum* in the Athenian University Library. The *Indices* to the *Acta* and the lists of bishops in Le Quien, *Or. Christ.*, are so imperfect as to be useless for my purpose.

the ancients is simply the measure of our ignorance. The reason is obvious: Phrygia was well known to them, to us it has been an unknown land. One exception only have I to make—Livy's account of the march of Manlius. The route which Manlius followed appears direct, distinct, unmistakable, but I cannot reconcile this route with Livy's account without the supposition that he has three times misrendered a Greek tense or particle.

These scanty authorities would be of little use without the *Synekdemos* of Hierocles. A careful study of Hierocles, and a systematic comparison of his lists with the *Notitiae*, makes it easy to place within narrow limits every city which they mention, provided that the following principles are admitted—principles not adopted *a priori*, but attained as the result of eighteen months' thought.

(1) The list of Hierocles is arranged in *strict* geographical order. This fact has been partially recognised,¹ but never thoroughly carried out. I recognised long ago that such an order was observed in Pisidia² and some other provinces, but till our discoveries of this year I thought it was impossible to apply the principle to the two Phrygian provinces. Now I know that it is observed even more strictly in them than in any others. I apply this principle in a few cases where no other evidence remains to show the name of an ancient site; but in general some corroborative evidence can be found.

(2) The list is arranged to a certain extent in districts, and occasionally there is a leap from one district to another: but such arrangement is not carried out systematically, and is perhaps illusory. It is therefore evident that the list is not according to governmental districts.

(3) The list is *absolutely complete*. If a city³ can be proved to exist both before and after the time of Hierocles, it is not omitted in his list. Apparent omission is always to be explained by the use of a temporary name or by some other cause: so we find no Aspendos but Primopolis, no Cotyaiion but Eudocias, no Blaundos but Pulcherianopolis, no Conana but Justinianopolis. This principle may be applied to show that an ancient site in

¹ 'L'ordre d'Hieroclès, qui est très souvent l'ordre géographique,' Waddington, *Voy. Numism.* p. 59.

² *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883, p. 40.

³ I use the word *city* in an emphatic sense.

a fertile valley sufficiently extensive to support a city must be mentioned by Hierocles.

(4) The list of Hierocles is the list of the bishoprics of his time. Wesseling, after examining this point, has come to the opposite conclusion, and his opinion has found general acceptance. I cannot here examine the point completely, but I believe that the ecclesiastical arrangement was coincident with, and determined by, the political. Every city had, *qua* city, a bishop: even three cities like Hieropolis, Otrous, and Stectorion, with one and a half to three miles of road dividing them, had three separate bishops. The bishops of each political province formed a distinct body, presided over by the bishop of the *metropolis*. The principle that the ecclesiastical arrangement follows the political was always observed in the Byzantine Church: even such an active, resolute, and uncompromising prelate as St. Basil tried in vain to uphold the superiority of the ecclesiastical arrangement.¹ When Cappadocia was divided politically into two parts, Basil was unable to maintain the ecclesiastical unity of the province. The list of Hierocles is at once the list of the cities recognised by the civil government and the list of bishoprics. The discrepancies between his list and those of the *Notitiae*, on which Wesseling lays such stress, are due to changes in the constitution of the provinces made between the times to which the lists relate.

This is the view to which I incline, but I do not feel sure enough about it to found any inferences upon it at present.

The accompanying table contains lists of the cities that can be traced at different periods in the province. It would help much, in reasoning from this table, if the dates of the various *Notitiae* were known. In the provinces of Asia Minor they seem to fall into three groups. *Not.* III., X., and XIII., always give the same list, with minor variations; this group is certainly the latest of all. *Not.* I. sometimes stands alone, but generally agrees with VII., VIII., IX.; it belongs ostensibly to the reign of Leo the Wise, 886—911. *Not.* VII., VIII., IX., appear to me earlier than I; they sometimes present remarkable coincidences with Hierocles, but are on the whole divided from him by a broad gap. In some cases substantially the same list

¹ It is true that in the reign of Valens the Church had not the power which it obtained in the Byzantine period.

EARLY AUTHORITIES.	PROLEPT.	COINS BEFORE 140.	COINS AFTER 140.	COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451.	HEROCLAS, 530.	NOTITAE, I., VIII., IX.	NOTITAE, III., X., XIII.
Laodicea	[Λαοδικεα]	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ	Laodicea	Λαοδικεα	δ Λαοδικεας	δ Λαοδικεας
Hierapolis	Ἱεραπόλις	ἹΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	ἹΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	(Hierapolis, Conc. Ephes.)	Ἱεραπόλις	I. δ Ἱεραπόλις	II. δ Ἱεραπόλις
Village in the territory of Hierapolis	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not mentioned	I. 2, Μεταλλουπόλις	II. 2, Μεταλλουπόλις, Μεταλλ.
[Village of Hierapolis]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	[Βιτωσσὸν]	ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ	ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ	Massyroi	Μόσσα	II. 4, Μορσιών	II. 4, Μορσιών
Trapezopolis (Pliny)	[Τραπεζοπολις]	ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	Attouda	Ἄττουδα	I. 5, Ἄττουδων, Ἄττουδων	II. 3, Ἀττουδων Ἀττουδων
Colossæ (Herodotus)	.....	ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ	ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ	Colossæ	Κολασσαί	18, Τραπεζουπόλις	2, Τραπεζουπόλις
Anava (Herodotus)	Δικωνοπέριον	ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕΩΝ	ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕΩΝ	Ceretara	Κερετάρα	[District separate]	III. δ Χωρῶν
Themissium (Pliny)	Θεμισσιώνων	ΘΕΜΙΣΣΙΝΩΝ	ΘΕΜΙΣΣΙΝΩΝ	Themissos	Θεμισσιώνων	8, Τελίων	5, Χαριτίων, Χαριτίων
	Γαύρα?	.....	.....	.....	Οιολασσία	[District separate]	19, Θυαμυσιόλις
Σαουα (Strabo)	Σαουα	.....	.....	Νεα (i.e. Σαουα?)	Σαουαίς	[District separate]	[Laguna Pamphylia?]
Dionysopolis (Pliny)	.....	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	Dionysopolis	Κωνοπόλις	I. 8, Διονυσουπόλις	18, Σουαί, Σουαί
Hygætiæ campi (Pliny)	.....	ΥΓΓΑΙΕΩΝ	ΥΓΓΑΙΕΩΝ	(Anastasiopolis, Conc. 530)	Σιτωπόλις	11, 4, Ἀναστασιουπόλις	{ II. 5, Θύβων
				Amassos	Κρήσος, Κρήσος	17, Ἀτταουσοῦ, Ἀτταουσοῦ	12, Ἀτταουσοῦ, Ταναοῦ
Peltæ (Xenophon)	Πέλται	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	(Loudia, Syn. vii.)	Λοῦδια	16, Τροπιδίων?	18, Λοιδων
Εἰρήνεα	Εἰρήνεα	ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ	ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ	Peltæ	Μάλτη	5, Πέττων	7, Πέττων
Silbium (Pliny)	Σίβιον	ΣΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ	ΣΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ	.....	Εἰρήνεα	12, Εἰρήνεας	8, Εἰρήνεας
				.....	.....	18, Σιδάλις, Σαίλις, Σαίλις	9, Σοδάλιον
				.....	Πέπουζα	.....	{ Οικωπόλιον θρα
				.....	Βόσσα	14, Ἀγαθὴ Κόρη, Κόρη	22 { Ιουστιανουπόλις, Οικωπόλις
		ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ	Sebaste	Σεδοστή	11, Σεβαστή, Σεβαστή	4, Σεβαστείας
	[Ἀλαβία?]	.....	.....	Πουζα	Ἰαυζα	9, Καρίας, Διοίτων	17, Ἐλδίτη, Ἐλδίτη
Keramûn Agora (?)	Κεραμῖα	ΚΕΡΜΟΝΕΩΝ	ΚΕΡΜΟΝΕΩΝ	Aemonia	Ἀεμάνα	[District separate]	8, Ἀερωνείας
		ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ	ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ	Alianoi	Ἄλιαι	15, Ἄλιων	16, Ἄλιων
	{ Μορσινὴ	.....	ΔΙΟΚΑΡΕΑΝΝΟΠΟ-	Dioceia	Ἰουγαρόταξ	[District separate]	15, Ἄρκεων
	{ Διοκεία, or	.....	ΕΑΝΩΝ	.....	Διοκεία	[District separate]	20, Διοκείας
	{ Διόκεια	.....	.....	Aristion	Ἀρίστιων	[District separate]	21, Ἀριστείας
	Κοδισσοί	ΚΙΛΥΘΗΣΕΩΝ	ΚΙΛΥΘΗΣΕΩΝ	Kydissa	Κυδισσοί	[District separate]	14, Κυδισσοῦ, Κρησσοῦ
Ἀγρία (Cicero)	Κερμανία?	ΑΠΗΙΑΝΩΝ	ΑΠΗΙΑΝΩΝ	(Aria, Conc. Const., 351)	Ἄρια	6, Ἀρίας, Σερίας	6, Ἀρίας
Cotyrium	Κοτυρίων	ΚΟΤΙΑΕΩΝ	ΚΟΤΙΑΕΩΝ	.....	Εἰδοκείας	[In Salutaris]	[In Salutaris]
Ἄζανω (Strabo)	Ἄζανω	ΑΙΖΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ	ΑΙΖΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ	.....	Ἄζανωί	3, Ἄζανω, Ἄζανω	II. 10, Ζανῶν
	Τιβερουπόλις	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	.....	Τιβερουπόλις	2, Τιβερουπόλις	II. 8, Τιβερουπόλις
Κάδο (Strabo)	[Κάδο]	ΚΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ	ΚΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ	Cadi	Κάδο	7, Ἀειδων, Κάδων	II. 9, Κανῶν
{ Temporary name of	.....	.....	.....	Theodosiopolis	Θεοδοσία	[Daldis in Lydia]	[Daldis]
{ Daldis Lydiæ	.....	.....	.....	Philippopolis?!	Ἄγρομα	{ 4, Ἀγρομοσσοῦ	II. 6, Ἀγρομας
Ἀνεγνα (Pliny)	Ἄνεγνα	ΑΓΥΡΑΝΩΝ	ΑΓΥΡΑΝΩΝ	Symmos	Σύνμοις	Σανῶν	II. 7, Σανῶν
	.....	ΘΗΜΕΝΟΥΠΥΡΕΩΝ	ΘΗΜΕΝΟΥΠΥΡΕΩΝ	Temenothyrae	Τιμένω θύρα	13, Τιμένω θύρα, Τιμνοθηρῶν	10, Πομαίω θύρα, μένω θύρα
	{ Crimenothyria	ΦΑΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	ΦΑΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	Philippopolis?!	Ταυοπόλις	10, Τραυνοπόλις	11, Τραυνοπόλις, Τραυνοπόλις
	{ Τραυνοπόλις	ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	.....	.....	[In Lydia]	[In Lydia]
Blaundos	Βλαυδων	ΒΛΑΥΝΑΕΩΝ	ΒΛΑΥΝΑΕΩΝ	Mirus (Episc. Blaundensis	Πολυχερυσσοίλις	[In Lydia]	[In Lydia]

appears in all the *Notitiae*: in Phrygia Salutaris there is little change, except what was caused by the elevation of Amorium and Kotyaion to the rank of *metropoleis*, while the order of enumeration remains the same throughout. On the other hand it is clear that there were two reorganisations of the province Pacatiana. The first was between Hierocles and *Not.* VII., VIII., IX.: at this time (possibly 535 A.D., when Justinian's changes were made) Hierapolis became metropolis of a geographically well-marked district, and two other districts, that of Acmonia and that of the south, were separated from the *metropolis* Laodiceia.¹ The second took place between *Not.* I. and *Not.* III., X., XIII.; the Acmonia district and the south district were reunited to Laodiceia, while the Aizani district was detached from it and added to Hierapolis: the order of enumeration was remodelled. All these districts are distinctly marked frontier districts, and it gave me great confidence in my arrangement of the Phrygian cities, when I found that it explained with perfect simplicity, what had long seemed a hopeless puzzle, the differences between the *Notitiae*.

The following names, assigned generally to Phrygia, are excluded from my list. *Sala Phrygiae*, according to Ptolemy and the numismatic arrangement, is assigned to Lydia by all the *Notitiae*. *Clannoudda Phrygiae*, according to the numismatic arrangement, is also a city of Lydia, the southern city of the *Decapolis*: it changed its name at an early period and is probably identical with Aureliopolis. *Attaia Phrygiae* in the numismatic lists is probably a town of Mysia. *Phylakaion Phrygiae*, according to Ptolemy, is a town far south, and probably belongs to Lycia or Pamphylia in the Byzantine lists. *Cibyra Phrygiae* also belongs to Lycia in Byzantine time.

Valentia of Hierocles and some Councils is conjecturally identified on the Table with Lagina or Lakina of Pamphylia, a frontier city not mentioned in Hierocles's Pamphylia, and Theodosia is identified with Daldis; but as I have not yet travelled in these districts I have no confidence in the hypotheses. It would be easy for me in the typographical remarks that follow to spend several pages in discussing the site of each little city,

¹ It was perhaps at this time that Cotyaion was detached from Pacatiana and assigned to Salutaris.

showing in detail why every other site is objectionable while the one assigned fulfils all the conditions: but some proportion must be observed, and we cannot spend our lives writing or reading about where small towns are to be placed on the map. I give my opinion as to the site, and add any remarks I have to make on the antiquities found there: I will here say only that the scheme of arrangement, though hastily written out, has been long and carefully thought over.

I. **HIERAPOLIS.**—Before ascending the steep range of mountains, extending north-west to south-east, which bounds the Lycus valley on the north, we encamped for the night at a village called Mandama or Ak Tcheshme, close under their foot. About two or three miles north-east there is a deep gorge in the mountain side, and on the roof of a large natural cave high up in this gorge a number of inscriptions are rudely scratched. The only one that could be completely deciphered was the following:—

No. I.

ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΟC	Φλαβιανὸς
ΟΚΑΙΜΟΝΟΤ	ὁ καὶ Μονοτ-
ΟΝΙCΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΩ	ονις(?) εὐχαριστῶ
ΤΗΘΕΩ	τῆ θεῶ.

This cave is in the territory of Hierapolis, in the mountain range which overhangs that city. The goddess to whom Flavianus addresses himself was evidently the tutelary deity of the mountain, whose sanctuary was this rude cave. The formula is not a common one, but it occurs also on the northern slope of these mountains in inscriptions which give the name of the goddess as Leto or Meter Leto. Just as the goddess, the Mother of Sipylos, was worshipped in all the cities round Mount Sipylos, and is the tutelary goddess both of Smyrna on the south, and of Magnesia on the north, so the Meter Leto of this mountain was worshipped both on its northern and its southern sides. The goddess Leto is known also in Lycia,¹ and in Pamphylia:² the epithet Mother which is applied to her in

¹ See C.I.G. 4300h.

by me in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p.

² See an inscr. of Attaleia published 263.

this district is interesting. It marks her as a form of the usual Mother-goddess of Asia Minor, worshipped under many names, but with practical identity of character, in all parts of the country. It is not impossible that the name Leto is a form of the Lycian *lada, woman*; and that Meter Leto is invoked as 'the Lady, the Mother.'² The name *Λητώ* was certainly understood by the Greeks to be connected with *λανθάνω* and *λήθη*, but such Grecising of foreign names is very common: the river *Ληθαῖος*, which flows out of Mount Messogis, was the river of Leto, the goddess of the mountain: the Grecising process has gone even further in this case. Strabo considers that Messogis and the mountain of Hierapolis are one range (p. 629), and, though his opinion is, geographically, not strictly accurate, it may serve as proof that the vulgar belief and the vulgar religion held the two mountains to be one.

The goddess Leto is known from coins of Hierapolis: Mionnet (Suppl. No. 373) gives the following:—

Obv. ΔΗΜΟΣ. Tête nue.

Rev. ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ autour d'une couronne au milieu de laquelle on lit: ΑΗΤΩΕΙΑ . ΠΥΘΙΑ.

We may gather from this coin that the two chief religious festivals of Hierapolis were devoted to the two chief deities of the city, Leto and Apollo Lairbenos. I shall show below that these two deities are worshipped also on the northern side of the mountain, and that Lairbenos is known only from the coins of Hierapolis and the inscriptions of Dionysopolis.

II. METELLOPOLIS.—A very steep and toilsome ascent of more than two thousand feet brought us to the summit of the mountain ridge. In front the Phrygian plain extended right away to Mount Dindymos, which was only partly concealed by intermediate hills. This great plain is nearly 2,000 feet above the level of the Lycus valley, and before us the country sloped very slowly downwards from the summit of the ridge to the centre of the plain. What had appeared from the Lycus valley

² However this may be, I have no doubt that the Leda of Spartan legend bears the Lycian name, Lada: the remarkable analogies which have recently been discovered between the

antique art and hieratic symbolism of Sparta and of Lycia prove that interchange of religious and mythological forms between the countries is probable.

a steep and lofty range of mountains turned out to be merely the outer rim of the great central plateau of Asia Minor. On the very ridge of this mountain-rim are the remains of an ancient city. The place is now called Geuzlar, *i.e.* the Arches, from the numerous vaulted tombs in the mountain side. They are exceedingly like the 'Prehistoric Building at Salamis,' described by Mr. Ohnefalsch Richter in the last number of this *Journal*,¹ and the tomb at Gherriz in northern Phrygia drawn by J. R. Steuart in his 'Ancient Monuments.'

The reasons which show that this is the site of Metellopolis will be given below, under IX. The name Metellopolis or Metallopolis occurs in the *Notitiæ Episcopatum*, and bishops of the place were present at some Councils.

Arundel first observed this site, which he calls Kuslar. Kiepert² supposed that it was Tralles, a town of Lydia distinct from the well-known city of the Maeander: but the road in the Peutinger Table on which he founds this identification is only a dislocated representation of the great central highway of Asia Minor from Ephesus by Tralles and Laodicea to Apameia, &c.³ Moreover the Byzantine Lydia did not extend so far east as Geuzlar.

III. MOSYNA.—About five miles beyond Geuzlar, our road crossed a deep cañon down which a stream flows to join the Maeander. The course of the streams in this district is very remarkable. In the upper part of their course they flow on the level of the plain: gradually their channel grows deeper and deeper, until at last it becomes a great cañon, 500 or 600 feet below the level of the plain. Such is the character of the Maeander, of the Kopli Su, the ancient Hippourios, of the Banaz Tchai, and of the stream which we had now to cross. In the cañon, to the left of our road, is an ancient site, at the lower end of a small valley drained by this stream. About a mile further down the cañon, in its narrowest and deepest part, is a village

¹ The general view on Pl. XXXIV. might pass for a picture of one of the 'Geuzlar.' I speak of Steuart's tomb from memory, not having seen the book for years: I have twice looked in vain for the tomb at Gherriz.

² I often refer to Dr. Kiepert's views in the appendix to Franz, *Fünf Inschriften*.

³ The two roads in the Table meeting at Laodicea must be corrected thus:

Sardis 25	Philadelpheia 34	} Laodicea.
Tripolis 12	Hierapolis 6	
Ephesus 15	Magnesia 17	
Tralles 45	Antiocheia 31	

The numbers are of course only approximate.

Geveze, in which we found a fragment of a remarkable relief and inscription, recently excavated on the ancient site.

No. 2.

Simulacrum

resembling

Horseman facing the goddess, the upper part of the figure broken off, holding a patera in his right hand: the horse raises the right fore-foot.

Diana Ephesia, facing, with all the usual characteristics, veil, mammae, supports for the hands, and a deer at each side.

Horseman facing the goddess, wearing the chlamys, carrying a battle-axe over his left shoulder and holding a patera in his right hand: the horse raises the right fore-foot.

ΟΔΗ	radi-	ΜΟΣΟΜΟ
ΟΙΕΙ	ated	ΣΤΟΣΥΓΓ
ΛΗ<ΑΙ	head	ΣΤΕΦΑΝ

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μο[σύνων
οι εἰς τὸ συγγ[ραμμα? ἡ βοῦ-?
λη καὶ στεφαν[οί?

It is impossible to restore the whole inscription, but the name of the city is the most important point. I have great confidence that the restoration Μο[σύνων] is right. Mossyna is a town of Phrygia mentioned by Hierocles next to Hierapolis, and placed in all the *Notitiae* among the bishoprics under that *metropolis*. I might here devote several pages to prove (1) that there is no other site where Mossyna could be placed without violating the requirements either of the *Notitiae* or of Hierocles, (2) that this site fulfils all these requirements, (3) that no other known name¹ except Mossyna could possibly be restored in this inscription. But probably any one who goes carefully over the list of Phrygian towns and places them on the map will see the arguments that I might use. The description given below of the limits of the diocese of Hierapolis (see IX) appears to me to be of itself

¹ Moxeanoi and Mokkaenoī are the only others.

conclusive, even without the corroborative evidence of the inscription.

Mionnet mentions a few coins with the legend ΜΟΣΣΙΝΩΝ-ΛΥΔΩΝ, but they seem to be misread coins of the Mostenoi. Under the Empire both Mosyna and Metellopolis were doubtless villages of Hierapolis. Byzantine policy (compare *C. I. L.* III. p. 63) elevated them to the rank of cities.

Kiepert placed Mosyna on the head waters of the river Morsynos, which is mentioned on coins of Aphrodisias, but the entire course of that river was included in the Byzantine Caria, as M. Waddington has proved.² Moreover there seems to be no connection between the names Morsynos and Mossyna. The word Μόσσυυ or Μόσσυυος means a tower or a house of wood: it appears to be a word of Anatolian or of Scythian type, see Steph. *Thesaurus s.v.*

IV. DIONYSOPOLIS.—The district through which the Maeander flows before entering the great fissure by which it finds its way into the Lycus valley is now called the Tchal Ova.³ It is one of the richest districts in the interior, producing large crops of wheat, opium, and grapes. It is divided into two valleys by a low ridge of hills extending northwards from the mountain-rim of the plateau. The eastern valley contains the present seat of government, Demirdji Keui.⁴ The Maeander flows through it from south to north, and then turns through a gap in the hills, and flows west along the northern side of the western valley. This western valley is the plain of Dionysopolis; the eastern is the *Hyrgaletici campi*. When the Maeander enters the Tchal Ova, two or three miles south of Demirdji Keui, it flows in a cañon about 200 feet below the level of the plain; as it passes along the northern side of the Dionysopolitan plain, the cañon is fully 500 feet deep.

We ought to have spent a night in the western plain and taken time to examine it thoroughly: but thinking that one day was enough, I sent on the camp to a village in the eastern plain. We had therefore to leave without discovering the precise seat of the ancient city, but it cannot be very far from Orta Keui or Develar.

¹ M. Waddington has a late coin with the legend ΜΟCCHΝΩΝ.

² *Voyage Numismat.* p. 50.

³ Ova valley, Tchal a kind of soil.

⁴ Demirdji Keui is a Kaimakamlik: the name means Blacksmith Village.

Kiepert recognised that Dionysopolis must be in this valley, but followed Arundel in placing it on the site of Mosyna¹: in reality the latter is separated from the Dionysopolitan plain, and in a contracted situation where no important city can be placed.

In Hierocles Dionysoupolis, according to the Byzantine spelling, has been metamorphosed into Konioupolis, and this corruption produced an error that brought dire confusion into Phrygian topography: Konioupolis was identified with Konni, without regard to the fact that the former is in Pacatiana and the latter in Salutaris.

No. 3.

In the courtyard of a house at Sazak, complete at the left side, broken on the right, complete at top and bottom.

ΟΥΣ·Τ·Ι·Κ·Μ^ΗΣ·Ι·Δ
 ΛΩΝΙΔΟΥΔΙΔΥΜΟΥΙΕΡΟΣΚΑ
 ΗΓΥΝΗΜΟΥΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΟΜΕΝΗΛΙΩ
 ΛΕΡΜΗΝΩΔΙΔΥΜΟΝΚΑΤΑΟΝ
 5 ΟΝΔΕΘΡΕΨΕΝΝΕΙΚΗΦΟΡ
 ΜΟ
 ΕΙΤΙΣ·ΔΑΝΕΠΕΝΚΑΛΕΣ·
 ΘΗΣΙΣΙΕΙΣΤΟΝΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ·
 ΟΝ*ΒΦΚΕΕΙΣΤΟΝΘ

There is no clue to the size of the stone: it is a block of marble narrower below than above.

Ἐτ]ους τις', μη(νος)ς', ί, Δ[ιουνσιος? Ἄπολ-
 λωνίδου Διδύμου ἱερὸς καὶ [ἡ δεῖνα
 ἡ γυνή μου, καταγράφομεν Ἡλίω [Ἀπόλλωνι?
 Λερμήνῳ Διδυμον ΚΑΤΑΟΝ[
 ΟΝ δ'ἔθρεψεν νεικηφόρ[

μο.

εἴ τις δ'ἂν ἐπενκαλέσῃ[

θήσι εἰς τὸν ταμείον [πρόστειμ-?

ον (δηάρια) βφ', κὲ εἰς τὸν θ[εὸν *.

¹ He was misled by Arundel's some- that this site (see III) was in the
 what confused language into the belief plain.

In line 1 the year is doubtful: it is perhaps $\tau\iota\beta'$, but more probably $\tau\iota\varsigma'$ ¹: the date by year, month, and day, all numbered, is common in Phrygia. There were never any letters in line 6 after MO , which are crushed into a narrow space between 5 and 7. This inscription must be compared with the following:

No. 4.

In the courtyard of the same house at Sazak: on a similar block of marble:² complete at right (except in lines 7 and 8) and bottom, incomplete at top and left side, and 7—8 right.

ΝΚΑΛΕΣΕΙ
 ΗΙΤΕΙΜΟΥ
 ΙΝΦΙΚΟΝ*ΡΦ
 ΩΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΡΒΗΝΩΜ
 5 ΦΑΝΤΟΥΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΗΣΚΑΙΗΓΥ
 ΛΦΟΜΕΝΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΤΕΘΡΕ
 ΝΕΙΤΙΣΔΕΕΠΕΝΚΑΛΕΣΕΙΟΗΣΙ
 ΝΘΕΟΝΧΒΦΚΑΙΑΛΛΑΕΙΣΤΟ-

*εἴ τις δὲ ἐπε]νκαλέσει
 θήσει προσ]τείμου
 εἰς τὸ]ν φίσκον (δηνάρια) βφ'.*

*ΩΝ Ἀπόλλωνι Λαρβηνῶ Nor Μ[ηνο-?
 γενης? Μηνο?] φάντου Ἱεραπολίτης καὶ ἡ γυ-
 νή μου...καταγρ]άφομεν τὸν ἑαυτῶν τεθρε-
 μένον...]ν'εἴ τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει θήσι [π-
 ροστειμου εἰς τὸ]ν θεὸν (δηνάρια) βφ' καὶ ἄλ(λ)α εἰς τὸ τ[α
 μείον]*

These stones contain fragments of three deeds of enfranchisement. The enfranchisement of slaves by dedicating them to a deity was customary at Orchomenos in Boeotia (Serapis and Isis), at Chaeroneia and Coroneia (Serapis), Daulis (Athene

¹ Equivalent to 232 A.D.

² The letters in the first three lines are much larger than in the others. The shape of these stones is peculiar:

it is that of a square pillar surmounted by a capital, but the pillar is only about four inches high and the capital about eight.

Polias), Stiris (Asclepios);¹ but no example was hitherto known in Phrygia. The slaves thus dedicated doubtless became *hierodouloi*; it is known that *hierodouloi* existed in the neighbouring Katakekaumene in the Roman period.²

The gods mentioned in the two inscriptions, "Ἥλιος Λεερμηνος and Ἀπόλλων Λαρβηνος, are clearly the same as ΛΑΙΡΕΗΝΟΣ who is known only from coins of Hierapolis. Another form of this epithet, which is peculiar to the religion in the district Hierapolis-Dionysopolis, is given in our next inscription, "Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων Λυερμηνός.³ The variety of forms shows that the epithet was non-Greek, containing a vowel-sound which could not be properly represented by the Greek alphabet. It could not be very near the modified *u*, which would be quite well represented by the Greek *υ*: the devices to express it suggest that it was close to the German *ö*.⁴ The epithet is an adjective of the form so common in Asia Minor, and means "the God of *Lörbe*." Such epithets in Asia Minor are usually derived from the great seat of the worship of the deity in question: *Lörbe* is therefore a local name. *Λύρβη* is an inland town on the borders of Isauria and Pamphylia, assuredly not very far from the modern Bei Sheher: the name is evidently identical with our hypothetical *Lörbe*. It is possible either to regard *Lörbe* as the place in or above Hierapolis where the peculiar seat of the god existed, or to consider his worship as adopted from the far eastern *Lyrbe*. Thus the worship of Artemis Pergaia was adopted in Halicarnassos (C.I.G. 2656); thus I should explain the Helios Apollon Kisauldoddenos whose sanctuary on the Acropolis of Smyrna is described in a remarkable inscription, *Μουσεῖον Σμυρν.* No. ρξς'.

V. ATYOCHORION.—The name is known only from the following inscription, excavated recently at a village Badinlar, in the Dionysopolitan valley.⁵ It is engraved on a small plate of

¹ Foucart in Saglio, *Dict. Antiq. s. v.* Apeleutherismos: none of the inscriptions referring to this custom are accessible to me while writing.

² See *Μουσ. Σμυρν.*, No. τλγ', where unfortunately the date is mutilated. On the survival of the ancient custom of *ἐταρισμός* in Lydia as late as 200 A.D., see an inscription published by

me, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 276.

³ On the interchange of β and μ compare Ahrens.

⁴ ΛΑΙΡ of course resembling in sound our *lair*.

⁵ We saw it in possession of an *Iatros* in the Khan at Kaibazar. In line 5 M and E are *lité*.

marble, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, 16 inches long, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, with a hole at each side by which it was fixed on the wall of the building to which it originally belonged.

No. 5.

ΜΗΤΡΙΑΗΤΟΙΚΑΙΗΛΙΩΑΠΟΛ ΛΩΝΙΑΥΕΡΜ-ΝΩΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΝΙΟΣΜ-ΝΟΦΙΛΟΥΤΟΥΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΑΤΥΟΧΩΡΕΙ 5 ΤΗΣΥΠΕΡΛΑΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΕΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΗΣΤΩΝΤΕ ΚΝΩΝΤΗΝΣΤΟΑΝΕΚ ΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ	Μητρὶ Λητοῦ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλ- λωνι Λυερμηνῶ Ἀπολλώ- νιος Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Ἀ- πολλωνίου Ἀτυοχωρεί- τῆς ὑπὲρ Λαομέδοντος καὶ Εἰφιανάσσης τῶν τέ- κνων τὴν στοᾶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησε.
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Atyochorion was obviously a village of the Dionysopolitan valley. The Stoa which Apollonios erected was either in Dionysopolis itself or in his own village. Apollonios, who was a reader of Homer and the Trojan Cycle, and named his children accordingly, belonged to a distinguished hieratic family, associated doubtless with the cultus of Lairbenos Apollo. This results from a comparison of the following inscription:

No. 6.

At Zeive, on the north-western border of the Hyrgalean plain: on a large block of marble.¹ The inscription has been carefully defaced, and is hardly legible.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩΜ-ΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ
 ΤΩΔΙΑΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΙ
 ΤΟΥΣΩΤ ΡΟΣ ΣΙ ΛΤ ΟΥ
 ΗΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΣΙΦ Α ΣΗ
 5 ΚΑΙΑΠΟΛ ΝΙΟΣΚΑΙ
 ΠΑ ΞΣΙΝ ΣΚΛ ΔΗΜ-ΙΤΡΙΟΣ
 Σ ΓΓΣ ΟΙΤΟΗΡΩΝΚΑ
 Κ ΑΣΑΝ

Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μηνοφίλου τῶ δια γένους [. . .] ΕΙ τοῦ Σωτήρος
 [Σ]ειλή[ν]ου? ἢ θυγάτηρ Εἰφ[ιαν]ά[σ]ση καὶ Ἀπολλ[λώ]νιος καὶ

¹ ΗΜΗ in line 6 and ΚΑ in line 7 are written *libe*.

Πα[υ]λεῖν[ο]ς κα[ί] Δημήτριος ο[ἰ] ἐ]γγο[υ]οὶ τὸ ἠρῶον κα-
[τεσ]κ[εῦ]ασαν.

The interesting title Soter Seilenos is unfortunately not certain; but it was read independently by Mr. Sterrett and by me. Soter is certain, but there is a slight gap, too small for a complete letter, between Ι and Λ. If it were allowable to suppose a Μ with oblique sides, the reading [Λ]ερμη[υ]ου would be preferable: but in this inscription Μ has perpendicular sides. In either case Apollonios traced his descent to a god, and must therefore have belonged to the family which held the priesthood of the god. If we can trust the reading Σείλῆνον, the god of Dionysopolis is associated with the religious legends of central Phrygia¹ in a very natural fashion. According to Stephanus² the city was founded by the Pergamenian kings, prompted by finding there a wooden image of Dionysos. It is safe to gather from this tale: (1) that Dionysopolis received from the Pergamenian dynasty the Greek political organisation in exchange for the native village-system, and was made one of that series of cities by which they consolidated their power in the interior: (2) that a god who was readily identified with the Greek Dionysos was the chief deity of the district,³ and if his priests boasted their descent from Seilenos, such an identification was not hard. Dionysos Kathegemon was a great deity at Pergamum, and there was a natural tendency to find him throughout the empire. But on the whole the god of this district, of course in the last resort the Phrygian Sungod, was more frequently identified with Apollo. The double identification and the predominance of the latter can be frequently observed in Phrygia. The name Atyochorion gives a glimpse of the genuine character of this Phrygian *cultus*.

Another inscription of Dionysopolis shows that the worship of Leto was important in the district.

No. 7.

High in the wall of a mosque at Orta Keui, read with difficulty: on a marble tablet broken at the top.

¹ Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, 13: Pausan, i. 4, &c.

² Various reasons, which I cannot here specify at length, confirm the

words of Stephanus.

³ The district is a great vine-growing one: this would give a local colour to the cultus of the Sungod.

NETOC

ΑΦΙΑΣΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ ΜΗΤΡΙ
ΛΗΤΩ ΟΤΙ ΕΞ ΑΔΥΝΑ
5 ΤΩΝ ΔΥΝΑΤΑ ΠΥΕΙ

Ἄφιας Θεοδότου
εὐχαριστῶ Μητρί
Λητ(οῦ) ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνα-
των δύνατα π(οι)εῖ.

6 ΚΕΚΟΛΛΟΙΓΑΙΤΟΝΓΛΟΥΟΡΟ

Κ ΜΗΤΡΙΛΗΤΩ ΕΥΧΗΝ Μητρί Λητ(οῦ) εὐχῆν.

The last two lines are very faint, but Mr. Sterrett and I agreed that the appearance of the letters was as above.

I add here a fragment from Dionysopolis, which may be made complete by any one who can induce the people of Sazak to take up a few planks in the floor of their mosque.¹ There are six lines concealed below the floor. The inscription is in a very dark corner of the mosque, turned upside down, and the letters faintly engraved: it was read with difficulty by the light reflected from a small pocket-mirror.

No. 8.

ΝΟΜΟΣ*ΚΕΛΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣΑΠΕΛΛΙΔΟΥΣΥΝΑΠΕΛΛΙΔΗΚΑΙΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΩΤΟΙΣΥΙΟΙΣ*ΛΔΑΜΑΣΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ*ΛΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ
*ΙΚΑΙΟΙΝΟΠΟΣΙΟΝ ΚΛΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ*ΙΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ
*ΙΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ*ΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣΒΑΛΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ
*ΙΤΦΛΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΣ*ΙΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣΖΩΣΙΜΟΥΓΑΛΕΑΣ*Ι
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ*ΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ*Ι
ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥΣΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΥ*ΙΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΜΕΝΕΘΩΣ*Ι

[.....]νομος (δηνάρια) κέ[Α]πολλόδοτος Ἀπελλίδου συν Ἀπελ-
λίδη καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς (δηνάρια) λ'. Δαμάς Παμφίλου
(δηνάρια) λ'. Ἀντίοχος Γλύκωνος (δηνάρια) ἰ' καὶ οἰνοπόσιον
Κλ(αύδιος) Ἑρμογένης (δηνάρια) ἰ'. Ἐστιαῖος Ζωσίμου (δη-
νάρια) ἰ'. Ἀχιλλεύς Ἀπολλωνίου (δηνάρια) ἰ'. Ἀπολλωνίδης
(Ἀπολλωνίδου) Ἀλεξιδίου² (δηνάρια) ἰ'. Τ.Φλ. Ἀγαθήμερος
(δηνάρια) ἰ'. Ἀπολλόδοτος Ζωσίμου Γαλεᾶς (δηνάρια) ἰ'.
Ἀπολλόδοτος Σελεύκου (δηνάρια) ἰ'. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίδου

¹ I had a little 'row' with the people, and left without making a proper revision of the text.

² The reading ΑΛΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ is not certain.

(δηνάρια) ἰ· Ἀγαθόπους Μενεδήμου (δηνάρια) ἰ· Ζώσιμος
Μενεσθ[έ]ως (δηνάρια) ἰ·

The six lines lost at the beginning of this inscription doubtless showed the object of the subscription. The date is about the end of the first century. The frequency of names derived from Apollo is explained by the religion of the district. Roman names are rarer than they would be at a later period in this district, and rarer than they were at this time in cities of the coast. Γαλεᾶς is not in Pape's *Lexicon*.

VI. SALSALOUDA seems to have been a village of the Dionysopolitan valley with a temple of Meter Leto, to judge from an inscription found at Kabalar.

No. 9.

ΜΗΤΡΙΚΑΛΣΑΛΟΥ	Μητρί Σαλσαλου-
ΔΗΝΗΤΙΤΟΣΦΛΑΒΙΣ	δηνη Τίτος Φλάβις
ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣΕΥ	Ἐπαφρόδειτος εὐ-
ΞΑΜΕΝΟΚΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ	ξάμενος ἀνέθηκα

Φλάβις for Φλάβιος: compare no. 20 below, and Waddington on Lebas, No. 1367.

VII. THE KOINON OF THE HYRGALIAN PLAIN. M. Waddington,¹ by a happy emendation of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 29, introduced the name *Hyrgaletici campi* into the topography of Asia Minor. An inscription which we found in the Hyrgalian Plain confirms the name, and gives some information as to its social condition—it is not a city with a Boule and a Demos, but a *Κοινόν*. It is impossible to translate the word *Κοινόν* in historical documents of Asia Minor. It might be paraphrased by tracing the process which gradually consolidated the homogeneous mass of villages dependent on the central Hieron into

¹ In his *Mélanges de Numismatique*, I., 103. The emendation was only a restoration of the MS. reading, which had been unanimously altered by editors. Bargylia is a well-known town: Hyrgaleia is never mentioned in any other literary authority, not

even in any Byzantine list. The MSS. therefore must be corrected, and we had to read Bargyleticos. It is true that Bargylia is a coast town of Caria, far from the Maeander, but that only showed what was already well known—the 'inaccuracy' of Pliny.

a more or less articulate organism ; but such a task, were it possible in our present state of knowledge, would be too serious for this sketch. It must, however, be remembered that the *Κοινόν* has a different character in Asia Minor and in Greece, due to the difference of the social forces that produced it.

No. 10

On a limestone column built into the outer wall of one of the mosques in the village of Bekirlü: the end of lines 2 and 6 is concealed in the surrounding masonry. Height of the entire inscription, 5 inches, length of the first line, 14 inches.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
 ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΔΙΟΥΣΟΠΟ
 ΟΔΗ ΟΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ
 ΚΑΙΤ ΚΟΙΝΟ ΟΥΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝ
 5 Π ΔΙΟΥ ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝ
 ΝΤΟΝΠΛΑΥΤΙΟΝΟΥΕΝΣΙ

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεραπολειτῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Διουνοσοπο[λειτῶν καὶ] ὁ δῆ[μος] ὁ Βλαυνδέων καὶ τ[ὸ] κοινὸ[ν τ]οῦ Ἱργαλέων π[ε]δίου ἐτείμησαν [Κοί]νον Πλαύτιον Οὐεν[ῶκα].¹

M. Waddington, *l.c.*, considers that the *Hyrgaletici campj* must be identified with the Baklan Ova, and restores on that supposition a fragmentary inscription found there by Hamilton.² It will be shown below that the Baklan Ova is the plain of Lounda, and that Hamilton's inscription is to be otherwise restored. The Hyrgalean plain is the eastern part of the Tchal Ova, in the north of which we found the above inscription. The villages of the plain were united in a loose association, and under Caracalla archons are mentioned on its coins (Mion. no. 652-3) I had a hasty glance at an interesting coin in the possession of a Greek merchant in the valley, who jealously refused to give me a second glance.

¹ There were never any letters in the gap in l. 5. The reading *Οὐενῶκα* is suggested to me by M. Waddington.

² M. Waddington is misled by Hamilton's rather ambiguous language into the belief that Demirdji Keui is in the

Baklan Ova: it is in the Tchal Ova. Hamilton found his inscription fully three hours from Demirdji Keui, after crossing the range of hills that divides Baklan Ova from Tchal Ova.

Obv. ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ
Rev. ΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ

This coin was of very coarse fabric, thick and clumsy, about size 7 or 8 of Mionnet. It was not an alliance of two cities; the *όμόνοια* was therefore the concord of the villages of the plain. In the last number of this journal I have spoken of the condition of a similar association of villages in Pisidia at a somewhat later date: there was certainly a close resemblance between the two cases.

The inscription of Bekirlü was found at a place called *Kilissch* at the northern foot of a *kale* a little south of the village. There is no appearance that would lead us to suppose that a city stood here, and extant evidence has already shown the probability that no city Hyrgaleia ever existed. The *Kilissch*, i.e., *έκκλησία*, is doubtless the site of the *hieron* which was the centre where the *Koinon* of the plain met. The great deity of the plain was a goddess, who is addressed in the next inscription.

No. 11.

On a fragment of a marble stele in the verandah of a mosque opposite the *Konak* in Demirdji Keui.

ΕΤΟΥΣΣΙΑΠΟΛΥΝΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΜΟΥΣΟΥ
 ΜΟΤΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
 ΚΑΤΑΕΠΙΤΑΓΗΝΤΗΣΘΕΑΣΥΠΕΡ

Ἔτους σί. Ἀπολ(λ)ώνιος Φιλομούσου Μοτελληνός κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τῆς Θεᾶς ὑπὲρ [ἑαυτοῦ, τῶν τέκνων, &c., σωτηρίας].¹

It is probable that the modern unity of name and government throughout the Tchal Ova is true to ancient fact, and that, before the Pergamenian kings destroyed that unity by founding a city in the western valley, all the villages of the Ova united in the worship of one goddess in one central *hieron*. That goddess was Leto, and her home was in the mountains that rise high behind (i.e. south of) Demirdji Keui.

On what occasion did four distant cities,² two of them so

¹ On Μοτελληνός, see below No. 14. ² Blandos must be fully twelve hours' journey from Hierapolis.
 The date is probably 126 A.D., see No. 14.

important as Hierapolis and Blaundos, unite in honouring some Roman official? It is not an allowable hypothesis that these cities formed a confederacy, habitually passing decrees in common: the Roman policy, while encouraging city autonomy, always discouraged combinations except on a limited scale between neighbouring places. It must therefore have been some special event that produced the common decree, of which doubtless a copy was placed in each city. That event cannot have been merely the visit of some official, or any benefit conferred by him on each of the cities; in such case each separate city would have passed its own decree. The occasion must have been one where some common need of the four cities was supplied by an act of Plautius. The situation of these cities suggests one common need that would fully explain all the circumstances. These four cities, and no others besides them,¹ use and profit by one road. The great central highway of Asia Minor passes down the Lycus valley and the lower Maeander valley to Tralleis and Ephesus. Dionysopolis, Hyrgaleia, and Blaundos all communicate with this highway by one road, passing close by Hierapolis. Hierapolis again was greatly interested in the passage across its territory, perhaps actually through its gates, of the produce from such a fertile country. On the other hand places so close to Hyrgaleia as Lounda and Briana² communicate with the Lycus valley highway by the road connecting Eumeneia and Laodiceia: Trajanopolis and Sebaste do not use the Lycus valley route, but communicate with the Ægean coast by another highway, viz., that which connects Acmonia with Philadelphieia.³ Precisely the four places which are interested in this road unite in passing the decree: I cannot think of any other occasion on which they would be likely to hold a common meeting, except in regard to this road. They would naturally prefer a request in common to the government on this subject, and equally naturally pass a decree in honour of the official who granted their request.

¹ Mosyna was at this time not a separate city, but a village of the territory of Hierapolis.

² On their situation [see below *ss.* *vv.*

³ Only a person who has wandered

over all these roads, who has looked from any hillock in the Dionysopolitan valley across to Blaundos and from Blaundos seen the view stretching unbroken to the Demirdji Keui hills, will appreciate the certainty of this

Inscriptions that refer to the making or repairing of roads in Asia Minor are couched in the name either of the reigning emperor or of the governor of the province: Plautius then ought to be proconsul of Asia. The only person in the *Fasti Consulares* that could possibly be identified with him is Q. Plautius of unknown *cognomen*, consul A.D. 36. His proconsulate might be expected between 46 and 51, during which period the name of no proconsul is known. The form of the letters in our inscription would certainly suit better with a later date. I cannot at this moment quote a dated example of the round C and ω in an inscription earlier than 119 A.D., but on coins they occur much earlier (*e.g.* Aizani in Phrygia, Mionnet 82, 83 under Caligula).

We should certainly expect that a proconsul would have his title added: but (1) the line is incomplete, (2) in Greek inscriptions titles are not so carefully enumerated as in Latin. Censorinus, proconsul about A.D. 1, is mentioned in an inscription of Mylasa without any title.¹

The point must be left undecided; all that can be said is that the person honoured in common by four distant places, three of them important cities, must have been a high official, and that the preceding hypothesis explains the situation and encounters no serious difficulty.

VIII. ANASTASIOPOLIS.—The two valleys of the Tchal Ova were united in the earlier period just as they are by the present system and by the necessity of their situation. Under the Roman Empire they were united in trading connection with Hierapolis, and far more coins of Hierapolis than of any other city were shown me in the Tchal Ova.² In the Byzantine lists Hyrgaleia is never mentioned: the district

reasoning. Blaundos is so placed as to communicate both with Hierapolis, twelve to fourteen hours, and with Philadelpheia, sixteen hours.

¹ *C.I.G.* 2698b, Waddington, *Fastes*, p. 102. Censorinus was dead, and no longer proconsul when the inscription was engraved: the circumstances of

our inscription might explain the omission of the title, *if it is omitted*.

² Besides numerous coins of Hierapolis, I saw a good many coins of Blaundos, Dionysopolis, Laodiceia, and Tripolis, fewer of Sala, one each of Hyrgaleia and Marcianopolis (in Thrace, a coin in most beautiful condition).

cannot be omitted by Hierocles, and must occur under some other name. Anastasiopolis, concealed under the form Sitoupolis, follows Dionysopolis in Hierocles and is frequently mentioned along with it in other Byzantine lists. The name dates from the reign of Anastasius, 491—518 A.D., during which there were long wars on the southern side of the plateau. Some village of the plain was then elevated to the rank of a city and named after the reigning emperor.

Near the village of Utch Kuyular, *Three Wells*, in the extreme north of the valley, one hour N.N.E. from Bekirlü, there is a slight rising ground: it was covered with a rich crop of wheat in June, but the villagers declared that the ground was full of marbles, and that all the fragments, mostly Byzantine, in the village had been dug up there. On this site Anastasiopolis probably stood. Two inscriptions were shown us at the village, one a fragment of a metrical epitaph, the other engraved on the tombstone of a man from the neighbouring town of Dionysopolis.

No. 12.

On a marble stele in a courtyard at Utch Kuyular; broken at both sides.

Οϸ~ΑϸΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΔ
ΠΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ~ΚΑΙΤΑΤΑΙ
ΟΥ~ΡΗΓΕΙΝΩΔΙΔΙΩΤ
ΜΝ~Μ~ΙϸΧΑΡΙΝ¹

'Ρηγείν]ος Ἀσκληπιάδου Δ[ι-
ουυσο]πο[λ]είτης καὶ Τάτα[ῆ]
γυνή αὐτ]οῦ Ῥηγείνω ἰδίῳ τέκ-
νω]μνήμης χάριν

IX. ΡΗΘΒΑ.—This name occurs only in *Notitiae* iii., x., xiii., and in *Act. Synod. Phot.* 879 A.D. It is ranked in the diocese of Hierapolis. The list of bishoprics is thus given in all the extant versions:—

¹ Only the second half of Π at the beginning of line 2 remains: the Δ for Λ in this line is an error of the engraver.

Not. VII. IX.	Not. VIII.	Not. I.	Not. III. X. ¹
1. ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως	1. ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως	1. ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως	1. ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως
Μελουπόλης	2. Μετελλουπόλεως	2. Μετελλουπόλεως	2. Μετελλουπόλεως
Διονυσιπόλεως	3. Ἀναστασιουπόλεως	3. Διονυσουπόλεως	5. Φόβων
Ἄττουδων	4. Ἄττουδων	4. Ἀναστασιουπόλεως	3. Ἄττουδων
Μοσύνων	5. Μοσύνων	5. Ἄττουδων	4. Μοσύνων
		6. Μοσύνων	

From this table it appears that sometimes only one bishop was placed over the two valleys of the Tchal Ova, and that sometimes he is called bishop of Dionysopolis, sometimes of Anastasiopolis, sometimes of Phoba. This last name occurs so rarely that it is not safe to make any definite conjecture about it.

If a line be drawn on the map inclosing the five cities Attoudda, Hierapolis, Mosyna, Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis, it will include the whole south-western corner of Pacatiana, a well-marked district having its centre in Hierapolis. Within this district and close to Hierapolis is the site of an ancient town at Geuzlar (see above, II.). If that ancient town did not belong to the diocese of Hierapolis, the unity of the district is destroyed; if it does, its name is Metelopolis. Between these alternatives there seems no reason to hesitate.

To complete this sketch of the Hyrgalean plain, we must cross the hills from Utch Kuyular or Bekirlü westwards to the villages of Destemir (1½ hours) and Medele (3 hours). There are in both many inscriptions, and at first I inclined to suppose that another city and bishopric had existed here. These villages lie near the northern bank of the Maeander, right opposite Dionysopolis, but the inscriptions could not be brought without great difficulty across the enormous cañon in which the Maeander flows. I am, however, forced to the conclusion that these inscriptions belong to the Hyrgalean plain. Transport from Bekirlü is easy, and one of the inscriptions contains a term unknown except in Hyrgaleia. Moreover there is no room, owing to the character of the soil, to place a city and bishopric here. The most interesting of these inscriptions are

¹ Omitting the district of the Ancyra attached to the metropolis Hierapolis. bishoprics, which are in these Notitiae

No. 13

On a fragment of a Byzantine architrave over a door in the courtyard of a mosque at Destemir. W.M.R.

ΕΤ'Α' ΤΗΒΑΣΙΑ'ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥΤ'ΔΕΛΣΕΒ'ΔΕΣΠ'Κ
 ΕΡΓΟΝΜΙΧΑΗΛΤ Δ'ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠ'ΟΝΤΟΣ

The second line is irregularly engraved among the tracery on the slab.¹

The ΧΑ of Μιχάηλ are engraved in a curious monogram.

Ἐτ(ει) λ' τῆς βασιλ(είας?) Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς δεσπότου(.....Ἔργον Μιχάηλ τῆς) δ(ιοικήσεως) ἐπισκοποῦντος..... The date of this inscription is 557: in 553 Alexander, bishop of Dionysopolis, and Hieron, bishop of Anastasiopolis, were present at *Synod. V.* Apparently the latter died between 553 and 557.

IXbis. MOSELLA.—The name of this village occurs only in inscriptions. It is still retained under the form Medele.

No. 14.

On a stele at Medele: copy and impression J.R.S.S.

ΑΥΡΕΙΔΟΜΕΝΕΥΣ
 ΤΕΤΡΑΚΕΙΣΜΟΤΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
 ΣΥΝΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΕΝΤΩΙΔΙ
 ΩΑΥΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΙ
 5 ΕΤΟΥΣΤΚΑ
 Η
 ΜΒΙΗΙΑΥΡΘΕ
 ΦΙΛΙΑΝΗΓΛΥΚΕ
 ΗΣΦΥΣΕΙΔΕ
 ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΥ
 10 ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
 ΚΙΑΛΛΒΟΥΜ
 ΤΩΓΛΥΚΥΤΑ
 ΤΩΑΝΔΡ²

¹ The large cross evidently marks the middle of the stone, so that exactly half of the inscription is preserved.

² The reading ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΙ is

quite certain. At least four lines are lost at the end, having been wilfully erased. In line 7 I read on the impression ΓΛ'ΚΕ or ΓΑ'ΚΣ.

Αὐρ. Εἰδομενεὺς τετράκεις Μοτελληνὸς συν[ε]σπούδασεν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδ[ε]ι(?) Ἔτους τκά, μη(νὸς) βί, ηί, Αὐρ. Θεοφιλιανή Γλυκε[ρ]ης? φύσει δὲ Τατιανοῦ Ζήωνος Κιαλλ-βου(?)Μο[τελληνοῦ], τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρ[ι] κ.τ.λ.

This inscription is so incorrectly engraved that the sense is obscure. The superscription, lines 1—4, apparently records that Aurelius Idomeneus cooperated with some other person or persons in erecting the tomb.¹ The rest of the inscription is in the usual style of a wife making the tomb of her husband. Aur. Theophiliane had an adoptive father and a natural father, but there is perhaps some confusion among them,² as the latter has so many names or epithets. The word Μοτελληνὸς occurred already in an inscription of Demirdji Keui, No. 11. The name Idomeneus was used for four successive generations.

Whatever be the meaning of a date τξέ on a coin of Hyrgaleia, Mionnet, No. 650, this inscription is clearly dated according to the usual Phrygian and Asian era, 85—4 B.C. The year 321 corresponds to A.D. 237, and the regular use of the *praenomen Aur.* belongs to the third century. It is therefore probable that No. 11 is dated according to the same system.

I am, however, strongly disposed to consider this inscription as Christian; a comparison with the other Christian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries in Phrygia suggests points of analogy: especially the phrase Ἀδελφ... suggests the Christian brotherhood alluded to in an inscription of Eucarpia,³ and in another of the same district copied by Hamilton and commented on by Cavedoni and De Rossi.⁴ But I do not see how exactly to understand the inscription in this sense.

X. ATTANASSOS.—This town is mentioned in all the *Notitiae*, and in the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D. The name seems to be retained in the village of Eski Aidan, *Old Aidan*, on the western bank of the Glaucos, Sandyklü Tchaj,⁵ about two hours

¹ Σπουδασάντων of the members of an association in an inscription of Apameia which I published *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 307.

² I copied at Apameia an inscription in which two lines are transposed, see *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 308.

³ See below, No. 43.

⁴ *Opuscoli di Modena VIII*, 176; de Rossi, *Roma. Sott.* I. 106: I have not seen these comments, but take the references from M. Duchesne in *Rev. Quest. Histor.* July, 1883, p. 31. See also Waddington on Lebas, 1687.

⁵ On the opposite bank stands the village of New Aidan.

from Isheklü. A bishopric which existed both before and after the time of Hierocles must on the principle laid down above occur in his list. In this part of his list there occurs a name Krasos or Krassos: this name, which is unknown in Phrygia, is certainly corrupt.¹ Restoring the name Attanassos, we find that his list is geographically true and in perfect accord with the ecclesiastical lists.

It must be added that a town Krasos is mentioned in Phrygia by Theophanes, ἐξελθὼν κατὰ Ἀράβων συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς Κράσον τῆς Φρυγίας.² But this town is in the south of Bithynia (see *Addenda* I.), and cannot, as Wesseling fancies, be the place referred to by Hierocles.

XI. LOUNDA.—The important name of Blaundos does not occur in Hierocles, and this was usually explained by the supposition that it was hidden under the form Lounda. The supposition contradicts the order of Hierocles; and, moreover, *Not.* III and XIII mention both Lounda and Blaundos,³ the latter being assigned to Lydia. The following inscription effectually vindicates Hierocles' accuracy. It was found at Isabey, a large village in the Baklan Ova. By a fortunate chance we encamped there for a night, and next morning a native offered for a small sum to show a 'written stone' in his house. According to Mr. Sterrett's copy the inscription reads as follows.

No. 15

On the upper surface of a Byzantine capital, made out of an older inscribed stele. J.R.S.S.

ΕΠΤΙΜΙΟ
 ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚ
 ΤΟΝΑΥΓΟΥΣΤ
 ΒΙΚΟΝΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΙΚΟΙ
 5 ΣΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜ
 ΣΥΝΔΕΩΝ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]
 Λεύκιον Σ]επτίμιο[ν Σε-
 ουῆρ]ον Περτίνακ[α Σ-
 εβασ]τὸν Αὐγουστ[ον
 Ἄρα]βικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν
 ἡ β]ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος
 ὁ Α]ουνδέων.

¹ The three successive names Konioupolis, Sitoupolis, Krassos, are corrupt to an extent almost unexampled in the list.

² Theoph. *Chronogr.* I. p. 746 (p. 37).

³ Under the form Βλάδος, Φλαῦδος.

The city of Lounda was situated between the villages of Seid and Eski Seid in the sharp angle where the Maeander turns suddenly north to enter the Tchal Ova. The remains of the city have been carried west and south-west to Seid, Mahmoud Ghazi, Hadjilar Mahalesi, and Isabey, and north-east to Kavaklar and the surrounding district. We have in this fertile valley, traversed by an important road from Eumeneia to Laodiceia, a city of the Graeco-Roman type with a Boule and a Demos, not a mere collection of villages like Hyrgaleia. Its remains are numerous and quite different in character from those of the Hyrgalean plain. The inscription copied by Hamilton in the northern part of the Baklan Ova, on the road from Demirdji Keui to Isheklü is to be thus restored in the first three lines

Ἡ βο[υλή
κ]αὶ ὁ δῆμος
ὁ Λουν]δέων κ.τ.λ.¹

No. 16.

On a basis of a statue in the village of Kavaklar; broken at foot: J.R.S.S.

ΑΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ~ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ~
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ~ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ
ΓΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ~ΕΥΣΕΒΗΑΠΟΛ
ΟΔΟΤΟ~Δ ΔΩΡΟΥ~
5 ΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝΤΙ-ΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ
ΜΕΤΑΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣ~ΕΚΤΩΝ
ΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΝΥΠΕΡΕΥ
ΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ~ΤΙΣΙΣΤΟΝΚΥΡΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΙΑΣ~ΤΗΣΕΙΣ
10 ΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ~ΚΟΥΑΣΚΑΙΙ
ΙΣΜΛΓ²

¹ Hamilton, No. 348: restored in *C.I.G.* [Τραλλέων, in Waddington *Mel. Numism.* I. p 105 [Υργαλλέων.

² In 5, ΗΓ *liée*; so ΜΣ in 6, ΝΕ

and ΗΣ in 7, ΝΚ in 8, ΗΝΠ in 10. The last letter in Απολλοδοτος is according to the copy a monogram of Ν and Σ, probably it is Ν corrected to Σ.

A[ὕ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα Ἄδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ
 Ἀπολλόδοτο[ς] Δι[ο]δώρον [σ]τρατηγῶν τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τ[ῆ]ς [εἰ]ς τὸν
 Κύριον καὶ φιλοτεμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, κόψας καὶ (?)[...]
 σμα[... κ.τ.λ. This inscription dates 137-61.

When all the towns around, Peltaï, Eumeneia, Ceretapa, Dionysopolis, even Hyrgaleia, and the little Bria and Seiblia, struck coins, it is difficult to see why Lounda, which was evidently an important place, struck none. The explanation lies I think in a fact hitherto unnoticed: cities like individuals in Anatolia often bear two names. I shall speak of this more fully in regard to Bennisoa; meanwhile I quote the case of Comana in Cappadocia, which coins under the name Comana, but whose inscriptions are couched in the name of Hieropolis.¹

Some rare coins bearing the legend ΟΚΟΚΛΙΕΩΝ are attributed on the evidence of style and fabric to Phrygia.² Ococlia is absolutely unknown except from these coins. I bought an unpublished variety at Isheklü :

Obv. Bust to right, ΙΕΡΑΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC.

Rev. Cybele standing facing, wearing polos and veil, clad in long tunic, and holding wreath in her right hand ΕΠΙΚΛ ΑΛΩΒ ΡΟΤΟΥΟΚΟΚΛΙΕΩΝ :³ size 6 of Mionnet. This coin is in fair but not in fine condition: there is therefore a probability that it belongs to some place connected by trade with Eumeneia: in the Isheklü district the common coins, besides Eumeneia itself, were of Eucarpia, Apameia, and Laodiceia. After going over the list of towns which could possibly fulfil that condition, I find none but Lounda which did not strike coins. The suggestion is perhaps worth making, though there is no direct evidence in its favour, that Lounda according to a Phrygian custom was called by a second name, Ococlia.

XII. PELTAI.—We spent about a week seeking for this city, and discovered nothing but negative evidence. In places where we expected to find Peltaï, we discovered that no Greek city had ever existed. Absolutely the only place where it could possibly

¹ Also Conni Metropolis, called in the Byzantine lists Conni Demetriopolis.

² Until M. Waddington restored the true reading in Pliny, there was no other evidence than style to prove that

Hyrgaleia was in Phrygia.

³ The sixth, seventh, and eighth letters doubtful: perhaps ΑΛΛΑ: the name is perhaps ΚΛ. Λαώβροτος.

have stood is the neighbourhood of Karayashilar, a large village on the Glaucos, three hours from Isheklü, two from Eski Aidan, and nearly on the direct line between Lounda and Eumeneia. This situation suits all the evidence, the order in Hierocles, the narrative of Xenophon, the reference in the Peutinger Table, the passage in Strabo mentioning the Πελατηνὸν πεδίον. The Peutinger Table mentions Peltai at the side of the road from Apameia to Eumeneia, in the same way that it mentions Temnos¹ in connection with the road from Smyrna to Cyme. The road to Peltai diverges from the main road at a point in the Isheklü valley two hours south of Eumeneia; this point is doubtless the *ad vicum* of the Table. The XII on the Table must be corrected to VII; it has been universally recognised that the total distance on the Table from Eumeneia to Apameia, XXVI, is too great. This correction makes the total distance XXI, which is I believe accurate: the modern estimate is seven hours. ‘*Ad vicum*’ is between Genjellü and Homa, about XII miles from Karayashilar and VII from Isheklü. The distance from Apameia to Peltai is therefore XXVI, which agrees with Xenophon’s ten parasangs.²

The plain of Peltai lies between the plain of Lounda and that of Eumeneia: there is no line of demarcation on either side, for the country stretches flat as a table from Isheklü to Isabey. In such a fertile and well-cultivated district, we must not expect to find many traces of an ancient city: the rule is invariable—the better populated the country, the greater destruction of ancient monuments. Two large mounds not far from Karayashilar, one north, the other west, both contain considerable traces of ancient life; but inscribed stones are rare in the surrounding villages. In Karayashilar alone, besides numerous marbles, we found two sepulchral inscriptions of no special interest.

After the three days’ visit of Xenophon, nothing is known of Peltai till the third century. Among the numerous inscriptions recording the thanks voted by Greek cities to other cities which

¹ See my paper in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* II. p. 286.

² The statement made by me in *Rev. Archéol.* Sept. 1883 (in the *Chron. d’Orient*), with regard to Xenophon’s route is wrong. To leave no doubt, I

made another journey across the district after that statement was written. I observed that Peltai must be several miles further north than I at first thought.

had sent *dikastai* to settle their legal troubles, one records the gratitude of the people of Peltai to the Antandrians and the *dikastai* whom they had sent (*C.I.G.* 3568 *f. add.*). This inscription is one of the earliest of its kind, and belongs to the third century. It mentions a hieron of Zeus Peltenos, who is not unknown on coins of the city (Mionnet, No. 879). The earliest coins of Peltai belong to this period. The foundation of Eumeneia curtailed its power and wealth.

XIII. EUMENEIA.—The situation of this city at Isheklü was pointed out by Leake from an inscription copied there by Poccoke. Leake, however, has misunderstood the river names. Eumeneia lies under a conical hill, and a stream, rising from a very fine spring at the base of the hill within the ancient city, flows in a winding course south to join the Maeander: this stream is the Cludrus mentioned by Pliny. About three miles west of Isheklü a river, which drains all the large valley of Sandyklü, the Cutchuk Sitchanlü Ova, and great part of the mountainous district between the Burgas Dagħ and these two valleys, flows south-west to join the Maeander. This river, which is quite dry during all the summer in its passage through the Isheklü valley, but which flows with a good perennial stream in all the upper part of its course, is the Glaucos of coins. Hence the passage in Pliny is easy and accurate, *Eumeneia Cludro flumini adposita, Glaucus amnis.*

The villages round Isheklü are full of inscriptions: we copied forty-two, and did not attempt to exhaust them. Almost all were sepulchral; the people of Eumeneia seem to have had no interest in any subject except their welfare after death. I shall give here a few that show strong traces of Christian influence during the third century.

No. 17.

On a stele in the cemetery, Isheklü. W.M.R.

ΑΥΡΩΠΡΟΚΛΑ	Αὐρ. Πρόκλα
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ	κατεσκεύασεν
ΤΟΗΡΩΝΑΥΤΗΚΑΙ	τὸ ἡρώων αὐτῆ καὶ
ΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣ	τῶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΦΙΛΙΠΠΩ	τέκνοις Φιλίππῳ
ΚΑΙΠΑΥΛΙΝΗΜΝΗ	καὶ Παυλίῳ μνή-

ΕΧΑΡΙΝΕΙΔΕ
ΕΠΙΧΙΡΙ-ΓΕΙ
ΝΑΙΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΤΑΙΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣ
ΤΟΝΘΕΟΝΤΟΝ
ΖΩΝΤΑ

μη]s χάριν· εἰ δέ
τις] ἐπιχ(ε)ιρήσει
θεῖ]ναι ἕτερον,
ἔσ]ται αὐτῶ πρὸς
τὸν Θεὸν τὸν
ζῶντα

No. 18.

On a stele at Dede Keui : J.R.S.S.

ΔΑΜΑΣΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΥΚ
ΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΗΡΩ
ΖΝΤΩΜΗΤΡΩΝΙΜΗ
ΤΡΟΔΩΡΩΕΠΙΣΚΟΠ
ΩΚΑΙΤΩΠΑΤΡΙΜΟΥ
ΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΩΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩ
ΕΙΤΙΣΔΕΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΙ
ΘΕΙΝΕΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΙΝΑΘΗ
ΣΕΙΙΣΤΟΤΑΜΕΙΟΝΠΡΟΣ
ΤΕΙΜΟΥ*ΦΕΙΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ
ΝΗΣΕΙΤΟΥΤΟΥΕΣΤΕ
ΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΖΩΝΤΑΘΕΟΝ

Δαμᾶς Διοτείμων κ[α
τεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρῶ-
ον τῷ μῆτρωνι Μη-
τροδώρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ
καὶ τῷ πατρὶ μου
Διοτείμῳ καὶ αὐτῶ·
εἴ τις δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει
θεῖνε ἕτερίν τινα, θή-
σει ἰς τὸ ταμείον προσ-
τείμων (δηνάρια) φ'· εἰ καταφρο-
νήσει τούτου, ἔσπε
αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν.

The remarkable expression with which both these inscriptions conclude must be compared with other endings of similar character: at Eumeneia we find πρὸς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ (C.I.G. 3902), and πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεὸν καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ κρισίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ (C.I.G. 3902 r): at Arameia πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ (C.I.G. 3963), and πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν Θεόν:¹ at Brouzos ἐνορκιζόμεθα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας μηδένα ἀδικῆσαι τὸ μνημεῖον:² at Bria (see below, No. 126) ἔσται ἐπικατάρατος παρὰ Θεῶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα: at Eumeneia, in an inscription given in *Add. II.*, the strange curse

¹ In the same inscription τοῖς τέκνοις ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος μου and in another from Arameia τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ: I have published these *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 310 and 312.

² I published this inscription in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 516; are the δαίμονας devils, or is the inscription a mixture of pagan and Christian phraseology?

ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν. These examples have decided my opinion on a point about which I long hesitated—many inscriptions in central Anatolia, which end with the curse ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, must be reckoned as Christian.¹ Hence it is safe to add the following as Christian.

No. 19.

On a stele at Tchevri: this inscription may belong to Attanassos or to Eumeneia.

<p>ΕΤΟΥΣΤΑΓΜΙΕΑΥΡ ΜΟΣΧΑΣΑΛΕΣΑΝ ΟΥΕΠΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑ Ο ΑΥΡΑΛΕ 5 ΣΑΝΔΡΩΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ ΤΟΥΣΚΑΘΩΣΕΝΕΤ ΕΙΛΑΤΟΕΝΤΗΔΙΑ ΘΗΚΗΕΙΤΙΣΔΕΕΤΕ ΡΟΝΕΜΒΑΛΕΙΕΣΤΑΙ 10 ΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑ ΠΕΤΕΘΗΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΙΑ</p>	<p>Ἔτους τλγ', μη(νὸς) ί, έ, Αὐρ. Μοσχᾶς Ἀλεξάν- δρ]ου ἐπεσκεύασα τ]ὸ [μνημεῖον?] Αὐρ. Ἀλε- ξάνδρω Μενεκρά- τοὺς κάθως ἐνετ- εἶλατο ἐν τῇ δια- θήκῃ· εἴ τις δὲ ἕτε- ρον ἐμβαλεῖ, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἀ- πετίθη ἰς τὰ ἀρχία.</p>
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I give this inscription as adding one to the small number of dated Christian inscriptions of the third century. Lebas no. 727 gives one dated 279 A.D. The present inscription dates 249.

Μήτρων in No. 18 is probably a form of μήτρως, a maternal uncle. Ἐπισκόπῳ in the same inscription is interesting. One other important Christian inscription must find a place here.

No. 20.

At Dede Keui: copy and impression, J. R. S. S.

<p>ΑΥΡΝΕΙΚΕΡΩΣΒΚΑΤΕΣ ΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΗΡΩΝ</p>	<p>Αὐρ. Νεικέρως β'. κατεσ- κεύασεν τὸ ἡρώον</p>
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¹ I see that M. l'Abbé Duchesne holds the same opinion, *Rev. d. Quest. Hist.* July, 1883, p. 31. But it would

not be safe to assume the point without proof: δ θεός and ἡ θεός are common in pagan Phrygian inscriptions.

ΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΙ	αὐτῶ καὶ γυναι(κί) καὶ
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΕΘΗΚΑΔΕ	τέκνοις· ἔθηκα δὲ
5 ΦΙΛΟΝΨΕΝΘΑΔΕ	φίλον. Ἐνθάδε
ΚΕΚΗΔΕΥΤΕ·ΑΥΡ·	κεκήδευτε Αὐρ.
ΜΑΝΝΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ ¹	Μάννος στρατιώτης
ΙΠΠΕΥΣΣΑΓΙΤΤΑΡΙΣ	ἱππεὺς σαγιττάρι(ο)s
ΔΡΑΚΩΝΑΡΙΣΕΞΟΦΙΚ	δρακωνάρι(ο)s, ἔξ ἰφικ[ί]
10 ΟΥΤΟΥΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ	οὐ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣΚΑΣΤΡΙΟ	ἡγεμόνος Καστρίο[υ]
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΟΣΨ	Κώνσταντος·
ΟΣΑΝΔΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥ	ὅς ἂν δ' ἐπιτηδέυ-
ΣΕΙΕΤΕΡΟΣΕΤΕΑΥ	σει ἕτερος, ἔστε αὐ-
	[τῶ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.]

On this inscription see *Addenda* III.

The inscription *C.I.G.* No. 3,888, attributed to Eumeneia on the authority of Laborde, belongs to Eucarpia: we copied the stone in a mosque near the site of Eucarpia, thirty-two miles from Isheklü. *C.I.G.* 3,884 is also attributed wrongly to Eumeneia, and Franz has been put to sad shifts to explain how Eumeneia could be called Sebaste. The inscription belongs to Sebaste, and has either been brought from that site to Isheklü,² or Pococke has, like Laborde, made a mistake in his note of the place where he copied it.

The only tribe of Eumenia known is called Ἀθηναῖς: we found a second name Ἡραῖς.

XIV. SEIBLIA.—Homa lies on the southern slope of the immense mass of limestone named Ak Dagħ. The situation is very fine, plentifully supplied with water, and commanding a fine plain, continuous with the *Eumenetici Campi* on the north-west, and bounded on all other sides by mountains or low hills. There are here traces of an ancient city, which by its situation must have been a strong fortress. The statements of Cinnamus, Ptolemy, and Hierocles show with definite certainty that this

¹ NN *lité*: the impression is very faint, and I do not feel certain that the reading is correct: possibly KN.

² I have known large inscribed stones transported to a greater distance.

place was Seiblia. Cinnamus says that Seiblia was a fortress situated towards the head-waters of the Maeander.¹ The boundary between Pacatiana and Pisidia runs across the Maeander valley a little way south of Homa at the *boghaz* through which the river finds its way into the plains of Seiblia. There is no place for a fortress in Pacatiana nearer than Homa to the source of the Maeander.

XV. CERETAPA, Rock of the Carians?² The territory of this city was certainly the rich plain on the north-east of the Adji Touz Göl. The order in Hierocles is clear on this point, and is in accordance with Ptolemy. Le Quien also uses the expression, apparently derived from some Greek *menologion*, *Chonae* (i.e. Colossae) *quae juxta Ceretapa* (*Or. Christ. i.*, 813). An apparition of St. Michael, whose splendid church in Chonai is famous, occurred at Ceretapa (*Menolog.* September 6). The district is now called the Taz Giri, in which we may perhaps recognise part of the old name. The town is also called Diocaesareia on coins, and Ptolemy knows no other name. The site was at Sari Kavak, where there are important remains: on my visit in October 1881, I found no inscriptions.

Kiepert placed Diocaesareia at Tchardak, about six or seven miles west of Sari Kavak. This village, though a modern halting-place, is not an ancient site.

Ceretapa is probably identical with Anava, a city of the Phrygians, by which Xerxes passed on his march from Celaenae to Colossae. The people still extract salt from the lake, as they did in the time of Herodotus.

Coins of Ceretapa mention a fountain Aulindenos (see *J. H. S.* 1883, p. 72).

XVI. ATTOUDDA.—To complete my argument as to the southern district of Phrygia, it is necessary to refer to the boundaries of the territory of Attoudda. The town was at or near Ipsili Hissar, in the extreme south-western corner of

¹ Manuel, marching from the Rhyn-dacus valley, τὰς ἐπὶ Λάμπης διελθὼν πεδιάδας, φρούριόν τι περὶ πρώτας που τοῦ Μαϊάνδρου ἐκβολὰς (Σούβλαιον ὄνομα αὐτῶ) χρόνῳ πεπτακὸς ἀνεγείρει, p. 298. Compare Nicetas *de Man.* vi. p. 229,

ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε (towards Dorylaion) μερῶν ἀπανίσταται, εἰς δὲ τὸ Σούβλειον ὡς εἶχε παραγενόμενος ἀνήγειρέ τι κάκεινο.

² Taba means rock in Carian.

Pacatiana. It possessed the territory on the northern side of Mt. Salbakos, Baba Dagħ, and the whole of the Bogħaz west of Serai Keui. The temple of Men Karou, who occurs on coins of Attoudda, was somewhere about the eastern end of the Bogħaz. The territory was bounded on the east by that of Laodiceia, on the north-east by that of Hierapolis, on the north by that of Tripolis. The boundary between Tripolis and Hierapolis was the Maeander, between Hierapolis and Laodiceia the Lycus. In the Roman period the territory of Hierapolis included all the mountain district up to and perhaps including Mossyna.

XVII. PEPOUZA.—We now proceed to the next group in Hierocles' enumeration. It is more difficult here to catch the clue to his order, and but for the fortunate discovery by Mr. Sterrett of an inscription with the name Diocleia, and subsequently my deciphering of a fragment containing the name Kidyessos, it would be hopeless to attempt the task. The towns of this group are situated in the great undulating plain through which the Banaz Tchai flows south-west to join the Maeander, and in the mountainous district between the Banaz Ova and the Sandyklü Ova. Pepouza is memorable as the cradle of the religious movement known as Montanism. We are now able to specify with certainty the district where this movement began. Its early opponents are the presbyters or bishops of Otrous and Hierapolis, in the western part of the Sandyklü Ova. The few facts known about its early history refer to the district between Eumeneia and Otrous. It is worthy of note that three-fourths of the early Christian inscriptions of Phrygia belong to this neighbourhood. In this district there are three places where an ancient bishopric and town might be placed; (1) Dogħla and Aghar Hissar; (2) Hodjalar; (3) Yannik Euren: the first is the site of Diocleia, the second is probably a village of the Moxeani, the third is probably Pepouza.¹ It is situated on the high road from Eumeneia to the cities of the Sandyklü valley, at the point where a road diverges northwards to Diocleia and the villages of the Moxeani.

Pepouza seems to have derived its importance from Montanism. Epiphanius (*Haeres.* xlvi. 14) says that it was deserted in his

¹ If this be so, Hodjalar must be Tymion.

time¹ (he died 402 A.D.). Hierocles, however, includes it in his list, and Philostorgius mentions it (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 8); it never occurs in the *Notitiae*.

About an hour east of Yannik Euren is a village called Kilter, in which there are some marbles.

No. 21.

On a stele at Kilter in a courtyard.

ΕΤΟΥΣΤΜΕΜΓ	Ἔτους τμεί, μ(ηνὸς) γ΄,
ΑΥΡΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔ	Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιουδ-
ΩΡΑΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ	ώρα κατεσκεύ-
ΑΕΝΤΟΗΡΩΟΝ	ασεν τὸ ἡρῶον
5 ΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΤΩΓΛΥ	ἐ]αυτῇ καὶ τῷ γλυ-
ΚΥΤΑΤΩΜΟΥΑ	κυτάτῳ μου ἀ-
ΝΔΡΙΑΥΡΓΑΙΩ	νδρὶ Αὐρ. Γαίφ
ΕΥΨΧΟΥΚΑΙΤΩ	Εὐψ[υ]χου καὶ τῷ
ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩ	γλυκυτάτῳ
10 ΜΟΥΤΕΚΝΩ	μου τ'έκνω
ΑΥΡΚΟΥΑΡΤΩ	Αὐρ. Κουάρτῳ
ΜΝ-Μ-ΣΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν
ΕΪΔΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΙΣΕΠ	εἰ δ' ἕτερον τις ἐπ-
ΙCENENΚΕΙΕΙΕΤ	ισενένκει εἰ(ς) τ-
15 OMN-MEION ^{ΕCΤΕΤΩ} ²	ὀ μνημεῖον ἔστε [αὐ]τῷ
ΠΡΟΣ	πρὸς [τὸν Θεόν.]

This adds one more to the dated Christian inscriptions of the third century: the year is 260 A.D.

No. 22.

At Kilter in a fountain: a mere fragment.

ΙΙΟΥΚΕΤΗCΝΒΗΟΥΔΑΝΤΟΝΚΕΙΟΝΙΕΚ
ΝΟΝΔΥΤΟΥΨΕΚΥΜΙΘΙΨΔΟΥΛΟCΤΟΥ

¹ I give the statement on the authority of Smith's *Dict.*, having no means of verifying it in Smyrna.

² ME in 1, ΗΠ in 2, TE in 3, HP in 4, HK in 5, MN, &c., in 12, NE and NK in 14, *lièc*.

[τὸ κοιμητήριον Ἀνάστασι]ου καὶ τῆ[ς] συνβήου αὐτοῦ καὶ [τ]ὸν [τ]έκνον αὐτοῦ + ἐκμιθι ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ [Θεοῦ ἔτει κ.τ.λ.

This inscription is far later than the preceding, as is shown by the style of letters, by the spelling (ἐκοιμήθη, τῶν τέκνων, &c.), and by the distinctively Christian formulas.

In the Christian sepulchral inscriptions we find (1) a perfect identity with sepulchral pagan formulas; the dated examples 190-220 A.D. Many of these inscriptions must always remain unknown, as containing nothing distinctively Christian. (2) The penalty of violating the tomb ἔσται πρὸς τὸν Θεόν: the dated examples 249-260. Instead of a penalty to an earthly ruler, the tomb is placed under the care of God. (3) Similar formula more distinctively Christian in style, τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν, &c., no dated example. (4) κοιμητήριον or some such expression of Christian faith instead of the pagan ἡρώων, no dated example. (5) Purely Christian formulas, ἔνθα κεκοιμηται, ἐνθάδε κείται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ: all known to me are evidently late.

XVIII. BRIA. This town is known from a few rare coins which bear the legend ΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ, as those of Seiblia ΞΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ, of Alia ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ, &c. The name is an interesting one: it is the old Phrygo-Thracian word meaning *town*,¹ which gradually passed into a proper name. It occurs as the second element in the Thracian Menebria, Poltyobria, and Selymbria or Salybria. So the common termination *-assos*² is used alone as the name of a town in Mysia; *teira* occurs in Thyateira, *the village (?) of the goddess Thya*,³ and is also used as the name of a town in the Cayster valley.

Bria was a bishopric in the Byzantine period, and its bishop was styled ὁ Βριάνων, just as the bishop of Alia was styled ὁ Ἀλίων (contracted for Ἀλιωνῶν). This title has produced in Hierocles, who is often much influenced by the ecclesiastical lists, the name *Briana*. Writers on numismatics have imitated this error, and the name Briana has now firmly established itself. These writers have coined a similar false name from some Lydian coins which bear the legend ΤΟΜΑΡΗΝΩΝ; the name Tomarena is regularly employed instead of the obviously correct

¹ Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσημβρία.

³ Compare Thyessos, *the peak of*

² Assos, probably ak-yo-s, *the peak. Thya.*

Tomara.¹ The coins of Lydia and Phrygia bear as legend the genitive plural of the ethnic.

Between the Banaz Tchai, the Burgas Dagh, the Isheklü Ova, and the Tchal Ova, there extends a wide district which is a blank on Kiepert's map. Some parts of it are fertile, and many villages, one—Karahallü—much larger than Isheklü, are dotted over it. The ancient town of this district was situated in the neighbourhood of Suretlü and Garbasan. According to the order of Hierocles, this town must be Bria.

No. 23.

On a sepulchral *bomos* at Garbasan. W.M.R.

	ΑΥΡΑΛΕΞΑΝ	Αὐρ. Ἀλέξαν-
	ΔΡΟΣΩΡΕΛΛΙ	δρος Ὀρελλί-
	ΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ	ου κατεσκεύ-
	ΛΣΑΤΟΚΥΜΗΤΗ	ασα τὸ κυμητή-
5	ΙΟΝΕΜΑΥΤΩ	ρ]ιον ἐμαυτῶ
	ΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ	καὶ τῇ γυναικί
	ΜΟΥΑΛΥΠΙΑ	μου Ἀλυπία.

The word *κοιμητήριον* shows that the inscription is Christian it can hardly be later than the fourth century, but already distinctively Christian technical terms are beginning to establish themselves in place of the old formulas common to Pagan and Christian tombs.

No. 24.

On an elaborately carved *bomos* at Suretlü. W.M.R.

	ΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΑΥΤΗ	[ἡ δεῖνα κατεσκεύασα ἑαυτῇ]
	ΔΙΟΔΟΤΩΚΕΤΟΙΣ	καὶ τῶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆ[s
	ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΙΣΤΕ	Διοδότῳ κὲ τοῖς
	ΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΗΣΦΙΟ	γλυκυτάτοις τέ-
5	ΓΙΩΚΕΤΑΤΙΑΚΑΙ	κνοῖς αὐτῆς Φ[ρ]ο[υ
		γίῳ κὲ Τατία καὶ

¹ The river Kissos is mentioned on a coin of Tomara in the collection of Mr. Lawson.

	ΤΗΘΡΕΠΤΗΡΟΔΟ	τῇ θρεπτῇ Ῥοδό-
	ΠΙ-ΜΕΧΙΔΕΖΩΟΝ	πη, μέχ[ρ]ι δὲ ζῶ ὄν
	ΑΝΘΕΛΗΣΩΘΗΣ	ἂν θελήσω θῆσ[αι]
	ΜΕΤΑΔΕΤΗΝΕΜΗ	μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμῶ[ν]
10	ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝΟΥΔΕΝΙΕ	τελευτῆν οὐδένι ἐ-
	ΞΟΝΕΣΤΕΕΤΕΡΩΤΕΘΗΝΕ	ξὸν ἔστε ἐτέρω τεθῆνε,
	ΜΟΝΟΝΤΗΟΥΓΑΤΡΙΜΟΥΤΑ	μόνον τῇ θυγατρὶ μου Τά-
	ΚΕΙΕΣΤΕΕΠΙΚΑΤΑΡΑΤΟΣΠΑΡΑ	τα· εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερον ἐπισενέ[ν]-
	ΤΑΕΙΤΙΣΔΕΕΤΕΡΟΝΕΠΙΣΕΝΕ	κει, ἔστε ἐπικατίρατος παρὰ
15	ΘΕΩΙΣΤΟΝΕΩΝΑ ¹	Θεῶ ἰς τὸν ἑῶνα.

This inscription is much earlier than the preceding, and belongs probably to the middle of the third century. It is obviously Christian. The engraver has inverted lines 13 and 14 (see above on No. 14). *θησ[αι]* in line 8, is apparently intended as aorist participle: the regular formula requires this restoration. *θησ[ω]* is perhaps the reading.

No. 25.

At Suretlü, beside the preceding on a sepulchral *tomos* exactly similar to the last, and belonging certainly to the same period, probably to the same family: it is therefore also probably Christian. W.M.R.

		[ἡ δεῖνα κατεσκευάσα τῶ τέκνῳ]
	Μ ΕΛΤΙΝΗΚΕΦΡΟ Υ	Μελτίνη κὲ Φρου-
	Γ ΙΩΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΑ Υ	γίῳ τῶ ἀνδρὶ ἀν-
	ΤΗΣΚΕΦΡΟΥΓ ΙΩ	τῆς κὲ Φρουγίῳ
	ΛΟ ΥΚΙΑΝΗΣΚΑΙ ΤΗ	Λουκιανῆς καὶ τῇ
5	ΘΡΕΠΤΗΜΟΥ	θρεπτῇ μου
	Α ΣΣ ΕΝΩΚΗΔΕ Υ	Β]άσσ[η]· ἐν ᾧ κηδευ-
	ΘΗ ΣΕΤΕΚΑΙΙ-ΝΥ	θί, σετε καὶ ἡ νύ-
	Φ ΗΤΟΥΦΡΟΥΓΙΟ Υ	μ]φῃ τοῦ Φρουγίου
	ΤΑΤΙΑΝΗΟΥΔΕΝΙΔΕΕ	Τατιανῆ· οὐδένι δὲ ἐ-
10	ΞΟΝ ΕΡΩΤΕΘΗ ²	ξὸν [ἔστε ἐτ]έρω τεθῆ[ναι κ.τ.λ.]

¹ HM in 7, ME in 9, probably HN in 10, NE and HNE in 11, NE twice in 14, *licet*.

² Incomplete at bottom. [H]E in 6, and HN in 7, *licet*.

On coins of Alia, a magistrate Phrougios is mentioned under Gordian. These two inscriptions belong to the same period. The coincidence prompted me for a long time to place Alia here, but the position is irreconcilable with Hierocles. The name Phrougios, is not common: it occurs at Laodiceia Com-busta, *C.I.G.* 3989, and a place in the agora of Hieropolis was named Phrougis.¹ It is probably not derived from the Latin Frugi, but is rather a native Phrygian name, derived from the national name like the very common Karikos from Caria.²

XIX. SEBASTE. The Banaz Ova is bounded on the east by the Burgas Dagħ, a fine mountain which rises perpendicularly from the plain, on the right of the road from Isheklü to Ushak or to Acmonia. The Burgas Dagħ is continued to the north by a similar but lower ridge of mountains, beneath which Sebaste was built. From this range several streams run down to join the Banaz Tchai, making the country immediately below the mountains a perfect garden. We rode for hours amid orchards, a rare pleasure to travellers on the generally treeless plateau. In the most fertile part of this district, where the growth is most luxuriant, lay the ancient Sebaste; and its place is now filled by three modern villages, Seljüklér, Sivaslü, and Bounar-bashi,³ with its abundant springs of water. Beside Seljüklér there are several tumuli, one of which has recently been opened and the finely-built sepulchral chamber inside has been thus exposed to view. The ancient city doubtless lies within the equilateral triangle with sides about one and a quarter miles in length, which is formed by these three villages, but in such a well cultivated spot no traces except the tumuli are visible *in situ*. Inscriptions abound in the villages.

Arundel, who visited the site, thought that it was Eucarpia.⁴ Hamilton discovered an inscription with the name Sebaste, and observed that the ancient name was still preserved in the modern Sivaslü.⁵

¹ See my paper on Abercius in *J.H.S.* iii. p. 349.

² My remark in the last number of this Journal, p. 36, note 2, must therefore be corrected. Phrougios also at Cotyaion and Aizani.

³ Seljüklér, *the Seljuks*; Bounar-bashi, *head of the springs*.

⁴ It must be said, in justice to Arundel, that he placed Sebaste only three or four miles to the west of Seljüklér.

⁵ The modern form is evidently due to 'false analogy': '-lu or -lü,' 'endowed with,' is an exceedingly common termination in Turkish.

We copied nineteen inscriptions in the three villages, most of which have been already published. I confine myself here to correcting error in the published texts.

Lebas, No. 730. In line 3 for Κλ[ι]ταν Νεάρχου read Κλ[αυ]δίαν Νεάρχου. — In 5 Lebas reads [τ]αμίαν. M. Waddington, who edits the inscription from Lebas's copy, was misled into the belief that a letter is wanting and reads [Σ]αμίαν. There is no need to supply any letter: it is true that there is a gap at the end of line 4, but I was convinced that no letter had ever been engraved in it. Afterwards, seeing the reading given in Lebas, I asked Mr. Sterrett on his second visit to verify this point carefully: he entirely agreed with me. The true reading is Κλ[αυ]δίαν Νεάρχου θυγατέρα Ἀμίαν: the most correct order when a person has two names is to give the first, then the name of the father, then the second. The insertion of *θυγατέρα* in this case, complicates the expression a little. In 20 for Μηνιος read probably Μηνο[γενης]: the letter following O is the lower half of an I or Γ or such letter.¹

In No. 737, our copy differs much from that of Lebas: the latter is unintelligible without the supposition that a line has been omitted.

No. 26.

	ΤΟΥΣΥΟΒ	Ἔ]τους νοβ'
	ΥΡΠΑΥ	Α]ύρ. Παύ-
	ΛΟΣΕΥΓΕΝΙ	λλ]ος Εύγενί-
	ΕΡΜΑΓΟ	ου] Ἐρμαγό-
5	ΥΚΤΗΣΑ	ρο]υ κτησά-
	ΙΟΣΤΟΥΤΟ	μεν]ος τούτο
	ΔΟΝΜΗΖ ²	ἡρ]ῶον μη(νὸς) ζ'

This inscription is dated in the seventh month (about March—April), 388, A.D. The expression ἡρώων occurring so late as 388, inclines me to think that the inscription is not Christian, but pagan. The spelling Παύλλος is also more suitable to a pagan inscription; a Christian would have been more likely to spell his name like the Apostle. At the same time the number

¹ No. 731 is correct.

² The first letter in 7 is certainly ω.

of Christian inscriptions in Sebaste would suggest that the district was early converted to the new religion, and the word *ἡρώων* occurs in a Christian inscription dated A.D. 353 (Lebas, no. 735). Not very far away an undoubtedly pagan inscription is dated A.D. 314 (see No. 36).

In the six inscriptions published by a writer in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1883, p. 448 ff., the following corrections must be made:

No. 1, p. 449: in the last line for *ἔτους πθ'* read *ἔτους σπθ*.

No. 2, p. 451: in line 10 for *ποιησαμένης* read *προνοησαμένης*.

No. 3, p. 452—3: in lines 2—3 for *Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἐρμογένους* read *Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Ἐρμογένους*: in line 5 for *Θεογένης* [......] read *Θεογένης Παπᾶ*: in lines 30—1, col. 1, for *Μηρόφιλος Βλέπιδος φύσει Εὐπάτορος* read *Μηρόφιλος β' Λέπιδος φύσει Εὐπάτορος*: in line 32, col. 1, for *Ἰλέγων* read *Φλέγων*: in lines 40—41, col. 1, for *Ἀλέξανδρος Μελίτωνος ΛΟΝ, Διόδωρος Ξανθίππου Γείνος*, read *Ἀλέξανδρος Μελίτωνος Λουγγείνος, Διόδωρος Ξανθίππου*: in line 40, col. 2, for *Ἴπποκρίτου τοῦ καὶ Νοντάνου* read *Μηροκρίτου τοῦ καὶ Μοντάνου*.¹ In line 46 this writer reads *Γέμιος Δάδων*: the stone seemed to Mr. Sterrett and to me to read *Δάδων*, so also the impression. I should be much inclined to read *Γέλλιος*, but the two letters ΛΑ were certainly joined, Μ, on the stone.

No. 4, p. 456: in line 1, ΙΤ is clearly a *lettre liée* of Ν and Τ, it may possibly be a contraction of [*Α*]ντ(ώνιος): in line 2, for *παντοπόλλης* read *παντοπώλης*. The letters on the stone are clear, distinct, and I had almost said unmistakable.

No. 5, p. 457. We did not see this inscription: the interpretation of lines 6—7 given in the *Bulletin* is obviously wrong, as it makes Attalos at once father and child of his four sons. It must be read *πατρὶ φιλοτέκνω* on the supposition that the engraver has twice engraved ΤΕ. The numerous errors in this writer's transcripts do not allow us to credit the name *Θεοξένης*,

¹ The writer in the *Bulletin* remarks *ma copie et mon estampage portent Νοντάνου*. My copy and the impression now before me bear *Μοντάνου* distinctly. In order to leave no doubt on the

numerous errors of the writer in the *Bulletin*, Mr. Sterrett undertook a two days' journey to Sebaste to compare once more the text of the *Bulletin* with the stones.

an unheard of word, though he assures us that Ξ is certain : pending another copy, we correct to $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$.

No. 6, p. 457: line 1, place a point after Λ : lines 5 and 6 are complete ECTAI (not $\epsilon\sigma[\tau\epsilon]$ as the writer restores), and ΘEON .

I have to add that the date by month and day, in Nos. 2 and 4, which the writer in the *Bulletin* hesitates about, is very common in Phrygia: many examples may be found in the present paper. The inscriptions, Nos. 4 and 6, must be added to the Christian inscriptions of the third century: No. 4 is dated 256 A.D. The inscription of the physician Aur. Messalas, published correctly by M. Waddington in Lebas, is also Christian of the third century. No. 735 in Lebas is a Christian inscription dated 353 A.D.

XX. PALAIO-SEBASTE.—About four or five miles north of Sivaslü, there is a tchiflik or farm called Payamalan. The walls of the farm-house are full of inscriptions, which were said to have been brought from a 'kale' about a mile to the west. I visited this *kale*, and found on a hill with precipitous sides slight traces of a Greek town. On the sides of the hill I saw two marble tombstones with part of the Greek inscriptions on them. The character of this site is strikingly like that of Acmonia. There is every probability that in an earlier and more unsettled time it was the chief city of the district, and that Sebaste in its beautiful but defenceless situation supplanted it in a more peaceful age. The relation between the two is the same as exists between Palaion Bendos and Synnada.¹

Two of the five inscriptions which I copied at the tchiflik belong to a very early period, probably before the time when the place yielded to the growing importance of the more fortunate Sebaste, and sank into the condition of a mere village.

¹ See Hirschfeld, in *Monatsb. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 312.

No. 27.

In the wall of the tchiflik Payamalan : W.M.R.

ΤΙ	ΡΙΩΙΚΑΙ	Τι[βε]ρίφ Καί-
ΣΑΡΙΘ		σαρι Θ[εοῦ Σε-
ΑΣΙΟΥ	ΣΕ	β]ασ[τ]οῦ [νιῶ] Σε-
ΒΑΣΤΩΙΕ	Ε	βαστῶ ἰε[ρ]ε[ῖ] μεγίστω κ.τ.λ.

No. 28.

In the same place as No. 27 : W.M.R.

ΟΝΕΝΟΛΩ
ΙΑΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙΑΜΕΜ
ΟΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΠΡΟΣΕΝΗΝΕ
ΝΔΕΞΙΩΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΗΓΗΜΕ
5 ΝΟΝ ΓΗΠΑΤΡΙΔ ΝΤΟΤΕΕΝ
ΤΟΙΣΚΟΙΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΜΗΔΕΠΟΤΕΦΕΙ
ΣΑΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΕΠΙΔΩΣΕΣΙΝΚΑΙ
ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΠΑΝ ΥΝΙΑΙΣ
ΕΝΤΕΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΗΜΩΝΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΣ
10 ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΑΚ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ
ΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΜΗΦΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ
ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΠΑΝΨΗΦΕΙ·
ΤΙΤΑΤΕΤΕΙΜ

γέγ]ονεν ολω
τ]α καλῶς καὶ ἀμέμ-
πτως]ος πάντας προσενηνε-
]ν δεξιῶς κ[α]ὶ προηγημέ-
5 νον [έν]τῇ πατρίδι [. .]ν τότε ἐν
τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ μηδέποτε φει-
σάμενον ἐν ἐπιδ[ό]σεσιν καὶ
ἀναλώμασιν καὶ παν[θ](οι)νίαις
ἐν τε τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν ἐπισήμως
10 στρατηγήσαντα κ[αὶ] ἀγορανο-
μήσαντα καὶ μὴ φεισάμενον
ἀναλώμασιν καὶ πανψήφει
. τετειμ[ημένον κ.τ.λ.]

The second of these inscriptions is of the later Hellenistic style, and is unlikely to be much later than the Roman occupation: it may be compared with an inscription of Synnada published by me in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, June 1883, p. 424. It is not by mere accident that these two inscriptions belong to a period so very poorly represented in Phrygia. In 8, if the restoration *πavθωvίαις* is correct, it would be a remarkable example of *v* for *oi* in the first century B.C.

XX. *bis.* ALOUDDA, ELOUZA.—After spending a long time looking for the Roman road from Acmonia to Philadelpheia, I feel confident that it went by Hadjimlar and Bei Sheher.¹ These two places are ancient sites, and though the distances do not exactly agree with the Peutinger Table, yet I have no hesitation in calling them Aloudda and Clannoudda. With a slight correction the Roman road may be read Acmonia 25 Aloudda 20 Clannoudda 45 Philadelpheia.

Except in Ptolemy and the Peutinger Table Aloudda is never mentioned. According to the principles laid down, we cannot admit that a town on an important road and in a good situation should not appear in the Byzantine lists. The explanation seems to be that Aloudda is the same as Elouza: the termination *dda*, so common in Phrygian town-names, is a modification of the simple *ya* passing through the intermediate form *dya* into *dda* and *za*.²

XXI. DIOS KOMÉ.—The name is known only from an inscription which I found in the wall of the mosque at Tabaklar. It is engraved on poor marble, and the surface is in a very bad condition; I spent more than an hour without being able to satisfy myself as to the reading. The site of Dios Kome is unknown, as it is impossible to say where the stone was found, but it should be at no great distance north-west of Seljüklér. The date 330 is the third year of the emperor Philip and his son, 246 A.D., about the month of August. The name of the emperor has been erased.

¹ Besh Sheher on Kiepert's map, on the authority of Arundel.

² From the Lydo-phrygian Alu-comes Aloudda, as from Attu-Attoudda.

Alu-, *the impetuous*, Sanskrit *arvan*, is the Greek Aru-. Alu and ala, *horse* in Carian, are closely related.

No. 29.

In the outer wall of the mosque, Tabaklar: W.M.R.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ	Αὐτοκράτορι [Καίσαρι]
Name	[Μ. Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππῳ]
erased	[Γερμανικῶ καὶ τῷ σίμ-]
ΠΑΝΤΙΟΙΚΩΓΩΝΣΕΒΑΣΤ	παντι οἰκῶ [τ]ῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν
5 ΤΟΥΣΤΑΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ Η	Ἔτους τλ', [μηνὸς] δεκάτου, ἡ
ΔΙΟΣΚΩΜΗ ΟΝΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑ	Διοσκωμ[ητ]ῶν κατοικία
ΨΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗ ΣΕΒΑ	τῆ]ς λαμπροτάτης Σεβα[σ-
ΗΝΩΝΠΟΛΕΩ ΕΚΤΩΝ	τ]ηνῶν πόλεως ἐκ τῶν [ι-
ΙΩΝΠΟΡΩΝ ΓΟΝΚΑ	δ]ίων πόρων [. . . γ ο ρ τ]ον κα[τ-
10 ΕΣΚΕΥ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΣΑ	εσκεύ[ασαν]. Ἐπιμελησα-
ΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΤΙΣΥΓΛΥΚ	μένων [. . . Ἐγν]ατί[ο]ν Γλυκ-
ΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΙΑ	ων]ιανού [καὶ . . . Ἐγνα]τια-
ΨΥΠΕΤΡΩΝ ΝΟΥΚΑΙΑ	ν]οῦ Πετρων[ια]νοῦ καὶ [Αἰ ?
ΙΟΥΕΓΝΑΤ Σ ΟΝΓΟΥΚΑ	λ]ίου Ἐγνατίου Ἀ]όνγου κα[ὶ
15 ΛΙΟΥ ΝΑΤΙΟ ΑΙΤΟΥΚΑ	Αἰ]λίου Ἐγνατίου [ν Π]αίτου κα[ὶ
ΨΙΑΝΟΥΕΓΝΑΤΙΟΥΚΛΩΔΙΑ	?]ιανου Ἐγνατίου Κλωδια-
ΝΟΥΚΑ	νοῦ κα[ὶ] Ἀέν-
ΓΟΥ	γου

XXII. ACOMONIA.—The site is well known. Besides the great strength of its situation, the city was very near the natural highway by which alone communication is maintained between the Banaz Ova and the cities to the north and north-east, and on the road from the Banaz Ova to the east.

No. 30.

At Shabban, about an hour north-east of Acmonia. Complete at bottom, broken at top and both sides,

ΕΙ
 ΟΝΣΕΡΟΥΗΝΙΟΝΛΟ
 ΙΛΙΑΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΝΔΕΙ
 ΤΙΤΩΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝΔΙΝ/

5 ΑΜΙΑΝΔΗΜΟΥΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΕΠΑΙ,
 ΚΥΠΡΟΥΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ
 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝΚΑΙΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ
 ΜΑΡΚΩΑΠΩΝΙΩΣΑΤΟΥΡΝΕΙΝΩΑΣΙ/
 ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΕΥΕΡΓΕΤ

Λουκίον ^{ἡ πόλις} Σερωνήμιον Δο^{κίου} κίου υἱόν
 Αἰμίλια Κορνοῦτον δε[κέμουρα
 ἐπ]ὶ τῶν κληρονομικῶν δικα[στηρίων,
 5 τ]αμίαν δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐπα[ρχείας
 Κύπρου, ἀγορανόμον, στρατηγ[όν,
 πρεσβευτήν καὶ ἀντιστρατηγ[όν
 Μάρκω Ἀπώνω Σατουρνείνω Ἀσί[α]
 ἐπαρχείας τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτ[ην].

M. Antonius Saturninus, was procurator of Asia
 Acmonia seems to have been the station of one of the three
legati Augusti pro praetore. The name Servenia Cornouta
 is already known both at Acmonia and at Ancyra of Galatia.¹
 The rendering of *decemvir stlitibus judicandis* is new.

After the site of Peltae has been fixed, it follows from the
 account of Xenophon that Acmonia must be Keramon Agora.
 There can be little doubt that Hamilton has fixed Caystri Pedion
 and the fountain of Midas correctly, so that the route of the
 Ten Thousand is now definitely traced for a long way.

XXIII. ALIA.—There was an ancient site at Kirka, between
 Susuz Keui and Hadjimlar. The order in Hierocles shows that
 this must be Alia. The name Alia has been much distorted in
 the Byzantine lists: ὁ (ἐπίσκοπος) Ἀλιηνῶν became ὁ Ἀλίλων,
 and Hierocles elicited from this the name of a city Ἀλινοί,²
 which has been altered by an error of the scribe to Ἀδιοί.

¹ Mordtmann, *Marmora Ancyrana*;
 Franz, *Fünf Inschriften*.

² So Hierocles makes out of ὁ Βρι-
 άνων a town Briana, see above, XVIII.
 Such facts as these prove that Hiero-
 cles constructed his lists from the

bishoprics of his day. His Tiarai or
 Tiarai of Asia is formed from ὁ Τιαίων:
 the town is Tia, *i.e.* Attea: the bishop
 is in the Notitiae ὁ Σιῶν. The bishop
 of Kolose or Koloe is sometimes ὁ
 Κολώνης.

No. 31.

In a fountain beside Kirka on a marble stele containing a relief representing the god Men half-length, standing slightly to the right, wearing a high Phrygian cap and with the crescent on his shoulders. W.M.R.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗΕΤΟΥΥΣΣ'Ν'Δ
 ΜΗΝΙΑΣΚΑΗ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ
 ΝΩ Relief
 ΦΡΑΤΡΑΗΛΙ repre-
 ΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ senting
 ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ the
 ΚΑΙΠΟΝΠΕ god
 ΙΟΥΜΑΡ Men
 ΚΟ
 Υ

Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. Ἔτους σνδ'. Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῶ Φράτρα
 Ἡλιοφῶντος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Πονπείου Μάρκου ἀνέθηκάν.

The reading is certain: the date 170 A.D. Men Askaenos is known at Eumeneia, at Sardis, at Antioch of Pisidia,¹ at Aphrodisias, and at Apollonia of Pisidia. His worship at Apollonia is proved by the following inscription, hitherto unpublished.

No. 32.

At Apollonia, in the wall of the Greek church in the citadel; copied by Sir C. Wilson.

ΟΡΟΣΙΕΡΟΣΚΑΙΑΣΥ
 ΛΟΣΘΕΟΥΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ
 ΜΗΝΟΣΑΣΚΑΗΝΟΥ

The god Men, represented exactly as on the relief, occurs on coins of Alia, Mionnet, no. 130, &c.

XXIV. IOUCHARATAΣ ?—This name is obviously corrupt. It has been supposed to conceal Cotyaion, which does not occur in

¹ By a correction of the text of Strabo: see Waddington on Lebas, No. 668.

Hierocles : but this violates geographical order, and I shall prove below that we must find Cotyaion under the temporary name Eudocias. The order in Hierocles shows that we must look for the place whose name has been disfigured as Ioucharatax south of Mount Dindymos and east of Trajanopolis. In the required situation there is a deserted ancient site called Kilisseh, at the head-waters of the Hammam Su, one mile north of the village Otourak. Inscriptions from this village have been already published in the *Corpus*. We found two others, one of which had been recently excavated at the Kilisseh.

The name Otourak has clearly been preserved from ancient time, and assists us to find the true old name. The ending of that name is certainly Charax, 'stockade.' Stephanus mentions four towns of this name in Asia ; one is in Phrygia and is called Charax Alexandri.¹ Of similar character are the names *Panemou Teichos* in Pamphylia, *Gordiou Teichos* in Caria, Neon Teichos in Lydia. On these analogies I have no hesitation in writing Charax as the second element in the corrupt Ioucharatax. The first element must remain uncertain, but is clearly analogous to Panemou and Gordiou. One thing is certain : it must contain the letter *t*, to account for the modern form, and for the corruption Ioucharatax. In observing the pronunciation of the Turkish peasants, I have been often struck with the fact that a guttural between two vowels disappears. For example, in this very district of Phrygia a village Ak Euren, *White Ruins*, is pronounced A' Euren : on the same analogy I suppose that Otourak descends from the older Otou' arak, Otoucharak. Again, on account of the assimilation of vowels which is a universal rule in Turkish, a form Atoucharak would readily become Otoucharak. The conjecture is then easy that the original name was Atuo-charax, *the stockade of Atys* : Atys or Attys is a very common element in local names in Asia Minor generally, *e.g.* Attaia, Attoudda, Atuos Iophos, Atuocho- rion, &c.

¹ The place is referred to by Nicetas Choniates in his history of the Emperor Manuel, under the name Charax : I

know no other place where it is men- tioned.

The name Atuocharax was abbreviated at an early time; this will not surprise any one who reads through a list of local names in the *Acta Conciliorum*. Unfortunately the name in the *Notitiae* has suffered from the scribe as well as from vulgar pronunciation: it appears in the genitive plural *᾽Ωράκων*, but probably the true form was similar to the modern Otourak, *᾽Ωτοράκων*.

No. 33.

Otourak, on a marble stele. First side.

	ΕΤΟΥΣΤΗΚ-ΤΗΡ		Ἔτους τηρή, κὲ τηρ-
	ΩΝΕΝΤΟΛΑΣΑΘΑΝΑ ΤΩΝ		ῶν ἐντολὰς ἀθανάτων,
	Κ-ΕΓΩΙΜΕΟΛΑΛΩΝΠΑ		κὲ ἐγὼ ἴμε ὁ λαλῶν πᾶ-
	ΝΤΑΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣΕΠΙ		ντα Ἄθάνατος Ἐπι-
5	ΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΣΜΥΘΟΙΣΥ		τύνχανος μυθὸς ὑ-
	ΠΟΚΑΛΗΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΙΑΣ		πὸ καλῆς ἀρχιερίας
	ΔΗΜ ΟΤΙ ΚΗΣΚΑ		δημοτικῆς, κα-
	ΛΟΝΟ [Relief ΑΘΑΝΑ		λὸν ἔνομα,
	NOM defaced; a ΤΟΙΘ		. . . ἐν]πατ-
10	ΑΙΣ cross ΕΟΙΚ-		[ρίδι] ἀλη-
	ΠΑΤ rudely ΝΟ		θείας] ἦν ἐτίμησαν
	ΑΛΗ incised ΡΟΙΣ		ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ κὲ
	ΣΗΝΕ in its place] Κ-ΥΠΕ		(ἐ)ν ἕροις κὲ
	ΤΙΜΗΣΑΝ ΡΟΡΟΥ		ὑπὲρ ἕρους·
15	ΣΕΛΥΤΡΩ		ἐλυτρώ-
	ΣΑΤΟΓΑΡΠΟΛΛΟΥΣΕΚΑ		σατο γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐκ κ(α)-
	ΚΩΝΒΑΣΑΝΩΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕ		κῶν βασάνων· Ἀρχιερέ-
	ΑΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΝΤΙΜΗΘΕ		α [Ἐ]πιτύνχανον τιμηθέ-
	ΝΤΑΥΠΟΘΕΩΝΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΝ		ντα ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀθανάτων·
20	ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΑΝΑΥΤΟΝΔΙΟΓ		καθιέρωσαν αὐτὸν Διογ-
	ΑΣΚ-ΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΣΚ-ΤΑΤΙΟ		ᾶς κὲ (Ἐ)πιτύνχανος κὲ Τάτιο-
	ΝΥΝΦΗΚ-ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΩΝ		ν (ν)ύμφη κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν
	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣΚ-ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ		᾽Ονήσιμος κὲ ᾽Αλέξανδρος
	Κ-ΑΣΚΛΑΣΚ-ΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΣ		κὲ ᾽Ασκλᾶς κὲ (Ἐ)πιτύνχανος.

Second side.

	ΘΑΝΑΤΟΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑ		'Αθάνατος 'Επιτύνχα-
	ΙΟΣΠΙΟΥΤΙΜΗΘΙΣΥΠΟΕΚΑ		υ]ος Πίου τιμηθίς υπό 'Εκά-
	ΤΗΣΠΡΩΤΗ	Re-	της πρώτης, δεύτε[ρ-
	ΟΝΥΠΟΜΑ	lief:	ον υπό Μάνου Δάου
5	ΛΙΟΔΡΟΜΟ	radia-	'Η]λιοδρόμου Διός, τρέ-
	ΤΟΝΦΟΙΒΟΥ	ted	τον Φοίβου 'Αρχηγέτου
	ΧΡΗΜΟ	head.	Χρησμοδότου ἀ-
	ΛΗΘ	Relief de-	ληθώς δώ-
	ΨΟΝ	faced; horse-	ρ]ον ἔλαβ-
10	ΨΝ	man to the	ο]ν χρησ-
	Ο	right, carry-	μ]οδότι-
	Ι	ing battle-	ν ἀλη-
	Ι	axe	θε]ίας ἐν
	Π	over	πατρί-
15	ΔΙ	his	δι κέ ἐν ᾗ-
	ΨΟ	shoulder.	ρ]οις χρ-
	-C		η]σμοδ-
	ΟΤ	IN	ότιν
	ΝΟ	ΜΟΥΣΤΙΘΙΝΕ	νόμους τιθ(ε)ῖν? ἐν ᾗροις ¹
20	ΡΗCΜΟ	Re-	χ]ρησμοδότιν
	ΙΑCΙΝΤ	lief:	π]ᾶσιν τοῦτο ἔχω δώ-
	ΟΝΕΞ	bust	ρ]ον ἔξ ἀθανά-
	ΤΩΝΠΑ	with	των πάντων·
	ΑΘΑΝΑ	hands	'Αθανάτω πρώ-
25	ΤΩΑΡΧΙ	folded	τω ἀρχιερ(ε)ῖ κ[α-
	ΛΙΤΕΚ	over	λ]λιτέκνω Πίω
	Κ-ΜΗΤΡΙ	the	κέ μητρί Τατιεῖ
	ΤΡΙΗΕΤ	breast.	ἢ ἔτεκε
	ΚΑΛΑΤΕ		καλὰ τέκνα, κα-
30	ΛΟΝΟ	ΝΟΜΑ	λὸν ὄνομα,
	ΠΡΩΤΟ	ΝΑΘΑ	πρώτου 'Αθά-
	ΝΑΤΟΝΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡ		νατου 'Επιτύνχανου ἀρχιερ-
	ΕΑCΩΤΗΡΑΠΑΤΡΙΔΟCΝΟΜΟΘΕ		εία, σωτήρα πατρίδος, νομοθέ-
	ΙC		τη]ς

¹ Perhaps τ[ι]ε[ν].² With line 2-4 cp. Lebas, 805,

τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ Σωτείρης 'Εκάτης, at Cotyaion.

Third side.

	ΘΑΝΑΤΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ	Ἄ]θάνατοι πρώτοι
Relief:	[blank space]	
bird to right	ΑΡΧΙΕΡΙΣΟΜΑ	ἀρχιερ(ε)ῶς ὀμά-
with a ring	ΔΕΛΦΟΙΔΙΟΓ	δελφοι Διογ-
in its	ΑΣΚ-ΠΙΤΥ	ἄσ κέ ('Ε)πιτύ-
5 mouth.	ΝΧΑΝ	νχαν-
	ΟΣΣΩ	ος, σω-
	ΤΗΡΕ	τήρε-
	ΕΠΑΤ	ς πατ-
	ΡΙΔΟ	ρίδο-
10	ΕΝΟ	ς, νο-
	ΜΟΘ	μοθ-
	ΕΤΕ	έτ(αι).

This curious inscription, dated 314 A.D., presents a mixture of Christian and Pagan language, which is explained by the strong hold obtained by Christianity in this district as early as 200 A.D. The inscription appears to commemorate several members of one family, two of whom at least held the office of *ἀρχιερεύς* in some pagan cultus. An expression in the first side, line 7, shows that Atyocharax was still a pagan town in 314 A.D., though it is certain that by this time some towns of Phrygia were entirely Christian.¹ I shall not attempt to explain all the difficulties in the epitaph, but I may mention that an impression is at the service of any scholar who wishes to investigate more completely any points in the inscription.

In the first side, line 3, occurs the modern Greek form *εἶμαι* or *ἴμε*: a case of the modern Greek form of third plural, *ἐπιτηδεύσουν*, occurs in an inscription of Apameia,² probably not later than the fourth century.

The name Manes Daes (or Daos?), Heliadromos Zeus is a remarkable combination. Manes was father of Acmon, founder of the neighbouring town Acmonia,³ and was therefore doubtless

¹ A town of Phrygia in which every inhabitant and magistrate was Christian, is said by Eusebius, H. E. viii. 1, to have been burned in the time of Diocletian.

² I published it in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 310.

³ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Acmonia. Manes and Men I believe to be the same word: *Journ. Hell. St.* 1883, p. 31.

the great god of this district identified with the Greek Zeus.

XXV. DIOCLEIA.—A coin in the British Museum is—Obv. Bust. (of Elagabalus) to right, laureated :¹

ΜΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΨΑΥΓ

Rev. Apollo standing right, holding plectrum and lyre, which rests on a pillar ; behind him, tripod.

ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΝΩΝΜΟΙΕΑΝΩΝ

The following inscription, found by Mr. Sterrett, forms a good commentary on the coin :

No. 34.

In a fountain, ten minutes west of Dola, on the road to Emiras, J.R.S.S.

ΚΙΟΝΣΕΪΙΜΙΟΝ
 ΣΕΥΗΡΟΝΠΕΡΤΙ
 ΝΑΚΑΣΑΡΜΑΤΙΚΟΝΓΕΡ
 ΜΑΝΙΚΟΝΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΟΝ
 5 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΝΕΟΝΗΛΙΟΝ
 ΗΠΡΟΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝ-ΤΟΥΜΟΨΕ
 ΛΝΩΝΔΗΜΟΥΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑ
 ΝΑΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΩΝΠΑΡΕ
 ΑΥΤΩΝΚΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΥΚΑ
 10 ΠΙΤΩΝΟΣΕΓΝΑΤΙΑΝΟΥΥΠΕΡ
 ΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΚΑΙΡΟΥΦΟΥΡΟΥ
 ΦΡΙΟΥΚΡΙΣΠΟΥΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ
 ΔΙ-Μ-ΙΤΡΙΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥ
 ΟΝΤΟΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ
 15 ΜΑΡΚΟΥΒ'ΤΟΥΟΥΑ
 ΛΕΡΙΟΥΕΤΟΥΣ'ΕΠΑ²

The date is 197 A.D. In line 6 the phrase *ἡ προκεκριμένη τοῦ Μοξαανῶν δῆμον Διόκλεια* is remarkable : Diocleia was the

¹ Prof. Gardner, who kindly sends me a note of this coin, adds that the emperor may be Caracalla.

² ΠΕ *littera* in 9, Κ very large ; does it stand for *Kυρίου*, guardian of his son ? in 10 ΠΕ *littera*.

most important of a number of villages in a district inhabited by the Moxeanoi. The name remains to the present time as Dola or Doghla. The form Diocleia is apparently one of those Grecisms which are constantly met with in Phrygia. Most of the MSS. of Ptolemy read Δόκελα, and the modern form proves that this is the true native name.¹ In Dalmatia a similar case occurs: the village of Doclea, as Ptolemy and Pliny, iii. 28, name it, is usually Grecised at Dioclea. The emperor Diocletian, who was born here, bore first the native name Docles, then the Grecised Diocles, and finally the Latinised Diocletianus. The bishopric of Diocletianopolis (*Conc. Chalced.* 451 A.D.), in Pacatiana is, as Le Quien has observed, a false form or perhaps a temporary name of Diocleia.

The Moxeani are mentioned by Ptolemy. Their country was the hill-district between the Banaz Ova and the Sandykly Ova: it is well watered, and every stream flows through a narrow but fertile valley. Diocleia was situated in the largest and finest of these valleys near the head of the Ahat Keui Su, on the direct road from Acmonia to Eucarpia and the Pentapolis. This road is still important as the araba road from Ushak to Sandykly. The inscriptions of Aghar Hissar, a village three miles up the water from Dola, belong to Diocleia, and not as Lebas fancied (see M. Waddington's note to No. 770) to Eucarpia. The name Diocleia is spelt Dioclea on the coin described above.

I have already occupied too much space, but it may be useful to add here a few Christian inscriptions of early date from the same region from which so many have been published above, and in which Montanism seems to have been strong in the second century.

No. 35.

On a slab of stone in a fountain on the road from Sandykly to Ballyk, one hour north of the latter.

¹ It is doubtful whether the guttural = *Dola*, or whether it has been softened has been dropped between two vowels to *gh*, which is silent before *l*. (see above, XXV.), Δόκελα = *Dō'cla*

ΜΑΡΚΟCΟΥΛΠΙΟCΝΕΚΤΑΡΕΟCΚΑΙ
 ΜΑΡΚΟCΟΥΛΠ ΙΟΥCΑΒΕΙΝΟC
 ΕΤΕΙΛΗ CΑΝΤΟΝΕ
 ΑΥΤΩΝΠΑ ΤΕΡΑΕC



The date of this inscription is given by the names M. Ulpus Nektareos and M. Ulpus Sabinus. Sabinus is a name of the Flavian dynasty, and two brothers named M. Ulpus must have been born in the time of Trajan. The formula *ἐτέιμῃσαν τὸν πατέρα* is common on pagan tombstones, and the direct simple nature of the epitaph would, on the principles we have laid down, be sufficient evidence to place this among the earliest Christian inscriptions. The religion of the family is proved only by a simple cross cunningly concealed among ornamental tracery. The final letters EC are unintelligible to me, unless they give the date, 205 = 121 A.D.¹ The inscription is complete. The fountain in which it was found is about three or four miles from Eucarpia, and six or seven from Hieropolis.

No. 36.

In the interior of the passage leading to the men's bath-room at the hot-springs near Hieropolis: on a small fragment of a marble *bomos*: complete at top and left, broken at right and bottom.

5

ΕΙΣΡΩΜ-Ι
 ΕΜΕΝΒΑΣ ΛΙ-Ι
 ΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙC
 ΤΟΛΟΝΧΡ
 ΛΑΟΝΔΕΙΔΟΝ-
 ΣΦΡΑΓΕΙΔΑΝΕ
 ΚΑΙCΥΡΙΗCΠΕ
 ΚΑΙΔCΤΕΑΠΑ
 ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ ΑΙΑ

¹ This explanation did not occur to me for many months after finding the inscription: from the moment of find-

ing it I always assigned the date, of account of the nomenclature, as 115-3 A.D.

10 ΤΗΔΕΣΧΟΝΣΥΝΟ
 ΠΑΥΛΟΝΥΩΝΕΠΟ
 ΗΣΙΙΣΙ
 ΚΑΙΠΑΡΕΘΗΚΕ
 ΠΑΝΤΙ-ΠΙΧΘΥΝΑΓ
 15 ΠΑΝΜΕΓΕΘΙ-ΚΛΘ
 ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟΠΑΡΘΓ
 ΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΝΕΠ-
 /ΟΙΓΓΣΟ¹

This inscription is a fragment of the epitaph of Saint Abercius.² According to the legendary life of the Saint, he ordered his epitaph to be engraved on an altar brought from the hippodrome in Rome by the devil whom he cast out of the daughter of M. Aurelius. The stone on which the epitaph was engraved was a block of marble nearly square. One side was plain except for a circular garland or crown in the middle, and a broad double band of moulding round the edge. The other three sides were occupied by the inscription, which was engraved in a sunk panel surrounded by a broad band of moulding. The breadth of this panel on the side that remains must have been about fifteen to sixteen inches.

It is unfortunate that so small a fragment of so interesting an inscription has been preserved; but even this fragment confirms the traditional text in some of the most important points. There is a gap in the traditional text where the words are far too few to fill the measure. On the stone itself there has been a deep erasure precisely in this place. The traditional text was therefore written down from the stone after this erasure, obviously an intentional one, had been made. The two lines may have been erased from mere wantonness, but this is certainly very improbable. The erasure must have been made by a person who had some reason to obliterate precisely these lines: he must therefore have been a Christian, not a pagan, and it is an easy conjecture to make that the lines did or seemed to favour some

¹ Lines 11-12 erased; the tops of the letters in 11 and 18 alone are preserved, and the bottoms of the letters in 12.

² See Duchesne, *Saint Abercius*, in

Rev. des Quest. Histor., July 1883, pp. 1-33; de Rossi *Bull. d'Archéol. Chrét.*, 1882, p. 79; Duchesne, *Bull. Critique* t. iii. p. 135; also *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, Pt. II.

heresy, and were on that account removed by an orthodox zealot. Fragments of the letters have been left, sufficient to enable us to read the name Παύλου at the beginning of the first line. This name, luckily so imperfectly erased, suggests a reason for the act. According to Gibbon's account,¹ the Paulicians placed Paul on a much higher rank than the other apostles: it is possible that the erasure was made from hatred of the Paulician heresy about the end of the seventh century. The Legend of the Saint can therefore not have been committed to writing earlier than the eighth century, and the theory which I formerly proposed in this Journal as to the date must be abandoned. At the same time I must add that the proofs I advanced at the same time to show that the legend grew in the valley of Sandykly and was written down by a person familiar with the locality, still appear to me correct.

In line 11, the sixth letter is Ν and Γ or Ε *liée*. In 15 ΝΜ, and in 17 ΝΕ, are *liée*. The number of letters in each line varies: the eight letters of Εὐφράτης occupy more space than those of καὶ ἄσπεα π. The breadth of the first line is 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of 10 and 11, which are the longest, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. In the restoration of the doubtful passage 9—12, the first point to be settled is the end of the hexameters. In all other cases two lines of the inscription correspond to one hexameter, except perhaps 8 and 10. Here the traditional text certainly suggests that the arrangement is different, but I believe that even in this case it is safest to adhere to the general rule of the inscription.

The stone confirms the reading [πάν]τη in 10: the πάντας of some MSS. is therefore a correction adopted to give meaning to συνομηγύρους. Suspicion is thus thrown on the latter word which moreover offends against etymology and prosody. It has been usual² to accept this word as giving the tone of the passage, and merely to correct its form to συνομηγερέας, but there is no conceivable reason why συνομηγερέας should have been corrupted into such a form as συνομηγύρους. The truth is rather that the ending -ους was distinct on the stone, and that -μηγυρ- is a corruption or a conjecture to fill a gap. The

¹ The only one available to me at the time of writing.

² So Pitra and Dübner: Duchesne

accepts the general sense obtained by them, though doubting their exact reading.

proper word ends a hexameter and must be *συνο[παδούς]*. We have now a clear and singularly appropriate meaning for the whole passage: "everywhere I had companions—Paul in my hands and Faith guiding and feeding me." The restoration of the next line is doubtful, but the beginning *ΕΠΟ* and the verb *προήγε* appear to prescribe *έπόπην*: "Faith went in front, and I followed with Paul." The rest of the line is restored by simple transposition of the traditional text: the awkward position of *δέ* though permissible in such an epigram, was corrected by the copyist. The letter following *πίστις* began with a vertical stroke, and the traditional *πίστις δέ* seems untenable. The addition of *ν* to the accusative of decl. III. occurs in late Greek: moreover it was an ancient Phrygian inflection,¹ which often persists in Graeco-Roman inscriptions; *βασιληαν* may be accusative of *βασιλεύς*.²

Εἰς Ῥώμη[ν ὃς ἔπεμψεν] ἐμὲν βασ[ι]λῆ[αν ἀθρήσαι],
 Καὶ βασιλίσ[σαν ἰδεῖν χρυσός]τολον χρ[υσοπέδιλον].
 Λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐ[κεῖ λαμπρὰν] σφραγεῖδαν ἔ[χοντα].
 Καὶ Συρίας πέ[δον εἶδα]καὶ ἄστυα πά[ντα, Νίσιβιν]
 Εὐφράτην δια[βάς· πάν]τη δ' ἔσχον συνο[παδούς].
 Π[α]ύλον ἔχων ἐπό[μην, Π]ίστις [πάντη δὲ προήγε
 Καὶ παρέθηκε [τροφῆν] πάντη, Ἰχθὺν ἀπ[ὸ πηγῆς,
 Πανμεγέθη, καθ[αρόν, ὃν] ἐδράξατο Παρθέ[νος ἀγνή,
 Καὶ τοῦτου ἐπέ[δωκε φι]λοῖς ἔσθ[ειν διὰ παντός].

I do not know if there is any authority for the quantity of penult and antepenult in *Νίσιβιν*. I may add that an impression of this inscription is at the service of any scholar.

No. 37.

I can now at last give the complete text with perfect certainty of the epitaph of Alexander. The letter at the end of line 4 in the epigraphic text is not *ι*. The stone is broken close to the right side of the vertical stroke, but the beginning of a horizontal stroke projecting to the right from the top of the *ι* is just visible: the final letter is therefore either *Γ* or *Ρ*, and the context makes *Ρ* necessary. The word may be either *φανερὰν* or as

¹ See my paper on the Phrygian Language in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1883, p. 32 of the reprint.

² *Βασιληαν* thus interpreted disagrees with M. Duchesne's allegorical interpretation.

M. de Rossi conjectures *φανερῶς*.¹ Lines 3—4 of the epigraphic text have lost three letters at the beginning and four at the end.

Ἐ]κλεκτῆς πό[λε]ως ὁ πολεῖ[της τ]οῦτ' ἐποί[ησα
Ζῶν ἴ]ν' ἔχω φανε[ρῶς] σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.

The rest of the text has always been correctly given, and need not be repeated. I prefer *φανερῶς* to *φανεράν*, as nearer the corrupt *καιρῶ* of the traditional text.

No. 38.

At Hodjalar, a village of the Moxeani, on the road from Pepouza to Diocleia, is an oblong tablet marked by lines on a slab of marble.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΙ

ΓΑΙΟΣΚΑΙΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣΑΠΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΩΝ
ΠΑΙΔΕΣΑΥΡΑΣΚΛΑΦΑΥΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΥΡ
ΔΟΜΝΗΣΕΙΡΗΝΑ ΥΤΟΝΒ ΜΟΝΚΑΙΤ-Ν
5 ΚΑΤΑΥΤΟΥΣΟΡΟΝΣΥΝΤΩΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΩΚΟΙ
ΝΩΣΚΑΤΕΣΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΙ
ΤΑΙΣΓΥΝΑΙΖΙΝΑΥΤΩΝΜΕΣΣΑΛΕΙΝΗ
ΠΑΠΑΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΩΕΥΞΕΝΟΥΩΣΜΗΔΕΝΙ
ΕΤΕΡΩΕΞΕΙΝΑΙΕΠΙΣΕΝΕΝΚΕΙΝΗΘΕΙΝΑΙ
10 ΞΕΝΟΝΝΕΚΡΟΝΗΣΟΡΟΝΜΟΝΟΙΣΓΝΗΣΙΟΙΣ
Ι-ΜΩΝΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΥΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝΠΟΙΗ
ΟΝΡΩΕΣΤΑΙΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΝ
ΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ ΟΙΛΝΙΙΙΙΑ²

¹ The conjecture of M. de Rossi was unknown to me till after my return from Phrygia in October. The remarks made by me in *Rev. Archéol.* 1883, September, on the authority of Mr. Sterrett, require correction in this one point. In all others Mr. Sterrett's reading and measurements were perfectly accurate. I saw the stone in October. The first hasty copy of the stone made by me in November 1881, and published in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 518, was accurate in every

point except the reading I for P; but I did not observe that lines 3-4 were longer than lines 1-2.

² In 2 T and E *liée*, in 9 the second Ε of ΕΞΕΙΝΑΙ is a very small letter inserted as a correction between Ξ and I, in 10 N and M *liée*, in 12 ON at the beginning are certain, but the left side of the following letter is blurred and may be either P or Φ or a *lettre liée*.

	TOTOKΘIΛI-	το τὸ κοιμη[τῆ
5	PIONEIPHNI	ριον· εἰρήν[η
	ΠΑCΙ-ΙΤΙ-ΙΑΔΕ/	πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελ-
	-ΙΚΑΙΟΓ	φότητ]ι, καὶ ἐ[ς ἄν
		[ἀνορύξῃ κ.τ.λ.]

This inscription is certainly of the same period as the preceding. Both belong to Eucarpia, and both mention the *κοινὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, which is alluded to in an inscription of the same district belonging probably to the third century.¹ The salutation of peace which was in that century given to all that passed by is now strictly confined to the brotherhood.

I have used the name Pentapolis to designate the five ancient cities of the valley of Sandykly. The name is justified by the following signature attached to the *Act. Synod. V.*, 553 A.D. (Labbe, p. 223). *Paulus episcopus Stectorii civitatis, Pentapoliticae regionis, Phrygiae Salutaris provinciae*. The five cities are (1) Eucarpia, between the villages Mentesh, Maghajil, and Ille Mesjid, (2) Hieropolis, Kotch Hissar, (3) Otrous, Tchör Hissar, (4) Stectorion, Emir Hissar, (5) Brouzos, Kara Sandykly. I may felicitate myself on having long ago placed three of these cities² in this valley, and one on the exact site: the evidence available then was very slight.

I must here add an inscription, and a coin, which will I believe finally justify me in restoring Hieropolis to its place among the cities of the Roman Empire.

No. 41.

On a small column of marble in a cemetery between two little villages, both named Kuyujak, half an hour north of Kotch Hissar. The inscription is so complicated that I shall give it piecemeal. It was originally placed as a milestone of the emperor Probus, 276—82, but on the accession of Diocletian the name Probus was erased and Diocletian substituted in smaller and coarser letters. The horizontal stroke of the Π alone remains to show the original name.

¹ Copied by Hamilton at Sandykly: commented on by de Rossi, *Roma. Sotter.* i. p. 106.

² *Trois Villes Phryg.* in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, July, 1882.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥχη
 ΤΩΑΙΩΝΙΩΙημλΩΝ
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
 ΜΑΥΡ-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΙ σΕΒΑΣτα
 ΗΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗ
 ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
 ΠΟΛΙΣ

Μ

So hurriedly was the alteration made, apparently in 284, immediately after the accession of Diocletian was reported and before his proper name was known, that the names M. Aurelius were left unaltered. Probably there had been a previous correction to insert the name of Carus, to whom M. Aurelius was proper.

In the year 286 a second inscription, in small rude letters, was added at the left side of the first, so close to it that lines 2, 3, of the new inscription are partly engraved in the spaces between lines 1, 2, and 2, 3 of the original.

ΒΒΝΝ
 ΙΜΡΡ·ΒΙΟCΕΤΙΛΝΙ
 ΕΤΜΛΧΙΜΙΛΝΙ
 ΙΝΙΙCΤ
 ΛΥC

In the year 292 another addition was made, beginning at the left side of the last line of the second inscription.

ΤΟΥCΕΠ
 ΦΛΝΕCΤΛ
 ΤΟΥCΚΛΙ
 CΛΡΛCΦΛΛ·ΟΥΛΛ
 ΚΩΝCΤΛΝΤΙΟΝ
 ΚΛΙΓΛΙΟΥΛΛΜΛΞΙΜΙΛΝΟ
 ΗΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Ν
 ΠΟΛΙC¹

Apparently the Λ of Γαλ(έριος) was wrongly engraved.

Finally, at some later time, perhaps during the wars between Licinius and Constantine, the name of Constantius was erased, and herewith ends the strange eventful history of the milestone.

The coin in question is a small coarse one.

Obv. Female bust to left with turreted head, holding up the right hand in front of the face: behind her a cornucopia: **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ**.

Rev. **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ**: Asclepius standing facing, but with head turned to left; wearing himation, resting the right hand on a staff, round which a serpent twines. I bought this coin from a peasant at Sandykly: it was undoubtedly found in the valley, and may be assigned with certainty to Hieropolis. I believe that all coins bearing the legend **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ** and belonging like this one to a period later than 180 A.D. may be assigned to Hieropolis,¹ instead of Hierapolis in the Lycus valley. It is about 180 that the coinage of the smaller cities of upper Phrygia begins.

In this paper much use has been made of the Asian era: every dated inscription of Phrygia which can be tested employs an era that begins at the autumn equinox 85 B.C. I will here add a good example.

No. 42.

On a column in the village of Ineh: in the court of the *Musafir Oda*.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΓΕΡΜ
ΑΝΙΚΩΤΟΔΙΛΟΥΚΙΩΜΙΝΟΥΚΙΩ
ΕΤΟΥΣΡΟΒΜΠΑΝΗΜΟΥΡΟΥΦΩΥΠ
ΟΙΕΝΝΑΕΙΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΕΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΤΕΚΛΙ²

The emperor's name has been erased. There was never any conclusion to this inscription, unless it was engraved on the back of the column which is concealed.

¹ Mionnet gives one such coin. The ruins of Hieropolis are far more imposing than those of Otrous or Stectorion.

² B in line 4 is of peculiar shape, ΥΦ and ΥΠ both in monogram.

Αὐτοκρ'τορι [Δομιτιανῶ] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Γερμανικῶ τὸ δι', Δουκίῳ Μινουκίῳ Ρούφῳ ὑπ(άτους), ἔτους ροβ', μη(νὸς) Πανήμου, οἱ ἐν Νάει κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ

The date is given by the consuls of 88 A.D., and by the year 172 of the Asian era. The old name of the place is still retained under the form Ineh. The *praenomen* of Rufus has hitherto been doubtful in the *Fasti*.

ADDENDA.

I. KRASOS.—This place is mentioned in Theophanes, pp. 406 and 347, and in Galen, π. τροφ. δυναμ. I. p. 312 (quoted by Wesseling, *ad Hieroclem*, under 'Krateia of Honorias').¹ The first passage has been quoted above. The second shows that Krasos was in the Opsikian Theme. Artavasdos came from Dorylaion, which is still the chief military station of this district, and attacked the young emperor Constantine unawares in the plain of Krasos. Constantine fled to Amorium. Probably Krasos was in the lower Tembris valley. The words of Galen confirm this situation: Νίκαια καὶ Προῦσα καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Κλαυδιούπολις καὶ Ἰουλιούπολις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δορύλαιον ἢ ἐστὶ μὲν ἐσχάτη τῆς Ἀσιανῆς Φρυγίας. Wesseling unnecessarily reads Κράτεια: Κράσσος is better. Krasos was in Phrygia, but not in that part of Phrygia included in the province of Asia; it was in the Opsikian Theme, and Constantine, when defeated there, directed his flight to Amorium. These indications point to the neighbourhood of Alpi on the Tembris, ten or twelve miles east of Midaion (Kara Eyuk).

II. The inscription *C. I. G.* 3902 *o*, was copied by Hamilton with perfect accuracy down to the last symbol, which he makes ✕. In reality it is a χ, through the middle of which runs a tall vertical line. It is an unsuccessful attempt by an unskilful engraver² to render the Christian monogram; the end of the

¹ Finlay refers to Niceph. Pat. 3 which I have no means of verifying.

² ΕΙΓΟΝΟΙC in 8; a whole line omitted after 9.

inscription is εἰ [δέ τις ἐπιχειρήσει θεῖναι] ἕτερον, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Χρ(ιστόν).

The omission of a whole line in this inscription, compared with the reversal of two lines in the cases mentioned above, No. 26, show that the Phrygian engraver usually worked from a pattern, in which the words were arranged in lines exactly as on the stone.

This inscription is most probably of the third century, and proves that a Christian was at that time a member of the Eumenian Senate.

III. It would be important to determine the exact date of No. 20, as showing when the Christian formula ἐνθάδε κεκήδευται had established itself. Professor Mommsen, whom I consulted, cannot give any definite date; the epithet λαμπρότατος, applied to the governor of Pacatiana, shows that it is later than the *Not. Dign.*¹ But I am inclined to think that it is not later than the fifth century.

It may be observed that in the fifth century the old method of dating from the Roman era 85 B.C., passes out of use in Phrygia. With one exception the latest date of the kind is υοβ' (see above, No. 28), *i.e.* 388 A.D. About the year 400 A.D. the date by indictions becomes common in Phrygia. Byzantine dating and Christian sepulchral formulas supplant the old Roman customs. In one case the Roman date φqa is used alongside of the date by indiction, but while dates σ' and τ' are very common,² υ' is very rare, and φ' only in this exceptional case.

A fragmentary inscription, copied by a Greek *Iatros* near Philomelium, confirms the belief that ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν is a variation of the pagan curse introduced by Christian scruple.

No. 43.

At Korase: copy given me in Ak Sheher.

OCANTAAYTH

COPIKAKOEPIΓEA

ὄς ἂν ταύτη τ[ῆ]

σορ[ῶ] κακοεργία

¹ There the governor is a ἡγεμών, in Hierocles he is a ὑπατικός.

² τ' is not common in *C. I. G.*, but I know many unpublished examples.

ΧΕΙΡΑ	χείρα
ΠΡΟΣΟΙΣΕΙΔΩΣ	προσοίσει, δώσ-
ΕΙΤΩΘΕΩΛΟΓΟΝ	ει τῷ Θεῷ λόγον
ΤΩΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΙΚΡΕΙ	τῷ μέλλοντι κρεί-
ΝΕΙΝΖΩ ΤΑΚΕ	νειν ζῶ[ν]τας κέ
ΝΕΚΡΟΥΣ	νεκρούς.

Probably the formula *ἔσται*, &c., came into use soon after 200 A.D., and No. 18 may belong to this period. The nomenclature and the want of the praenomen Aurelius, indicate a date earlier than 211 A.D.

In a Christian inscription, *C. I. G.* 9270, the phrase *ἐνορκιζόμεθα τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν* occurs. Compare the doubtful inscription quoted in the remarks on No. 18.

I add an imperfect list of early Christian inscriptions of Phrygia.

Second Century.

1. No. 35, A.D. 121.

Third Century.

1. No. 36, A.D. 214—15.
2. No. 37, A.D. 216.
3. Lebas, 1687, about 190—210 A.D.
4. No. 18, perhaps before 211 A.D.
5. No. 19, A.D. 249.
6. No. 38, A.D. 250—80 ?
7. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 457, 256 A.D.
8. No. 21, A.D. 260.
9. Lebas, 727, A.D. 279.
10. Probably also No. 17, No. 43, and Lebas 780,¹ 783, 785 ; also No. 24, No. 25.

Fourth Century.

1. Lebas, 735, A.D. 353.
2. Nos. 39, 40, and 23, probably belong to this century ; perhaps also Lebas, 991 and 980, *C. I. G.* 9263, 9268—70.

¹ See Perrot, *Voy. Archéol.* p. 126.

3. The important inscription, *C. I. G.* 9266, probably belongs to the early years of this century.

Fifth Century.

1. No. 20.

Owing to the character of Byzantine rule, inscriptions of private individuals seem to be rare in the fifth and sixth centuries. While the Arabs were ravaging Asia Minor in the seventh and eighth centuries, we can expect no inscriptions, and after quiet was restored, the inner country never recovered education enough to produce anything beyond a few official inscriptions. *C. I. G.* 9267 cannot therefore be assigned to Century VII., but rather to the preceding century at latest.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SEPULCHRAL CUSTOMS IN ANCIENT PHRYGIA.

THE monument represented on the accompanying plate (No. XLIV.), is situated near the village of Liyen,¹ and is familiar to the natives of the surrounding district under the name Arslan Kaya, Lion Rock. It is about seven miles west-north-west of the cluster of monuments at Ayazeen, described in this Journal, 1882, p. 1 *ff.*, and several less important archaic tombs exist at Bei Keui and other places between Liyen and Ayazeen, so that this whole series may be grouped together and distinguished from the other series which surrounds the tomb of Midas. It is probable that the two groups belong to two distinct Phrygian cities of great antiquity—two of those cities whose former existence was known to Strabo (p. 567), but which had ceased to exist long before his time. It will be convenient, in want of the ancient names, to distinguish these two ancient cities by reference to the Roman towns which stood near them—Meros at Kumbet, near the Midas-tomb, and Metropolis south of Ayazeen.

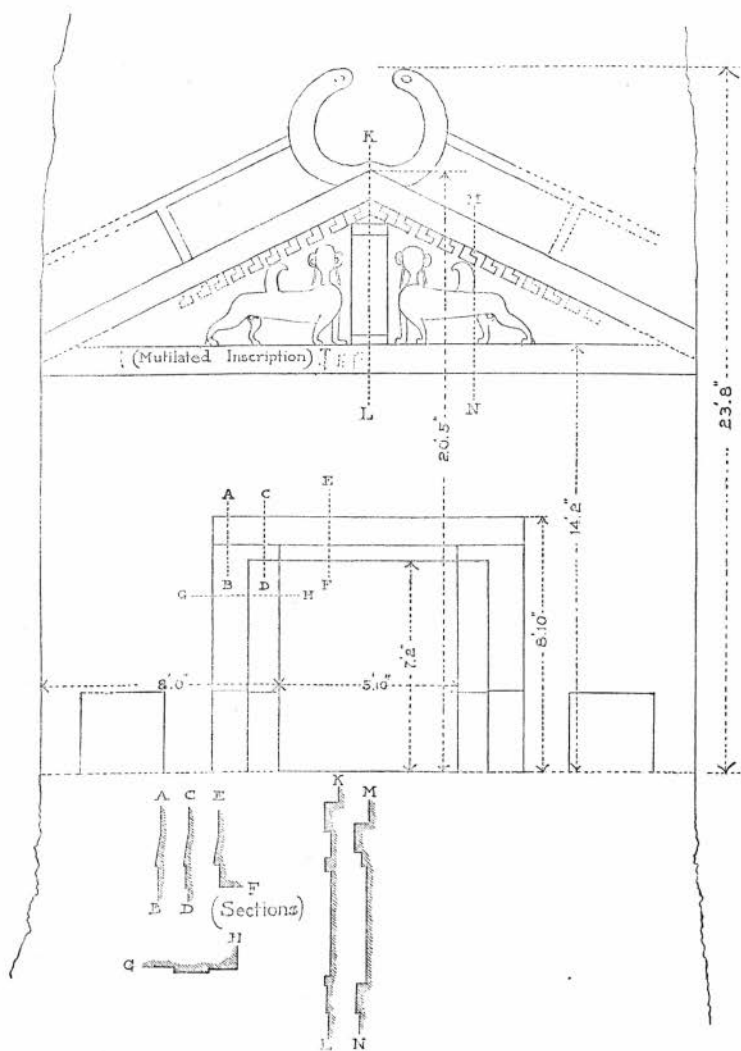
Arslan Kaya is a tall conical rock, of sugar-loaf shape, standing quite isolated on a steep grassy slope.² The mass of the rock, higher than ten feet from the ground, is a fine soft conglomerate, the same in which the majority of the Phrygian tombs are carved. Between ten and five feet above the ground

¹ Liyen is not marked on Kiepert's map, where the whole district in which the Phrygian monuments are situated is almost a blank. It is a village on the road from Afium Kara Hissar to Kutayah, seven hours from the former, eleven hours from the latter, and about two hours south-east of Doghan Arslan

which is indicated on Kiepert's map.

² The total height is probably about fifty to sixty feet; but it is difficult to judge. The drawings on Pl. XLIV. have unfortunately been made too tall. My sketches on the spot were restricted to the sculptured part of the rock.

is a layer of sandstone, horizontally stratified. Below this again is a soft conglomerate. The monument is carved entirely in the upper conglomerate.



The rock has been cut on three sides, so as to present three smooth vertical faces at right angles to each other, looking

respectively east, south, and west. The southern or central face is the most important. It is similar in style to the class of monuments of which the Midas-tomb is the type. A flat rectangular surface, ornamented in a geometrical pattern, and having a doorway in the lower part, is surmounted by a pediment, with a quaint acroterion over the apex. The geometrical pattern has suffered so much from the weather that it cannot now be properly understood: but an occasional fragment shows that it was an arrangement of squares or mæanders and crosses, such as is usual in these monuments.¹ The whole is carved in exceedingly low relief. On the band that divides the pediment from the rectangular surface, an inscription in the tall narrow Phrygian characters was engraved: but it is not decipherable at the distance from which a spectator who has no ladder must contemplate it.²

The pediment is not plain, as in the other monuments of this type, but is sculptured in relief, like the pediment of the tomb at Kumbet, engraved by M. Perrot, *Explor. Archéologique en Galatie*, &c., pl. vii.

Two sphinxes of very archaic character stand in the two angles, turned towards each other, but separated by the supporting column which always occupies the middle of these pediments. Their faces are directed outwards, the ears are very large, but the features are now hopelessly obliterated.³ A long curl hangs down in archaic style over the shoulder of each. On the day which I spent drawing the monument I did not observe that the sex was indicated; but on the following morning, when we returned to compare each detail of the drawings with the original, it appeared to me, and I think also to Mr. Sterrett, that the left-hand sphinx was characterised as male. Such a detail was visible only in a favourable light, and in the worn state of the surface is very uncertain.

A band of mæander pattern runs along the two sloping sides of the pediment.

¹ Arslan Kaya has suffered more from the weather than any other of the great monuments in Phrygia: the others are protected by projecting parts of the rock overhead.

² On a later visit I observed that the

inscription is hopelessly obliterated.

³ The sphinx on the right is much more dilapidated than that on the left. It seemed better in drawing to restore it exactly on the analogy of its better-preserved neighbour.

The acroterion is very remarkable: it is distinctly intended to represent two serpents' heads.

The doorway in the lower part of monuments of this class has in the examples hitherto met with been shut. In the present case however the two valves of the door are thrown wide open, and merely represented in relief against the sides of the little chamber into which the door gives admittance. On each wing of the door there is a horizontal row of little round knobs near the top, showing that it represents a wooden door studded with iron nails. On the right wing is a defaced ornament which may be a lock or possibly a knocker.

The form of the doorway should be compared with those of the Midas-tomb and of the monument at Delikli Tash. M. Perrot¹ has already observed the peculiar form of the lintel in these cases. I know no analogy to the curious projecting members in the lower part of the door, nor to the faint lines above the pediment.

I have already suggested (*Journal*, 1882, p. 27), that the outer face of the monuments of this class is intended to imitate the oriental carpets which were sometimes in Greek temples hung in front of the holy figure of the temple-deity to conceal it from profane eyes: thus, in the temple of Cora at Mantinea, the priestess *ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*, hanging in front of them an oriental carpet. 'The dead man too is a god, and his sanctuary is hidden from view behind the carpet of rock.'

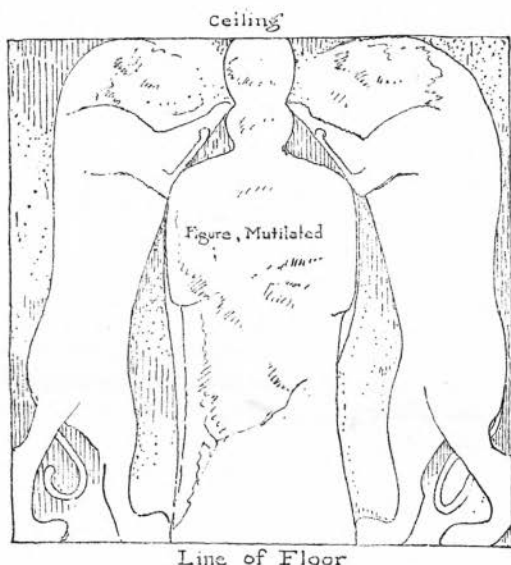
The present monument appears to me to justify completely the words which I used two years ago. Through the open door we penetrate behind the veil into the sanctuary. Carved in relief on the back of the little chamber, we see the two rampant lionesses,² which are the favourite device in Phrygian monuments. But in this case they do not rest their paws against a column: they lay them on the shoulders of the goddess herself, and place their heads lovingly against hers: *εὐφρων καλὰ δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων*. This position constitutes a new variety of the well-known hieratic *schema* called the 'Persian Artemis.'

The lionesses are represented in profile, and only one of the

¹ Compare his account of Delikli Tash and his note on the Midas-tomb.

² The sex is doubtful, owing to mutilation of the surface.

forepaws is visible. There is a curious marking on the fore-leg, perhaps intended to indicate muscles. Both hind legs and the long curling tail are visible. The image of Cybele was carved in very high relief on the back of the chamber. It was similar



in style to those archaic terra-cotta idols, the upper part of which imitates the human figure, while the lower part is a mere cylinder growing wider towards the bottom, so as to afford a broad and secure basis for the idol to stand. This figure was represented in relief fully a foot high; but the soft conglomerate was unsuited for a relief standing out so boldly, and the front part has fallen off, leaving an uneven surface. On the other hand the two lionesses are in very low relief and are therefore in excellent preservation except the heads, in which the relief is rather higher, and the surface of the abdomen.

A similar idol, much ruder and smaller than this one, stands in a little niche about three feet high, near the Lion-tombs.

The figure of Cybele occupied the whole height of the wall, *i.e.* seven feet two inches. The arms were pressed against the

sides, the elbows were bent and the hands placed in front of the body, the right hand over the bosom, the left hand over the middle;¹ the attitude is familiar from Oriental idols and Greek statues of Aphrodite. On her head she wore a *polos*, the outline of which on the wall is barrel-shaped. A long veil or garment seems to hang on both sides of the body. This rude image is the Mother-Goddess, who is indicated by her attitude as the producer and nourisher of the life of earth. We know her name in this old Phrygian home of hers. Only a few miles away, close to the other lion monuments, is an altar cut in the rock, and above it is an inscription written *beustrophedon* in Phrygian characters. The middle of the inscription has been broken away, but the beginning fortunately remains—*Matar Kubile*.

Matar Kubile was the name by which the Phrygians invoked the goddess. It is interesting that the nearest city of the Roman time to these old monuments was named Conni Metropolis; in the Byzantine time the heathen name of 'Meter' was changed to that of the Christian saint Demetrius, and the city is called in lists of bishoprics Conni Demetrioupolis. This observation gives the long-sought site of the northern Metropolis of Phrygia, which has been placed in many different situations. It stood on the Roman road from Nacoleia to Eucarpia, near the modern village Beuyeuik Tchorgia.²

But though Conni was nearer than any other city to the Lion-tombs, it is probable that they were in the territory of the important city of Prynnessos.³ Midas appears on coins of Prynnessos, which may be taken as a proof that these old monuments were in the Roman time associated with the ancient kings of Phrygia.

The face of the monument which looks to the east is entirely occupied by a large rampant lion. He stands quite upright, and

¹ This detail can be gathered from the difference of angle at the two elbows, though the bad preservation of the image makes it difficult to be certain.

² I formerly attempted to identify Metropolis with Augustopolis, a site nine miles S.E. of Tchorgia: I wish here to correct the error. See *Mittheilungen Instit. Ath.* 1882, p. 137.

³ Conni seems to have been an insignificant town under the empire; no coins are known, unless some MHTPOΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ belong to it. Prynnessos was at Seulun, three miles S.E. of Afium Kara Hissar. It was certainly a city of importance, and perhaps exercised some authority over the neighbouring Metropolis.

places his fore-paws on the angle of the pediment on the southern side. The lines of the figure, like those of the two lionesses in the shrine, are exceedingly fine and spirited. The sex is certain, whereas that of the animals in the shrine remains uncertain. Analogy points to the opinion that the latter are female: this is the case with the pair of animals on the Lion-tomb near Ayazeen and with those over the Lion-gate at Mycenae. In later monuments the case is different: at Kumbet (see Perrot, Pl. vii.) and at Ayazeen (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Pl. XXVI, XXVII.) the pair consists of a male and a female. I was exceedingly careful in drawing the toes of the lion's left hind foot, the forms of which are peculiar: the paws of the two lionesses are different, less carefully cut, and more like the form usual in archaic sculpture. Only one forepaw is shown in each of the lionesses, a true archaic characteristic, whereas both fore-paws of the lion are distinctly visible: but the marking on the forepaws of the lionesses does not appear on those of the lion.¹ This marking may be compared with that on the hind-leg of a deer found in a tumulus near Kertch, a product of Ionian art of a later period.²

On the western face of our monument there is a gryphon, *passant* to the right. His head is much injured, but was probably a simple eagle's head without ears or any other prominent feature, and with the mouth closed (Type C of Furtwängler, *Bronzefund*, p. 47). The wings, like those of the sphinxes, are curled round in the archaic style.

I hope to take an early opportunity of discussing the bearing of this and other monuments on the history of Ionian and generally of Greek art, but I will here state my opinion as to the date of the Arslan Kaya. As I have stated in previous papers, I believe that Phrygian art stands in the closest relations with the Ionian colonies of the Euxine coast. Now if we compare the gryphon and the sphinxes with the earliest known specimens of Ionian decorative art, the general resemblance is obvious, while the exceedingly ancient character of the Phrygian monument is equally clear. Every detail in these

¹ On a second visit I convinced myself that these are the facts: the lines on the forepaw of each lioness do not indicate a pair of paws.

² Furtwängler, *Goldfund von Vetttersfelds*, p. 16, who refers to *Antiq. du Bosphor.*, Pl. 26, 1.

two types on the Arslan Kaya is early archaic, and a careful examination proves that they can hardly be later than the early part of the sixth century, and are probably earlier. But the lions of the Arslan Kaya are quite different in character from those of the Vetttersfeld ornaments.¹ The latter show the type of the lions on the tomb at Kumbet and on other later Phrygian monuments (see especially the single Vetttersfeld lion on Pl. iii. 1), whereas our lions are of a far grander type, bolder and finer in outline, more natural and life-like. This type is quite lost in the later monuments. Artistic considerations therefore force back the date of our monument to the seventh century. Now on historical grounds it is improbable that any very great monument in Phrygia belongs to the period 670—600. During this time we know that the Cimmerians overran the country, and that in Phrygia alone they achieved complete success, being finally expelled by Alyattes between 610 and 590. The Arslan Kaya is therefore earlier than 670, while on the other hand the presence of the inscription in characters, which as I have elsewhere shown were learned from the Greek colonists of Sinope, proves that the monument is later than 730.

The only trustworthy way of representing a monument like this is by photography, and I hope to be able soon to publish a photograph. But it would be almost necessary to publish a drawing along with a photograph, as it is so difficult to see every detail from one point of view. It seemed, however, advisable to make known a monument so important as this, even by the imperfect and insufficient medium of drawings, and trust to the future to supplement them by photographs. I knew that I should never be able to make better drawings than when inspired at first by the discovery of the monument, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether I should ever have the opportunity of taking a trained draughtsman to the place.²

The measurements were made, with Mr. Sterrett's help, by means of a rope thrown over the shoulder of the rock.

I do not at present intend to make any general remarks about the art of Phrygia. I will only say that each new monument

¹ Furtwängler, *l.c.*

delicacy of the drawing, is due to a more skilful hand than mine.

² I am responsible for every curve and every other scientific detail: the

affords new and more striking resemblances to archaic Greek art. Hitherto no example was known in Phrygia of the composite animals, such as the sphinx and the gryphon. In Phrygian art we are not impressed as in Phœnician art with isolated points of resemblance to Greek amidst a general diversity of character. We see substantially the same race, affected by similar influences from the East, and producing works whose whole spirit and character have something of the true Greek feeling.¹

Amid the diversity in details, what a close resemblance in spirit is there between the Phrygian tale of Marsyas and the Greek tale of Orpheus! There is the same melancholy tone, the same devotion to music, the same close relation to an orgiastic worship, and finally a terrible death.

The question arises—what was the purpose of this monument? There is no appearance, no possibility of supposing that a grave ever existed in the chamber: but I feel convinced that the monument is sepulchral. In that case the actual grave was in the ground, and the monument is merely the tombstone, so to speak. In support of this view we must remember that almost all the many hundreds of rock monuments known in Phrygia, are obviously sepulchral. Moreover, I shall here place together some facts about Phrygian graves and sepulchral inscriptions which make it probable that even the doubtful rock-monuments are sepulchral, and which will throw some light on the ideas of death and the future world entertained by the persons who made those graves.

As almost all my arguments are drawn from inscriptions of the Roman period, it is necessary to state beforehand that I believe these late authorities may with proper caution be used as evidence for the true ancient beliefs of the Phrygian people.

A varnish of Graeco-Roman civilisation was spread over the country in the second and third centuries after Christ; western Phrygia was affected fifty to a hundred years earlier than the eastern country. Especially Hellenic mythology took the place of the native legends: I have given examples of the tendency to substitute Greek names and tales for the native Lydian or

¹ With the Phrygian use of the meander pattern compare *Arch. Ztg.* 1884. Pl. ix., Figs. 2, 5.

Phrygian in this Journal, 1882, p. 64, 1883, p. 64. But the old religion continued unaffected in substance, though Hellenised in name, and customs sanctioned by religion, especially funeral usages, must have been very slow to alter. For example, in the valley of the river Tembris,¹ which runs along the western border of the district in which the old Phrygian monuments lie, the regular decoration of gravestones in the Roman period is the old heraldic type of the pair of lions facing each other in a pediment. Again, Moritz Schmidt rightly recognised in some barbarous formulas appended to Greek sepulchral inscriptions of the Roman period, a curse in the native tongue against violators of the tomb. Why should this one part of the inscription be in the native tongue, and the rest in Greek? Either the belief was that the old Phrygian tongue was more holy, and more efficacious with the gods of Phrygia, or the fact was that the Phrygian language was more generally intelligible than Greek. Either alternative shows the strength of the old native feeling in the country; in spite of Graeco-Roman dress and foreign language, the Phrygian character is not hidden.

Two kinds of sepulchral monument were commonly used in Phrygia in the Roman time. One is a slab of marble or other stone carved to imitate a doorway. The doorposts, the two valves, the lintel, and generally a pointed or rounded pediment above, are all indicated: one or two knockers are usually carved on the door, and symbols referring to the ordinary life of the deceased person are often represented on the panels, a basket, a strigil, a mirror or something of the kind. The door is often surmounted by a pediment, triangular or semicircular, which is sometimes plain, sometimes sculptured. In the Tembris valley the sculptural decoration, as has just been stated, is almost always the ancient heraldic device—a pair of lions. The inscription is placed sometimes above the pediment, sometimes beneath it, rarely on the door itself. I have seen many hundred gravestones of this kind, in every part of Phrygia, in Galatia, and in Pisidia. This class of tombstone recalls to mind the ancient monuments in which a door is a prominent part.

¹ Tembris on a coin of Midaion, Pliny (*N.H.* vi. 1) and in an unpublished inscription. Thymbres in Livy, Tembrogus in

The second kind of tombstone is equally common and widespread. It is a square pillar with very simple pedestal and capital. In many cases the epitaph on such a tombstone is expressed in the form—*ὁ δεῖνα τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν*. The regular name of the monument was therefore ‘the Altar.’ It is probable that several old Phrygian monuments, in which nothing is apparent except an altar with or without an inscription, are really sepulchral.

No. 1.¹

At Ishekly, the ancient Eumeneia, on a tombstone of the *βωμὸς* type in the modern cemetery :

ΘΥΡΑ

There has never been any other inscription.

No. 2.

At Eumeneia in the court of the Konak : on a tombstone similar to the last : on one side

ΖΩΤΙΚΟCΑΝΤ
ΩΝΙΑΘΗ ΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚ
ΙΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΜΝΗCΧ
ΑΡΙΝ

Ζωτικὸς Ἀντ-
ωνία τῆ [ιδ]ία γυναικ-
ὶ καὶ ἐαυτῶ μνη[μη]s χ-
ἀριν.²

on another side

ΘΥΡΑ

No. 3.

At Eumeneia, in the modern cemetery, on a tombstone of form like the preceding : on one side

¹ Nos. 1 and 3 were copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company, No. 2 by me alone. ² The engraver has omitted two letters in line three.

	ΙΟΥΛΙΑΕΑΥΤΗ	Ἰουλία ἑαυτῇ
	ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΑΝΔΡΙ ΔΑ	καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Δα-
	ΜΑΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΛΙΑ	μᾶ καὶ Ἰουλι- α
	ΝΗΤΗΟΥΓΑΤΡΙ	νῆ τῇ θυγατρὶ
5	ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΩ ΤΩ ΓΑΙ	καὶ Γαίῳ τῷ γα[μ-
	ΡΩΚΑΙΣΕΒΗΡΕΙ	β]ρῶ καὶ Σεβηρεί-
	ΝΗ ΗΟΥΓΑΙ	νῆ [τ]ῇ θυγα[τ-
	ΡΙΜΝΗΜΗΧΑ	ρὶ μνήμης χά-
	ΡΙΝ ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕ	ριν. Εἰ δέ τις ἕ-
10	ΤΕΡΟΝΕΠΙΧΕΙ	τερον ἐπιχει-
	ΡΗΕΙΘΙΝΑΙΤΙ	ρήσει θίναί τι-
	ΝΑΘΗΕΙΙΣΤΟ	να, θήσει ἰς τό-
	ΝΦΙΣΚΟΝ*ΑΦ	ν φίσκον (δην.) ἀφ.

on the other side

ΘΥΡΑ

The second and third inscriptions probably belong to the first (or the beginning of the second) century after Christ: this date is gathered from the Latin names, Julia, Juliane, Antonia, &c. They belong therefore to a comparatively early time among the inscriptions of this district.

No. 4.

At Kara Hodja, a village in the Haimaneh, about an hour and a half south-east of the hot springs of Myrikion, now the Merkez of the Haimaneh,¹ in ancient Galatia. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself.

¹ Merkez in Turkish means 'head-quarters': the seat of government of the Haimaneh was established here two years ago, having previously been at the village of Sivri. There was no

village at the baths, till the spot was selected as the Merkez of the Haimaneh, and when we visited it, in 1883, there were only about fifteen new houses around the government offices.

ΕΤΟ Ε Μ ΝΟΣΞ
 ΑΙ ΔΙΚΟΥ
 ΟΕΓΕ/ ΝΙΟΥΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙ
 ΙΔΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΝΕΣΤΗ
 ΝΒΩΜΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΘΥΡΑ
 ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ
 ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΣΤΑΤΙΛΙΑΣΩΣΑΠΡΟ
 ΝΟΥΣΑΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗΝ
 ΕΔΩΚΙΤΙΝΙΕΡΕΑΝΠ.
 ΣΙΝΟΝΚΑΙΥΕΛΛΙ ΔΥ
 ΟΑΡΓΥΡΑΚΛΙΜΗΑΠΟ
 ΔΙΔΗΟΣΙΟΝΔΙΚΕΟΝ
 ΗΛΙΕΚΥΡΙΕΥΜΕΙΣΕΚΛΙ
 ΚΗΣΑΤΕΑΥΤΗΝΝΕΚΡΑΝ
 ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΖΩΝΤ

Like all the inscriptions which we found in the Haimaneh, this is merely scratched in a rude way on the stone: it is the work of an unskilful engraver and an uneducated writer. Graeco-Roman civilisation had not thoroughly established itself at Myrion when the epitaph was composed, and the native customs of burial and worship of the Pessinuntine Cybele remained unaffected. It was exceedingly difficult to decipher the faint and ill-formed letters, and equally difficult to understand the meaning.

Ἔτο[υ]ς . . . , μ[η]νὸς Ξανδίκου [.]ος Γε[λλ]ίου Στατειλ[α]ῖ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ ἀνέστη[σε τὸ]ν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν θύρα[ν] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν μνήμης χάριν.

Στατειλία ζῶσα [φ]ρονοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκ[έ] τινη (?) ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρά]σινου καὶ ψέλλι[α] δύο ἀργυρᾶ, κα[ὶ] μ[η] ἀποδιδῆ, "Ὅσιον Δίκεον, "Ἡλιε Κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκ[δ]ικήσατε τὴν νεκρὰν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντ[α].

"Ὅσιος Δίκαιος is a standing epithet of the deity in Anatolian inscriptions; here it appears to be used as a proper name, and, regardless of grammar, two deities are invoked to avenge the dead Statilia and her living children, if the pledge which she deposited with some unnamed person is not returned. ἡ πρᾶ-

σινος is an emerald: the word before it has not been deciphered: *προνοῦσα* is probably due to Galatian pronunciation. *ἔδωκε* is certainly the reading on the stone.

The four inscriptions published above are all engraved on simple *βωμοί*, yet in one case the monument is called *ὁ βωμὸς καὶ ἡ θύρα*: and in the others, the name *θύρα* is placed on the monument apart from the regular inscription, as if to specify a point that was not clear to the beholder.

The last inscription explains the others. The son of Gellius places the altar and the door for his dead wife. It appears then that according to Phrygian ideas there were two necessary elements in the sepulchral monument, an altar and a door. When a plain altar was placed as a tombstone, it was sometimes thought necessary to add expressly the word 'Door.' Even where only the one name is given, we may understand that the fundamental idea was the same. The door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death: the altar was the place on which the living placed the offerings due to the dead.

It is unnecessary to follow this idea through the elaborate funeral monuments with numerous parts, each called by a special name, which were often used by rich men. A sarcophagus is commonly used at Hierapolis and in Ionia and Lycia; but the sarcophagus is only the receptacle in which the body is placed, and we often find the door and the altar indicated besides.

These two elements, the door and the altar, occur regularly in the early monuments. In many cases the altar indeed is not expressly carved in the rock; but when the monument has the form of a temple or a shrine, the altar is an implied accompaniment. In other cases the rock-altar is the most important part of the whole monument.

Among the early monuments one class, of which the Midas-tomb or the Arslan Kaya is type, especially attracts our attention as being so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia: in it we see the door and the veil in front of the shrine. In one case alone the door is opened, and we are admitted to contemplate *τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*. We see here, not a sarcophagus, no place or room for a dead human body, but the Mother-Goddess and her favourite animals.

May we not infer from this that the mere custody of the body was not the sole nor even the chief intention of the funeral monument in Phrygia? The intention is to show that the dead has returned to his divine mother. It is a similar idea when the Lydian chiefs and kings are buried on the shores of the Gygaean lake Coloe; and we know from Homer that the Maeonian chiefs are the sons of the lake or of the Naiad Nymph who bears them beside the lake.

The natural inference is that the Phrygian religion considered the dead as identified with the divine nature: the sepulchre of the dead was a monument or shrine of the Mother-Goddess. In that case the construction of a grave was an act of piety and of homage to the deity, with whom the dead person was identified. Can we find in inscriptions any test to prove or disprove this inference?

I shall give first an inscription, imperfectly published, C. I. G. No. 3810; the editor has wrongly altered the copies, accurate so far as they go, of Pococke and Kinneir.

No. 5.

Dorylaion, in the bridge over the Porsuk Tchai, the ancient Tembris: on a marble slab imitating the front of a temple or *heroon*. Copied by me.

MENANΔΙΟΥ ΠΩ	Μένανδ[ρος "Ιπ]πω-
ΝΟΚΚΑΙΑΜΕΙΑΣΤΕΙ	vos καὶ Ἀμείας Τεί-
ΜΩΝΙΘΡΕΠΤΩΚΑΙ	μωνι θρεπτῶ καὶ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	Ἀπολλώνιος
ΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΕΣΥΝ	καὶ Διονύσιος συν-
ΤΡΟΦΩΥΠΕΡΤΩΝ	τρέφω ὑπὲρ τῶν
ΙΔΙΩΝΔΙΪΒΡΟΝ	ιδίων Διὶ Βρον-
ΨΤΩΝΤΙΩ	τῶντι.

This inscription is, to judge from the nomenclature, probably not later than the first century after Christ. It has been engraved on the tombstone of Timon by his master and his mistress,

and by his fellow-slaves, Apollonius and Dionysius.¹ These four persons make the grave of the dead man, and consider this act as a homage to Zeus Bronton on behalf of their own family.

No. 6.

At Kara Bazar, on the road from Dorylaion to Nacoleia, on a marble *βωμός*. On the capital is carved a vine-branch with a bunch of grapes, and over the inscription is a wreath. Copied by me.

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣΚ-ΠΛΟΥ	Περσεὺς κὲ Πλού-
ΣΙΟΣΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΩ	σιος Φαινίππω
ΠΑΤΡΙΚ-ΜΗΤΡΙ	πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝΤΙ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶντι
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχῆν.

This is the epitaph on a tomb erected by two sons for their parents. The sons consider that the act of erecting the tombstone is equivalent to discharging a vow to Zeus Bronton. To judge from the names the inscription is of a *comparatively* early time; but, as the district is one remote from civilising influences, it can hardly be earlier than the second century after Christ.

No. 7.

Near Kara Bazar, at the Devrent, on a *βωμός*: on the capital is carved a star, and over the inscription three bulls' heads. Copied by me.

ΑΥΡΔΙΟΔΩΡΟ	Αὐρ. Διόδωρου
ΣΜΕΤΑΣΥΝΒΙ	ς μετὰ συνβί-
ΟΥΤΥΧΗΖΩΝ	ου Τύχη ζῶν-
ΤΕΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ	τες ἑαυτοῖς
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΕΥΧΗΝ	τι] εὐχῆν.

This inscription is placed over the grave which Diodoros and his wife prepared for themselves. They regard this act as the

¹ Menandros and his wife had therefore three *θερπτοί* or *θρέμματα*.

payment of a vow to Zeus Bronton. The inscription belongs to the third century after Christ.

On the analogy of these and similar inscriptions, which I need not quote here, it may be unhesitatingly maintained that a large number of dedications in the district round Nacoleia and Dorylaion, in which the sepulchral reference is not so explicit, are in reality gravestones. Of such inscriptions, published and unpublished, I know about a hundred. They are generally addressed to Zeus Bronton, or to Zeus Papas, or to Papas simply. Papas, as Arrian says, was the Bithynian name of Zeus; it occurs frequently in inscriptions of Nacoleia. The following is a specimen.

No. 8.

On a small stele of common stone found in a field near Nacoleia. I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently gravestones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΑ	Οὐλπία Σά-
ΒΙΣΠΑΠΑΕΥΧΗ	βις Παπᾶ εὐχῆ-
N	υ.

The other inscriptions from this field are similar in style: the field was doubtless a cemetery of the poorer classes.

In this Journal, 1882, p. 124, I spoke about Zeus Bronton or Papas, the god of Nacoleia. I have no alteration to make in the views there expressed, except to lay much greater stress on the Chthonian character of the god. Almost every inscription in which he is mentioned is a gravestone. The area within which he is worshipped is a narrow one, including only the

district between Nacoleia, Dorylaion, and Trocnada or Tricomia.¹ Outside of this district, I know only of three, one at Cotyaion, one at Ancyra of Galatia, and one in Rome erected by a Greek named Aur. Poplius. Poplius clearly belonged to this district of Phrygia, and went to Rome either as a visitor or a settler.²

The district in which Zeus Bronton was worshipped, lies along the east and north edge of the mountainous country in which the ancient Phrygian monuments are situated. On the west side of these mountains, we find that Zeus Bennis is worshipped. Numerous inscriptions in his honour occur, and the important town of Bennisoa was named from his worship. A curious inscription in the Phrygian village of Serea shows what the people themselves thought of the relation between Zeus Bronton and Zeus Bennis.

No. 10.

On a stele at Kuyujak, a village three hours north-west of Nacoleia; copied by Mr. Sterrett.

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ	Μάρκος
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Μάρκου
ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΤΙΚΑΙΒΕΝΝΕΙ	τι καὶ Βεννεί
ΣΕΡΕΑΝΩΤ	Σερεανῶ στ-
ΕΦΑΝΟΝ	έφανον.

¹ The word Tricomia shows that the country of the Trocnades or Trocmades, Rege-trocnada, contained three villages: the use of the word in an unpublished inscription from a different district is decisive as to the sense.

² The following is a memorial of the visit of another Nacoleian to Rome.

No. 9.

In the *tekke* of Seidi Ghazi, on a little slab of marble. It has been published unintelligibly by Mordtmann (*Sidi Ghazi und Nacoleia in Münch. Gel. Anz.*, 1861). Copied by me, and afterwards by Mr. Sterrett.

ΘΕΩ	ΥΨΙC	Θεῶ ὙψίC-
ΤΩ	ΕΥ	τω εὐ-
ΧΗ	ΝΑΥ	χῆν Αὐ-
Ρ-ΙΑΙ	ΟC	ρήλιος
ΑΣΚΛΑ	ΑΠΩ	Ἄσκλάπω-
ΝΗΝ	ΟΜΟ	ν, ἦν [ὠ]μο-
ΛΟΤΗC	ΕΝCΙ	λό[γ]ησεν ἐ[ν
ΡΩΜ	Η	Ῥώμη.

Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side, and Papas or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.

The numerous inscriptions of which these are specimens show clearly that the making of a grave was regarded as the payment of a vow to the god of the district. I do not maintain that every stone in the district which records a vow of the god is sepulchral: *e.g.* the votive tablet of Aur. Asklapon, quoted above, has not the appearance of a gravestone. But the gravestones which I have seen in the district where Papas was worshipped, are, with scarcely an exception, inscribed in this style. One stone, which I believe to be sepulchral, explains the meaning of the custom.

No. 11.

On a marble cippus at Kutayah, in the possession of an Armenian stone-cutter who had brought it from Karagatch Euren, near Altyntash. Above the inscription there are carved in relief a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiated head of the sun-god. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company.

ΔΙΙ ΒΕΝΝΙΩ	Διὶ Βεννίῳ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΥΠΕΡ	Διογένους ὑπὲρ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΠΑΠΠΟΥ	Διογένους πάππου
ΚΑΙΚΛΗΡΥΣΙΟΥ	καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου
ΜΑΜΜΗΣΚΑΙΤΩΝ	μίμης καὶ τῶν
ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ	κατοικούντων
ΕΝΙΣΚΟΜΗΚΑΘΙΕΡΩ	ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρω
ΣΕΝ	σεν.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΓΕΡΕΑΝΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰογερειανὸς ἐποίηι.

This inscription belongs most probably to the second century after Christ. The reference to the inhabitants of the village is a specially common feature in inscriptions of this district; the name of the village seems to be Iskome. The artist is a native of Isgera.

I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennios. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus. Diogenes might have expressed the epitaph in the formula, *πάππῳ καὶ μάμμῃ καὶ Διὶ Βεννίῳ*: the meaning would have been the same.

It is not always easy to determine in these inscriptions who is buried in the tomb. For example

No. 12.

On a stele similar to No. 8, and found in the same place. Copied by me.¹

ΔΑΔΑΚΑΝ	<i>Δαδα Καν-</i>
ΚΑΡΟΥΝΟΥΝΔ	<i>καρου Νουνα-</i>
ΔΟCΟΥΕΚΡΟΚ	<i>δος Ούεκροκ-</i>
ΩΜΗΤΙCΣΑ	<i>ωμήτισσα</i>
ΔΙΗΠΑΠΑ	<i>Διὶ Παπᾶ</i>
ΕΥΧΗΝ	<i>εὐχῆν.</i>

The names on this stele are so purely Phrygian that it is hard to tell how they are to be divided. Probably Dada was daughter of Kankaros Nounas, who had according to Phrygian custom, two names, and her native village was Vekrokome. It is impossible to determine whether she was burying one of her relatives or preparing her own last resting-place. The latter is more probable: more than half of the Phrygian epitaphs known to me include a provision for the burial of the erector.

In all the epitaphs which have been quoted, the dedication is to a god. The following is to the Mother-Goddess.

No. 13.

On a marble *βωμός* at Doghalar, a village two hours north of Altıntash, on the western edge of the Phrygian mountains. Defaced reliefs on the back and on one side of the altar. Copied by me.

¹ As I remarked above, this stone is quite certainly sepulchral.

ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΙ-Ε	Πατροκλῆς [Ἀπολ-
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΜ-ΙΤ	λωνίου Μητ[ρὶ Θε-
ΩΝΖΙΝΓΟΤΙ-Ν-Κ	ῶν Ζινογοτηνῆ κ[ατ-
ΑΚΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΤΙ-ΕΩ	ὰ κέλευσιν τῆς Θε[ε-
5 ΑΣΥΠΕΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ	ᾶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ [κὲ τ-
ΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΚ-ΤΕΚΩ	ῶν ἰδίων κὲ τῆς κώ-
Μ-ΣΖΙΝΓΟΤΟΕΕΩΤΗ	μης Ζίνογotos σωτη-
ΡΙΑΣΤΩΝΒΩΜΩΝ	ρίας τὸν βωμὸν [ἀ-
ΝΕΙΤΗΕΝ ¹	νίστησεν.

I believe that this stone marks the grave which Patrokles intended to be occupied by himself and his family. He dedicates the spot to the Μητῆρ Θεῶν, just as the maker of the ancient tomb described in this paper made it a shrine of the Mother-Goddess.

The idea that the dead person has thrown off his own nature and become identified with a divine or heroic personage, can be traced in some rare cases in Greek inscriptions, while it apparently underlies certain classes of archaic sepulchral reliefs. I do not refer to cases where the dead man is worshipped as a hero, but where his personality is merged in that of an independently existing hero or god. Such is the explanation of a relief and inscription from Pergamon, now in my possession, which I described before the Archaeological Society in Berlin, February 5, 1884. The monument was interpreted, as I believe quite wrongly,² by Dr. Belger in the *Berl. Philol. Zft.* March 1st. The relief is of a common sepulchral type. The left and the centre are occupied by a horseman, turned to the right: the man has the reins in his left hand and with his right holds out a patera towards a serpent which drinks from it. The serpent is coiled round a tree in front of the horse. On the extreme right stands an adorant of the usual type. Beneath the relief is the inscription

ΛΝΙΟΥΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣΑΘΗ
ΟΥΗΡΩΙΠΕΡΓΑΜΩ³

¹ In 5 ΠΕ, in 6 ΤΗΣ, in 7 ΤΗ
licet.

² As a votive relief belonging to a shrine of the Hero Pergamos.

³ It is probable, but not certain, that the *iota adscriptum* was expressed in Γεργάμφ. The name Ἄσκληᾶς is of course supplied merely *exempli gratia*,

'Ασκληᾶς? 'Απολλ]ωνίου νεωκόρος 'Αθη[ναίης Νικηφόρ]ου "Ηρωι
Περγαμῶ. Another method of supplying the gap was suggested
by Dr. M. Fränkel, but it does not seem to me satisfactory:
'Ασκληᾶς? 'Απολλ]ωνίου νεωκόρος 'Αθη[ναίῳ Νικαί?]ου "Ηρωι
Περγαμῶ. The person to whom the grave belongs is treated as
identified with the eponymous hero of the city, and his original
name is not mentioned.¹ The relief belongs probably to the
latter part of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.²

A similar case occurs in the Sabouroff Collection, and has
been correctly interpreted by Dr. Furtwängler (Pl. xxix.:
Κ]αλλιτέλης 'Αλεξιμάχῳ ἀνέθηκεν), who expresses the doubt
whether Aleximachos is the original name of the deceased or a
new heroic name.

W. M. RAMSAY.

as being nearly of the length required
for the gap. The first line ends
with H.

relief seems otherwise the same as that
given here.

¹ Dr. Fränkel's interpretation of the

² Α came into use quite as early as
200 B.C.